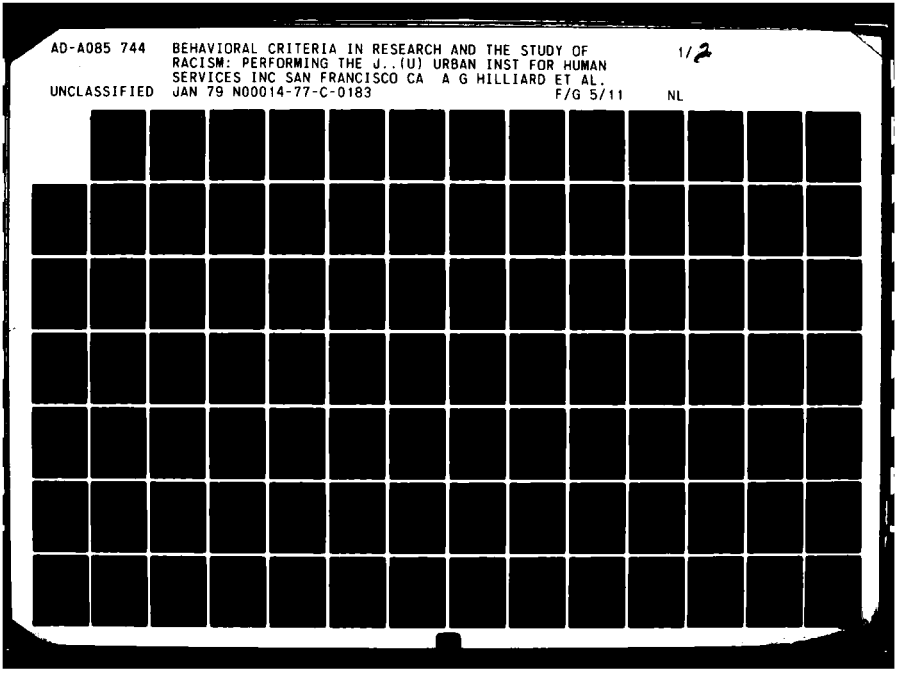
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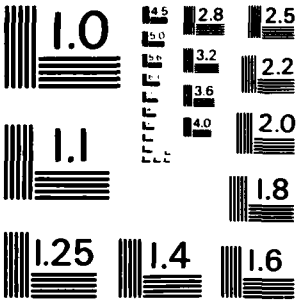

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Testing Racism Behavioral criteria Assessment

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This is a literature review and theory paper which takes a holistic approach to the problem of the measurement of behavioral change, particularly changes in racist behavior. A general conceptual model of behavior in "ecological" perspectives is presented. This is followed by a presentation of the application of this model to racist behavior based upon a theory of racist behavior. The sources of behaviors which can serve as criteria are described. A demonstration of the application of the use of the theoretical model of

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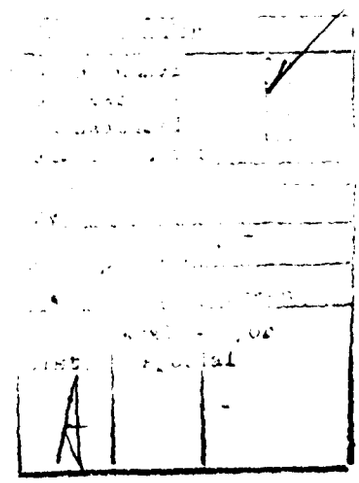
behavior to sort random behaviors of the categories is presented. Finally, the use of the classification of sorted behaviors as the basis for the development of observation instruments is shown.



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"The jackal is also the symbol of judgement: it is called 'the Judge'. Because, in eating it performs a precise, innate, discrimination, separating out the elements capable of transformation and future evolution from the elements that are untransmutable within the present cycle.

Digestion is a destructive process: it is an analysis, a breakdown of material form into the constituent element. Our analytically direct minds are 'jackal' in function. Not only do we analyze our society as it undergoes a decomposition, but our analyzing, separating mentality is the force that is destroying it. We are disintegrating not only the atoms of matter, but our social institution, the very characteristics of our own psychological make up the physical well being, and other forms, such as religion and spiritual teachings from many cultures. But perhaps we are performing this seeming desecration in harmony with the laws of nature, whereby the death of the old give life to the new. The jackal, however, knows innately that the destructive analysis must be arrested at just the right moment. He must dig up the morsels, or else these pieces of flesh--or these phases in the collective life of humanity--may pass into a indigestible, untransmuted state of disassociation or chaos, then the possibility of a cyclic rebirth in a continuity from death to new life could be lost."

Robert Lawlor, in Introduction to R. A. Schwaller DeLubicz <u>*Symbol and the Symbolic*</u>*.*

CHAPTER I

Racism - What Is It?

How Do We Know It When We See It?

There is one area of human experience which should require little, if any, systematic documentation to prove its existence. It is the continuing existence of a pervasive systematic racism. If documentation were needed, it is abundant in the literature (Carlson, 1956; Chase, 1977). Manifestations of racism are present everywhere. It affects the quality of life for all Americans, victims, oppressors, or bystanders. As great as the problem is, its history will reveal that there has been an apparent incapacity among many white Americans, in particular, to confront racism as a problem. *Consequently, little systematic attention* has been given to the study of racism, using the tools and perspectives of behavioral science in comparison to the subjects which are usually treated. And yet, the public and the professions have come to expect from various behavioral sciences assistance in the understanding of and solution to human problems. For example, we may ask several simple and straightforward questions about the problem of racism.

1. What is racism?
2. How does it come about?
3. Can its direction be changed?
4. How would we know if a change in direction had taken place?

At present, there are no widely accepted answers to the questions above. We may summarize how the United States Civil Rights Commission has written of racism in the following way:

> "RACISM is one of those words that many people use, and feel strongly about, but do not define clearly. Those who suffer from racism may interpret the word one way while others may interpret it quite differently. This ambiguity is possible in part because the word refers to ideas that are very complicated and hard to pin down. Yet, before we can fully understand how racism works or how to combat its harmful effects we must first try to define it clearly.
>
> Racism can be defined operationally as any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color. Even though 'race' and 'color' are usually used to refer to different physical characteristics, in America it is the visibility of skin color--and of other physical traits associated with particular colors or groups--that marks individuals as 'targets' for subordination by members of the white majority. This is true of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, and American Indians. Specifically, White racism subordinates members of <u>all</u> these groups primarily because they are not White in color, even though some are considered to be or may consider themselves to be members of the 'white race' and even view themselves as "Whites'. Racism is not just a matter of individual attitudes. Individual actions and institutional structures can also be forms of racism. As 'institutional structure' is any well-established, habitual or widely accepted pattern of action or organizational arrangements, whether formal or informal. For example, the residential segregation of almost all Negroes in large cities is an 'institutional structure'. So is the widely used practice of denying employment to applicants with any nontraffic police record, since this tends to discriminate unfairly against residents of low-income areas where police normally arrest young men for minor incidents that are routinely overlooked in wealthy suburbs.

> Just being aware of someone's color of race, or even taking it into account when making decisions or in other behavior, is not necessarily racist. Racism occurs only when these reactions involve some kind of subordination. Thus, pride in one's black heritage, or Irish ancestry, is not necessarily racist.
>
> "Racism can occur even if the people causing it have no intention of subordinating others because of color, or are totally unaware of doing so" (United States Civil Rights Commission, 1970).

Even in the absence of clear definitions of terms and domains of inquiry, considerable activity has been taking place and continues to take place to relieve the general problemmatic conditions which racism creates. The remedies to the problem of racism have marched under different banners such as "human relations training", "race relations training", the "multi-cultural education", etc. An excellent summary of efforts in these areas has been presented by Hayles (1977).

It is likely that those who seek to solve the problem of racism will encounter a wide variety of competing proposals for solutions. The evaluation of proposals for the reduction of racism may be difficult due to the absence of behavioral criteria which may serve as the basis for more scientific assessment.

The Problem

It is the purpose of this study to develop a theoretical model and behavioral criteria which can serve as the basis for the development of an approach to the assessment of the effectiveness of training or other interventions which are designed to change

racist behavior. Since behavioral criteria exist neither in isolation nor independently from a domain of constructs with which they may be associated, and since our special interest is in change in racist behavior, a full examination of the behavioral criteria will require the explication of a theory of racism as well.

The State of the Art in Assessment

We are aware that this problem is being approached at a time when the state of the art and the assessment of human behavior is in its infancy. Most of the previous attempts to assess behavioral change in the area of race relations research has shown a tendency to rely primarily upon the best available instruments from among weak paper and pencil standardized tests. Moreover, there is an absence of significant attention to theory in the selection of measures.

> "The necessity for focusing on behavior is made even more salient by Gaertner (1976) who reviewed nonreactive measures in racial attitude research. He concluded that neither questionnaires nor nonreactive field experiments necessarily reveal the true attitude of aversive racists.
>
> As noted earlier in the paper, the links between theory and practice are tenuous. Practitioners do not refer to basic psychological theory in their selection design and use of race relations e/t techniques. Researchers do not have race relations practitioners in mind for the eventual application of their theories in research" (Hayles, 1977, p. 10).

Naturally, there is no way that the problems with assessment can be corrected overnight. However, there does exist in psychology and in related behavioral disciplines a wide variety of emerging technologies which may have major importance for future developments in the area of human behavioral research. These include but are not limited to such tools as biofeedback, ethnography, and socio-linguistics.

It may be that the traditional conceptual barriers among academic disciplines and the effects of racism in the historical development of these disciplines in our own country are as responsible for the slow degree of progress in the development of sophisticated approaches to the assessment of racist behavior as any other major factors (Barzun, 1965; Kamin, 1974; Stanton, 1960; Thomas and Sillen, 1972; Weinreich, 1946).

Toward a Paradigm for the Study of Behavioral Change

At one point during the study we were asked why a small organization such as the Urban Institute for Human Services, Inc. on a small research project would have any possibility of contributing to the development of a successful approach to this problem, given the magnitude of difficulties in the field of behavioral assessment. On the one hand, such a question reflects appropriately the recognition of the complexity of the problem of improving behavioral assessment. At the same time, the question may reflect a tendency to overlook the fact that the standard

approaches in certain sciences may be the chief cause of the lack of creative progress. Thomas Kuhn has demonstrated the nature of the basic problems which we believe to be impediments to a more sophisticated development of behavioral assessment, in particular the behavioral assessment of racism. Thomas Kuhn's study of the history of science includes an incisive examination of the function of paradigms among scientists.

> The study of paradigms, including many that are far more specialized than those named illustratively above, is what mainly prepares the student for membership in the particular scientific community with which he will later practice. Because he there joins men who learn the bases of their field from the same concrete models, his subsequent tactics will seldom evoke overt disagreement over fundamentals. Men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards for scientific practice (Kuhn, 1970, pp. 10-11).

In addition to noting the place of paradigms in the study of science, Kuhn also notes the place of paradigms in the practice of science, suggesting that the commitment to generally accepted paradigms by many scientists may lead to little creativity at all.

> Few people who are not actually practitioners of a mature science realize how much mop-up work of this sort a paradigm leaves to be done or quite how fascinating such work can prove in the execution, and these points need to be understood. Mopping up operations are what engage most scientists throughout their careers. They constitute what I am here calling normal science. Closely examined, whether historically or in the contemporary laboratory, that enterprise seems an attempt to force nature into the pre-formed and relatively inflexible box that the paradigm supplies. No part of the aim of normal science is to call for new phenomena; indeed, those that will not fit into the box are not seen at all.

> Nor do scientists normally aim to invent new theories, and they are often intolerant of those invented by others. Instead, normal-scientific research is directed to the articulation of those phenomena and theories that the paradigm already supplies (Kuhn, 1970, p. 25).

First, Kuhn has spoken of paradigms as having a function of professional socialization. Later, he speaks of the use of paradigms as the basic occupation of most scientists. We have here the vision of scientists being hemmed in by their tools. However, Kuhn speaks of another problem which may be much larger than the first two cited above.

> We have already seen, however, that one of the things a scientific community acquires with a paradigm is a criterion for choosing problems that, while the paradigm is taken for granted, can be assumed to have solutions. To a great extent, these are the only problems that the community will admit as scientific or will encourage its members to undertake. Other problems including many that had previously been standard are rejected as being metiphysical, as the concern of another discipline, or sometimes as just too problemmatic to be worth the time. A paradigm can, for that matter, even isulate the community from those socially important problems that are reducable to the puzzle form, because they cannot be stated in terms of the conceptual and instrumental tools that paradigms supplies. Such problems can be a distraction, a lesson brilliantly illustrated by several facets of 17th-Century Baconianism and by some of the contemporary social sciences. One of the reasons why normal science seems to progress so rapidly is that its practitioners concentrate on problems that only their own lack of ingenuity should keep them from solving (Kuhn, 1970, p. 37).

Finally, Kuhn gives several illustrations to show that his examples are not merely matters of theory. He gives examples of

the practical consequences of a slavish adherence to popular paradigms and normal science.

> The history of astronomy provides many other examples of paradigm induced changes in scientific perception ... Can it conceivably be an accident, for example, that Western astronomers first saw change in the previously immutable heavens during the half century after Coprinicus' new paradigm was first proposed? The Chinese whose cosmological beliefs did not preclude celestial change had recorded the appearance of many new stars in the heavens at a much earlier data. Also, even without the aid of a telescope, the Chinese had systematically recorded the appearance of sun spots centuries before these were seen by Galileo and his contemporaries. Nor were sun spots and a new star the only examples of celestial change to emerge in the heavens of Western astronomy immediately after Coprinicus. Using traditional instruments, some as simple as a piece of thread, late 16th Century astronomers repeatedly discovered that comets wandered at will through the space previously reserved for the immutable planets and stars. The very ease with which astronomers saw new things when looking at old objects with old instruments makes us wish to say that, after Coprinicus, astronmers lived in a different world . . . (Kuhn, 1970, pp. 116-117).

It can be seen in this and other examples, that <u>basic innovations in science frequently have come as a consequence of nothing more than a change in basic assumptions by researchers or by the admission of previously ignored or excluded categories of information</u>. Researchers may be forgiven strong disagreements over the meaning of data from a given piece of research. However, it should be regarded as the height of poor science when they refuse to engage particular questions, or when they choose to ignore questions for which some answer should be given.

Naturally, we would not be so immodest as to presume ourselves to be the initiators of a "scientific revolution" or even a scientific mini-revolution. However, since the beginning of our research, and throughout the conduct of that research, our ideas about several important things have been corroborated by data. For example, certain questionable basic assumptions are widely held in American behavioral science. Again, it may be an unthinking acceptance of and commitment to these assumptions, rather than the absence of technical skill among our scholars, which prevents more rapid progress in the development of appropriate sophisticated approaches to the assessment of human behavior. Among the assumptions are the following:

1. There is the implicit assumption that units of human behavior can be examined meaningfully in isolation from major variables which have an impact upon the behavior which is being examined. A classic example of this orientation can be found in the approach of many researchers to the measurement of "intelligence". For the better part of this century, there has been widespread acceptance of the notion that scores on I.Q. tests and "school achievement" are highly correlated. Study after study in the literature has verified this finding. As far as acceptable psychological procedures were concerned, the studies were usually conformed remarkably well to good research criteria. However, a consistently overlooked major source of variation, which should have been obvious to any systematic observer of school programs, was the variation in the actual instruction or "school experience" which people receive! (Rist, 1973). It is incredible that so few researchers thought to control for the quality of the school experience when conducting research concerning the relationship of I.Q. test scores to measures of "school success", especially since they have usually controlled for "everything but the kitchen sink". The practical importance of

controlling for this variable has been illustrated in the outstanding work of Dr. Renee Fuller (197). Dr. Fuller's research showed that when equivalent instruction is given to the sample group, the highly touted and widely reported correlation between I.Q. test scores and school success reduces virtually to zero. Dr. Fuller's work, first reported to the American Psychological Association in the late 60's, has been replicated since that time with basically the same results. The major difference between Dr. Fuller's work and that wide body of accepted scholarship which finds a high relationship between intelligence test scores and school success is that Dr. Fuller did control for instructional quality where other researchers did not. In the older studies, the implicit assumption was that there were no variations in the "treatments" which people received in "school". This may be due to the very common conceptualizations of behavioral research problems so that one or two variables are examined for change or that Blacks and Whites, or other "minorities" have a universal experience in America.

2. A second assumption which is common to much behavioral research is that complex human behavior can be studied using the tools and/or perspectives of a single discipline or even a single part of a given discipline. For example, even though the nature of a human problem under study by a psychologist may call for participant observation or ethnography as research techniques, since those techniques tend to fall outside the domain of "psychology", the techniques will be used infrequently by trained psychologists, if at all. The same kind of thing is true among other behavioral scientists. Even more troublesome is the fact that the opportunity for collaboration on a given problem by professionals representing a variety of discipline is seldom seized. Consequently, behavioral problems are frequently predefined by investigators as fitting the paradigms which were taught to them when they received their graduate training in professional school.

We see the myopia of researchers most clearly in the cases where the researcher is from one culture and the subjects are from one or more different cultures. Since large numbers of certain segments of the American behavioral science research

community have shown little disposition to recognize the existence of cultural uniqueness among groups, or in the rare cases where culture is recognized, to see all cultures as equivalent variations of basic human processes, real progress in behavioral science is impeded.

> "On the other hand, to the observer who doesn't know there is another system, a strange high-context culture can be completely mystifying, Why? The force of his own cultural stereotypes will be so strong that it will distort what he sees; he will delude himself that he knows what is going on before his eyes. This, of course, is a most dangerous and risky situation and one that unfortunately is all too common" (Hall, 1977).

It is our belief that it is both possible and necessary now to take major steps toward a synthesis of behavioral assessment approaches and a more comprehensive perspective on behavioral development and change. We believe that the power of this approach can be demonstrated, even in a small pilot research study such as this one.

Those who do training in "race relations", may be expected to have a natural interest in research on behavioral change. Although our research involves the utilization of a race relations training slide tape presentation on the subject of African and African diasporan history, our focus is not upon the training or the history at all. However, since we have had much informal evidence that this particular slide tape presentation does have a major impact on a wide variety of individuals and groups, it was selected as a vehicle to

generate rich behavioral responses. This then would create the opportunity for systematic observations of behaviors and to apply the Paradigm on Racist Belief-Behavior which was generated by other phases of our research.

Finally, success in the identification of behavioral criteria for the study of behavioral change for racist behavior is relevant to approaches to the development of behavioral criteria for any domain which may be of interest to the researcher.

"It has been demonstrated that without a philosophical directive no progress can be made in scientific investigation, whatever its nature. If this scientific philosophy is still 'a posteriori', today there is nothing to prevent the fact--and mathematically thought allows it to be foreseen--that one day it may be experimentation that becomes 'a posteriori', obeying the directive of a thought that has solved the problems."

R. A. Schwaller deLubicz
Symbol and the Symbolic

CHAPTER II

Review of Literature

The Special Problems in the Study of Racism

When it comes to the study of racism, scholars in the United States are in a particularly difficult situation. The theories, models, tools and orientations of scholarship have themselves been contaminated by racism (Chase, 1977; Kamin, 1974; Pierce, 1974 ; Stanton, 1960; Thomas and Sillen, 1972 ; Weinreich, 1949). The easiest way to understand the importance of this notion is to imagine oneself as a behavioral scientist in South Africa. It should be clear that in that country, freedom of inquiry in matters pertaining to race is all but non-existent. At the same time, much of the scholarship in behavioral science in general, which comes from South Africa, operates to rationalize the social order of apartheid. Leon Kamin's patient examination of the classical psychological "evidence" in the arguments on the inheritance of intelligence has shown the egree to which brute prejudice has contaminated scholarship in the area of assessment in America. To this very day the I.Q. test and the way we have come to think about the very construct of intelligence is the symbol of that prejudice (Houts, 1978). The implications of Leon Kamin's (1974) and Renee Fuller's (1978) work for this issue is that the I.Q. test is not only an instrument which displays cultural bias, it is unscientific inquiry dressed in the trappings of science. The aggregation of responses to incomparable items

is a violation of one of the most elementary principles of science. Racism may be rationalized easily by careless and inappropriate science, especially when we consider the culturally sanctioned foundation which is required if racism is to exist. Since any "science" is also "culture", it is "contaminated" by major cultural modalities. The consequences of unconscious or conscious racism in science, humanities, religion, or any other aspect of human behavior can be easily discerned.

Phillip Mason (1962) has examined Shakespeare's Prospero as the prototype of the European colonial perception of people who they had colonized.

> Have we, the British, lived for the last two centuries in an unreal world, projecting our own image onto the peoples we have ruled, seeing in them Calibans who practiced the vices we most dislike in ourselves, obedient Ariels who must be reminded to be grateful, mirandas who gaze with parted lips at the wonders we reveal and who must never express an opinion of their own? Is that all? Or is there something more to it than that? (p. 97).

Even though racism and its consequences can be easily seen and studied, both are seldom confronted in the scientific literature and yet the concept of "race" is used constantly. With the recognition of the defense mechanism "projection" among racists in a culture and among scientists within that culture, and with the recognition that a concept (race) which is commonly held and utilized by laymen and scientists alike has no specific content, then we should be prepared for the same kind of racist bias in the perception and study of racism.

In fact, we may expect even more distortion and projection in the study of racism, in view of its sensitivity as a topic and the status of observers.

Literature on Racism

The phenomenon of racism has been defined, analyzed and interpreted from a variety of perspectives, disciplines and approaches. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is little agreement in the literature on either the definition of racism or explanations for how it functions. In his review of studies on the etiology of racism, Allport (1958) categorized the literature into the following approaches. These are studies which focus on one or more of the following:

The stimulus object

Phenomenology

Personality

The situation

Socio-cultural elements

The history

It can be seen from this alone, that a focus on any one "cause" of racism would leave out other "causes" that may be equally likely.

In general, among the social sciences, the existence and persistence of racism has been explained primarily from the following two perspectives:

1. The social psychological - this perspective views racism as a function of pathological personality traits (Adorno, et al., 1950) or as irrational perceptions or attitudes, such as stereotypes (Simpson and Yinger, 1972). The social psychological perspective sees racism as a manifestation of an individual's attitudes, values, and beliefs.
2. The sociological - this perspective describes racism as a utilitarian function of the American social organization and structure. The difference between these two perspectives is one of causality and or causal sequence. The question is: Do racist attitudes create a type of social structure? Or does the social structure create racial attitudes? In other words, is the origin of racism ideological or structural?

Different forms of racism have been identified by other authors. Wellman (1977) specified three forms or levels of racism.

1. The personal (psychological level)
2. The ideological, i.e., belief system (socio-cultural level)
3. The institutional (sociological level)

In addition, individual racism has been divided into three major components.

1. The cognitive
2. The emotive or attitudinal
3. The prescriptive or behavioral

However, the majority of studies have focused only on the first two components.

Racism has tended to be defined in terms of the writer's particular orientation or professional training. For example, Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) defined racism in political terms.

> "Racism is the predication of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group."

Hernton (1966) emphasizes the sexual connotations of racism. However, Simpson and Yinger (1965) describe racism as a psychological dynamic (i.e., an emotional rigid attitude toward a group of people that involves prejudgement and misjudgement). Hodge, et al., 1975, focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of racism, whereas Apostle (1975) and Wellman (1977) view racism from a sociological viewpoint.

Wellman (1977) provides insight into the origin of racism by defining it as a strategy for the maintenance of privilege. He states that racist thinking, regardless of the guise used for its expression, has certain basic elements. They are:

1. <u>Racism has to be justified</u> since it contradicts publicly espoused ideals and orientations. It is an ascribed rather than an achieved inequality.

2. Racist thinking is dynamic in that the justifications change as new realities and issues emerge.
3. The reason for racial inequality is attributed to the victim. Whether the victim's inferiority is perceived as genetic, cultural, historical or psychological.

In the slide tape presentation which was developed by Hilliard (1978) A Return to the Source: the African Origin of Civilization. Racism is defined as a mental illness. The definition of racism as a mental illness was developed as a consequence of his observations of racist behavior, his studies of the reflections of racist behavior and scholarship, and his informal observations of responses by audiences to documented materials on African history. This mental illness of racism is said to have five symptoms. The slide-tape show was designed to provide concrete examples of these symptoms.

1. Perceptual distortion - looking at something but not seeing it clearly.
2. Denial of reality - looking at something but denying that its there.
3. Delusions of grandeur - believing ones own group is superior to all others (i.e., White Supremacy)
4. Projection of blame - blaming the victim
5. Phobic reactions to differences - fear of anyone or anything that is different.

Each of these symptoms refers to a cluster of behaviors. These behaviors have also been identified by other writers. Perceptual Distortion (Borgatta and Meyer, 1959), (Burger and Luckman, 1967), (Fanon, 1967), (Frederickson, 1971), (Messinger et al., 1962); Denial of Reality (Blood, 1970), (Edwards, 1940), (Grier and Cobbs, 1968), (Katz and Braly, 1935), (Pierce, 1974), (Triandis and Vassilow, 1967); Delusions of grandeur (Brown, 1965), (Campbell & LeVine, 1950), (Christie and Jahoda, 1954), (Collins, 1970), (Freud, 1959); Projection of Blame (Cutright, 1974), (Heider, 1958), (Littman, 1963), (Magel and Brandt, 1965), (Moynihan, 1965), and (Thomas, 1973). (In the previous references are included authors who identify projection of blame as oppressive behavior as well as authors who provide examples of the projection of blame.) Phobic Reactions to Differences (Bastide, 1968 in Franklin), (Burgman & Burgman, 1969), (Diop, 1976), (Fanon, 1965), (Fanon, 1967), (Franklin, 1968), (Memmi, 1965), and (Welsing, 1970)

In the review of literature we found a considerably large body of work on "ethnocentrism" which relates to some of the symptoms of racism indicated above. In the 1940's, a group of researchers at the University of California, Berkeley carried out indepth theoretical and empirical investigations of the dynamics of anti-semitism. Their theoretical focus gradually shifted toward the identification of "prejudice" toward all out groups and to feeling that one's own race was superior to others as the major features of what they chose to call "ethnocentrism".

These researchers also concluded that ethnocentric attitudes tell far more about the people who hold such attitudes than they do about the out groups who are being stigmatized. This supports Hilliard's position which includes projection as a symptom of racist behavior. In 1950, Adorno, Frenkle-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford developed a concept of a type of personality which they labeled the "authoritarian personality". The characteristics of this personality were:

a. anti-democratic tendencies

b. generalized loyalty to the in-group

c. rejection of the out-group (In our model, a type of Denial)

d. rigidity and rationalization (In our model, a type of Perceptual Distortion)

We have found that the idea of legitimation is basic to our model of racist belief-behavior. We see that racism may involve moves to legitimize or delegitimize others in both the racist and the victim. Legitimation has been discussed in detail by Kelman and has been further interpreted by Cedric X. Kelman (1970) emphasizes the psychological importance of legitimacy. The concept of legitimacy has no meaning apart from the individuals who perceive it and the groups who share the norms that define it. Cedric X agrees with Kelman's views on the importance of values, and how conformity to values determines the scope and depth of perceived legitimacy. Along with values, Kelman notes also that the procedures which authorities utilize in exercising

their control over others are important in maintaining a legitimation base. Kelman identifies three processes which generate perceived legitimacy within system members.

1. Sharing of system values
2. Participation in system roles
3. Adherence to authoritarian norms

These three processes can be engaged in by any or all members but it is usually the case that one or another process predominate for any given individual. That is to say, according to Kelman, individuals generally have a preferred mode of communicating legitimacy to a particular system.

1. They internalize the values of the system.
2. They participate in and identify with the system--define set of rights and duties.
3. They comply with the norms of a system.

Kelman posits two distinct sources of legitimacy. First, sentimental attachment, and second, instrumental attachment. The former source is defined in terms of the system's ability to meet specific needs and interests. Kelman claims the system loses legit macy in the eyes of its members to the extent that one or both of these sources is missing. When legitimacy accrues to a given group at the expense of another group based solely on color, then we have the description of a racist society.

Kenneth Boulding (1966), indicates that social and psychological systems grow or deteriorate in accordance with the nature and degree of legitimacy input into the system. Legitimacy is defined by Boulding in terms of input which "energize" the system enabling it to function. Among these energizing inputs are expressions of sentiment.

Kelman (1972) makes the point that while the concept of legitimacy generally is applied to the political system, it may be equally applicable to any social system especially in the context of the scientific investigator's role vis a vis the subject he studies. However, we have found that the principles of legitimation theory correspond to patterns which we have encountered in our research. These patterns help to explain and organize the behavioral criteria which we have identified.

We see racism as a justification or legitimation process which, for the purposes of this project, will be defined as follows:

> Racism is a culturally-sanctioned belief system operating within the individual psyche and institutional structures of a society which legitimizes the domination and control by one group over other groups based on selected differences in physical characteristics, primarily differences in skin color.

The absence of clear definitions of racism and common criteria for describing racism have handicapped the study of racism as well as communication about racism. For example,

the study of racism in historical perspective offers the possibility for a better understanding of this phenomena. And yet, in order to accomplish this, a clear definition of racism with clearly articulated criteria for evaluating racist behavior becomes necessary. The literature on racism shows that, for the most part, studies are ahistorical, that they tend to focus on the victims of racism, that they tend to be atheoretical, they tend to be apolitical, and above all, they tend to be atomistic. We believe that no claim that a study is "scientific" can be made, when the data from these categories are missing.

Attitude Assessment as Behavioral Criteria (Direct)

In view of the state of the art in paper and pencil tests, and in view of the narrow range of the behavioral spectrum tapped by them, it was our intent to use as few paper and pencil measures as possible, and instead to rely heavily on observations that arise out of conceptualization from legitimization theory (Boulding, 1956; Cedric X, 1971; Mbiti, 1970; Nobles, 1972), Sociometrics (Moreno, 1961) and Symbolic Interaction (Coolev, Mead, Shinbutani, 1964). However, the decision was made to use two pencil and paper items in order to administer a pre- and post-measure of "racial attitudes" of pilot-study participants.

Thus, a review of the literature was conducted to find the least objectional attitude scale that would tap dimensions which would, in our judgement, be closest to indicators of racism.

(In other words, the researchers were forced with taking the lessor of several evils, i.e., the Bogardus Social Distance Scale was outdated, other scales were too obvious and simplistic.) Thus, it was found that the number of actual scales collected in the important area of race-related attitudes falls short of our original expectations. Most of the work has been done with single item questions asked by pollsters, such as Gallup and Harris (See, for example, Brink and Harris, 1967). Trends on these questions through 1963 have been well summarized by Schwartz (1966), who found, for example, that attitudes toward Blacks have become more favorable over the last twenty-five years. This favorable trend was most marked on survey questions dealing with normative matters such as equal job opportunity, somewhat less on items pertaining to Black characteristics such as intelligence, and least on inquiries on current social issues like open housing. We see all of these measurement attempts as dealing with racism in the most superficial way.

The following scales constitute most of the attitude measures found in this area. They are listed in approximate order of merit (Shaw and Wright, 1967).

1. Prejudice and Rationality (Schuman and Harding, 1964).
2. Identification with the Underdog (Schuman and Harding, 1963).
3. Pro-integration Scale (Sheatsley, 1966).

4. Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (Woodmansee and Cook, 1967).
5. Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1956).
6. Ethnocentrism Scale (Adorno et al., 1950).
7. Racial Stereotype Index (Matthews and Prothro, 1966).
8. Race Identification Index (Matthews and Prothro, 1966).
9. Community Race Relations Ratings (Matthews and Prothro, 1966).
10. Dimensional Attitudes toward Negroes (Wrightsman, 1962).
11. Prejudice toward Negroes (Westie, 1953).
12. Paired Direct and Projective Questionnaires (Getzels and Walsh, 1958).
13. Attitude toward the Negro (Hinckley, 1932).

The first two scales by Schuman and Harding were noted both for their methodological construction and for the substantive findings resulting from their application. Both scales show considerable concern with evidence of reliability and validity that is not often seen in the literature. The two measures also depart in refreshing ways from the familiar agree-disagree, Likert-type, or other rating scale item formats which are so susceptible to contamination from agreement response set. The difference in item format has resulted in scale reliabilities which may seem low (especially for the Reactions Scale) in comparison with conventional scale reliabilities. In terms

of sensitivity to behavioral change, some interesting findings have emerged. The Rationality Scale indicated that while people in a Boston sample did have "irrational" attitudes about race and ethnic relations, they tended to have many more irrational notions that are favorable to minority groups than are unfavorable. The Reaction Scale demonstrates that women are no more "sympathetic" to the underdog than are men, and that least feeling of sympathy was evident among the lower educated and elderly segments of the sample. Therefore, it appeared that these instruments might be usable for our study.

The scale by Sheatsley reportedly has an advantage over the Schuman-Harding measures in having been applied to a national cross-sectional sample of white Americans. The eight items in the scale are simple and straightforward and use a variety of item formats. Although the author claims the scale conforms to the Guttman scalogram pattern, he does not indicate the quantitative extent of such conformity. Direct evidence of validity is missing, although the scale does intercorrelate highly with other attitude measures and also shows Southerners to be much less oriented toward integration than respondents from other regions. Sheatsley's article (1966) also contains a valuable and up-to-date review of trends in White attitudes toward Blacks.

The Woodmansee and Cook Inventory separates attitudes toward Blacks into ten factors. Although the authors treat these factors as ten independent dimensions (and six of the ten scales do show high internal consistency), almost all of the scales intercorrelate significantly, if not strongly. This means that the Inventory may be more unidimensional than multidimensional, despite the fact that the scales were constructed from a multidimensional analysis. Nevertheless, the authors present solid evidence for the essential validity of each of the scales. The Inventory has yet to be applied to cross-section samples of the public; it would appear that many of the items might be inappropriate for such purposes.

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale is one of the oldest measures of social research, it was found to be completely outdated and irrelevant in terms of the wordings of questions used, however, using the assumptions behind the Bogardus test. The researchers constructed one of these on to be pilot tested on subjects in the Race-Relations Source-Interaction test groups. The scale is concerned with social distance that a respondent perceives between himself, Blacks, and other groups. However, cross-sectional samples need to be collected on this instrument to see if it has the unidimensional properties of a Guttman scale as has often been assumed. Despite the possibility and some research already indicating such, there has been recent evidence that the concept of "social distance" has multidimensional properties in some contexts (Triandis and Triandis, 1967).

Further work needs to be done to ascertain what dimensional properties the scale assumes in a variety of research situations.

The Ethnocentrism or E Scale which emerged from the study of "the authoritarian personality" is reported to be one of the best known and most widely used measures in social science research. Its intent is to tap attitudes toward Blacks and other minority groups, especially the imagery and stereotypes associated with such groups. One of the main problems of the scale is its possible contamination by agreement response set. This problem and many other points about the scale are mentioned in Hyman and Sheatsley's excellent methodological critique (1954) which is recommended reading for researchers contemplating the use of this measure. Evidence for the internal reliability and validity of the scale is adequate (although bias from response set enters here as well), but evidence of test-retest reliability and external validity is lacking. On the whole, however, the general consensus after an exclusive literature review is that the scale remains quite relevant for social research.

It was reported that the next three scales were used in Matthews and Prothro's study of Southern people. It appears that the data published on these scales refer only to Southern Blacks, although both Whites and Blacks were interviewed. The Racial Stereotype Index, one of the most popular, was subsequently found to discriminate between participating and non-participating Blacks in the 1967 Detroit riots. Matthews and Prothro also

reported some important findings with this Racial Stereotype Scale. However, standard reliability and validity data wasn't presented by the authors. The same is true of the other two scales reviewed here, the Racial Identification Scale and the Community Race Relations Ratings. The Identification Scale is directly comparable to the questions asked in the Survey Research Center's 1956 and 1960 election studies; the race relations ratings employed the self-anchoring scale technique. All three scales are probably of interest more for the data results obtained from their use than for their psychometric characteristics.

The Wrightman Scale like the Matthews-Prothro measures, is distinguished less by its contribution to the attitude scale literature than by the nature of the results obtained. Wrightsman's major conclusion was that prejudice was composed of at least two components: cognitive and affective. This finding agrees with the earlier research of Schuman and Harding. In further work on the subject, Wrightsman, together with Cook (1965), conducted a most comprehensive methodological study in racial attitudes (using, unfortunately, only female Southern college students as a sample). A total of seventy-eight attitude scales were administered to each subject and then factor-analyzed. Of the eleven factors that emerged, only one, "the positive attitude toward people" factor, successfully predicted lower prejudice over time.

The Getzels-Walsh and Westie scales used by Wrightsman to measure "cognitive" and "affective" dimensions of prejudice may also be of interest. The Westie measure is based on the respondent's differential reactions to Black and Whites in the same occupation, while the Getzels-Walsh instrument is a projective sentence completion task. The Westie scale is composed of four subscales (residential, position, physical, and interpersonal), all of which have fairly high test-retest reliability. Although the results obtained from the scale are interesting, direct evidence bearing on its validity is missing. Only data bearing indirectly on the reliability and validity of the Getzels-Walsh measure is presented, but the technique used in the scale could be valuable for the investigator interested in direct ways of measuring prejudice.

The last scale reviewed is by Hinckley and has been in existence about as long as Bogardus' scale. It is concerned with feelings of Black racial inferiority and attitudes on civil rights for the Black. The scale's most noteworthy use has been as a foil for the Hovland-Sherif development of their notion of the assimilation-contrast phenomenon. Reliability and validity are in evidence, although the items are, of course, dated and phrased in rather quaint language. This is one of few scales in the attitude measurement literature for which parallel forms are available.

Numerous other scales dealing with race do exist in the literature, although they are mainly of historical or specialized interest. Shaw and Wright (1967) report on six of these that are not treated here. The most interesting of the six is the one used by Steckler (1957) to tap the stereotyped attitudes of Black students; this scale was found to correlate significantly with anti-white attitudes and authoritarian feelings.

Of the remaining five scales, four were constructed prior to 1941. Thurstone's attitude scale has been used far less in the literature than those of Hinckley and Bogardus, although the items do not seem as dated as those in Hinckley's scale. The same advantage is found in Rosander's measure which, laudably, introduces a behavioral component into the scale items. Likert's scale of attitudes toward Blacks, on the other hand, is extremely dated. Ford's measure is not really an attitude scale but is designed rather to describe the types of contacts (both community and personal) that the respondent has had with Blacks.

Finally, the most recent scale presented by Shaw and Wright is Kagan and Downey's Social Situation Questionnaire. This measure deals with discriminatory behavior toward Blacks in a variety of situations with three types of individuals--peers, authorities, and strangers. Although the scale was developed on a restricted teen-age sample, evidence for homogeneity and validity seemed more than adequate. Most of the scale items are restricted in use to this age group.

It is possible that Komorita's Segregation Scale (1963) may also be of interest. The available reference gave no information on reliability, validity, or item content.

Attitude Assessment as Behavioral Criteria (Indirect)

In the problem of assessing social attitudes, there is a very real need for instruments which do not destroy the natural form of the attitude in the process of describing it. There are also situations in which one would like to assess "prejudice" or racism without making respondents self-conscious or aware of the intent of the study. At the present time there are few, if any, indirect tests which could be used confidently for either of these purposes. There are, none the less, a considerable number of techniques that have been explored and validated partially. It is the purpose of this paper to survey such techniques and to present a point of view with regard to the problem of indirect measurement.

Current interest on the part of social psychologists in the indirect assessment of attitudes is perhaps primarily an aspect of the larger projective test movement in personality study. However, as will be seen, there has been an interest in this approach from the very first efforts in attitude measurement (Watson, 1925), anticipating by some ten years the current interest in "projective techniques".

The terms "indirect" and "projective" have been used to refer to both disguised, and to non-structured measurement efforts. Using these two terms alone, one could distinguish four types of tests:

1. Non-disguised-structured: the classic direct attitude tests of Thurstone and others (Thurstone, 1929; Likert, 1932).
2. Non-disguised-non-structured: the free-response interview and questionnaire approaches, the biographical and essay studies.
3. Disguised-non-structured: the typical "projective" techniques.
4. Disguised-structured: tests which approximate the objective testing of attitudes.

It is with the latter two categories that the present review is concerned, although some items that properly belong in category 2 will be included where they represent deliberate efforts at "projective" attitude testing.

While a formal division of content on these two criteria suffices, we will use a third which overlaps but does not duplicate the other two. This third criterion is that of dependence upon voluntary self-description as opposed to diagnosis based upon differential performance in an objective task. Upon this latter criterion rather than "structuredness" will rest the primary distinction between our two types of methods.

Disguised-Non-Structured Tests of Social Attitudes

In this category are included those techniques which offer the respondent opportunity for the spontaneous expression of attitudes in an ambiguous or non-structured setting. Most of these techniques are borrowed quite directly from well established clinical tools, and will be classified on that basis.

Approaches based on the Thematic Apperception Test. Though by no means the first, the indirect test most widely cited in previous surveys of the literature (Deri, Dinnerstein, Harding, & Pepitone, 1948), (McNemar, 1946), (Williams, 1947), is that of Proshansky (1943). He intermingled ambiguous pictures of labor situations with the more usual T.A.T. scenes. The pictures were presented to a group by means of slides, with each person being asked to write for two and one-half minutes on what he thought the slide represented. Slides were shown for only five seconds. Proshansky found that ratings made from the resulting descriptions correlated .77 and .67 with a direct verbal scale of attitudes toward labor. A more elaborate proposal for the use of a similar technique with attitudes toward Negroes and Jews has been made (Loeblowitz-Lennard, and Riessman, 1946), but as yet, no results are available.

Specially designed Thematic Apperception pictures have also been used by Frenkel-Brunswik, Sanford and Levinson in their extensive study of the personality correlates of prejudice (Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, 1947). In this

research the purpose was not so much to measure prejudice as to get a more dtailed and qualitiative picture of its expression. Nevertheless, the complicated interrelationships they found qualify the use of such pictures as attitude measuring instruments. For example, many prejudiced women told warmer and more sympathetic stories to a picture of a Negro mammy than they did to pictures of an elderly white woman (Frenkel-Brunswik, E., & Reichert, S. "Personality and prejudice in women", unpublished manuscript). While such a finding is consistent with personality theory, it points to the danger of an over-simplified one-to-one interpretation of such material.

Essentially identical in technique is the "Human Relations Test" developed by the staff of the College Study in Intergroup Relations (Cook, 1948). This consists of ten drawings, each portraying an ambiguous intergroup contact. For example, a crowded street-car scene and a basketball scene are used. The respondents are asked to write a short story about each scene, telling what happened, how it came about, and what will happen next. The test is available on printed cards or projection slides, and since it is being used by a number of cooperating colleges, and at a wide variety of age levels, there is some promise of a standardized test emerging.

Johnson (1949) has successfully studied the development of Anglo-Spanish attitudes in the Southwest through stories told by children to a specially designed series of pictures. He used

six carefully selected conflict situations. These were duplicated in three forms: with all Anglo characters (for use with English-American children), with all Spanish characters (for use with Spanish children), and with mixed Anglo-Spanish characters (for use with both groups). Attitudes were assessed by contrasting responses to identical situations when they involved Anglo-Spanish conflict and when depicted by their own group members only. Quantification was achieved by having two judges categorize individual responses on a number of dimensions. Reliability coefficients for six sub-groups were over 90.

The Indirect Assessment of Social Attitudes

Approaches utilizing doll play techniques. In the first explicit attempt to use a projective technique in the assessment of social attitudes, Dubin (1940) utilized toys in a fashion similar to the "play techniques" of the clinical psychologist. Using ten adult respondents, he asked them to construct on this table a dramatic scene or scenes of the world as you see it today, and later "Now make a dramatic scene or scenes of the world as you would like it to be." From report and pictures of these scenes, three judges were able to estimate answers on 21 direct attitude questions dealing with labor, the Negro, internationalism, etc. with an average rank order correlation of .49.

For use with children, Arnold Meier has developed an interviewing aid, the "What would you do?" test, which is "projective" in the present sense. Doll cut-outs including minority children are manipulated on background drawings which depict such situations as entering the home, school scenes, etc. (Cook, 1948).

Similar to these approaches is the "movie story game" developed by Evans and Chein (1948). On a miniature stage, Negro and white dolls are manipulated, with the child being asked at various points what the identified doll would say. Particular attention is paid to the patterning of segregation responses with acquaintances and with strangers. Preliminary studies indicate effective disguise and general meaningfulness for the test. Hartley and Schwartz (1948) have combined doll-play with pictorial material in the investigation of intergroup attitudes of children five to seven years of age. Montage background compositions carried characteristic symbols of Jewish religion in one case, Catholic in another, and in a third indicated typical middle class surroundings with no indication of religion. Identical family sets of dolls were placed upon these three backgrounds, and all were available for use by the child in playing out situations, such as a birthday party, school bus, meals, etc. In the preliminary report it is indicated that children identify with some accuracy the religious symbols, and that their play indicates intergroup attitudes in a meaningful way.

Many of the "projective" techniques have some of the same difficulties as the more common standardized attitude measures.

However, we believe that the reliance on "projective" data is more likely to be useful to us in our assessment approach than will be the "objective" standardized measures.

Sentence completion tests. At the Ohio State University, Shirley Wilcox Brown used a modification of Rotter's test (Rotter, 1947) in investigating attitudes toward the Negro. A 40-item schedule has been prepared, in which are imbedded some 20 sentence fragments dealing specifically with the Negro problem. Examples of relevant and neutral items are as follows:

1. I feel . . .
2. Skin color . . .
3. I hate . . .
4. Maybe . . .
5. Some lynchings . . .
6. The K.K.K. . . .
7. It seems to me that segregation . . .
15. Negro body odor . . .
37. Racial intermarriage . . .

In this test, no real effort at dissembling is made. The cooperating respondent is asked to volunteer a description of his own attitudes, with no more disguise than in the direct tests. The instructions read "Complete these sentences to express your real feelings. Try to do every one. Be sure to make a complete sentence!" Preliminary applications of the test indicate its power to discriminate between criteria groups. Scoring has been done by both coding

and rating procedures. The indications are that the test has reasonably high reliability.

Another twist to the sentence completion notion is being used in the study of personality and prejudice among school children conducted by Else Frenkel-Brunswik and Harold E. Jones (1946-1947), Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Jones, H. E. (Directors), and Rokeach, M., Jarvik, M., and Campbell, D. T. (Staff). In unpublished research on the personality correlates of anti-minority attitudes among grade school children, (a project of the University of California Institute of Child Welfare, financed by a grant from the American Jewish Committee, 1946-1947), the test avoids all mention of minority groups, but provides stereotypic statements which may be completed with names of various minority groups or others. Examples of items are:

Are there some people who are mean? WHAT PEOPLE?

It would be better if more of a certain type of people were allowed to come into the United States. WHAT PEOPLE?

Some people are poor and it is their own fault. WHAT PEOPLE?

This test has elicited mention of foreign and minority groups from about one third of the children to which it has been administered. From another third or so come one or more anti-prejudice statements. A portion of the students make no responses classifiable in either way, and are thus, not effectively evaluated. Using a net score (subtracting anti-prejudice responses from the total of prejudiced ones) corrected reliability figures run around .6 to .8 and

correlations with a highly reliable direct test are on the order of .5. The approach is most satisfactory for the comparison of groups of respondents, and for the evaluation of the relative salience and extremity of attitudes toward different minority groups. In addition, unique data on the uniformity of stereotyping are provided.

While these two sentence completion tests make a deliberate effort to achieve a projective or indirect character, they are not too different from any free-response questionnaire on attitudes. Compare, for example, Zeligs' approach in which school children were asked to "write the most interesting true sentence" they knew about each group, within a one minute limit (Zeligs, 1937).

Miscellaneous non-structured techniques. The Rosenzgeig Picture Frustration Test has also been modified for the measurement of social attitudes, a task to which it is obviously appropriate. This test requires the respondent to fill in the balloons in a series of cartoon drawings involving frustrating face-to-face intergroup contacts (Brown, 1947).

Probably belonging within the limits of our general category is the study by Fromme (Fromme, 1941). He presented to the respondents five political cartoons, each with four alternative captions, covering a wide range of pro and con opinions. The respondent was asked to pick the best caption, and this choice, plus the discussion resulting, was utilized in a qualitative analysis of attitude structure.

The procedures just discussed are all indirect and "projective" in current usage of the terms. At the risk of some oversimplification,

the assets they have in common may be emphasized and the stage set for contrasting them with the second group of procedures.

While tests such as these may be in part disguised, in that the experimenter does not tell the respondent his real purpose and may indeed substitute a false justification, their primary asset is that of securing an expression of attitudes in a more natural and spontaneous form, allowing opportunity for each individual to "project" upon a neutral screen his own integration of the problem. In contrast, the usual direct paper-and-pencil attitude test, requiring the endorsement of prepared items, may be said to force artificially the expression of attitudes into a preconceived and common mold. The great advantage of these non-structured tests is one of freedom. While some respondents may complete their assignments unaware of the experimenter's interest, in a tense situation one could hardly use any of the above devices and expect to get unconscious or uncensored expressions of attitude from uncooperative respondents. Essentially, these tests are "voluntary" in the same sense as the usual attitude tests, interest inventory, or neuroticism test. The respondent is told (either directly or in effect) that there are no right or wrong answers, and he/she is placed in a situation in which a voluntary and arbitrary performance is acceptable.

Disguised-structured tests of social attitudes differ from the ones mentioned above perhaps only in degree or in relative emphasis.

Opinion Change as Behavioral Criteria

Studies of opinion change are the source of ideas on behavioral criteria. The literature on this is extensive. It was also helpful in the design of the pilot test of behavioral criteria.

Research demonstrating that there will probably be more opinion change in the direction that is desired if one explicitly states one's conclusions than if the audience is left to draw its own conclusion. At the end of a persuasive appeal, the speaker is often left with the problem: should he present his evidence and then stop; gambling that the audience will draw the conclusions he intended them to. There is a considerable body of external evidence bearing on this question.

For example, Hovland and Mandell (1952) in their study, found that in experimenting with groups who were listening to a radio broadcast on the topic of devaluation of currency, which was presented to two groups of college students, one group heard the conclusion and one did not. Findings: the group that heard the conclusions changed their opinions in the direction desired more markedly than the group that did not hear the conclusions.

Weiss and Steenbock (1965) conducted a study that further provides support for the use of conclusions and persuasive appeals. They ask: Would subjects be more persuaded by communications that contain an explicit conclusion even when those conclusions recommended actions objectionable to the listener? Two groups of college undergraduates were asked to read a communication supporting

the need for a history of science course--a viewpoint strongly opposed by the students. One group read a form of the communication without a concluding section; a second group received the material given the first group but including the concluding section as well. A third group (control group) did not read any communication. Subjects' opinions of the value of a history of science course were assessed before and after the communications were read. Findings: For initially unfavorable subjects, the communication that presented conclusions seemed more effective in changing attitudes; that is, subjects who read the communications containing the explicit conclusions (in comparison with those who did not) displayed greater receptivity toward the idea of the history of science course.

A study by Hovland, Janis and Kelly (1953) reports that sometimes it makes little difference whether conclusions are stated or not. However, in the instances when it made little difference it was when the audience understood completely what was being presented, or if the audience was highly intelligent. For example, when the issues are simple enough for everyone to know almost immediately what opinions you were trying to get them to adopt, it is not worth worrying about the conclusions. But, however, when the communicator is not sure of the intelligence of his audience, or the ease with which they will understand his arguments, the safe procedure is to state conclusions and not just imply them.

Research suggests that pleasant forms of distraction can often increase the effectiveness of persuasive appeal. In a study by Leon Festinger and Nathan Maccoby (1964) the authors found experimental results indicating that the distracted groups was more persuaded by a speech (specifically expressing anti-fraternity attitudes) than subjects in the non-distracted groups who heard the same talk.

People have taken for granted the selling power of the "client lunch" where it is widely accepted in business circles with the assumption that a well-fed customer is a purchasing customer, which is a dictum that is adhered to by many successful salesmen.

In this same venue, Janis, Kaye and Kirschner (1965) experimented to determine empirically just how much persuasive power there really was in the technique of eating while conducting business. The experiment they conducted was designed to determine whether the effectiveness of persuasive appeal could be increased if it was read while eating (even when the food donor was not the source of communication and did not endorse it). They naturally had a control group, a group that was not given food while hearing the same subject matter. The result of both investigations provided empirical support for the salesman folklore concerning "client lunch". In the first experiment, differences between the food and no-food conditions were clearcut; subjects who were given food with their talk were more persuaded more readily than those who were not given food.

Research findings have shown that the impact of a persuasive appeal is enhanced by requiring active rather than passive participation by the listener. Watts, W. in his study relative to persistence of opinion change induced by active compared to passive participation reported that active participation was clearly superior to passive in terms of initiating long-term opinion change.

Wicklund, R., Cooper and Linder reported also that active participation was superior to passive. They reported this in their study "Effects of Expected Effort on Attitude Change Prior to Exposure" in the Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 1967, 3, pp. 416-428.

From a review of their literature, it appears that evidence is overwhelmingly supportive of the active versus passive participation in enhancing the power or persuasive appeal. In summary, to give an idea of how pervasive this principle seems to be in attitude change, here are a few sample findings from diverse experimental context:

1. Role playing as a form of active participation is more effective than passive participation (listening) to a role player's persuasive argument or hearing a tape recording of a role playing session in changing attitudes (Elms, 1966; Janis and Mann, 1965).

2. Active participation in the form of group discussion is often more effective than passive participation (hearing lectures or reading appeals) in changing attitudes (Hereford, 1973; Lewin, 1953).

3. Several industrial studies indicate that worker productivity and satisfaction increased when employees become actively involved with management and fellow workers in a cooperative production enterprise. (The classic study in this area is Roethlisberger and Dixon, 1939.)

4. Active participation in large "T groups" for "sensitivity training" leads to marked behavior modification (Ruben, 1967).

5. A person who actively rather than passively learns about a situation often changes his attitude about that situation. Visitors who took guided tours through a state school for mental defectives changed their opinions about the patients and institutions (Kimball and Luckey, 1964). Also, children who studied Spanish had more positive attitudes toward Spanish-speaking people than children lacking such education (Riestra and Johnson, 1964).

6. The effectiveness of the persuasive appeal is increased when exposure to the communication depends on an effortful action (Zimbardo, 1965).

7. When individuals expect to exert more effort to hear a persuasive communication, they change their opinion in the direction suggested by that communication (Wicklund, Cooper and Linder, 1967).

Studies show that arguments presented at the beginning or at the end of the communication will be remembered better than arguments presented in the middle. Tannebaum, 1954, found in his study that the position of the item in the broadcasts determined how well it was remembered. Recall was better at either the beginning or at the end of the newscast rather than in the middle.

Shaw, 1961, indicates also in his studies that communications can influence acts of behavior if given at the beginning and end rather than in the middle.

Successful persuasion takes into account the reasons for underlying attitudes as well as the attitudes themselves. Studies show that because much of our behavior can be related to our attitudes; attitudes themselves are sometimes mistaken for the

fundamental causes of behavior. Some remarks of social scientists in this regard are worth summarizing (Katz, 1970; Arnoff and Katz, 1964). Identical attitudes may have different motivational bases. Successful propaganda comes from knowing what is behind the attitudes.

Studies may be summarized by giving three reasons why a man may have a particular set of attitudes, in the following ways:

Factual. The attitudes help give meaning to many otherwise unrelated bits of information. These attitudes should be especially susceptible to change, exposing the individual to new facts so that he can see things in a different light.

Social. Having these attitudes makes it possible for a man to feel himself acceptable to the group of people with whom he wants to associate. He may never actually be a part of these desirable groups, but he feels close to them by having something in common with them; buying a certain brand of whiskey is a link that a man may have with men of distinction, and he may regard it as better than no link at all. Likewise, our feelings of kinship with certain social groups often underline our attitudes toward labor unions in the United States, scandal magazines, ethnic and minority groups, and so on. Attempts at changing socially derived attitudes should be most successful when they are made with reference to the acceptability of the new attitude to the groups that are important to the audience (in this case, if the groups that the UIHS group work with (N.C.O.--Non-Commissioned Officers), are told or led to believe

that certain attitudes about blacks and the knowledge of the Free Your Mind: Return to the Source presentation was readily accepted by their superior officers, we would expect more acceptance from these lower-status officers.

Personal. These attitudes provide a rationalization for an individual shortcoming and make it possible for him to fact the world and himself. The employee who craves recognition for his achievement but does not receive it often cannot admit to himself that his achievements are not worthy of recognition. It may be much more satisfying for him to believe that other people are not intelligent enough to appreciate his works, for example. This kind of attitude is ego-defensive in function.

a. A test of the hypotheses that the motivation underlying attitudes are factual, social or personal (ego-defensive), would involve being able to identify these motivations in people;

b. attempting to change some attitudes by techniques which appeal to one or more of these underlying motivations; and

c. seeing if an appeal that is geared to a specific motivation works better than an appeal that is not related to the individual's motivation.

For example, an experiment by Katz, Sarnoff and McClintoc (1956) studied attitudes towards blacks. A major hypothesis was that people's anti-black attitudes which have a personal (ego-defensive) basis can be influenced by showing that the attitudes exist to protect the personality rather than because the facts about blacks logically support such attitudes. Another side of the hypothesis is that

people whose anti-black prejudice does not have a personal (ego-defensive) basis can be influenced more readily by presenting them with factual information about blacks. Accordingly, Katz, Sarnoff and McClintoc experimented and prepared two kinds of influence material. One was for the ego-defensive group. It explains how scapegoating works, and how anti-minority attitudes are often the result of personality conflicts that have nothing to do with the attitudes themselves. This explanation was followed by a case history of a college girl who showed the connection between her prejudice and her personality. The other kind of influence material was for the non-ego defensive group: a resume of the achievements of blacks in America and how they have made good whenever opportunities were available to them.

Nearly 250 college students participated in this study. At the first session they filled out questionnaires designed to reveal their attitudes towards blacks and took some psychological tests which helped categorize the motivations underlying their attitudes as personal (ego-defensive) or factual.

For the second session, held a week later, the students were assigned to three groups, without regard to the answers they had given the previous week. One group read the material which explained the relationship between attitudes and personalities. A second group read the informational material. The third was a control group and read nothing. After exposure to their respective reading matter, the first two groups filled out the attitude questionnaires again.

The control group did likewise. Six weeks later, all three groups once more answered an Attitude Towards Blacks questionnaire.

The ego-defensive people in general did respond better to the material that attempted to help them understand themselves than to the purely informational material. But, as the experimenters had predicted, the individuals who were extremely ego-defensive did not respond well to this kind of influence attempt. The reason advanced was that for these people, who were extremely ego-defensive, the attitudes they held were so crucial to the maintenance of their personalities that some kind of psychiatric treatment would be a necessary forerunner of successful persuasion. The full study by Katz, Sarnoff and McClintoc can be found in Human Relation, 1956, Vol. 9, pp. 27-45, title: "Ego Defense and Attitude Change". Other references are found by looking at Kotler, P. and the "Journal of Marketing", 1965, Vol. 29, pp. 37-45. Also see Katz, D. in "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes" in the Public Opinion Quarterly, 1960, Vol. 24, pp. 163-204.

Some studies show that there will be more opinion change in the desired direction if the communicator has high credibility than if he has low credibility. In a recent study of source credibility by Zagona and Harter, 1966, 57 undergraduates were exposed to identical communication discussing the effects of smoking on health. One third of the subjects were told the message from the Surgeon General's report on smoking and health. This was a high-credibility source. Another third of the subjects were led to believe the passage

originated in Life Magazine (this was a moderate credibility source). The remaining 19 subjects were informed that the communication was an advertisement by the American Tobacco Company, a low-credibility source. After reading the passage on smoking, all subjects were given an 18-item test designed to see how well they remembered the message, and their attitudes toward it. The communication was better remembered when it was attributed to low- and high- rather than medium-credibility sources. As credibility of the source increased, the percentage of subjects who agreed with the information and perceived it as trustworthy also increased.

In a study by Hovland and Weiss, 1951, working with two groups of college students who were exposed to identical communications on problems and aspects of antihistamine drugs, one-half of the group was presented the materials by a person with high credibility, the other communicator was a person of low credibility. Findings: In most instances, opinion change in the direction advocated by the persuader was much greater when the persuader had high credibility than low credibility.

In a study on persuader credibility, a speech advocating lenient treatment of juvenile delinquents were heard by two groups of high school students. The students were told that the speech was a radio program for them to evaluate. Three different introductions of the same speech was tape recorded for their use on different groups, and one introduction of the speech identified as a judge in juvenile court. In another introduction (to get a neutral source), the

speaker was established as someone picked out of the studio audience. In a third introduction the speaker was also made out to be from the studio audience, but as the announcer interviewed him, it developed that the speaker had a criminal record and had himself been a juvenile delinquent. In the course of the post-experimental questionnaire, the students were asked to rate the speaker on the fairness and impartiality of his remarks. The judge was rated as having been given a fair presentation more than twice as many times as the ex-criminal. There was significantly more of the desired opinion change from the students who heard the judge than the students who heard the ex-criminal.

Sleeper Effects: Credibility of the persuader may be less of a factor in opinion change later on than immediately after exposure.

From a review of the literature, findings have shown that respect for the persuader's credibility may tend to wear off with time. For example, the people who have been exposed to low credibility sources showed more of an opinion change in the desired direction after a lapse of time than was evidenced right after exposure. The net effect was that all of the subjects showed about the same amount of opinion change after 3 or 4 weeks. The effects of source credibility tended to wash out with time. For more work on Sleeper Effects, look at the study of Hovland and Weiss "The Influence of Source Credibility on Communication Effectiveness" in the Public Opinion Quarterly, 1951, Vol. 15, pp. 635-650.

Studies in general show that the more extreme the opinion change, that the high credibility communicator asked for, the more actual change he is likely to get. Is his effectiveness reduced if, on the one hand, he asks for less than he could have achieved, or he asked for too much and alienates the listener altogether. Psychologists have debated this question heatedly for some time, due in large measure to opposing viewpoints held by the proponents of "cognitive dissonance" and "social judgement" theorists. Although the issue was still open to debate, preliminary evidence does seem to support the following principle: The more opinion change requested, the more achieved (Friedman, 1964; Whittaker, 1965; Hovland, Harvey and Sherif, 1957; Sherif and Hovland, 1961; Sherif and Sherif, 1967; Sherif, Sherif and Neberbal, 1965).

Examples of specimen studies. In a study by Hovland and Tritzker, 1957, 51 high school students were asked to fill out a 12-item questionnaire. Each item was on a different topic and was presented in the form of a statement to which the student reacted by indicating the extent of his agreement or disagreement from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". One statement, for example, was "all things considered, Washington was a greater president than Lincoln." For each statement the student also picked from a list the authority for whose opinion about the statement he would most respect. In the case of the statement about Washington and Lincoln, the authorities that the student had to pick from were teachers, historians, or parents.

A month later, the same questionnaire was administered again. The persuasion attempt was incorporated into the questionnaire itself. That is, the student found a mark in one of the answer boxes beside each question. The mark showed how the question had been answered by the authorities for whom the students had indicated high respect when they filled out the same questionnaire a month earlier. For example, if a student had chosen "historians" as a most respected source of the statement about Washington and Lincoln, then he was informed that the marked answer box beside that question reflected the view of a historian. The second questionnaire had been prepared individually for each subject based on his answers to the first questionnaire. For some questions, the opinion of the authority group was made to be very close to the opinion that the student had himself expressed the first time he filled out the questionnaire. For other questions, the authority group opinions were made to be further apart from the student's opinions. Sometimes <u>much</u> further apart. In this way, the experimenters were able to produce three degrees of discrepancy (slight, moderate and marked) between the student's original opinion and the authority opinion. A greater overall change in opinion in the expected direction was produced by a large discrepancy then by a small discrepancy between the student's opinion and the opinion of the authority group. Or, in more general terms: Communications that advocate a greater amount of change from an audience's view do, in fact, produce a greater amount of change than communications that advocate a position that is not <u>much</u> different from the position that the audience already held.

"The statistical conclusions; useful for the collectivity, is an error in terms of the individual. The group is 'a whole', a new being; its energy is new; its tendencies are different from those of the unit that constitute it. Therefore, after research on the atom, it will be necessary to return to the study of the complex (the group) in order to know the simple, since--with the rational, scientific method--the simple is impenetratable."

R. A. Schwaller deLubicz
Symbol and the Symbolic

CHAPTER III

The Assessment of Behavior:

Concepts and Paradigms

The Person: Standard and Universal or Unique

Every person goes through a process of socialization (Berger and Luckman, 1967; Clausen, 1968) and has a unique set of life experiences (Piaget, 1952). Together these things determine the receptiveness of the person to certain values, attitudes, and interpersonal skills. These things also determine the pool or repertoire of values, attitudes and interpersonal skills for each person, uniquely, which each person will bring to bear on living situations. Consequently, to the extent that "training" interventions approximate the natural socialization or life experience process, the more likely such interventions are to have an impact upon the receptiveness of individuals to new experiences--therefore, to changes in the individual's repertoire--further, the more likely the repertoire of the person can be applied to the new experiences.

Any experience has different meanings to individuals because of the uniqueness of individual world-views and repertoires.

> "Representational behaviors are not universal in form and meaning, rather they are culturally specific. A given tradition has a characteristic repertoire of words, gestures, and structural arrangements for the communication of meaning, and the meaning of these behavioral forms are culturally specific.
>
> I am implying here a rather extravagant claim that I would like to make explicit. I hold that we can use stylistic differences to systematically identify and

> predict the cognitive values and meanings that govern a member's actions if we take the trouble to be careful of stylistic features.
>
> In the past, we have lacked the sufficient data to do so but we have also shied away from generalizations like this. We tend to deny patterns. We are addicted to romantic notions about the spontaneity and originality of our actions, and we exaggerate differences between individuals. We like separate truisms such as "I am an individual".
>
> These cherished western notions about individuality can be supported by the careful misuse and misinterpretation of psychological research. We can stick strictly to subjects within our own ethnic class and institutional backgrounds. Since the forms are the same in such a sample, we can focus on differences in the styles of individuals and attribute these to idiosyncratic experiences, genetic differences and the like. We, thus, systematically avoid learning about other cultures and other institutions, so we do not see differences that are incidental to tradition. In fact, we classify any differences incident to culture as deviances or corruptions in learning" (Scheflen, 1974: 45 and 105-106).

Culture and Assessment: Surface and Deep Structure

One reason for the lack of value, or the lack of high validity for many paper and pencil tests of such things as attitude, intelligence and personality is that we treat surface behavior as if it corresponded directly to the "deep structure" of human behavior. Deep structure refers to the basic rules, processes or attitudes governing human behavior. Surface structure refers to the overt expression of those behavior, rules, processes, or attitudes. For example, the same behavior, laughing (surface structure) may express either happiness or anxiety (deep structure). Traditionally, surface structure behavior is the behavior tested or observed by social researchers.

The confusion between deep and surface structure is bad enough in the case of observations of individuals. However, when observations are made by members of a dominating group on members of a subordinated group, the confusion of deep and surface structure may well destroy any possibility for valid assessment especially when the groups are from different cultural backgrounds.

Historically, the pressures within the field of psychology have been in the direction of the development of uniform and standardized inquiry procedures. This has meant that a choice of a particular culture as the group of reference has been made from among the variety of cultures which exist. This was a choice of one culture whose material would be considered "normal". This creates a situation where the use of an identical assessment instrument or process causes different things to be assessed in different groups. To burlesque the problem, imagine a test to determine if subjects could perform the operation of multiplication, and imagine that this were to be given only in Sanskirt to populations which spoke only English, French, German or Spanish. Clearly, the ability to perform the operation of multiplication is independent of the existence of a common language, but if the subjects do not share a common language this ability can not be demonstrated. And yet, this simple principle seems not to be understood among most scientists who do behavioral research. Cultural variety is largely ignored.

A further problem is presented in psychological measurement. Even where the subjects share a common culture, meaning has its essence in a given context. The more abstracted from the context, the weaker becomes the possibility for both meaning and assessment.

Assessment Principles. In general we believe it important to be extremely reserved and cautious in the standardization of inquiry tools without attention to certain concepts. Chomsky (1957) in his study of language, has contributed the concept of "surface structure" and "deep structure". A standardized approach to assessment which utilizes the mechanism of aggregation of data can succeed only if the data which are aggregated are from the deep structure of human behavior. The surface structure will represent cultural variation on equivalent fundamental human behavioral themes. However, to aggregate data which comes from the surface structure ignores normal and expected human variation. Worse still, it violates a most elementary principle of scientific investigation. In order for data to be aggregated appropriately, we must consider that discrete data are counted, continuous data are measured, and that in either case, the units which are counted or measured must refer to the same basic reality. Behavioral research fails miserably most often at this very point. Therefore, any quantification can only be suggestive unless the units which are aggregated are of the same type. They must be "deep structural units".

The Eco-System and Behavioral Research

In the investigation of deep structure behavior, the concept of the eco-system is important. The eco-system is the dynamic interconnection and interdependence between all living things at a specific point in time and space which has evolved from a unique set of historical events and experiences and which is perpetually moving in a given direction toward a state of equilibrium. Therefore, in addition to deep and surface structure behavior within the individual, there are also deep and surface structural elements within the eco-system which affect individual behavior.

It is our assumption that both the subject of investigation and those who conduct investigations exist within a broad eco-system. This means that, among other things, the research question, the discipline of the researcher asking the question, and the context within which the questions are asked are situated in an "eco-system". The eco-system itself has a history, a present, a future and a rhythm. While it may not be possible at the present embryonic stage of behavioral research to develop mechanisms for handling such complexity, it is important to keep in mind the complex nature of human functioning.

Every person has a unique set of perceptions, paradigms and information, has a unique world-view, and possesses and participates in a unique culture. Within the culture, some of the dominant elements are information, language and values. These things represent the individual's repertoire for dealing with the world. Our attempt then is to understand the individual, group, and cultural repertoire

in order to influence them in positive directions.

We visualize all behavior as a part of an eco-system. We think of this ecological system as tending toward balance. We think of it as containing important elements. Some of the relevant elements are:

1. The situation - who is involved? what is going on? where is it taking place? how is the situation organized? when does the situation take place?
2. Disposition - what is the disposition of each of the participants in the situation?
3. Personality - what is the mix of personalities among the individuals in the situation?
4. Level of "racial", "ethnic", or "national" identity - how do the individuals in the situation perceive themselves and how are the different individuals perceived by others in the situation?
5. Formal organizational structure - what is the nature of organizational structure within which the person or group exists?
6. Culture - how can individuals and groups be described to account for the cultural patterns which influence their choices?

Clearly, no known investigative techniques are comprehensive enough to include systematic attention to these elements of an eco-system so described. And yet, these elements do represent important parts of the eco-system. Consequently, we must ask how can investigative

tools be designed to match the contextually situated and dynamic nature of human behavior interactions. We propose to develop a model which can accomplish the following:

1. The theoretical foundation must be one which treats "discrete" results of observations or measures as if they were "a stopped frame" as in a motion picture. We are indebted to Edward T. Hall (1977) and other investigators such as Scheflen (1974) for this postulation of ways of viewing the dynamic situations. For example, Hall speaks of "action chains". These "action chains" are observable in individuals through a variety of techniques such as the use of slow motion photography. The "action chains" represent the propensity on the part of individuals to get ready to act, to act, and to terminate an act in a characteristic sequence. Hall teaches us that we must regard the entire chain as the whole and must not think of any aspect of the sequence in isolation.
2. Observations must be made from many points of view and the many points of view on a given event or series of events must be considered simultaneously. To the greatest degree possible, observations should include historical material as well as the speculative probable future.

3. Observations must be made from a variety of domains taken simultaneously on a given event or series of events. When we spoke of points of view above we were anticipating the variation which one would normally expect among observers. Efforts to obtain observer reliability are indicative of the general recognition which most behavioral researchers give to this necessity. Less well handled, however, is recognition of the variation in domains of inquiry, i.e., academic disciplines and other informal but systematic observation areas typically concerned with human behavior. For example, on a given event or series of events we may attempt to consider simultaneously systematic treatment of verbal behavior, of para-language (body language), and sociometric material. Even so, we would be considering limited aspects of possible behaviors and limited domains among the many possible domains which could be utilized for viewing the behaviors. The choice of domains or points of view should not be arbitrary.
4. At this stage in the development of theories of behavior and assessment approaches, we propose the use of the maximum feasible emerging behavioral responses in the most natural situations possible, as contrasted with the use of pre-fabricated paper and pencil instruments, which preconceive and thereby constrict the natural range of behavior which could be considered by observers. For

example, even in a standardized testing situation much of the real "action" goes by unexamined. For example, in any test situation, whether the test be "valid" or "invalid", the act of testing

(a) sets up an authority situation,

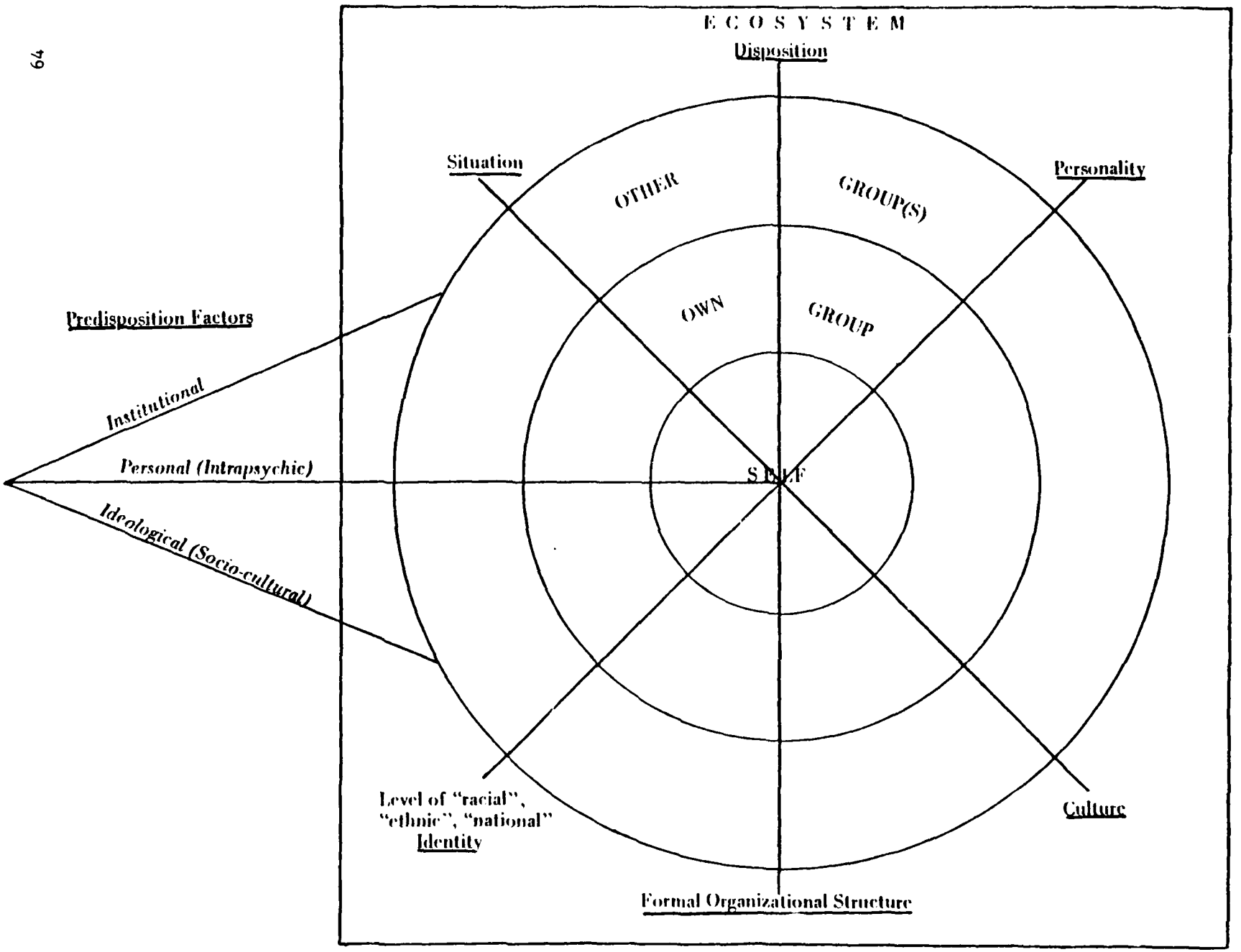
(b) rearranges the normal structure of human interactions, and

(c) disturbs the natural balance in human interaction by placing emphasis on aspects of a situation in unnatural ways.

5. It is unlikely that the possibility exists for a given researcher to be devoid of preconceptions. It is not even clear that the absence of preconception is desirable. However, the manner in which preconception is treated is critical. We believe that in the use of either systematic observations or more traditional forms of assessment, that the preconceptions should be regarded as a part of a tentative paradigm which can serve as a scheme to classify emerging behaviors.

Our eco-map of a behavioral event at a given point in time is represented in Figure 1. The event or the behavior of the person is the product of a collective set of historical experiences, some of which have had strong influences and others weak influences in both the near and distant past. At the moment of the behavioral event, we must also consider relevant contextual variables. We have shown these variables to be potential influences on the behavior of

Figure 1. GENERAL BEHAVIOR MODEL



our subjects. In observing a behavioral event, these variables occur simultaneously. In essence, our eco-map of any behavioral event at a given moment in time should be thought of as a live biological cell rather than as a static representation which paper and type require us to use.

The significance of the eco-map of a given behavioral event is that it allows us to visualize categories of variables which are of concern in an investigation of individual or group configurations. It is essential that we move toward a model which attempts to represent what we believe to be the real world of human behavior. Furthermore, it is essential that we have ways of moving easily back and forth between analysis and synthesis.

The Search for Behavioral Indicators: Potential Sources

Given our ecological systems approach to the understanding of behavior and behavioral change, certain sources of behavioral indicators, principles for information gathering procedures and approaches seem to be suggested.

Sources of behavioral indicators in the Eco-system. Without being exhaustive we can visualize a variety of sources of data on behavior in the eco-system. Among these sources are the following:

1. Paper and pencil standardized instruments.
2. Psychological reactions.
3. Language.
4. Para-language.

5. General behavior patterns.
6. Particular choice that individuals make on important matters.
7. The world view of individuals.
8. The collective world view of groups.
9. Pattern of projections.
10. Social patterns within a group.
11. The store of unique and shared information within a group.
12. The belief systems of individuals within a group.
13. The philosophical positions held by individuals within a group.

It is clear from the list that valid and reliable instrumentation is not available in most of the areas indicated above. Even in the proliferated paper and pencil test area, only certain aspects which are amenable to treatment by paper and pencil tests have been well developed. It is true that the task confronting behavioral research is highly complex. However, to retreat to the limited area of behavioral assessment which is most developed at this time while avoiding attempts to deal more comprehensively with the behavioral eco-system, is to operate like the man who lost his quarter on 15th Street but chose to look for it on 19th Avenue simply because the light was better on 19th Avenue. Although the light may be dim, it behooves us to include the best available information, and particularly, to include as much different information taken simultaneously from a research settting as possible.

Domains for the identification of behavioral indicators.

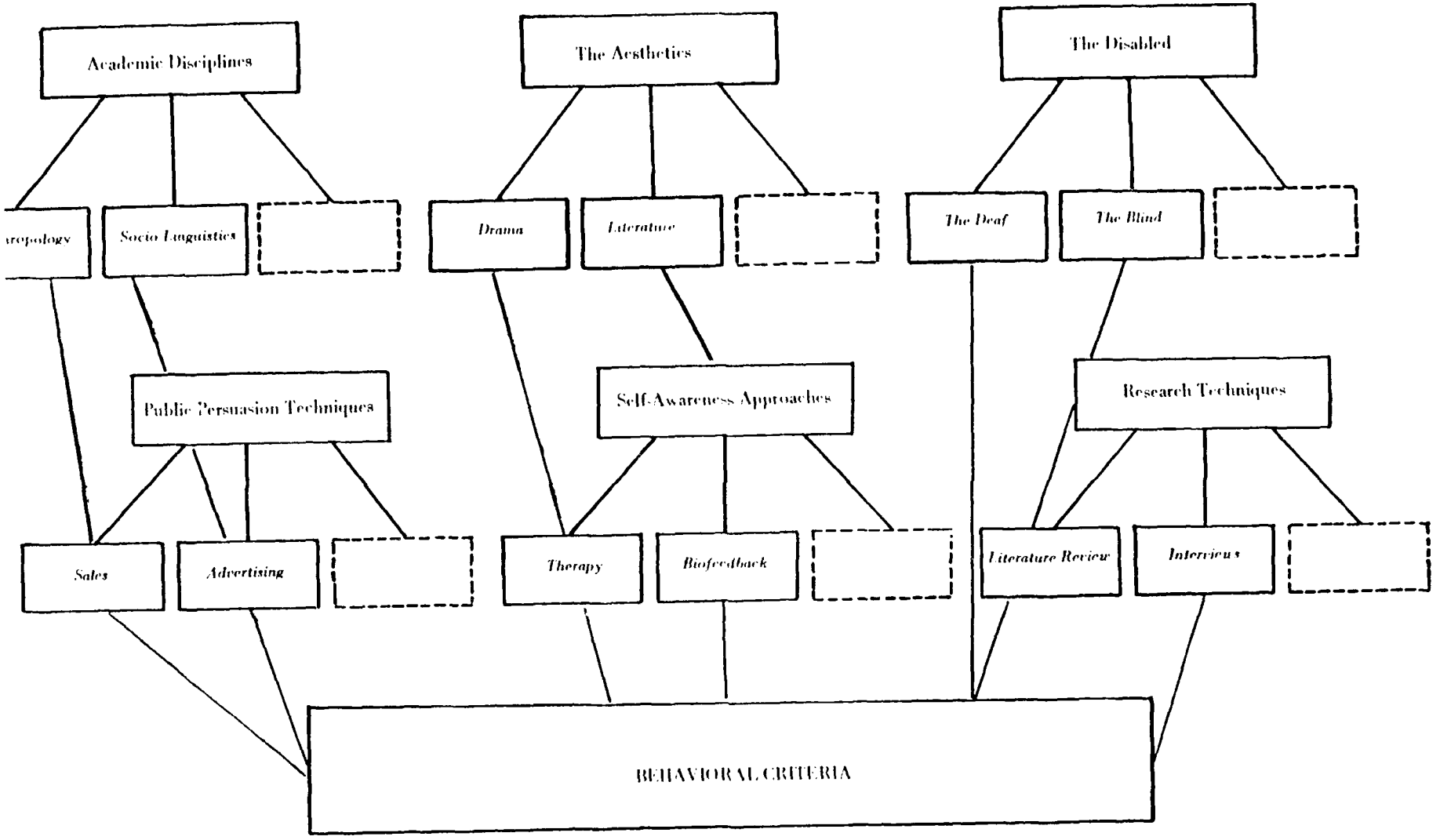
Because the "light is better" in the paper and pencil test area, researchers have been anxious to avoid the more messy, less structured domains of potential inquiry. Further, there are well developed domains of inquiry which have not been utilized, apparently because they do not enter the field of view of some traditional academic researchers in the behavioral sciences. Within each of these domains of inquiry, there are individuals whose lives and professional or vocational success depend upon the superior development of their sensitivity of human behaviors and to their influence on those behaviors. Among the sources of information about human behavior indicators are the following areas: (See Figure 2)

1. Advertisement
2. Salesmanship
3. Socio-linguistics
4. Biofeedback
5. Drama
6. Psychotherapy
7. The heightened sensitivities and perceptions of disabled people.

In each of these areas, highly developed, systematic, and valid ways of assessing the behavior of others are already in operation. Our own research has shown that each of these areas is a rich source of ideas for the identification of behavioral criteria. In particular, we found the sensitivities which have been developed by disabled people to be acute. Their insights provided guidance for our own

Figure 2

SOURCES OF BEHAVIORAL CRITERIA



formulation as well as cross validations for research which had occurred in other areas. At present, we know of no systematic and comprehensive way of gleaning from each of these areas all of the rich information which they contain.

It was out of our acceptance of the design principles indicated that we chose to design a "data rich" situation. This necessitated a number of sacrifices in experimental design principles. However, there was evidence that such a situation would produce benefits not normally associated with more traditional approaches to behavioral assessment.

"If one wishes to understand the term holy water, one should not study the properties of the water, but rather the assumptions and beliefs of the people who use it."

T. S. Szasz

CHAPTER IV

The Historical Background and Theoretical Model for the Study of Racist Belief-Behavior and Strategies for Change

Race and Domination: A Rationalization

The idea of "race" is so common that it may sometimes seem to be a part of nature itself. As indicated in our earlier review, the idea of race is very new in human history. It has only been within the past 200 years or so that this construct emerged (Benedict, 1959; Biddis, 1970; Montagu, 1970). Physical differences among people have always been noticed. However, the concept of "race" which has emerged within the past 200 years has been political not scientific (Barzun, 1965; Montagu, 1970, 1974; Benedict, 1959). This is not to say that researchers have not attempted to apply scientific procedures to identify biological features which would allow the classification of humans into racial groups (Guthrie, 1976; Chase, 1977). The point is that all such procedures have failed. Yet many people, if not most, have come to accept the concept of "race" as if it referred to an objective biological reality. We know that this concept emerged at a politically convenient time for Europe. Europe was in the process of its colonial expansion. The idea of race allowed Europeans to justify colonial expansion, in part, because of the perception which emerged that the world was made up of different "races" of people, and that these races could be ranked hierarchially.

The attitudes and beliefs which corresponded to the political necessity had to be learned, and more importantly, had to be taught. However, because they were learned and taught in both formal and informal settings, we have some hope of a reversal.

Mechanisms of Domination

When a condition exists where one group is in the process of exercising domination over another group, it becomes necessary for the dominating group to initiate a search for markers in order to construct its perception of a "we" and a "they" group. The markers are usually arbitrary but may be anything from color to language, to religion, to belief systems. In the absence of markers which may be identified with the person, actual marks may be placed on the person, such as armbands or tattoos, so that the group to be oppressed may be readily identified (Fanon, 1967; Memmi, 1967).

As the system of domination develops, it becomes necessary for the system to be supported by certain actions in order for it to be maintained. Specifically, there are political operations which must be performed to control the behavior of the members of the system. Secondly, there are educational operations which must be performed and which also operate to control the members of the system at a much more sophisticated level than the political (Rodney, 1974).

Racism is only one aspect of a system of domination wherein certain physical features, primarily skin color, serve as markers. In order for this system to be established and to continue, the individual and group repertoires of both the dominating and the

dominated group must be influenced in certain predictable ways (Fanon, 1967; Memmi, 1967; Pierce, 1974; Jordan, 1977; Pearce, 1971; Rodney, 1974).

Racism as a Belief-Behavior System

We define racism in the following way:

> "Racism is a culturally sanctioned belief system operating within the individual psyche and institutional structure of a society which legitimizes the domination and control by one group over other groups based on selected differences in physical characteristics, primarily differences in skin color."

According to the above definition of racism, racism is legitimized within the individual mind through institutional and cultural supports which "objectify" and sanction racist behaviors and acts. An example of this is the recent Bakke case. Defenders of Bakke used the 14th Amendment and entrance examination test scores as objective criteria to support their case against minority admission policies. Ironically, the original intent of the 14th Amendment was to protect disenfranchised minorities and the inherent bias against minorities in standardized tests has been well documented. Nevertheless, these institutionalized mechanisms legitimize what Wellman (1977) terms the "maintenance of privilege" by the dominant controlling group.

Therefore, in terms of behavior, racism is a group ideology that establishes a common frame of reference for the projection of individual acts. Legitimation is a process that objectifies this subjective ordering of reality. Legitimation also has a reciprocal function. According to Berger and Luckman (1967), legitimation is a "second

order" objectivation of meaning, i.e., legitimation "produces new meanings that serve to integrate the meanings already attached to disparate institutional processes" (p. 92). In other words, legitimation makes the institutional whole intellectually and affectively plausible to the individual. Clark (1971) defines legitimacy as ". . .the extent to which a given system is recognized (i.e., paid attention to) and respected (has its values or operating rules validated) (p. 577).

Using the concept of legitimation, one of the study's major research questions is: what behavior(s) occur when information (in this case, the slide presentation "Return to the Source") is introduced that challenges this legitimacy system of racism? First of all, the literature indicates that there are certain predisposing factors that are predictive of behavior. Using Wellman's categorization of racism, these factors can be divided into three caterories: (1) institutional, (2) ideological, and (3) personal. For our purposes, each category is defined in relation to the individual. For example, the institutional category refers to the individual's position in relation to the social structure and would include his/her occupation, education, age, income, status and role positions, etc. The ideological category refers to the socio-cultural belief system which includes norms, values, beliefs, etc. The third category, the personal, refers to the intrapsychic level such as individual attitudes, personality characteristics, expectations, etc.

In addition to these predispositional factors, or variables, there is the mediating influence of experience, for example, the frequency and type of contact with Black individuals or groups.

The predictive value of these factors is determined by the social context, the micro-level of the eco-system. The theory of symbolic interaction is useful in defining the process of behavioral response within a social context. Blumer (1967) describes symbolic interaction as

> ". . .the 'peculiarity' that occurs in interaction between human beings is that human beings define or interpret each other's actions rather than just reacting to them. Their 'response' is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response to the case of human behavior." (p. 139).

This interpretation process provides a conceptual framework for understanding the interaction between two conflicting legitimacy systems, (i.e., one system that legitimizes racism versus one system--the slide presentation--that delegitimizes racism) within a defined social context.

First of all, within the social context defined by this project, we have a group of individuals who bring to the situation a generalized set of racial beliefs which will vary depending upon the predisposition and experiential factors already described. In addition, the individual's racial legitimacy system may also be influenced by certain contextual factors, such as, the characteristics of the group

(e.g., the representation and participation of high status individuals), the solidarity of the group (e.g., the amount and type of interpersonal interaction and contact between group members), the situation, mix of personalities, etc. Thus, the group as a whole can function as a frame of reference for individual behaviors. For example, if there are a number of overt, vocal racists within the group they may establish a group norm that affects the behavior of others in the group. "Reference groups arise through the internalization of norms; they constitute the structure of expectations imputed to some audience for whom one organizes his conduct" (Shibutani, 1965:164). Therefore, the assumption is that each member comes to the situation with a generalized set of beliefs regarding race that is strengthened or weakened depending upon the group norms established.

Secondly, a stimulus, i.e., the slide presentation, is introduced into the situation that provides conflicting information with the normative legitimacy system of racism. Furthermore, the slide presentation is presented in a primary legitimizing mode of White American society, the cognitive mode, which validates the information by intellectual objectivity (Hall, 1977) and rationality (Ramirez and Casteneda, 1974; Hilliard, 1976). In addition to the film itself, the characteristics of the presenter (e.g., physical characteristics, credentials, personality) and his/her rapport with the group will also play a part in the interpretation process.

Therefore, in this particular social context, the symbolic interaction is one of an ideological dilemma or legitimation conflict. The resolution to the conflict will depend upon how the individual interprets the new information, the meaning he/she attaches to it and to other factors already identified. The behavioral responses should indicate the conflict resolution(s). (See Figure 3). The assumption is that behaviors will fall along a recognition/non-recognition continuum. Recognition refers to the perception and acknowledgement of a phenomenon and/or its meaning which, in this instance, is the slide presentation. Non-recognition is the resistance, refusal, or inability to perceive and acknowledge the phenomenon's existence and/or meaning. For example, at the non-recognition end of the continuum are behaviors that demonstrate denial or transformation of the new information. Moving toward the recognition end of the continuum are behaviors that: "disrespect"--acknowledge but do not accept; "acknowledge"--intellectually accept but do not affectively assimilate; and "respect"--both accept and validate the new information.

Graphically, the behavioral continuum would be:

BEHAVIORAL CONTINUUM

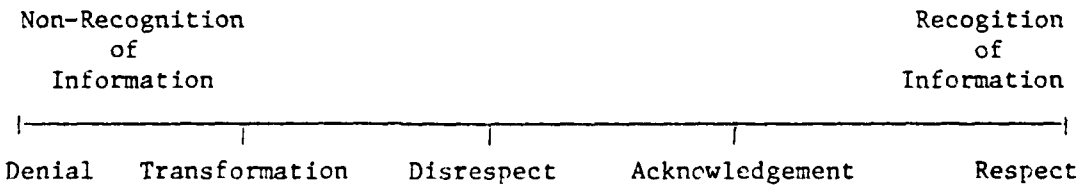
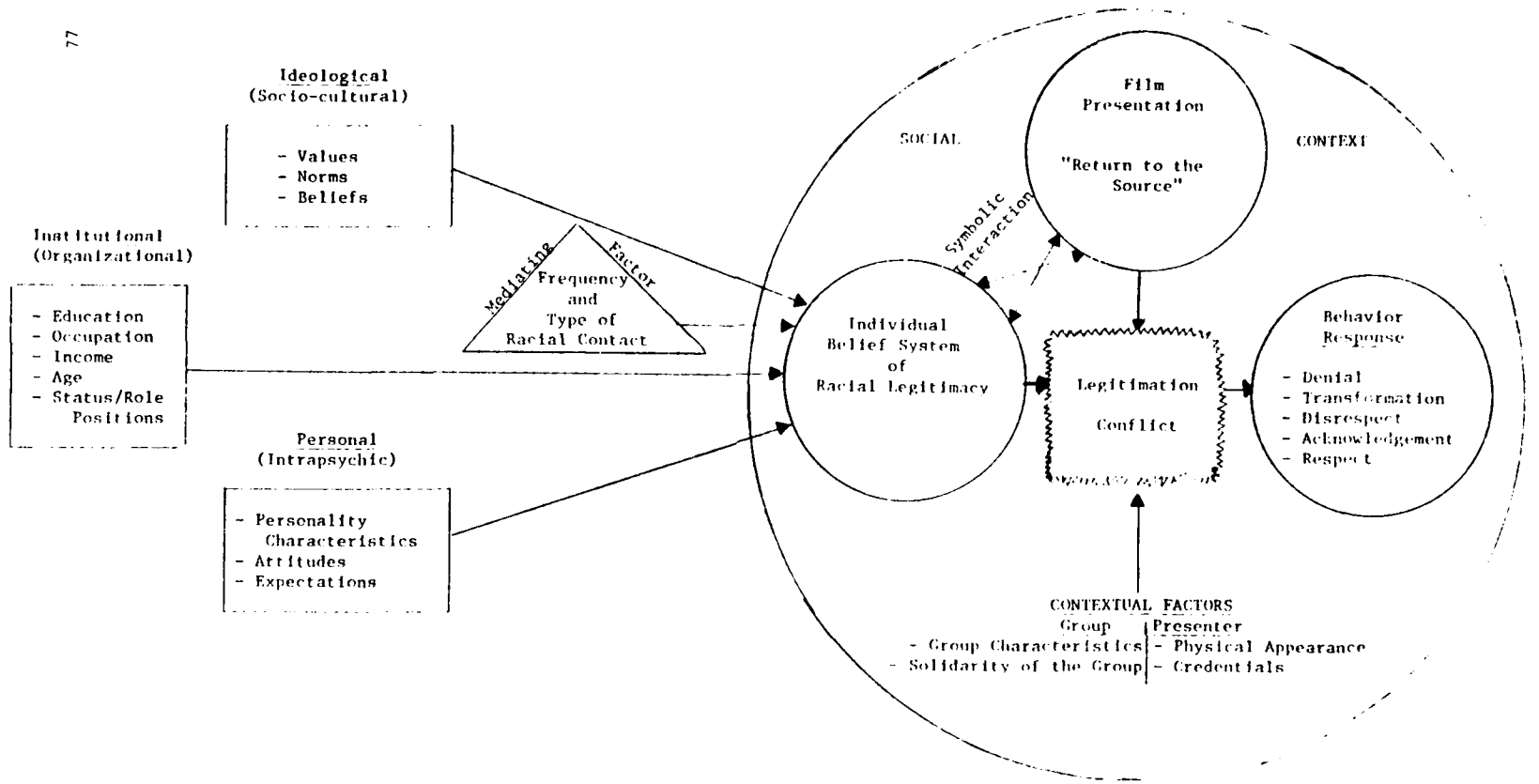


Figure 3. Legitimation Conflict in the Personal Eco-System



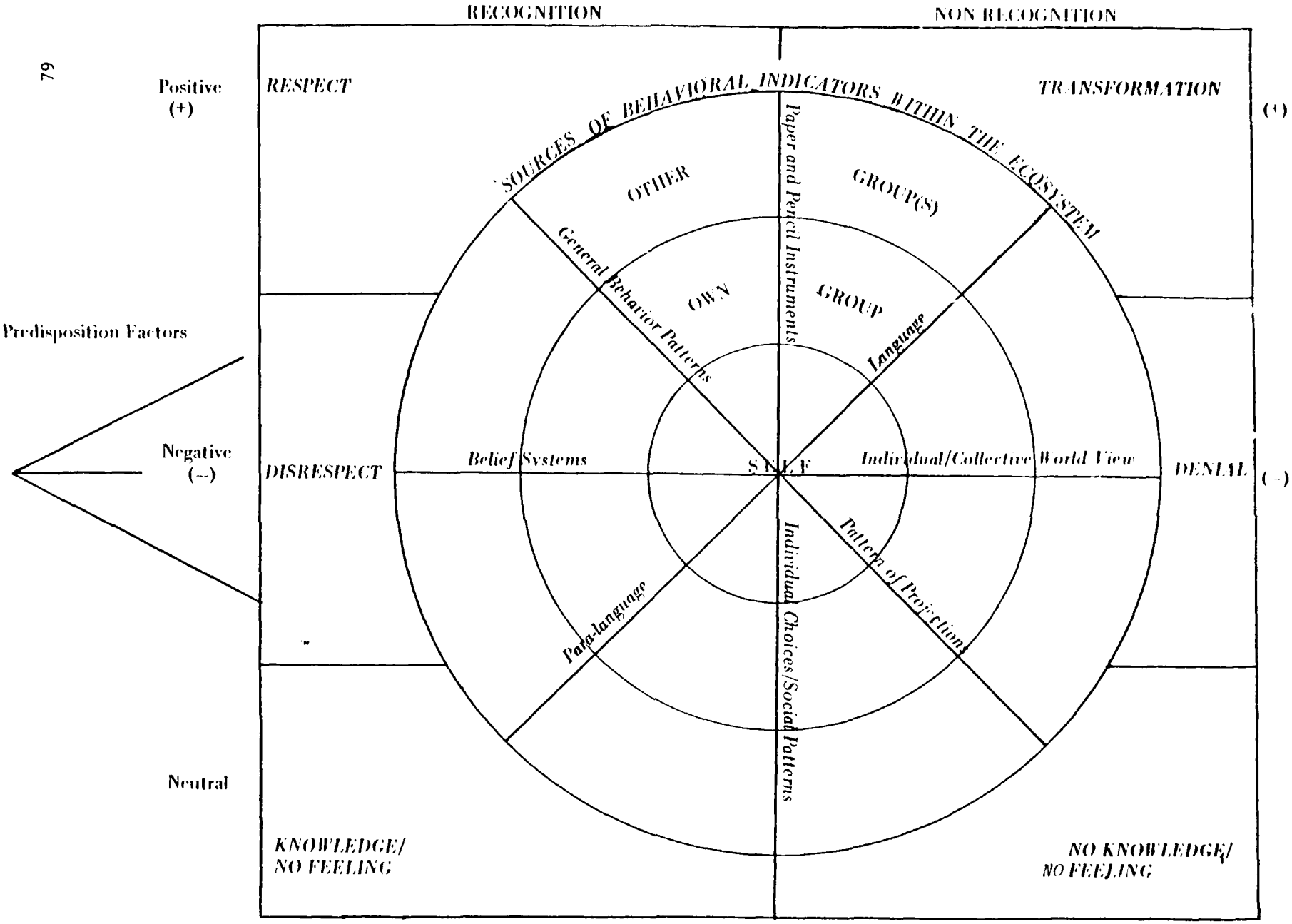
We may take a closer look at the dynamics of racist belief-behavior within the social context. We have sought to synthesize the belief-behavior function within one graphic representation by reconstructing the continuum into a 3x2 matrix. (See Figure 4).

There are three corresponding forms of the recognition/non-recognition dichotomy: positive, negative and neutral. The following defines each of the matrix cells.

Recognition	Non-Recognition
(positive) Respect the acknowledgement of the stimulus phenomenon and a validation of its meaning.	(positive) Transformation the acknowledgement of a phenomenon different from the stimulus phenomenon through the mechanism of projection, distortion or selective perception.
(negative) Disrespect the acknowledgement of the phenomenon but the abnegation of its meaning and significance.	(negative) Denial the negation of the phenomenon's existence through the use of various forms of denial, such as rationalization, avoidance, etc.
(neutral) Knowledge Without Feeling acknowledgement of the phenomenon without ascribing significance or meaning.	(neutral) No Knowledge or Feeling The inability to perceive or acknowledge the phenomenon and its meaning due to a deficit in prior knowledge or information.

Belief and behavior must be seen as aspects of the same reality in our opinion. The focus of belief and behavior may be on one of several levels. Accordingly, we have sought to represent the central

Figure 4. **RACIAL LEGITIMATION MODEL**



tendency on three different interaction levels. For example, racist belief and behavior may be reflected in belief and behavior about and toward one's self, belief and behavior about and toward one's group, and belief and behavior about and toward others different from one's group.

Further, we may think of racist belief-behavior within the White dominating population in America as having a kind of counterpart in Black or other populations victimized by racism. Because of the well-documented and commonly observed behavior in victimized populations, which has been referred to as "identification with the aggressor" (Frankl, 1959; Fanon, 1967; Welsing, 1970), we may expect to find and indeed do find victimized populations imitating aggressor belief-behavior.

We have chosen to call this "pro-racist" behavior. We have sought to represent pro-racist belief-behavior as well as racist belief-behavior. To an observer, the overt behaviors in either case might appear to be identical. However, it is our belief that they originate for different reasons and, therefore, are representative of different things. One clear dimension separates the racist from the pro-racist. That dimension is membership in the group that has the power to make the rules for the system. Essentially, the pro-racist occupies the weaker power position in terms of controlling the operation of the institutions of society. Pro-racism is one of the options available to victimized populations. Another option would be resistance in a variety of forms.

In as much as interventions may be directed both at those who exhibit racist behavior and those who are victimized by racist behavior, a model to encompass both categories should be conceived.

Examples of Indicators of Racism Which May be Observed or Inferred From Observations of Behavior

In our review of literature, a number of measurement instruments were considered for use in the study. However, almost all the instruments which were considered suffered from two basic faults. On the one hand, the instruments represented static pre-conceptions of behavioral responses which did not appear to fit the purposes or objectives of the present study. On the other hand, it was not clear from technical information which was used to describe the instruments, that there was a theoretical base for the selection of items. We have sought to develop an approach which would allow for a gradual correction of what we believed to be a limited approach to the assessment of behavioral change.

The representative list of indicators which, by us, is a kind of "first cut". A "broad net" was cast in order to glean the behavioral indicators which might serve as criteria for behavioral change, and especially behavioral change, in studies of racism. The list of hypothesized behavioral indicators represents our

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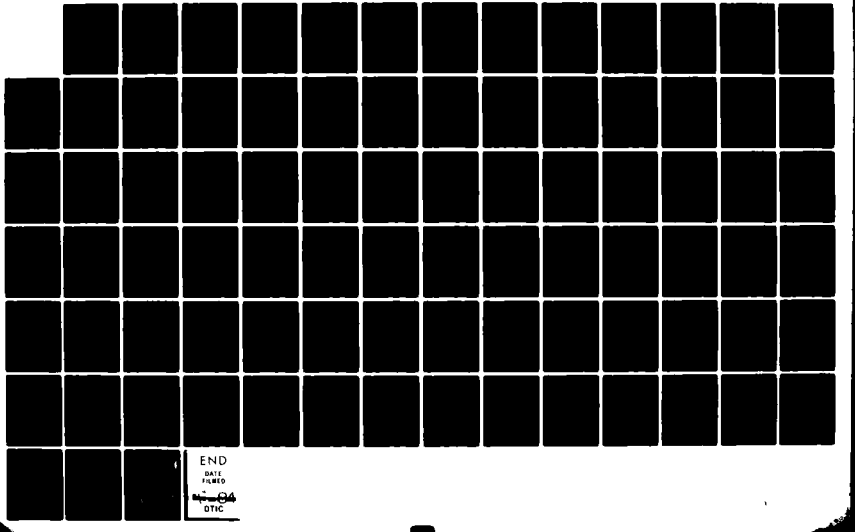

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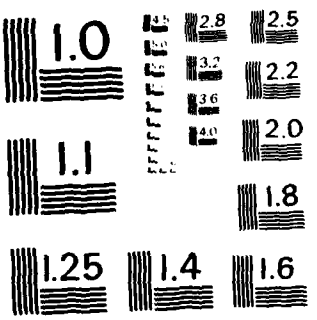


MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS - 1963 - A

synthesis which comes from several sources.

1. A review of the literature on racist behavior.
2. Interviews with individuals in certain professional areas whose special sensitivity and practice led us to believe that their clinical insights might yield clues to behavioral indicators of racism.
3. Interviews with individuals in related "oppressed" conditions, such as disabled persons who experience behaviors which appeared to us to be similar to racist behavior and who could be articulate about the indicators which they tend to use. In this case, interviews with deaf and blind people proved to be extremely valuable, both as a cross validation for behavioral indicators which were suggested from the literature and as a source of new insights on possible dynamics underlying certain behavioral indicators. For example, our use of a theory of legitimation was strengthened when deaf and blind interviewees, independently between groups as well as independently within groups, invariably reflected a keen perception of behaviors in hearing or sighted persons, respectively, which represented movements toward or movements away from the disabled person or which represented moves to legitimize or delegitimize the disabled person. We have thought about these moves as moves to <u>engage</u> or move to

disengage. Engagement and disengagement in our thinking is parallel to or an aspect of legitimation or delegitimation.

Naturally, we would expect that in a first cut or a wide broad net there would be indicators which were extraneous and indicators which were central. We see the use of the emerging theoretical model in this way. The selection of behaviors to be included or rejected should be guided by reference to our beliefs or hypotheses about the origin and meaning of behavior so that we are justified in using the label "racist". Accordingly, our model of racist belief-behavior was applied to a broad list of behavioral indicators as a filter or screen. The results of this application of our model of racist belief/behavior to the elicited behavioral indicators is presented as a example.

Applying the Model of Racist Belief and Behavior: An Example

In the first phase of the development of behavioral criteria a list of potential behavioral indicators of racism was generated based on our literature review and in-depth interviews. A wide variety of behaviors was included to create a rich behavioral repertoire from which indicators appropriate to our theoretical model could be selected. The following is a sample of the potential behavioral indicators identified.

- Identification
- Distressed Identification (anxiety about own personal vulnerability)
- Change in "normal" rate of interpersonal negotiations
- Moves to control
- Abstract vs. concrete communication
- Minimize victim's condition
- Normal vs. exaggerated communication
- Accepting or rejecting the "racial" aspects of a situation
- Openness to personal relations
- "Coding" racially sensitive aspects of a situation (euphemisms)
- See behavior as simple or complex
- Polarization of views on race
- Reaction to assertive behavior in Blacks
- Reaction to obsequious behavior in Blacks
- Lines of demarcation (clear or blurred)
- Deal with here and now or elsewhere in time and space

- Reaction to Black Solidarity
- Projection reflected in attribution
- Seeks validation
- Level of tension in interracial situation
- Congruence (appropriateness) of reactions
- Depersonalization (generalize)
- Stereotypic
- Suspending criteria
- Victim blaming
- Natural or unnatural extension of intimacy
- Confronts or does not confront racism
- Affirmation of white American values
- Moral justifications
- Condescension
- Distortion of information
- Testing or "baiting" behavior
- Irrelevant questioning
- Avoidance or exclusion of minority group

After carefully reviewing these potential behavioral indicators, three descriptive factors emerged which categorized the behaviors:

1. interaction - How people interact
2. attitude - How people feel
3. information processing - How people process information

These three factors structured the classification framework of racist belief-behavior.

Framework for the Classification of Racist Behavior

As stated in the definition of racism, a requisite condition for racist behavior is the act of subordination. In terms of our balance theory of racial legitimation, subordination or racist behavior occurs when there is an imbalance in legitimation, i.e., when one person or group (the majority culture) is legitimated and the other person or group (the minority culture) is not or is delegitimated. (See Figure).

Within each of the three factors of interaction, attitude and information processing, observable behaviors are divided into two general categories:

A. Verbal Behavior - What people say

B. Non-verbal Behavior - What people do; how people act

Using the balance theory of racial legitimation, the "racist" indicators of individual behaviors were determined by the following definitions and guidelines.

A. Legitimation of the Majority Group

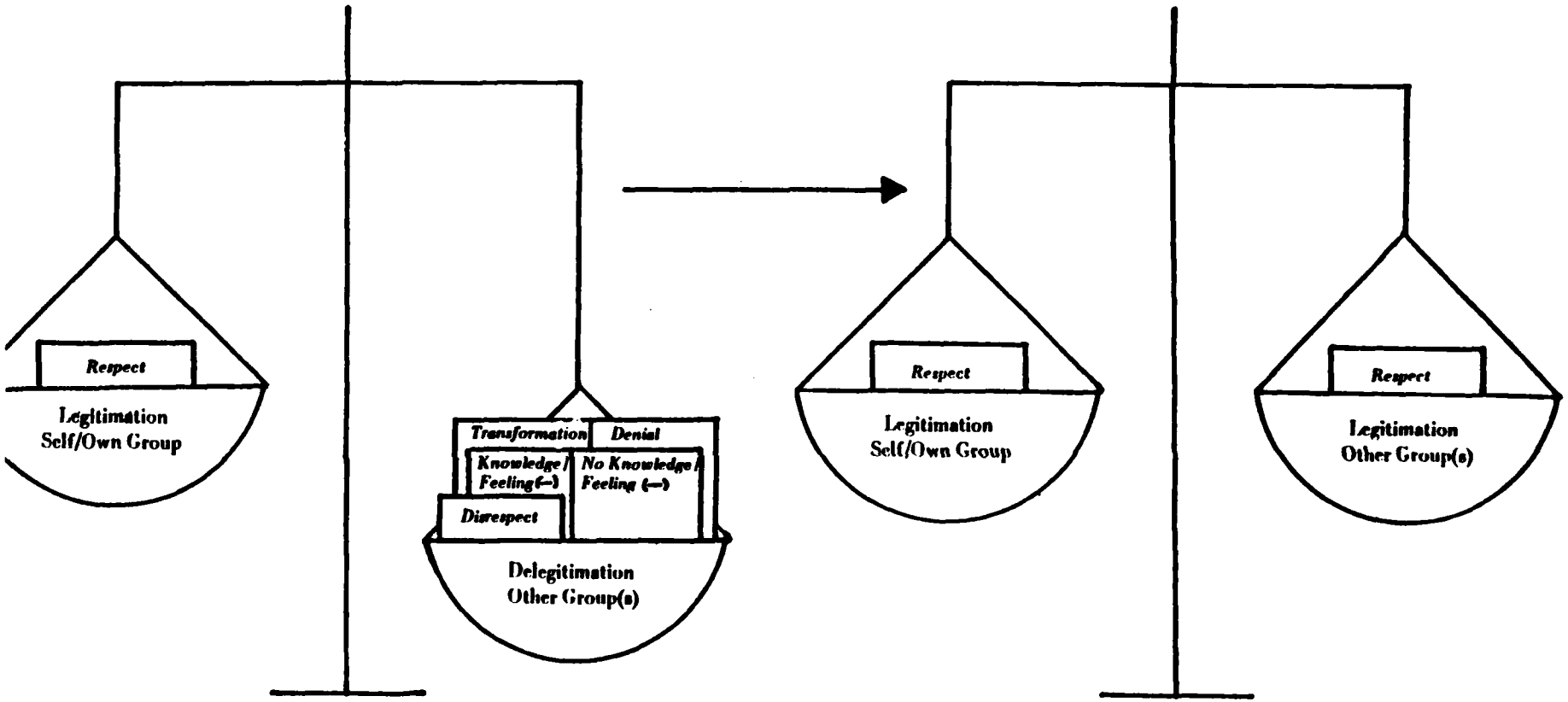
These are behaviors that indicate respect, validation or esteem.

1. Respect

a. Verbal behaviors that affirm white American values and justify racist practices on "moral" grounds. For example, the "immorality" of quotas and reverse discrimination; the belief in individual achievement and pulling oneself up by the bootstraps.

Figure 5

BALANCE THEORY OF RACIAL LEGITIMATION



b. Non-verbal behaviors that express dominance, authority, control, aggression, etc.

B. Delegitimation of the minority group

These are behaviors that:

1. Disrespect

a. The discredit, invalidation, or minimization of minority group rights, issues, abilities, values, aspirations, etc. (e.g., "Blacks are moving too fast", "Minorities should not be given special privileges.")

b. Condemnation, condescension or patronization of a minority person or group

2. Transform

a. The attribution of low-esteemed, devalued, or taboo behaviors to the minority group (e.g., the "nice guy", "oversexed", "unintelligent" descriptions attributed to Blacks). This is a form of projection.

b. The misinterpretation or distortion of the minority person(s) intent or of the meaning, content, or objectives of race-related matters or materials.

3. Deny

a. The exclusion, avoidance or ignoring of minority group members. (The "invisible man" phenomenon)

b. The refusal to acknowledge racial or race-related facts, information or issues (e.g., "Racial

discrimination is no longer a problem.") The denial of racist attitudes or behaviors ("I am not a racist.")

C. Neutral or Dissonant Behavior

Neutral behaviors are behaviors that have no racial import or can not be categorized within the legitimation categories above.

Dissonant behaviors are behaviors where the individual's belief system is in conflict with either his/her projected image, the situation, or the group norm (e.g., the racist liberal whose body language contradicts his/her verbal behavior).

In essence, the classification scheme for racist belief-behavior is indicated in Figure 6.

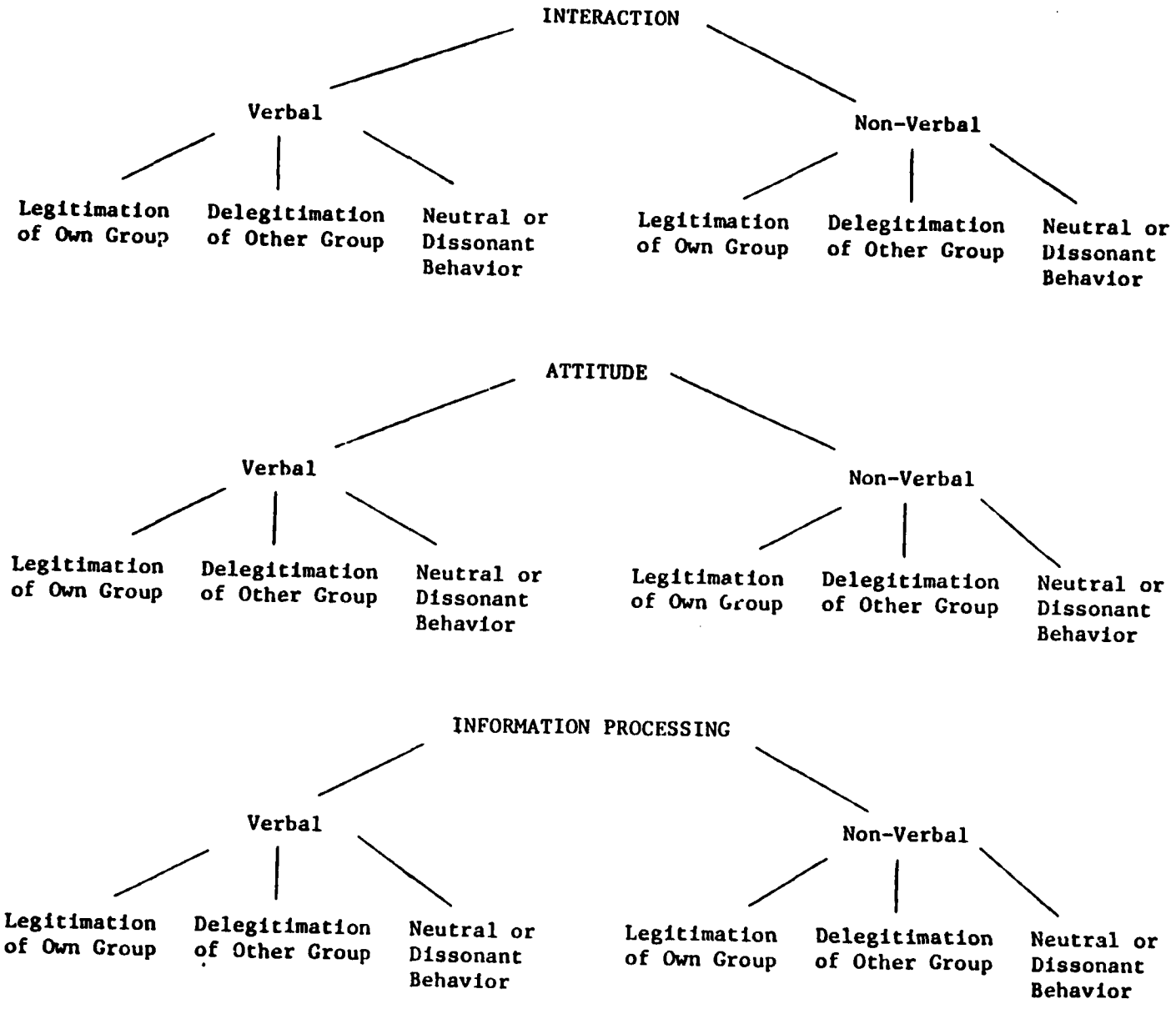


Figure 6. Classification Scheme for Racist Belief-Behavior

The following chart provides an example of racist behaviors according to our classification scheme. However, the chart only lists behaviors for the individual; group behaviors have not been categorized although many of the behaviors listed for the individual are applicable to the group.

It should be noted that these discrete behaviors are not inherently racist but configurations of these behaviors are indicators of racism. These behavioral configurations are contingent upon contextual factors (social environment); experiential factors (past racial experiences); and predispositional factors (individual characteristics, beliefs and attitudes).

Chart 1. Sample Classification of Racist Belief Behavior

I n d i v i d u a l

Verbal Behavior			Non-Verbal Behavior		
Legitimation of the Majority Group	Delegitimation of the Minority Group	Neutral or Dissonant Behavior	Legitimation of the Majority Group	Delegitimation of the Minority Group	Neutral or Dissonant Behavior
- Affirmation of white American values, e.g. Protestant Ethic Individualism - Moral justifications e.g. quotas are evil reverse discrimination.	- Denial, disregard, disrespect for minority group rights, values, etc. - Condescension - deracializing events - patronizing behavior - depersonalization - distortion of information - suspending criteria - euphemistic coding - victim blaming - stereotypic statements - testing or "baiting" behavior - attribution of low-esteemed, devalued or taboo behavior.	- irrelevant questioning - exaggerated verbal statements - seeking validation of opinions	- Physical acts of dominance, authority, aggression - Recognition of other whites, e.g. physical inclusion, physical proximity, physical contact	- Non-verbal acts of disrespect, e.g. overly intimate annoyance, irritation - Non-recognition of minority members e.g. avoidance boredom exclusion	- Inhibited posture - body tension - inappropriate reactions, e.g., nervous laughter - physical discomfort - social awkwardness

Implementation of the Study

According to Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), behavioral criterion consists of four elements: behavior, target, situation, and time. They also identified four types of behavioral criteria: the single-act criterion, the repeated observation of a single-act criterion, the multiple-act criterion, and the multiple-act, repeated observation criterion. The most appropriate criterion for this study if the multiple-act, repeated observation criterion which is the observation of several behaviors with respect to a given target (the slide presentation) in different situations at different points in time. If properly measured, the multiple-act criterion is an index of a behavioral attitude which, in this case, would be a racist behavioral attitude. In essence, the multiple-act criterion is a behavioral configuration.

There are two major objectives of the research study:

(1) to identify configurations of racist behaviors and the conditions under which they occur (behavioral criteria);

(2) to observe change in these behavioral configurations as a consequence of the slide presentation.

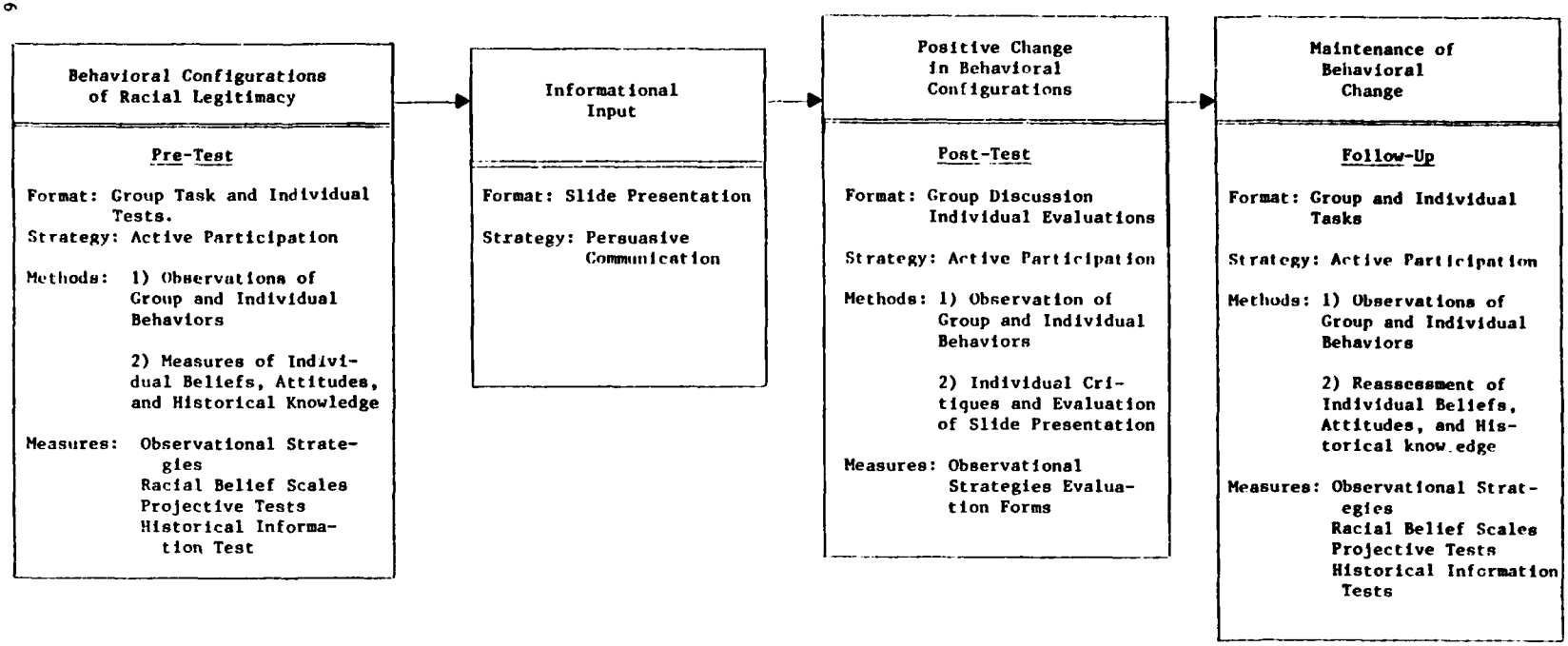
The procedures for the multiple-act, repeated observation criterion should achieve the first research objective. By keeping the target element (the slide presentation) constant and manipulating the other three elements (behavior, situation, and time), behavioral patterns should become salient. In other words, the presentation of the slides to groups with different characteristics and composition

in various situations at different times will generate specific behavioral criteria.

In terms of the second research objective, two effective strategies for attitudinal and behavioral change are (1) active participation; and (2) persuasive communication. Active participation is participation on the part of the subject to acquire new information by means of direct experience. Persuasive communication is the provision of information to the subject by an outside source. The research design for behavioral change incorporates both strategies.

The behavioral change model is presented in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Behavioral Change Model



We wish to caution that there is no intent at this point to suggest a level of precision which is unwarranted by our data or by the embryonic stage of development of our theoretical formulations. Rather, what we present represents our attempt at model building and illustrations as to how the model can be applied. Further, with the support of our pilot data, we hope either to gain greater confidence in the application of the model, or to see that there is little hope for a model such as ours to provide explanatory power.

Return to the Source: The African Origin of Civilization Slide Tape Presentation

The slide tape presentation Return to the Source was designed using African and African-diasporan content which is true, important, and generally unknown (Hilliard, 1978). Five general goals were addressed by the presentation.

1. To present information (rare information which can be documented as true but which is in opposition to the general belief system on Africans from ancient times to the present in Africa and in the diaspora)
2. To present a perspective (a presentation of information in a comprehensive and thematic format which avoids atomistic, non-contextual treatment in the "Ripley"s believe it or not fashion")
3. To present a paradigm (the presentation itself is a model for the application of a paradigm for the analysis

of the dynamics of a system of racial oppression through the misuse of information).

4. To apply a paradigm (the presentation provides for an early introduction of analytical concepts which can be applied by participants repeatedly throughout the slide tape presentation).
5. To suggest a strategy for building immunity to propaganda (the presentation, through illustrations of the dynamics of miseducation, suggests the use of the analytical paradigm as a vehicle for vigilance).

In building a theoretical model for the study of racist behavior and behavioral change, it became readily apparent that there is a variety of sources ripe for exploration. In our quest to find behavioral indicators of racism, many exciting avenues were gained that were previously untraveled. Our decision to follow the theoretical route of legitimation provided us with a conceptual paradigm compatible with our training intervention format, i.e., the slide presentation "Return to the Source". In the application of theory to practice, a systematic comprehensive assessment of behavior could be conducted. In our pilot study we are aware that we have only reached the surface structure of racist behavior but have constructed a model which we hope can transcend its depth.

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APPENDIX

.32

FREE YOUR MIND
RETURN TO THE SOURCE:
THE AFRICAN ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION

A Resource Outline

by

Asa G. Hilliard, III

"You need a watch to tell you what time it is.
You need history for the same reason."

John Heinrik Clarke

1978

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The two references above illustrate the problem of enslaved minds in contemporary America. Carter G. Woodson initiated the publication of the Journal of Negro History in 1916. It has been in continuous publication since that time. In the very first two volumes were articles by African-American historians which documented the role of Africa in the world which was totally different from the portrayals by racist and or uninformed historians. Yet, even today, most Americans are ignorant of the true role of Africa in World history. Both Black and White historians are prepared in a colonial history with a colonial perspective, for the most part. Once those assumptions are accepted, error is perpetuated. A false history produces great vulnerability for victims because of disorientation, confusion, a sense of isolation, and a loss of a sense of continuity. A false history also may support the poisonous doctrines of White supremacy which have residuals in the present decade of the 20th Century.

Free and critical minds can emerge only by a return to the source--to primary sources. A free and critical mind takes nothing for granted and is not intimidated by "authorities" who may frequently be even more confused than the general public. Free and critical minds seek truth without chauvinism or shame. Return to the source and let the chips fall where they may.

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FREE YOUR MIND, RETURN TO THE SOURCE

(Notes and Outline for Slide Tape Presentation)

The African Origin of Civilization

by

Asa G. Hilliard, III.

"Ex Africa Semper Aliquid Novi ..."
Pliny, Aristotle and other Greek students

Meaning "Out of Africa, there is always coming something new"

I. Some Necessary Elements in a Frame of Reference

A. Africa is the originator of the oldest and many other later civilizations.

B. African civilizations like others have risen and fallen. Therefore, African people are not "just coming out of the stone age or other past age".

C. African civilization as the parent civilization spread itself worldwide and is reflected even today in the religion, politics, economics, and creativities of many of the worlds peoples, including especially the European.

D. There has been and continues to be a continent wide cultural unity in Africa which is at variance with the picture which we have been given of Africa as a continent of many different peoples.

E. There has been and continues to be cultural continuities and residuals among African people throughout the diaspora, including America (North and South), the Carribean, the South Pacific, and other places as well.

F. Africans have been known through the information, language, and perspectives of colonizers who have had a vested interest in seeing Africans as "animals", "underdeveloped", "primitive", "pagan", "heathen", or simply as children in order to satisfy the colonizers own greed and in keeping with their own myopia.

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G. Present and recent negative European and Euro-American views of Africa are new in European history and do not match what Europeans knew and believed about Africa prior to the periods of their colonial greed.

H. The continued use of colonial names, terminology, and constructs such as "subsuharan Africa", "race", "Hamite", melanisian", "negro", "Pagan", and others will perpetuate confusion and will make true scholarly investigation impossible.

I. No amount of reading of secondary sources alone is sufficient to develop a true history of the people of Alke-bu-lan (Africa). Original artifacts, records, papers, historians, etc. must be consulted. These can be European, African or any others.

II. From Colonialism-to "Race" -to Racism

A. Belief affects behavior

B. A belief system can be "healthy" (a good match between the real and idea worlds) or "sick", (a poor match).

C. Colonial expansion depended upon a sick belief system for both colonizer and colonized. Therefore, "race" was invented (separating Europeans conceptually from people to be dominated) and racism emerged.

D. Racism is an infection of the belief system, a mental illness with the following symptoms:

1. Perceptual distortion
2. Denial of reality
3. Delusions of granduer (belief in white-supremacy)
4. Projection of blame (to the victim)
5. Phobic reactions to differences

E. A colonizer may be a racist. A victim cannot be so, but may be a "pro-racist" (identification with the aggressor), imitating many racist behaviors.

III. Colonialism and Science

A. A colonial country can never permit honest science (seen clearest in South Africa). Every academic discipline is used to justify colonialism. (psychology, biology, geography, religion, philosophy, anthropology, literature, history, etc.)

B. Under colonialism information is rigidly controlled by several identifiable mechanisms.
Information destruction, information distortion, information fabrication, information suppression, information emphasis, information confusion, limited access to true information.

C. Some of the political mechanisms for accomplishing B above are as follows:

book burnings	access to publication	copyright
"credentialing"	access to distribution	

D. Some of the academic inquiry methods for accomplishing B above are as follows:

1. A failure to place evidence in proper chronological sequence.
2. A failure to juxtopose specific events or material to their total context or treating things in isolation as self contained events (atomism).
3. Changing the original names of people, places, or things.
4. Inventing categories that have no integral fit with reality or changing the rules of criteria for membership in a category. (for example, one may stupidly speak of Aryan, Hebrew, Negro, or European "races". Where in each case the criteria or basis for the classification changes).
5. Inventing specific colonial constructs such as "pagan" "primitive", or "heathen".
6. Omitting significant data.
7. Distortion of existing data.
8. Fabrication of data.
9. Changing the basis of reference, "B.C." or "A.D.", "Western World".
10. Destruction of data.
11. Use of illustrations in place of real objects or photographs.
12. Use of summaries or interpretations only rather than original written sources as well.
13. Inquiring from the basis of a single culturally bound perspective, rather than from the multiple perspectives which are necessary.
14. Offering no developmental time line for African historical events, apart from reference to European time lines.

IV. Psychological Problems for Afro-Americans As A Consequence Of A False History

A. Conceptual Separation from our real roots.

B. Conceptual Incarceration or inability to think apart from false perspectives.

C. Examining African experience only through the assumptions, paradigms (models), constructs, and language (internalized) of other people (some of whom are aggressors) and the inability to wrench free to frame new questions and to construct new world views. (atropy of our natural talent for creativity).

D. Rebuilding cultural identity as prerequisite for psychological health and mental liberation.

V. Educational Issues Growing Out Of A False History

A. Who is a qualified teacher?

B. What is quality student performance?

C. What are the basic materials for education for Afro-American mental liberation?

D. What institutional arrangements can assure education for liberation?

E. What is a community's responsibility to itself for such an education?

F. What is an appropriate reward system for such an education?

G. How can continued research be maintained?

H. Can an education which is rooted in falsehood be considered to be of high quality.

Selected Bibliography (Classified) On

African-American History

From Ancient Times to the Present

by

Asa G. Hilliard, III.

(*Basic introductory references for the beginning or general reader are starred (*) in each category)

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Evidence for the African Origin of the Earliest Recorded Civilization, for the Ancient Africans as being Black People, and for the Existence of Civilizations Throughout Africa Before European Colonialism.

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The African Origin of Greek Thought

(Examples Compiled from George G. M. James, Stolen Legacy, 1954)

Egyptian Higher Education from Which the Greeks Borrowed

I. Mysteries (University) Grade Levels

1. Mortals
2. Nous (mind)
3. Light (spiritual consciousness)

II. Seven Liberal Arts, Curriculum (Liberate mind from [time bound] finite consciousness and to liberate soul from bodily impediments, reincarnation and death).

Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic	Purge irrational moral disciplines
Geometry, Arithmetic	Science of trancendental space; Key to being
Astronomy	Latent forces in men (destiny)
Music	Harmony or living practice of philosophy (also therapeutic)

III. Ten Virtues (Aim of Education)

1. Control of thought
2. Control of action

——— (Justice, Plato)

3. Steadfastness of purpose ——— (Fortitude, Plato)
4. Identity with spiritual life ——— (Temperance, Plato)

Four Cardinal Virtues of Plato

5. Evidence of having a mission in life
6. Evidence of a call to spiritual orders — (Prudence, Plato) (deep insight)
7. Freedom from resentment
8. Confidence in the power of the master (teacher)
9. Confidence in one's own ability to learn
10. Readiness (prep) for initiation

Purpose of these studies was to gain Godlike happiness

Year	
	Ptolmey I Soter, order Manetho, Egyptian High Priest to write the History of Egyptian religion. Only Greeks were permitted to go to school at the library of Alexandria which became the seat of the muses (or the museum) for 300 years following the conquering of Egypt by Alexander the Great.
	Ptolmey II Ordered Erathosthenes a Black Cyrenean to write the chronology of Thebean Kings. Eratosthenes was the librarian at library in Alexandria.
A.D. 4th century	Emperor Theodosius (closes the mysteries universities permitting Christianity to spread). The only exception was the University on the Island of Philae where the Blemyans and the Nobadians kept remnants of the mystery system alive.
A.D. 6th century	Justinian (closed the remaining mysteries universities and the art of hieroglyphic writing was lost.)
A.D. 8th century	The Moors conquered Spain and set up universities in Toledo, Seville, Cardoba, Saragossa. They taught medicine, surgery, astronomy, and mathematics.
A.D. 18th century	Napoleon Bonaparte (The Rosetta Stone is discovered permitting the translation of the hieroglyphics again).

The African Origin of Greek Thought
(Examples Compiled from George G. M. James, Stolen Legacy, 1954)

Egyptian Institutions of Higher Education

I. Thebes-Grand Lodge at Luxor, at least as old as 3000 B.C. (University Headquarters and Main Branch).

Osiriaca-Grand Lodge Lower Egypt (Northern Egypt) and Branches

Ionian Temple at Dydma
Euclid Lodge at Megara
Pythagoras Lodge at Cortona
Orphic Temple at Delphi

Interesting facts about higher education in Egypt.

1. "Man know thyself" was an inscription over the door of all temples to remind the initiate of one of the first requirements to become a man of knowledge.

2. Ritual purification was required to enter the lodges. This involved sprinkling with water. This is the origin of the rite of baptism which is used in latter religion.

3. The doctrine of the four qualities and four elements which have been inaccurately attributed to Thales were a part of the curriculum as early as 5000 B.C. It is present in the Memphite Theology which dates from that time.

The African Origin of Greek Thought
(Examples Compiled from George G. M. James, Stolen Legacy, 1954)

The African Greek Connection in Scholarship

Year	Name	Educated In	Worked in	Born In	Fate
	Pythagoras	Egypt	Samos, Croton 540 B.C.	Samos	Expelled
640 B.C. 546 B.C.	Thales	Egypt	Ionia	Ionia (Asia Minor)	
640 B.C.	Anaximander	Egypt	Ionia	Ionia	
640 B.C.	Anaximenes	Egypt	Ionia	Ionia	
576 B.C.	Xenophanes		Elea (Italy)	Ionia	
	Parmenities		Elea	Ionia	
	Zeno		Elea	Samos	
	Melissius		Samos	Elea	
530 B.C.	Heraclitus			Samos	
	Empedocles			Samos	
	Anaxagoras			Ionia	Prison & Exile
469-399	Socrates				Executed
427-347	Plato	Egypt			Sold into Slavery
430-316 B.C.	Democritus			Samos	
384-324 B.C.	Aristotle	Egypt			Exiled
	(Aristotle Pupils)				
	Theophrastus	(Aristotle's Pupil)		Lesbos	
	Edemus	(Aristotle's Pupil)		Rhodes	
	Andronicus	(Aristotle's Pupil)			

The Ten Commandments and The Negative Confessions

There were 147 Negative Confessions. These predate the Ten Commandments. They were a part of the "Egyptian Mysteries" (University) Curriculum which initiates studied. Moses, himself was a student of the Egyptian Mysteries system and was "learned in all the Wisdom of Egypt".

Source: Yosef ben-Jochanan, The Black Man's Religion: The Myth of Genesis and Exodus and the Exclusion of Their African Origin, Alkebu-Lan Books Associates, 209 W. 125th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10027, 1974.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE NEGATIVE CONFESSION"

(1) I have not done iniquity.
(2) I have not committed robbery with violence.
(3) I have not done violence to no man.
(4) I have not committed theft.
(5) I have not slain man or woman.
(6) I have not made light the bushel.
(7) I have not acted deceitfully.
(8) I have not purloined the things which belonged to the God.
(9) I have not uttered falsehood.
(10) I have not carried away food.
(11) I have not uttered evil words.
(12) I have not attacked man.
(13) I have not killed the beasts which are the property of the Gods.
(14) I have not eaten my heart...i.e., done anything to my regret.
(15) I have not laid waste ploughed land.
(16) I have not pried into matters.
(17) I have not set my mouth against any man.
(18) I have not given way to anger concerning myself without cause.
(19) I have not defiled the wife of a man.
(20) I have not committed transgression against any party.
(21) I have not violated sacred times and seasons.
(22) I have not struck fear into any man.
(23) I have not been a man of anger.
(24) I have not made myself deaf to words of right and truth.
(25) I have not stirred up strife.
(26) I have not made no man weep.
(27) I have not committed acts of impurity or sodomy.
(28) I have not eaten my heart.
(29) I have not abused no man.

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[1]Sir E. A. W. Budge's EGYPTIAN MAGIC, pp. 108-109; also BOOK OF THE DEAD, Chapter CXXXV.

SOME NAMES, PLACES AND PERSONS WHICH REFER TO BLACK PEOPLE

From Frank M. Snowden's Blacks in Antiquity, Boston Harvard University Press, 1970 and P. Ben Jochannan's Black Men of the Nile, Alkebu-Lan Books Associates, 209 W. 12th Street, Room 218, New York City, 10207, Chancellor Williams: The Destruction of Black Civilization, Chicago Third World Press, 1974, Godfrey Higgens "Anacalypsis", Reprint by Health Research, P.O. Box 70, Mokelumna Hill, CA. 95245, 1972 (originally published 1836), J. A. Rogers' Sex and Race, Helga M. Rogers, 1270 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10029

	Names		Places	People
From Snowden	(Ethiopian		Meroe	Memnon
	(Kush		Nubia	Aesop
	(Asphodelodes		Kush	Eurybates
	(Niger		Napata	Poseidon
	(Ater	Latin for		Delphus
	(Aquilus	Ethiopian		Melanis
	(Exustus	Color		Andromeda
	(Perustus			
	(Fuscus			
	(Percoctus			
	(Nocticolor			
	(Nilotic			
	(Hamitic	"Ethiopian"		
	(Afer	or "Aethiops"		
	(Hodus	which means		
	(Maurus	"black face"		
	(Indi	in Greek		
	(Mauri	Language		
	(Ab Indis			
	(Melaenis			
	(Nigra			
	(Charachen			
From Jochannan	(Colchians		Alkebu-Lan (Africa)	Ra
	(Nubians		Kimit (Egypt)	Ptah
	(Meroites		Sais	Moses
	(Puanits		Khah	Horus
	(Itiop		Ham	Isis
	(Moors		Mizrais	Osirus
			Ta-Merry	
			Punt (Ethiopia)	
			Kush (Sudan Ethiopia)	
From Williams	(Druids (originally)		Chem	Menes
	(		Thebes (Nowe)	
	(		Chemi	
	(		Memphis	

SOME NAMES, PLACES AND PERSONS WHICH REFER TO BLACK PEOPLE (cont'd.)

	Names	Places	People
From Higgins	(Cus (Celts (Nile (means Black in Indian Language) (Osirus (Plutarch says it means the Black God) (India (Indus		Osirus) Serapis) Diodorus Siculus Dionysus) says Ancients be- Pluto) lieve these were Jupiter) all one Pan) Orpheus Christna Krisna (means Black) Christ Buddah
From Rogers	(Zeus (Greeks called him "Ethiops") (Venus (Appollo (Jupiter (Hercules (((((((((((		Beethoven Pushkin Dieraeli Ptolemey III Cleopatra Hannibal Thutmos Akenaton Aesop Delphos Sappho Solomon Moses Tertullian St. Augustine Attila Alexander Dumas Robert Browning Nefertiti Imhotep

NAMES DERIVED FROM MOOR OR MAURENTANIA

(from J. A. Rogers' Nature Knows No Color Line
Helga M. Rogers, Published 1954, N. Y., N. Y. 10029)

Afer
Blac
Black
Blackamoor
Blackeman
Blackman
Blackmar
Blackmer
Blackmore
Blackmuir
Fitzmorrices
LeNoir
Mallet
Maurice
Mawr
Moers
Mohr
Moor
Moore
Morrices
Morris
Moorison
Moorkant
Moorman
Moorsnead
Moorus
Mor
Mora
Morand
Mordeysan
More
Moreachi
Moreau
Morelli
Moresque
Moretti
Moricaud
Morienne
Morier
Morimot
Morin
Moringen
Morini
Morinus
Morisco
Moriton
Morium
Norizzi
Morlet
Morlot
Mormand
Mornauer
Mornberg
Moro
Morrow
Moryen
Mount Morrices
Muir
Murray
Negri
Negrier
Negrina
Negrob
Niger
Noir
Preto
Saracini
Schwartzenberger
Schwartzenhof
Schwartzkoph
Schwartzman
Serrazins
Tanny moor
Tawny moor

These names are some which were accompained by black faces or heads in family crests or coats of arms of European families. Rogers used as sources the following, among others.

1. Amoriale Generale de Rietstops
2. Dictionaire de la Noblesse'
3. Elwen's Book of Crests
4. Encyclopedia Heraldica (W. Berry)
5. Fairbain's Book of Crests
6. Fox-Davies Armorial Families
7. Heraldic Plates (A. Nisbet)
8. Migne Nobiliare Universal de France
9. Yorkshire Genealogist

The African Foundation of World Religion

Ptah, an Egyptian creator-god [from a statue in the Manchester Museum]

Source: Yosef-ben-Jochanan, The Black Man's Religion: The Myth of Genesis and Exodus and the Exclusion of Their African Origin, Alkebu-Lan Books Associates, 209 W. 125th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10027 1974.

JESUS "THE CHRIST"
Shown as the "Good Shepherd" in all of His blackness. Favourite of the early Christians of Europe when all pictures and statues of JESUS were shown "BLACK". [From a 4th Century C.E. mosaic pavement at Aquileia. See article on pages 69-71 of Volume II of this work].

The First CHRIST of the World

SETI THE GREAT
As Amen-The Most Powerful God of the Egyptians (RA)

IMHOTEP

FATHER OF METAMPHYSICS AND MEDICINE

THE GREAT GOD OSIRIS
Son of the Virgin Mother - ISIS

Left: Pharaoh Tut-ankh-Amen, Son-in-law of Pharaoh Akhnaten, destroyer of the Religion of the Worship of God - ATEM - ATOM and the first "HOLY TRINITY".

The first "PRINCE OF PEACE" and "SAVIOUR" Pharaoh Amenhotep [or Amorphis] IVth-Akhenaten, ea. 1370 - 1350 B.C.E., XVIIIIth Dynasty, Ta-Merry.

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'irst CHRIST of the World

SETI THE GREAT
s Amen-The Most Power-
ul God of the Egyptians
(RA)

IMHOTEP

FATHER OF METAMPHYSICS
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MEDICINE

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norphis] IVth-Akhenaten,
XVIIIIth Dynasty,

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