ZAHL, George C., 1925--
THE INFLUENCE OF INSTRUCTION IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY UPON COUNSELOR ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED SOUTHWEST ETHNIC GROUPS.

University of Arizona, Ed.D., 1965
Education, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
THE INFLUENCE OF INSTRUCTION IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
UPON COUNSELOR ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED
SOUTHWEST ETHNIC GROUPS

by

George C. Zahl

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1965
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

I hereby recommend that this dissertation prepared under my
direction by George C. Zahl
entitled THE INFLUENCE OF INSTRUCTION IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
UPON COUNSELOR ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED
SOUTHWEST ETHNIC GROUPS
be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement of the
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Dissertation Director  4/27/65

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Roger J. Daldrup, dissertation director. Dr. Daldrup's advice and guidance were of great assistance in the preparation of this dissertation.

Appreciation is also extended to Dr. Paul J. Danielson for numerous suggestions and assistance.
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Representative Studies of Changes In Intergroup Attitudes: Before and After Testing
National Defense Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes: Enrollee Data Summary
Summary of the Maximum Effect of Instruction on Ethnic Attitudes of Experimental Groups
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ABSTRACT

An attempt was made to measure the attitudinal shift of 77 high school counselors from the Southwest following a series of National Defense Education Act Guidance and Counseling Institutes which emphasized the ethnic group differences of the Mexican-American and the Southwest Indian.

An adaptation of Osgood's semantic differential was used to measure the counselor's attitudes toward these ethnic groups pre, post, and follow-up. The instrument contained 60 pairs of polar adjectives on an unmarked scale of seven intervals.

The experimental group was made up of members of the 1961, 1962, and 1963 National Defense Education Act Guidance and Counseling Institutes held at the University of Arizona during the respective summers.

The control group of 125 subjects was made up from members of the 1964 NDEA Guidance and Counseling Institute which did not stress ethnic differences, two classes in Techniques in Educational Research, one class in Foundations of Guidance, and one class in Social Foundations of Education. All classes in the control group were measured pre and post-lecture period during the summer of 1964.

The group mean differences were examined and no significant changes were found for any group between the pre and post means and the pre and follow-up means.
There are a number of interesting and seemingly worthwhile possibilities to pursue in these findings. The three that seem most logical to explore are (1) the appropriateness of the instrument, (2) the effectiveness of the method used to change counselor attitudes, and (3) the tenacious nature of stereotypes.
A. The Importance of Counselor Attitudes

The vital importance of counselor attitudes and value systems have come into the foreground during the past decade. A survey of the literature in the field indicates that prior to 1957 very few articles were written in these areas. The opposite is true today. (McGowan and Schmidt, 1962).

One might speculate that this interest is an outgrowth of Title V of the National Defense Education Act. Perhaps it is the normal growth pattern for any new profession. There is a tendency for new professions to go through an initial stage of almost complete concentration on techniques and ideas. As competence is gained in these areas, more attention is focused on philosophical issues. It may be a combination of the two or an entirely different factor(s). Regardless of cause, attitudes and value systems of counselors are the focus of much attention today.

This concern can be traced to research findings which indicate that counselor attitudes are just as important as the techniques used in counseling, if not more so. Researchers found that successful counseling did not depend on the theoretical approach used by the counselor. Closer investigation revealed that many different techniques worked for any one of these approaches. In final analysis the success in
counseling, whether based on counselee satisfaction or the opinion of expert judges, was related directly to the attitudes of the counselor.

Attitudes have many sources. They may be based on misinformation or false deductions from correct information. They are most frequently the result of conditioning by home and society. The personality needs of the individual are sometimes thought to be sources of attitudes. The process of living produces a seemingly endless array of attitudes.

Whatever the source may be of these attitudes, regardless of whether these attitudes are expressed verbally or non-verbally, consciously or unconsciously during the counseling process, they become the main determinants of success or failure in counseling (Goodstein and Grigg, 1959; Rogers, 1958; Tyler, 1961).

It is necessary to investigate and define the counseling process before showing the relationship which exists between that process and the counselor's attitudes.

B. Counseling Defined

The word counseling has been used to describe a variety of helping or advising situations. The confusion that follows such a practice is quite natural. Tyler (1961) describes the word counseling as "one of those words that everybody understands but no two people seem to understand in precisely the same way" (p. 1).

Regardless of the confusion which may surround the term, it has been accepted by most authorities in the field as the number one

This basic position does little to clarify the meaning of the term counseling. As Tyler (1961) has intimated there is not one definition of counseling but many. Each of the several approaches emphasizes different techniques to achieve the goals. Therefore, each theoretical approach has a slightly different definition. Rather than become entangled in describing the various approaches to counseling and the theories upon which they are built, one major objective of counseling as viewed by this writer will be discussed.

**Counseling as viewed in this study:** It would seem that several counseling approaches have one goal in mind. That aim is to help individuals understand and accept what they are and in light of this new awareness to realize their potential, if necessary through alteration or modification of their attitudes, outlook, or behavior (McGowan and Schmidt, 1962).

The emphasis on learning more about one's self is also stressed by Rogers (1962).

Effective counseling consists of a definitely structured, permissive relationship which allows the client to gain an understanding of himself to a degree which enables him to take positive steps in the light of his new orientation. The aim is not to solve one particular problem, but to assist the individual to grow, so that he can cope with the present problem and with later problems in a better integrated fashion (pp. 18 and 28).

Another example that underscores this aspect of learning and its relationship to counseling is Shoben's (as reported in McGowan and Schmidt, 1962) comment:
In short, from the learning experience that counseling affords, the client acquires a nonanxious and more flexible approach to the business of living, the ability to develop his own way of life according to his own self-critically assessed values, and a foresighted evaluation of the various situations with which he must deal (p. 189).

Therefore, the counseling process may be viewed as a unique learning situation. This learning situation requires some basic elements to survive. Perhaps the most vital component is the sense of mutual trust and understanding which must prevail between the counselee and counselor. Acceptance and empathy are woven into mutual trust in such a fashion that they cannot be separated. The outcome is an atmosphere which is conducive to learning. Within this non-threatening climate the counselee has freedom to explore thoughts and feelings which otherwise may not be formulated or expressed. The counselee is encouraged to grow in self-understanding. He, therefore, learns more about himself in relationship to the world in which he lives. The final objective of this learning process is a greater degree of self-direction.

The term rapport is used to summarize all of the components which go into making the atmosphere of the counseling interview conducive to learning.

C. Role of Rapport

Rapport has been described by Boy and Pine (1963) as the totality of the client-counselor relationship. It is the sum of all feelings, attitudes, perceptions, etc., that go into this one-to-one relationship which frees the counselee to explore the question, "Who am I?" It is
the ability of the counselor to accept the counselee for what he is now; it is the counselor's ability to see the counselee's world through his frame of reference; it is a warm and genuine relationship; it is non-judgmental; it is all of this and more. When these counselor attitudes prevail the counselee feels at ease to discuss his views of problems that are meaningful to him. This relationship frees the counselee to investigate both the affective and cognitive sides of his thinking or problem.

Responsibility for rapport: As indicated in the preceding section the counselor must assume the responsibility for establishing rapport. Regardless of whether the counselee is a self-referral or referred by someone else, the counselor must make every effort to establish a meaningful working relationship. The counselor will not always be successful in this effort. Why should the counselor fail?

Barriers to rapport: The warm, non-judgmental atmosphere which is characteristic of the true counseling relationship does not just happen. It requires that the counselor accept the individual as he is. This acceptance theme is a basic premise on which counseling rapport is built (Tyler, 1961; McGowan and Schmidt, 1962; McDaniel, 1956). However, according to many research studies there is a widespread tendency for the American people, especially the major reference group which consists mainly of the middle-class Anglos, to stereotype and bear prejudice toward ethnic groups in our society (Allport, 1960; Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachley, 1962; Saenger, 1953; Sherif and Sherif, 1956). This discrepancy between the conditions necessary to
establish rapport and the actual state of affairs raises the question of how a counselor can be acceptant of ethnic groups if he tends to classify the individuals of these groups all under one set of characteristics and traits? It is assumed that counselors belong to the major reference group in this country. Evidence that counselors belong to the major reference group and do have a tendency to stereotype ethnic groups will now be examined.

Do counselors stereotype ethnic groups?: The assumption is, of course, that they do. The literature is not replete with studies that point directly to the counselor as a bearer of stereotyped attitudes toward specific ethnic groups. Therefore, this point will be established by inference.

The steps used by this writer to establish that counselors do have stereotyped beliefs are as follows: (1) furnish evidence that the major reference group (white, middle-class, Americans) in our society does have stereotyped beliefs and (2) provide evidence that most counselors are members of the major reference group.

Many studies support the prevalence of stereotyped attitudes toward minority groups in our society (Hartley and Hartley, 1959; Klineberg, 1950; Martin, 1964; Sherif and Sherif, 1956; Williams, 1964). Katz and Braly found that college students tend to pick the same personality traits to describe ethnic groups as students in the same institution did 18 years before. The students in the later study had less tendency toward generalization. However, they still described the Italian as "impulsive and artistic," the Negro as being "lazy, happy go
lucky," the Jew as being "shrewd, ambitious, mercenary" (as reported in Saenger, 1953).

Williams (1964) summarizes the situation when he says:

No major culture or racial division is immune to stereotyping. The prevalence of it is well illustrated by the numerous derogatory nicknames used by the members of racial or ethnic groups. All known racial or ethnic groups have some such derogatory names (ethnophaulisms) to refer to outgroups and their members (p. 41).

There is some indication then that the major reference group in this country consistently places various ethnic groups in stereotyped classifications. It is interesting to note that the two ethnic groups, the Mexican-American and the Southwest Indian, used as a basis for study in this dissertation were ranked 26th and 21st, respectively, in Bogardus' 1946 study of social distance and 27th and 21st, respectively, in his 1926 study. These rankings point out two very important concepts which are central to this study. First of all, the perseverance of the rankings indicates something of the tenacious nature of stereotypes. Secondly, these rankings place the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American in or near the lower fourth of groups ranked. Evidently they are viewed as having a number of undesirable traits or characteristics common to all members and these views have persisted over the years.

Do counselors belong to the major reference group in this country? According to Miller (1961) and others, this question must be answered in the affirmative. They indicate that guidance functions in the public schools are for the most part carried on by teachers or by counselors recruited almost entirely from the ranks of teachers. They
then summarizes a group of studies which give definite indication that teachers belong to the major reference group or in-group.

Thus far we have noted studies which have dealt with the social, educational, and occupational backgrounds of teachers. There seems to be considerable agreement that teachers come typically from lower-middle class and upper-lower class homes (p. 108).

Evidence indicates that the counselor is a member of the major reference group in this country. Membership in this group would mean that he very likely holds stereotyped attitudes or views of the minority groups -- especially the ethnic groups.

If we assume that counselors do hold ethnic attitudes which are, in part, made up of stereotypes, how will these attitudes affect rapport?

The effect of ethnic stereotypes on rapport: The question of whether one can stereotype ethnic groups without being prejudiced to a degree still remains to be answered. It would seem (the evidence will be examined in detail in the Review of Related Literature) that one must be at least slightly prejudiced if he places ethnic groups at a disadvantage in his thinking. This categorical thinking would not leave the thinker with an open mind necessary to establish counseling rapport. A person may feel that all Jews are shrewd, mercenary, and ambitious or that all Indians are lazy and dirty. Such generalizations do not in themselves necessarily imply hostile feelings toward these groups, although they may tend to block the possibility of a fresh, unbiased approach to the individual member of a group toward whom we harbor specific stereotypes. The possibility of establishing counseling
rapport if the counselor holds such stereotyped beliefs seems rather slight.

It might be well to point out that there are other reasons why rapport may fail. Social class, mannerisms, religious beliefs, and many other aspects of the individual, regardless of ethnic group, could be the object(s) of counselor attitudes and, therefore, could also be a determinant of counseling rapport.

While ethnic attitudes may be only one of many causes which may lead to poor rapport, they will be the subject of this study. At this point it would seem that enough information is available to set forth the purpose of this study.

D. Purpose of This Study

The main purpose of this study is to explore the extent to which these attitudes have been changed by instruction, instruction which emphasized the uniqueness of the individual, and specifically as this uniqueness applies to the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American. In conjunction with this instruction the counselors were encouraged to interact in small groups following each period of instruction. These small groups were led by qualified members of the instructional staff. The purpose of the small group discussion was to provide a less threatening atmosphere in which the members could ask questions and express personal feelings.

Broadly stated, the goals of the instructional program were to (1) assist the counselor in becoming more cognizant and acceptant of individual differences in general and (2) specifically to become more
fully aware of these differences as they pertain to the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American. This growth in understanding and accepting the individual would presumably lead to a greater possibility of building the rapport necessary to establish an effective counseling relationship.

To recapitulate: There is an increasing concern about the attitudes and values held by counselors. This concern is based on research that demonstrates the importance of counselor attitudes.

The assumption that learning more about one's self was set forth as the central objective of counseling as viewed by this writer.

In this learning process rapport is considered essential to achieve the maximum benefit from counseling.

At least one reason for failure to establish good rapport is the counselor's failure to accept the counselee as a person regardless of race, religion, or creed. The counselor's failure to accept the counselee can often be attributed to stereotyped concepts he has of minority groups. Can these attitudes be changed?

E. Statement of the Problem and Hypotheses

The problem: Does short term instruction, which includes time for small group interaction following lectures, in cultural anthropology cause a shift in counselor attitudes toward the personal characteristics of adolescents in selected Southwest ethnic groups and if so, will the change(s) persist over a one, two, and three year period?

In pursuing this problem an attempt will be made to answer the following questions:
1. Will there be a significant change in the counselor's attitudes toward the Southwest Indian and Mexican-American following a period of instruction emphasizing the cultural anthropological backgrounds of the two ethnic groups?

2. Will there be a significant change in the attitudes of subjects toward these ethnic groups regardless of the method or subject matter taught?

3. If modification of attitudes occurs in the group of counselors, will these changes persist over a 1, 2, and 3 year period?

4. Will concepts about categories of traits be more subject to change with instruction than concepts about individual traits?

The hypotheses: The following Null Hypotheses will be tested:

1. There will be no significant difference in the manner in which the experimental group ranks certain characteristics and traits of the Southwest Indian and Mexican-American before and after a program of instruction which emphasizes the cultural aspects of these two ethnic groups and allows time for small group seminars.

2. There will be no significant difference between the pre- and post-training rating of these characteristics and traits when members of one control group, Group A, are given an opportunity to interact in small group seminars but are not given instruction which emphasizes the cultural aspects of these ethnic groups.

3. There will be no significant differences between the pre- and post-training rating of these characteristics and traits when members of four control groups (Groups B - E) receive instruction which
neither allows time for small group interaction nor emphasizes the cultural aspects of these ethnic groups.

4. There will be no significant difference between the expressed attitudes of the experimental group as measured before a program of instruction that emphasizes the cultural aspects of these ethnic groups and one to three years later.

5. There will be no significant difference in the pre- and post-training attitudes as expressed by all control groups and the pre-training and follow-up studies of attitudes expressed by all experimental groups toward these ethnic groups when the characteristics and traits ranked are separated into the broad categories considered significant by a panel of "experts."

F. Significance of the Problem

During the past decade there has been a marked increase in the interest and concern for the attitudes and values held by counselors. As indicated before, the success of the counseling interview depends as much, if not more, on the attitudes possessed by the counselor than it does on techniques used. This situation would seem to lead quite naturally into investigating ways and means of dealing with counselor attitudes and values as well as facts and ideas.

At the current stage in the evolution of the guidance and counseling profession methods for teaching facts and ideas have been investigated at some length. Will these same methods serve equally well for teaching attitudes and values?
Counselor educators appear to hold mixed feelings about this possibility as evidenced by the diversity of approaches to counselor education. Some feel that only the concrete, the objective, can be considered. Others feel that the approach to counselor education should be more general, that attitudes and values should be developed. Educators with this orientation are more concerned that the counselor understand and accept the counselee and himself than they are in what the counselor says during the interview.

This apparent lack of agreement on approach seems to have left the traditional classroom lecture procedure as the accepted method for "teaching" attitudes and values. There is little evidence to support this approach. Perhaps an entirely new orientation is needed to improve counselor effectiveness in this area.

The purpose of this study is to test the effectiveness of the traditional lecture-group interaction approach as a vehicle for instilling or changing attitudes and values of counselors and/or counselor candidates.

It would seem that the current emphasis on values and attitudes of counselors will entail a considerable amount of testing of old methods and experimentation with new methods. This is an attempt to verify the validity of the traditional.

The significance of the problem is nationwide. However, it is of special importance to educators in the Southwest where the largest numbers of these ethnic groups reside. There are no figures available that would give an indication of the total number of students from
these ethnic groups that are counseled. However, one can get some idea by examining the number of people from these groups that reside in the Southwestern states. According to the 1960 United States census, there were 3,164,999 individuals living in this area with Spanish surnames. There were 214,369 Indians living in the same region, or nearly 63 percent of all the Indians living in the United States. Therefore, it would seem that school counselors from this area would very likely be involved in counseling members of at least one of the groups.

G. Definitions and Limitations

There appears to be no field of human behavior which does not have a diversity of definitions. The variety seems endless and it is completely dependent upon the author's frame of reference. Perhaps this is as it should be. However, it does make communication difficult. For example, a review of related literature by Nelson and reported by Harper, Christensen, and Hunka (1964) revealed 23 more or less different definitions of the word "attitude." One must know the author's frame of reference before communication can be established in the area of attitudinal research.

With this thought in mind, it seems advisable to define the concepts and terms used.

Definitions: The following definitions are offered as a frame of reference from which this writer approaches the problem:

Anglo: An expression common to the Southwestern United States. Used to differentiate the Caucasian from other ethnic groups in the region.
Attitude: An enduring, learned predisposition to behave in a consistent way toward a given class of objects; a persistent mental and/or neural state of readiness to react to a certain object or class of objects, not as they are but as they are conceived to be. It is by the consistency of response to a class of objects that an attitude is identified. The readiness state has directive effect upon feeling and action related to the object (English and English, 1958, p. 50).

Many writers feel that an attitude is formed when the evaluative function is introduced into a constellation of concepts that a person may have in reference to object or group of objects. English and English seem to be alluding to this idea when they state in their definition, "... not as they are but as they are conceived to be."

For the purpose of this study a concept or group of concepts will become an attitude once an evaluative function is performed. That is, a person may conceive of the Southwest Indian as being short, black haired, dark skinned but when DIRTY, LAZY or some other evaluative word or phrase is added the concept becomes an attitude.

Belief: An emotional acceptance of a proposition or doctrine upon what one implicitly considers adequate grounds. The grounds for belief, however, are often not examined, nor does the believer imply that others have the same grounds. Beliefs have varying degrees of subjective certitude (English and English, 1958, p. 64).

Concept: Any object of awareness together with its significance or meaning; anything one can think about that can be distinguished from other "things." A general meaning, an idea or a property that can be predicated of two or more individual items; knowledge that is not directly perceived through the senses but is the result of the manipulation of sensory impressions (English and English, 1958, p. 104).

Culture: The pattern of all those arrangements, material or behavioral, whereby a particular society achieves for its members greater satisfactions than they can achieve in a state of nature. It includes social institutions and knowledge, belief, art, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man or a member of society (English and English, 1958, p. 133).

Ethnic Attitude: It is an attitude toward an individual member of an ethnic group or the entire group, an attitude held in common by many persons. It is an attitude which may be either positive or negative depending on the context in which it is
used. When the valence of this attitude is negative varying degrees of prejudice, discrimination, and/or stereotyping are assumed.

As used in the context of this dissertation the connotation will be negative; i.e., it will be used as a general term subsuming under it all those attitudes which tend to place an ethnic group at a disadvantage.

Ethnic Group: Pertaining to any important continuing group or division of mankind. Ethnic group is an intentionally vague or general term used to avoid some of the difficulties of the word "race." The ethnic groups may be a nation, a people (such as the Jews), a language group (the Dakota Indians), a sociologically defined so-called race (the American Negro), or a group bound together in a coherent cultural entity by religion (the Amish), (English and English, 1958, p. 189).

Major Reference Group: As used here major reference group refers to the white, middle-class, Americans who make up the bulk of the population in the United States. Also referred to be many authors as the in-group.

Mexican-American: Those Spanish speaking people, or their descendants, that immigrated from Mexico or became citizens of the United States through the annexation of territory to our country. The great majority of them are mestizo or mixed Spanish and Indian Stock. The rest are immigrants and descendants of immigrants from Spain with perhaps admixture of unknown quantities from other racial stocks (Walter, 1952).

Opinion: A belief that one holds to be without emotional commitment or desire, and to be open to re-evaluation since the evidence is not affirmed to be convincing. It is capable of verbal expression under appropriate circumstances, at least, to oneself. The presumed objectivity of opinion distinguishes it from other attitudes, ... But even though influenced thus by motive or desire, opinion is addressed to a matter involving some knowledge and a measurable amount of factual evidence (English and English, 1958, p. 358).

Prejudice: The term prejudice is derived from prejudgment. We judge a specific person or idea on the basis of preconceived notions, without bothering to verify our beliefs or to examine the merits of our judgment. ... Prejudices always involve feelings and a system of more or less out-spoken stereotyped beliefs. ... Prejudices, like all attitudes, may motivate us to act in a friendly or hostile way toward the objects of our prejudice, depending upon the nature and
intensity of our feelings. But in common with all attitudes, prejudice does not necessarily lead to action (Saenger, 1953, p. 3-4).

Rapport: Rapport includes everything that the counselor has put into the relationship; it is what enables two people to function in an association of mutual respect and trust ... and in counseling permissiveness, acceptance, understanding, empathy, and similar attitudes all add up to a feeling between client and counselor which we call rapport.

It is perhaps a summation of all aspects of the relationship between client and counselor — the totality of the relationship which enables the client to relate freely (Boy and Pine, 1963, p. 57).

Reference Group: Any group with which a person identifies and/or compares himself to such an extent that he tends to adopt its standards, attitudes, and behaviors as his own. Such reference groups, to which people see themselves as belonging, may or may not correspond to actual membership groups. For a particular person there may be — and usually are — several such groups (English and English, 1958, p. 232).

Short-term Instruction: Instruction which is of less than one semester in duration. In the context of this study it refers to the four to eight week long institutes, workshops, and summer sessions commonly operated by institutions of higher learning in this country.


Southwest Indians: The Navajos, the Pueblos, and the Apaches, all living chiefly in Arizona and New Mexico, form the main body of this group. The tribes in this group numerically account for about one-fourth (88,000) of the Indians of the United States. Other lesser tribes of the Southwest are also included in this category (Walter, 1952).

Stereotype: A relatively simplex cognition, especially of a social group (e.g., 'All Orientals look alike.') Stereotypes tend to be widely shared by members of a given society. Stereotypes may be seen as an instance of the part-whole principle in cognition, in that our judgment of any particular individual member of a group is influenced by our stereotypes of the group to which he belongs (Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, p. 67).
Limitations: This study is based on data that were collected over a period of three and one-half years. The author assisted in the collection of the last one-third of the experimental data and all of the control data. The fact that the author did not collect all the data leaves some question as to the uniformity of administration of the measuring instrument.

Another area of more serious nature is the question of reliability and validity of the measuring instrument. The instrument was not validated prior to use.

The fact that this research is primarily concerned with stereotyped attitudes of two Southwest ethnic groups may limit its usefulness. Whether these findings will apply to other minority groups may be questioned.

H. Summary

Counseling is basically a learning process whereby the counselee learns more about himself thereby improving his self-directive abilities. The atmosphere, rapport, conducive to this learning process is difficult to establish. A breakdown in establishing rapport becomes the responsibility of the counselor. When there is a failure to establish rapport, one of the possible barriers may be that the counselor has not accepted the counselee as a person of worth with no reservations. It was pointed out that inability of the counselor to accept the person may be related to the stereotypes he harbors, consciously or unconsciously, of individuals not members of the major group to which he belongs.
The problem is: Can these stereotyped attitudes be changed by the traditional lecture, group interaction process. If so, will the changes persist?
A review of the statements regarding the definition and use of the term stereotype leaves one a bit confused, particularly as to whether stereotype and prejudice are interchangeable terms. Is stereotype an attitude, an image, or percept; a group concept or a group attitude; an individual concept or an individual attitude? The lack of differentiation among and vagueness concerning the many processes subsumed under the term stereotype make the researcher's work a somewhat precarious undertaking. Perhaps the situation is best summed up in a statement from Simpson and Yinger (1958):

Many writers have tried to define the key concepts involved in the study of intergroup relations. Sharp disagreements have frequently resulted from differences in definition, partly because of a misunderstanding of the nature of definitions. Definitions do not reveal what the data in question "really are." The phenomena of the world are not divided into neat, mutually exclusive types .... They flow endlessly one into another, by minute gradations, and any definition which tries to draw a sharp line is bound to be arbitrary to some degree. The phenomena included within the definition are not exactly alike, but only more or less alike; some phenomena excluded are also alike -- but presumably less rather than more. In defining relations as complicated as those with which we are dealing in this study, with so many variables involved, one is bound to run into disagreement over what is more and what is less (p. 11).

A. The Nature of Stereotypes

Some of the earlier writing in the area of stereotypes made no discrimination between prejudice and stereotype. Floyd Allport (1924) referred to stereotype as being synonymous with prejudice and that it
could best be described as an over-simplified experience resulting in an attitude. Others in this period considered stereotypes to be composites of ideas and attitudes making up a "picture in our heads (Lippman, 1922), an approach carried on by McGill (as reported in Gordon, 1962) when he wrote that stereotypes are those pictures of things which we carry about in our heads. This picture or image concept was investigated by Katz and Braly (1933), who recognized stereotype as a problem relating to group membership and one that could therefore be investigated by having individuals "draw pictures" of minority or racial groups from a common lot of descriptive adjectives.

The stereotype is regarded by some writers to be not so much a percept as an attitude. One such group of researchers was Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb (as reported in Gordon, 1962):

Our attitude towards races, nations, flags, national anthems and toward the words which crystallize generally accepted values such as freedom, honour, democracy, etc., tend in general to be imprinted upon us in a more or less standardised (sic) form. It serves the purpose of all but the most sophisticated and careful forms of thought. Where no thought but only emotion is involved, the stereotypes are infinite labour savers (p. 5).

The classification of stereotypes as a concept rather than an image or attitude has been presented by Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey (1962):

Stereotypes are relatively simple cognitions of social groups which blind the individual to the manifold differences among the members of any group — racial, ethnic, age, sex, social — and tend to freeze his judgments (p. 53).

Young (1956) is more emphatic when he states his position with reference to the classification of stereotypes:
It seems unwise to use stereotype as a name for the entire baggage of internalized content of the person, nor should it be used to mean attitude. The latter is an action tendency. Rather it is best to define stereotype as a false, classificatory concept to which, as a rule, some strong emotional feeling tone of like or dislike, approval or disapproval, is attached (p. 189).

Sherif and Sherif (1956) in their textbook, *An Outline of Social Psychology*, do not handle the concept of stereotype in a direct fashion. Rather than specifically defining stereotype they place it under the broad heading of social attitude. They feel that positive and negative intergroup attitudes are derived from interaction between two or more groups, with norms of social distance the end products of such an interaction; the attitudes are not merely reflections of transitory relations (friendly or hostile) among individuals.

Gordon Allport (1954) defines stereotype as follows:

> Whether favorable or unfavorable, a stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category.... A stereotype is not identical with a category; it is rather a fixed idea that accompanies the category.... The stereotype acts both as a justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, and as a screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking (pp. 191-192).

Allport seems to agree with Lippmann's "picture in the head" approach cited before. He advances the idea that category, cognitive organization, linguistic label, and stereotype are all aspects of a complex mental process. However, he does not refer to stereotypes as attitudes but seems inclined to label them fixed ideas accompanying a category; that is, they are ideational content (the image) bound in with the category.
The "pictures in the head" concept of stereotypes is also supported by McDonagh and Richards (1953):

... a social stereotype is an image that is associated with a particular ethnic group. These images may be based on insufficient contact with representative members of the ethnic group. Examples from the movies might be: "the happy" Negro, "the cunning" Jew, "the intoxicated" Irishman, "the cruel" Indian, etc. (p. 398).

It would seem from the diversity of views presented that agreement as to the nature of stereotypes is yet to be reached. Gordon (1962) summarizes this:

In other words the term stereotype does not, at present, convey any clear idea as to whether it is a question of images, or concepts or of attitudes, whether we are dealing with the totality of those various structures and, if the latter, whether all of them need to participate in the configuration. Furthermore, no allowance has been made for the fact that several distinct concepts or attitudes may be ranged about the same subject, nor does it encourage investigation into the degree of compatibility between the different types of processes (p. 17).

This same point of view is held by Fishman (1956):

One of the chief difficulties with this concept (stereotype), however, is the very fact that there seems to be no uniform definition of what it denotes. Many recent studies employing it, do so almost in an off-hand manner, depending entirely on an "everyday," "common sense" grasp of what this term signifies (p. 27).

The relationship which exists between the terms stereotype and prejudice must be examined before a frame of reference can be established for their use in this study.

Relationship of stereotypes to prejudice: The fact that stereotype is a concept closely related to prejudice is a point stressed by many authors. Rinehart (1963) defines prejudice as a feeling of hostility toward the members of a race, nationality, or ethnic group. He
then defines stereotype as a set of beliefs that people have about such
groups, categorical generalizations that are usually oversimplified and
seldom correspond with facts.

Martin (1964) associates prejudice and stereotype rather close-
ly. He states that:

In order to amplify the definition of prejudice we should
consider a closely related concept, the stereotype, because it
plays an important functional role in attitudes of prejudice.
A stereotype refers to a rigid mental image that one has of
some particular group. This "picture in the mind" that purports
to represent an entire group in a single inflexible image is
likely to distort a person's perception (p. 12).

Berelson and Steiner (1964) have this to say about prejudice:

By prejudice we mean essentially a hostile attitude toward
an ethnic group, or a member thereof, as such. Some defini-
tions go on to say that prejudice means a hostile attitude that
is preconceived or without foundation in fact or knowledge.
But such qualifications are often difficult to establish ....
The first term (prejudice) refers to feelings (that may or may
not be expressed), the second (discrimination) to actions. For
example, thinking that Negroes are ignorant or Jews pushy or
Mexicans lazy is prejudice (p. 495). (Underscoring is mine.)

In fact, a number of writers in the field equate prejudice and stereo-
type:

The list of writers who have equated stereotypes with ethnic
prejudice by underscoring how wrong and misinformed are the views
held by bigots is much too long to mention here (Fishman, 1956,
p. 28).

The conclusion which seems apparent in these findings is that
if an individual stereotypes ethnic groups he is also PREJUDICED! For
example, when an individual has a "picture in his mind" which tends to
classify all Indians as less clean, less highly motivated, less honest
than the average Anglo, he is prejudiced whether he makes his thoughts
publicly known or not; the thoughts contain the hostile element essential to prejudice.

At this juncture the point could be raised that there are also positive stereotypes. The point is conceded. However, in the field of ethnic relations the term is rarely used to denote positive "pictures in the mind."

A frame of reference: An ethnic stereotype is an inseparable component of an ethnic attitude. The total components making up an attitude are examined in the next section of this chapter. For the present discussion it will be sufficient to say that attitudes are generally considered to be made up of three components -- cognitive, affective and behavioral. These component parts are inter-related and tend to be consonant. Also, there are attitudes within the ethnic constellation of attitudes which influence, as well as are influenced by, these components. This is one reason why it is so difficult to explain the role and function of ethnic attitudes clearly. For example, when one speaks of a stereotype one is speaking of the cognitive component of an attitude. However, there are also a group of attitudes which are affected by, and at the same time re-enforce, the process of stereotyping. This is not to say that a stereotype is an attitude but that there are clusters of attitudes related to the stereotyping process.

The components of an attitude as well as the attitudes which reflect these components are inter-related and tend to be consonant. Therefore, if an individual stereotypes ethnic groups, he will also tend to be prejudiced and to make discriminations.
Briefly, ethnic stereotype as used in the present study may be described as (1) a mental image or set which tends to view all members of an ethnic group as being essentially the same, and (2) the cognitive aspect of an ethnic attitude which tends to place another group at a disadvantage.

Characteristics of ethnic attitudes: Prior discussion gave some indication as to the general characteristics of attitudes, and ethnic attitudes in particular. In order to appreciate the complex nature of attitudes a more detailed analysis is necessary.

Because of the thoroughness of their studies, Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey's (1962) discussion of attitudes will be examined in detail. According to these authors, attitudes are made up of the following components:

1. The cognitive component which consists of the beliefs of the individual about the object.

2. The feeling component which refers to the emotions connected with the object.

3. The action tendency component which includes all the behavioral readinesses associated with the attitude (p. 140).

They also state that:

Not all attitudes are alike in their systemic structure. They differ from one another in a number of basic characteristics. How an attitude governs action is in part determined by its particular pattern of characteristics. Some of these basic characteristics pertain to the nature of the system itself. And some pertain to the nature of the total constellation of attitudes of an individual (p. 141).

According to this source the major characteristics of the components are (1) valence, (2) multiplexity, (3) consistency, (4) interconnectedness, and (5) consonance of attitude cluster.
These authors feel that an attitude may always be described as either favorable or unfavorable and this variation will be accompanied by an appropriate valence sign of positive or negative. The degree to which valence varies either in a positive or negative direction becomes very important in the measurement of characteristics of attitudes. The authors also state that there is a strong tendency for consistent valence among the component parts. If a person's cognitions of the Southwest Indian are negative, i.e., his knowledge gained from reading, personal contact, etc., have all indicated that the Indian has some undesirable traits, then the valences of his feelings and action tendencies will also tend to be negative.

Multiplexity refers to the number of beliefs one has about the object of an attitude; that is, if the number of cognitions with reference to the object are minimal, the person's feeling and action components will hover near zero valence and this attitude will be subject to change. However, the authors could find little evidence that indicated consistency in degree of multiplexity among the three attitude components. According to this source a single cognition may lead to a rather complex set of feelings.

The authors also point to the tendency of attitudes to be interconnected and organized. It seems that man has few isolated attitudes. If he feels a strong positive attitude toward the Catholic Church, there will be a cluster of related attitudes which reflect the Church's basic position on such issues as politics, science, fine arts,
and family relationships. There is a high degree of interconnectedness in any attitude constellation.

The last characteristic of attitude components is consonance. Krech et al. (1962) point out that a certain cluster of attitudes may be harmonious while another cluster of attitudes may be characterized by lesser harmony. For example, if a person enjoys Mexican food, agrees that many Mexican-Americans are forced to face discriminatory action by Anglos, and spends much of his vacation time in Mexico, there is a high degree of consonance in his attitudinal structure of this ethnic group.

Perception and motivation as attitudinal components: Another way of dealing with attitudinal structure is to emphasize the perceptual and motivational components of attitudes. Hartley and Hartley (1959) and others take this approach. They feel that motives modify perceptions and perceptions define the available incentives and goals. The two components are closely interrelated, but the functioning of the individual can best be understood if an attempt is made to separate them. Thus, if one is highly motivated to receive a college education his perceptions of obstacles in reaching this goal will be far different from those of one with less motivation. The fact that social attitudes often form a frame of reference structuring the social field indicates that the way we perceive a situation will also have a bearing on our motivation.

A slightly different approach to describing social attitudes is used by Rosenberg et al. (1960). They deal with attitude organization
and change from a cognitive, affective, and behavioral point of view, just as did Krach et al., but emphasize the importance of the object of the attitudes' potential for furthering or hindering a goal. Rosenberg's principal hypothesis was as follows:

When a person has a relatively stable tendency to respond to a given object with either positive or negative affect, such a tendency is accompanied by a cognitive structure made up of beliefs about the potentialities of that object for attaining or blocking the realization of valued states; the sign (negative or positive) and extremity of the affect felt toward the object are correlated with the content of its associated cognitive structure (pp. 17-18).

This hypothesis was changed in the 1960 study to include a homeostatic concept of attitude dynamics; however, the component parts remained unchanged. The cognitions of the individual determine both affective and behavioral reactions. If the person views the object as an obstruction to attaining a primary goal, the attitude will most likely be intense and will carry a negative valence of nearly equal value. His behavior will depend on many factors but in general it will correlate with his feelings toward the object.

To recapitulate, many writers in the field believe ethnic attitudes have three basic components: affective, cognitive, and behavioral. While many of them may not make specific reference to the characteristics of these components, they do discuss intensity, direction, consonance, and interrelatedness as important features of ethnic attitudes. These three intervening variables (affect, cognition, and behavior) between social stimuli and response will vary directly with how a person feels toward and views a given object. These feelings vary in intensity and direction, depending on the value of the goal.
believed to be furthered or hindered by the object of the attitude. There is a tendency for attitudes within one cluster to be consonant and interrelated.

B. The Formation and Function of Ethnic Attitudes

The lack of agreement about the nature of stereotypes is reflected in the many and diverse theories or hypotheses as to the formation of stereotypes. However, this diversity does seem to fall into three more or less separate categories: (1) group needs, (2) individual personality needs, and (3) cultural teachings in our society. Therefore, the discussion which follows will outline some of the thinking in these three broad areas of ethnic attitude formation.

Group needs and ethnic attitudes: Group needs refer to those needs which institutions (economic, educational, political, or religious) in our society deem necessary to maintain or enhance their position in the power structure of the community. Of these four institutions the two with the greatest amount of group conflict seem to be the economic and political, with educational and religious groups occupying a lesser role. For fear of losing a superior position or in an attempt to gain a more favorable position, these groups employ prejudice toward and stereotyping of the group(s) that they feel threaten their position. They seem rarely to be aware of these social attitudes and, if reminded of them, either deny their existence or are able in some way to "justify" these feelings and/or actions.

Some authors consider only one facet of this power struggle, such as economic profit, as the central factor in the formation of
these attitudes, thereby seemingly overlooking the broad, fundamental need of man to belong to a group. Therefore, this broader aspect, ethnocentrism, will be examined in some detail.

**A basic group need - Ethnocentrism:** The loyalty to one's group with a corollary disdain or hostility toward other groups has long been recognized in sociological theory. The importance of ethnocentrism as a source of prejudice and stereotype has also received much attention (Allport, 1954; Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachy, 1962; Martin, 1964; Sherif and Sherif, 1956; Simpson and Yinger, 1958). The individual views the in-group, of which he is a member, as his group. This feeling of belonging is never so intense as when there is believed to be an imminent threat to the group from other groups (out-groups such as ethnic, minority, or racial groups). The feeling that one's own group is superior to opposing groups and their members is the basis for the in-group's morale. Evidence of in-group and out-group rivalry and conflict is everywhere noticeable in our society. Note the nearly hysterical cheering sections at high school basketball games, the emotions stirred up in the last presidential election, or the current segregation problem in our schools. The individual in our society is conditioned to group competitiveness throughout his life. From cowboys and Indians in childhood to Democrat versus Republican views on Medicare in old age, the individual is taught the advantages and disadvantages of group membership. One of the major themes of this conditioning is that someone is usually the "bad guy," "the crook," "the opportunist," "the loser." The step from ethnocentrism to prejudice
and stereotyping is a very short one. If one adopts the view of Martin (1964) no step is needed:

Ethnocentrism is the root of almost all the evil in intergroup relations. The "tribalistic" in-group allegiance has evidently characterized human groups, to some degree, throughout human history. So firmly imbedded in human culture is it, that some observers understandably cannot resist the temptation to call it "natural." Ethnocentrism is so pervasive in human affairs that it is conspicuous only when not displayed ... One must be either for or against ... Group loyalty is a cardinal value in all societies (p. 129).

Allport (1954) emphasizes the lack of communication between the in-group and the out-group as the basis for stereotyping:

Once this separation exists, however, the ground is laid for all sorts of psychological elaboration. People who stay separate have few channels of communication. They easily exaggerate the degree of difference between groups, and readily misunderstand the grounds for it. And, perhaps most important of all, the separateness may lead to genuine conflicts of interest, as well as to many imaginary conflicts.

Let us take an example. The Mexican worker in Texas is sharply set off from the Anglo employer. He lives apart, speaks a different language, has totally different tradition, and attends a different church. His children, very likely, do not attend the same school as do the employer's children ... He notes that Juan is irregular in his work, seems indolent and uncommunicative. Nothing is easier than for the employer to assume that this behavior is characteristic of Juan's entire group. He develops a stereotype concerning the laziness, improvidence, and undependability of the Mexicans (p. 19).

One of the aspects of ethnocentrism is that all ethnic groups are considered out-groups to a degree. As Berelson and Steiner (1964) point out:

People prejudiced against one ethnic group tend to be prejudiced against other. That does not mean, of course, that prejudice is directed equally at all ethnic groups; that appears to be true only for extreme cases (p. 502).
Another important characteristic found in ethnocentrism that is of importance to stereotyping is social visibility. Social visibility refers to readily observed stigmata that can set the person or group apart from the in-group. Skin pigmentation is the major consideration in this area; however, mode of dress, manners, choice of foods, etc., readily distinguish persons who are "different." When the difference is great the unwritten laws of the group become more dogmatic. One of the basic rules is that which forbids intermarriage, especially between white women and males of other races. An example of the rigid, stereotyped thinking initiated by this stigmata is that the slightest trace of Negro blood is generally considered to be sufficient basis for classifying the person as Negro, even though the proportion of white heritage may be dominant (Walter, 1952). He also underscores the importance of social visibility:

The real importance of social visibility is that it tends to intensify group cleavages. Persons and groups marked by social visibility find greater obstacles to assimilation with the dominant in-group than do non-members who lack such stigmata (p. 31).

In summary, ethnocentrism plays an important, if not dominant, role in the formation of stereotypes and prejudice. The in-group versus out-group situation is a fertile breeding ground for both real and imaginary conflicts. These various in-groups (whether they be religious, political, economic or education sub-groups of the major reference group) are, or feel they are, being threatened by a minority group with a loss of position, a loss of group status. To prevent this loss in prestige the in-group resorts to acts they feel will remove the
threat. This discriminatory action is often manifested as prejudice and stereotyping. The ability of the in-group to identify members of an out-group through their social visibility usually intensifies discriminatory action.

**Individual personality needs and ethnic attitudes:** Ethnic attitudes may be partly understood as a reflection of the personality needs of the individual. These needs are a composite of constitutional and learned factors, unique to the individual, but perhaps through the learned aspect also common to his group. Here, we are concerned with examining the individual rather than the group he may belong to for the explanations of the formation of ethnic attitudes.

Again, it is necessary to examine a seemingly endless array of personality needs. They may be classified into two major categories: (1) the frustration-aggression outlet and (2) the intolerant personality. The author realizes that there are a number of personality needs which may be satisfied by forming prejudices and stereotypes that do not fit into either of these classifications.

The in-group versus out-group interaction discussed in the last section contains many situations where the individual could satisfy some of his own psychological needs. Many aggressive hostilities occur as a natural result of living in a complex society. The individual is confronted with frustrating situations time and time again. The car will not start, his employer is a dictator, her husband frequently comes home late, the boy leaves his clothing lying around, etc. Everyday living creates a great deal of frustration for most people. These
pent-up feelings need an outlet. The possibility of venting these hostile feelings on the in-group or oneself is too disconcerting, too threatening. One possible outlet for these feelings could be the out-group. Dollard et al. (1939) states it this way:

... frustration is a constant feature of in-group life because of the necessity of interfering with existing goal-responses so that new ones may be learned. Once adult status is attained there is still frustration resulting from the physical nature of man, inadequacies in social techniques in managing the material world, and the inhibition of goal-responses which is necessitated by societal life. Most of the direct aggression which follows upon frustration must be blocked within the peace area (in-group). Opportunities for displacement and limited expression are available and are utilized .... There still remain, however, many instigations to aggressive responses which are prohibited within the group and must be either directed toward the self at the price of great discomfort or displaced to groups of persons outside (p. 90).

The process of "venting one's spleen" on the out-group has been labeled the "scapegoat theory" by many authors. This theory indicates that even though hostility is directed toward the out-group it does not leave the individual free from feelings of guilt. Simpson and Yingar (1958) point this out:

The newly directed attack does not take place, however, without some emotional and intellectual strains; the irrationality and injustice of such hostility, from the point of view of the prejudiced person himself, cannot be completely ignored, although it may not consciously be recognized .... In order to make himself seem reasonable and moral, according to his own standards, the person who has shown prejudice or discrimination toward a scapegoat looks for justifications. He creates or accepts convincing reasons for hating or discriminating against members of the minority group. He discovers and believes many kinds of evidence that "prove" that members of that group thoroughly deserve the treatment he gives them .... Finally, to get rid of any sense of doubt and to give an absolute quality to his beliefs, the prejudiced person categorizes all the various individual members of the minority group by means of stereotypes (pp. 76-77).
Hartley and Hartley (1959) indicate that aggressive hostility is displaced to the out-group only after numerous outbreaks of frustration which cannot be handled adequately in the in-group situation. In their words:

When an individual's relations with others involve repeated arousal of hostility, along with a constant muting of expression, the individual may become consistently and diffusely hostile. For such an individual, scapegoating and other institutionalized expressions of hostility against out-groups serve as an effective displacement device. We must remember that the individual is never consciously aware of the real focus of his feelings. The effectiveness of the device depends on its being unrecognized as such (p. 299).

Thus, we see there is evidence indicating that the blocking of goal-directed behavior frequently creates frustration and hostile impulses in the individual. The source of frustration may be unknown to the individual or too powerful for him to combat. When there is no immediate outlet for these frustrated feelings they seem to develop into a "free-floating" hostility within the individual. One possible target for these feelings is the out-group(s). However, once he has vented his emotions on this group he may feel guilty because he knows it is blameless. In an attempt to relieve these guilt feelings, he believes almost any "evidence" which he feels will justify his feelings toward this group, and also may project his own shortcomings onto them. Sometimes during this process he develops a system of stereotypes to make rationalization easier in the future.

One of the questions raised by researchers when studying the frustration-aggression outlet theory of ethnic prejudice and stereotyping was why is this outlet not common to all members of the in-group?
In order to answer that question it was necessary for researchers to examine the role of personality in the organization and functioning of attitudes. They found some evidence that prejudice and stereotyping frequently depend on a basic personality organization and are not simply isolated and independent attitudes (Adorno et al., 1950; Hartley, 1946; Martin, 1964; Maslow, 1943; Rokeach, 1960).

This same evidence indicates that not all individuals showing prejudices and stereotyping of out-groups demonstrate the personality patterns of the prejudiced person. In addition it would seem that the type of person who has a predisposition to develop these attitudes, to find in them an answer to some of his own personal problems, may not develop these ethnic attitudes if he lives in a society where the attitudes are relatively rare and not sanctioned by the in-group. This personality type manifests a rigid outlook on life, an intolerance of ambiguity, views the outside world as threatening and unpredictable, is extremely egocentric, has underlying aggressive feelings, projects aggression and sex needs, rigidly conforms to middle class norms, fears losing his respectability, is suggestible, gullible, and thinks autistically in regard to his goals (Simpson and Yinger, 1958).

Flowerman (as reported in Hartley and Hartley, 1959) gives a similar description when he describes the authoritarian personality. He characterizes him in five basic features: (1) he is a supreme conformist, (2) he shows rigid and limited imagination, (3) he is "herd minded," (4) he is a phony conservative, and (5) he is a moral purist.
Flowerman then elaborates on these basic features. He feels that the conformity feature is an attempt to find security by submission to higher authority and that it is both compulsive and irrational. Flowerman links this personality's lack of imagination to the conforming aspect in that he feels this person reacts in a restricted way and cannot be moved from conditioned ideas and action. The authoritarian personality is "hard minded," displaying strong, almost compulsive in-group loyalties. He is definitely ethnocentric. His flag-waving and patriotic talk are a front for the true feelings of dislike and distrust of democratic institutions. Flowerman sums up the moral purist aspect by indicating that the authoritarian frowns on sensuality.

The investigations leading to the description of the authoritarian personality were pioneered by Fromm (1941) and Maslow (1943), followed by much research in the last 20 years. A great deal of the theory overlaps with, and is, for all ostensible purposes, part of the ethnocentrism and frustration pattern theories.

The first extensive study of the authoritarian personality was by Adorno et al. (1950). Its thousand pages are loaded with tables, statistics, and are replete with technical terminology. Many authors cite this research. A worthy example is found in the comments made by Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey (1962). They feel that Adorno's et al. work, The Authoritarian Personality, is probably the most extensive study of the relation between attitudes and personality dynamics. Krech et al. indicate that Adorno et al. were guided by the overall hypothesis that the political, economic, and social convictions of an
individual often form a broad and coherent pattern and that this pattern is an expression of deep-lying trends in his personality. They quote from The Authoritarian Personality a passage summarizing the conclusions reached about the relationship between ethnocentric attitudes and personality trends:

The most crucial result of the present study, as it seems to the authors, is the demonstration of close correspondence in the type of approach and outlook a subject is likely to have in a variety of areas, ranging from most intimate features of family and sex adjustments, through relationships to other people in general, to religion and to social and political philosophy. Thus a basically hierarchical, authoritarian, exploitive parent-child relationship is apt to carry over into a power-oriented, exploitive dependent attitude towards one's sex partner and one's God and may well culminate in a political philosophy and social outlook which has no room for anything but a desperate clinging to what appears to be strong and disdainful rejection of whatever is relegated to the bottom (p. 202).

Christie and Jahoda (1954) edited a detailed analysis of The Authoritarian Personality. They felt that the strength and weakness of The Authoritarian Personality lie in its basic assumptions which are rooted in psychoanalytic theory. This orientation led to the discovery of a host of data which may not have been uncovered by researchers with differing theoretical viewpoints. They point to a variety of weaknesses in the methodological approach. The main criticism they have in this area is the unrepresentative sample which was used to make large generalizations. However, they point out that subsequent findings have been predominantly confirmatory.

One feels intuitively that they have wisdom in their views and soundness in their conclusions, and it is sad that the acumen which inspired the project, the energy in executing a research task unparalleled in scope, and the intuitive power devoted to the appraisal of the results, were not matched by equal methodological skill (p. 122).
Hartley (1946) in his study, Problems in Prejudice, refers to the tolerant and intolerant personality. However, it would seem that his description of the intolerant personality has much in common with those of the personality patterns already described:

The relatively untolerant personality might be expected to combine in varying degrees the following characteristics: unwillingness to accept responsibility, acceptance of conventional mores, a rejection of "serious" groups, rejection of political interests and a desire for groups formed for purely social purposes, absorption with pleasure activities, a conscious conflict between play and work, emotionality rather than rationality, extreme egocentrism, interest in physical activity, the body, health. He is relatively uncreative, apparently unable to deal with anxieties except by fleeing from them .... Both the tolerant and intolerant individuals have anxieties, but there seems to be a distinct difference in the way in which they work them out (pp. 62-63).

There is, then, supporting evidence to the hypothesis that prejudice is frequently a symptom of basic personality organization and not simply an isolated and independent attitude called for by a particular social stimulus. This same evidence does not seem to provide a clear-cut set of characteristics and traits describing this personality type; rather a grouping of personality types which have predispositions to prejudice have been found.

Cultural teachings and ethnic attitudes: Man, since the beginning of recorded history at least, has taught each new generation appropriate beliefs and practices regarding its own group (in-group) and other groups (out-groups). Formal and informal institutions impart the social attitudes and behavior patterns of the past. In the words of Simpson and Yinger (1958):
Prejudices are, in part, simply a portion of the cultural heritage; they are among the folkways. We learn these cultural responses in the same way that we acquire other attitudes and behavior patterns. Belief in the superiority of the Caucasian race is as natural to the average white American as belief in monogamy or knowledge of the "correct" way to dress. The speech and action of those around him, his observation of status differentials among the races, the jokes he hears, the histories he reads, the rewards and punishments he receives for various actions toward members of minority groups all teach him the correct behavior as it is defined by his society. He does not have to have any individual experience with members of minority groups; he will often be equipped with ready-made responses in advance of any such experience, or even in complete absence of contact (p. 71).

It would seem from the evidence examined that the informal institutions of learning play a major role in this process, that is, the example set by adults, the neighborhood "gang," TV, and other media of communication and entertainment. The general stereotyping of the Mexican-American as lazy seems inescapable when one recalls the number of times members of this ethnic group have been portrayed sitting against a building with their sombreros pulled down over their eyes taking siestas.

Hurlock (1956) points out the importance of the informal institutions of learning when she writes:

Prejudices are generally acquired slowly and over a period of time. The child acquires his ethnic values and racial attitudes as he learns other social lessons from his life experiences. Groups that are segregated in schools or in the community he assumes are inferior because society treats them as inferiors (Vosk, 1953). Few parents actually teach their children to be prejudiced. However, their own attitudes and behavior, their restrictions on the playmates of their children, and the tendency to stereotype all individuals of a given racial or religious group with certain physical, behavioral, and mental characteristics result in a pattern of prejudice which their children imitate (p. 290).
It seems only natural that the home and school should play an important role in the formation of ethnic attitudes. After all, roughly sixty to seventy per cent of the child's wakeful hours are spent in these two places. It would seem, therefore, that parents and teachers must play a dominant role in the formation of ethnic attitudes.

A child may have a certain avoidant reaction to skin color or speech, but it is when older persons -- chiefly parents, teachers, and other adults -- give a name with a negative value to such responses that prejudice begins to emerge. Even if a child has no personal experience in this matter, we begin early to construct for him the cultural framework in which he will cast his behavior toward members of strange races, nations, cults and other outsiders (Young, 1956, p. 503).

We see, then, that society does have a major role in the sustaining and passing along of ethnic attitudes. In the process of everyday living the child is constantly interacting with many informal and formal institutions of learning which tend to mold the individual in the pattern of society. The two institutions which seem to play a major role in this process are the home and the schools.

C. Ethnic Attitudes and Their Modification

The principal approaches used in attempts to alter ethnic attitudes are education, propaganda, contact, and individual and group therapy. Of the four methods listed, the educational approach will receive detailed attention because of its importance to this study. This does not imply that the other three, or some combination of the four, or for that matter an entirely new approach may not be just as effective if not more so in the changing of ethnic attitudes.
Before discussing these approaches it is necessary to examine some factors common to any method employed to change ethnic attitudes.

**Variables in any program to alter ethnic attitudes:** The type of strategy that one employs to change ethnic attitudes will depend a good deal on the individuals making up the group. Robert Merton (as reported in Simpson and Yinger, 1958) has devised a classification whereby individuals can be segregated into four degrees of prejudice and discrimination:

1. The unprejudiced nondiscriminator.
2. The unprejudiced discriminator.
3. The prejudiced nondiscriminator.
4. The prejudiced discriminator (p. 728).

The practicality of this classification seems rather doubtful. The question that arises is how would one go about dividing a group into these categories? It would seem far more meaningful to design a program from general information about the group, such as (1) group size, (2) mean age, (3) socio-economic background, (4) mean level of education, (5) geographical location, (6) average length of contact with the ethnic group, and (7) group desire to change. It would seem only logical that the approach used with a group of Southern, average age 49 years, average educational level 8.5 years, upper lower-class individuals would be considerably different from the approach used with a group of northern Wyoming college students who had never lived near a significant number of the ethnic group in question.

Many authors point to the group's desire to change as the key variable. If there is little or no desire to change, the probable chances of success with any approach are slight. Regardless of logic,
desire, or enthusiasm, evidence points to the fact that designing an effective program for changing ethnic attitudes is a Herculean task.

Another factor which is basic to any approach to change ethnic attitudes is the objective of the approach. Is the main objective complete integration? Is it economic and political equality without social equality? Or is it peaceful coexistence? The goal will greatly influence the strategy used.

Parallel to the goal selected is the focus of the approach. Is it designed to reduce the intergroup hostility by focusing on the individual, the group, or on those aspects of the situation which allow and encourage the practice? It would seem that ethnic attitudes are as unique as the individuals that make up the group and, therefore, the focus would have to be on as many facets of the problem as possible.

To recapitulate, the methods employed to alter ethnic attitudes will vary according to (1) the individuals that make up the group, (2) the individual and group needs satisfied by these attitudes, (3) the desire to change, and (4) the objective and focus of the particular approach.

Variables of the Educational Approach: When the term "information" is used it refers broadly to both the educational and propaganda agencies and also the kind of information one picks up in everyday living. The degree and direction of attitude change induced by additional information will vary according to several factors. According to Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey (1962) these factors are the situational factors; and then referring to the material itself, source, medium, form, and content of the information.
Under situational factors they discuss the effect of group versus solitary exposure, the effect of private versus public commitment, and the effect of group decision. Ideally, it would seem that if an individual is a voluntary member of a voluntary group which approves the information and/or instruction, and if the members are willing to stand up and be counted as "converts" after the presentation of the material, chances are very favorable for a shift in attitudes. The importance of the source of information has been substantiated by many studies.

This discussion has been rather broad and general. It is necessary to narrow the educational-information approach to one process -- the classroom lecture and related activities. This process will be examined next.

Instructional approach to changing ethnic attitudes: There is little doubt that Americans have a great deal of faith in the power of education. The power of education to change ethnic attitudes is evidenced in statements that vary all the way from "education can reduce prejudice" to "we may be able to reduce prejudice if we are able to have an adequate and nationwide program of education in majority-minority relations in our public schools." There seems to be little likelihood that programs of this nature will develop overnight. However, this is not so much the concern of this study as is the possibility of using the present program of education to alter attitudes.

Perhaps the most thorough analysis of this problem was the one made by Klineberg (1950). He made a detailed review of the research
findings and collected statements from outstanding practitioners in the field of intergroup relations in the United States. From this array of information he prepared the following list of suggestions which he feels may be effective in changing attitudes under certain conditions:

1. School courses dealing with race relations and international relations are sometimes effective.

2. Information about other cultures should stress common elements in all cultures, without neglecting information concerning cultural differences.

3. Special attention should be given to information concerning the absence of biologically fixed group differences in culture.

4. Information should deal with the range of individual variations within a particular group.

5. Information has a much greater effect when acquired actively by a group concerned, rather than passively through lectures, reading, etc.

6. Information is more effective in modifying attitudes when it is acquired in early life (pp. 154-156).

Klineberg indicates that much research needs to be done in this area. "Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to attempt to indicate the most promising possibilities" (p. 154). In reviewing the subsequent literature this writer was unable to find instances where these suggestions were applied en masse. In general, it would seem that experimentation in this field has been neglected or that findings have not been published for general consumption.

Research findings indicate that the credibility, attractiveness, and group affiliations of the communicator, as perceived by the audience or class, are important in determining the effectiveness of the source. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey (1962) state that
effectiveness of information or propaganda is influenced not only by the source but also the medium. In this study the primary concern is with the lecture process in a classroom situation. Therefore, the need for discussion seems unnecessary.

The possibility of contamination of both the control and experimental group by other media and other exposure is realised. However, the possibility of control of this situation seems remote and probably unnecessary.

With reference to form and content they consider the "what" and "how" of information. If the discrepancy between the stand advocated by the communicator and the position of the subject is great, indications are that small or no change will take place. A direct ratio seems to exist between these two factors. In some cases if the discrepancy is too great, a change in the direction opposite to the one desired may occur. This is referred to by many as the "boomerang effect."

There seems to be no definite answer to questions such as, "should both sides of the issue be presented in order to change attitudes," "is it best to draw conclusions for the subjects," "will a threat be effective," "if so, with whom, and should it be near the beginning or end of the presentation," etc.

In conclusion it would seem that whether new information presented in a classroom setting will be effective in changing attitudes or not depends in part on group acceptance of the goals, group participation, the expertness of the person presenting the material, and the form and content of the information presented.
The importance of the group in the instructional approach is recognized by many. Lewin (1948) stresses that the communicator should strive to (1) create an informal situation, (2) see education as a group process and, (3) maximize the individual's sense of participation in getting new ideas. As Lewin's ideas in this area seem to reflect the thinking of many others, it will be worth the time to study some of his impressions of the nature of the educative process in changing attitudes. Some of the information may be slightly out of context; however, it all pertains to the educative process for changing ethnic attitudes and seems most meaningful when presented as follows:

... the re-educative process affects the individual in three ways. It changes his cognitive structure, it modifies his valences and values, and it affects his motoric action. The sentiments of the individual toward a group are determined less by his knowledge about that group than by the sentiments prevalent in the social atmosphere which surrounds him. Re-education is frequently in danger of reaching only the official system of values, the level of verbal expression and not of conduct; it may result in merely heightening the discrepancy between the super-ego (the way I ought to feel) and the ego (the way I really feel), and thus give the individual a bad conscience. Such a discrepancy leads to a state of high emotional tension but seldom to correct conduct. (p. 143)

The importance of the group process is also pointed out by MacIver (as reported in Simpson and Yinger, 1958), who feels that the teacher's task in re-education is mainly to dispel the sense of cultural barriers between groups. He suggests that:

The exclusiveness of the group must be broken by an educational process that integrates it within a more inclusive group. Prejudice is the expression of alienation and only
experience of the greater community can establish the bond of membership above the division of groups. The prejudiced person must learn to feel that the object of his prejudice also "belongs" (p. 761).

MacIvers seems to feel that education counteracting prejudice should begin with very young children and be continuous through all age groups. He feels that it is not so important to teach the contributions and the qualities of a particular ethnic group as it is to impart a sense of the common interest of all.

How successful have past attempts been in changing attitudes when the classroom instructional approach was used? In an attempt to answer this question a survey of research findings in this area will be made.

Lichtenstein's (1934) review of the literature in this general area appears to be very complete for the period prior to 1934; he reviewed thirty-one studies dealing with the influence of education on social attitudes, superstitions, and scientific attitudes. Lichtenstein indicates that in very few of these studies are experimental factors, populations, length or intensity of the experimental period, criteria of difference, or instruments of measurement, directly comparable. Also, some of the conclusions are based upon careful experiments while others are not so well founded. In general, these statements hold true for all the research findings reviewed in this section.

Lichtenstein reports that fourteen of these studies found that instruction of one sort or another produced no significant, favorable change in attitudes; fourteen reported that some kinds of instruction
did produce such a change; and three are undecided, i.e., the change operated both ways or in an unexpected way.

Lichtenstein then subdivides the studies into the three areas cited before: social attitudes, superstitions, and scientific attitudes; of the three we are here concerned only with social attitudes. He included studies of social attitudes toward racial, national, and economic affairs. Eight of the studies found a significant change, eight did not, and two were undecided.

He then examined the thirty-one studies by level of education. On the college level he found that education made a definite change in six cases and no change in seven. In studies involving high school students, the score reversed, seven finding changes due to education, and six finding no such changes. On the junior high school level two studies were positive and three negative. The two studies reviewed from the elementary level split, one yes and one no.

Lichtenstein concludes from this investigation that:

Clearly this is an inviting field for further experimentation; a field in which there is almost no agreement or uniformity in the findings of previous studies reported. A single lecture or a moving picture show exerts a marked influence on the attitudes of its audience — and years of schooling, home training, college courses, effect no change at all! Children are discovered coming into the high schools with their attitudes fixed and unmovable on a wide variety of subjects; some even say they have been set since the first grade, perhaps earlier still. Others find that elementary, secondary, or higher education, as the case may be, play a part in the determination of attitudes, this part ranging from almost zero to almost 100 percent (p. 29).

Another summary of research findings in this area was published in 1948. This survey more specifically applies to this work because it
surveyed those studies whose object it was to change attitudes toward ethnic groups in order to bring about a more tolerant attitude. A summary of the thirteen studies which relate to changing ethnic attitudes by the school or college course approach indicates that eight report a change, four report no change, and one study was indefinite (Rose, as reported in Berelson and Steiner, 1964).

Williams (1967) made an extensive review of representative research findings. His analysis was made of studies which were based on classroom instruction in racial or ethnic differences. These studies are reported in detail in Table I. A summary of the ten studies reported indicates that in four studies significantly more tolerant attitudes were noted after instruction, another four studies indicated no change, and two were inconclusive.

Greenberg et al. (1967) measured the effect that one lecture, one group discussion, and one debate had on the attitudes of 299 college students. They concluded that if the findings were valid (they questioned the "one-shot" approach) the group discussion and debate were superior to the lecture approach.

In an attempt to determine which procedure (lecture, small group discussions, or manuals for independent reading) was best suited for training attendant employees (N = 68) in institutions for the mentally deficient, Quay et al. (1961) measured the before and after attitudes of employees for each method. The main objective of the program was to develop positive attitudes toward patients and their handicaps. They concluded, "The results would seem to indicate that
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Study</th>
<th>Before-And-After Testing of Experimental Groups</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Influences Tested</th>
<th>Techniques of Observation or Measurement</th>
<th>Findings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>450 College undergraduates</td>
<td>Course in race relations</td>
<td>Ranking of ethnic groups</td>
<td>No change in relative position of groups ranked</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>425 High-school students</td>
<td>15-weeks course aimed to increase tolerance</td>
<td>Paired comparisons (Thurstone method) of 20 nationalities; social distance scale</td>
<td>No change in control group. Experimental group ranked the Negro higher at end that at beginning of course.</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>30 College students</td>
<td>Course on the Negro</td>
<td>Hinckley scale, A and B</td>
<td>No change (slight favorable tendency)</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>40 High-school</td>
<td>Course including material on Negro</td>
<td>Written testimony; direct observation (no objective tests)</td>
<td>More favorable toward Negroes at end of course</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>48 9th grade girls</td>
<td>Study of Negro; experimental factor; use of opaque projector</td>
<td>Tests: Bogardus, Hinckley, Neu-mann-Kulp-David-son</td>
<td>More favorable on Bogardus test, but not the Hinckley scale</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>162 Women college students</td>
<td>Study of Negro education</td>
<td>Hinckley</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>26 College students</td>
<td>Course in immigration and race relations</td>
<td>Bogardus; Hinckley; own scale of experience</td>
<td>Positive shift in attitude; no change in reported experience</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>26 College students</td>
<td>Seminar on social problems</td>
<td>&quot;Scale of Belief&quot;</td>
<td>Slight increase in &quot;favorable&quot; attitudes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>81 College students</td>
<td>Course in immigration and race problems</td>
<td>Bogardus; Hinckley</td>
<td>Slight &quot;favorable&quot; gain; considerable shifting of individuals, positive and negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>238 Sociology students</td>
<td>Course with special study of race</td>
<td>Modified Bogardus</td>
<td>No significant change. Tests showed preference for better educated members of ethnic group</td>
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*Williams, 1947, pp. 28-30.*
authoritative methods (lecture) are more effective in producing attitude change in attendant employees than are non-authoritative methods" (p. 30)."

That the years spent in college tend to moderate students' attitudes has been corroborated by many studies. It is difficult to determine the exact cause for such changes. A goodly portion of this time is spent in the classroom; however, one cannot overlook the influence of the group, community, etc., as possible factors with varying degrees of influence in these changes. Evidence of the influence of college life on attitudes is reported by Plant (1958). He measured the degree of ethnocentrism before and after a two-year college program. He found that those who finished (N = 500) had changed significantly in the direction of decreased ethnocentrism, and those who dropped out (N = 250) for one reason or another did not change significantly. To what extent factors other than the classroom influenced this change is unknown. However, the study by Plant and the Bennington College study by Newcomb (1943) indicate that college experience, at least at San Jose State College and Bennington College, changes the complexion of students' attitudes toward a more liberal, moderate position.

There has been a total of forty-four studies reported in this section that have dealt with the modification of attitudes via the educational approach. Of this number twenty-two reported a significant positive change and twenty-two indicated no change or a change in a direction not planned. Before drawing any conclusions from these findings it is necessary to examine a series of research findings that used counselors as subjects.
Several studies have been made of the effectiveness of the National Defense Education Act Guidance and Counseling Institutes in changing the attitudes of counselors. Munger and Johnson (1960) found that thirty enrollees in one of these NDEA eight-week summer institutes were significantly less judgmental in their attitudes toward counselees after training. The Porter's 10-Question Test of Counselor Attitudes was administered before and after; at the time of the study no mention was made of a follow-up survey.

Another before and after NDEA Institute measuring of counselor's attitudes did shift (Demos and Zwaylif, 1963). The results of administering the Porter 10-Question Test of Counselor Attitudes to the thirty enrollees is as follows:

An intensive six-week counseling institute was found to make for significant attitudinal changes in counselors. Significant differences were noted on all of the five categories of the Porter Attitude Test. The counselors ... being more understanding, and interpretive at the end (p. 127).

No mention was made of a follow-up study.

Vernon Jones (1963) administered a "rather lengthy opinionnaire" (no reference was made of the validity of the instrument) to thirty enrollees at an NDEA Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts. He found a significant positive change in areas such as accepting and understanding the counselee, "empathetic comprehension of the total setting in which the immediate problem existed," becoming more permissive and a better listener, plus becoming more self-confident. In the area of attitudes toward the administrative framework of the job of the counselor, no significant change was noted. Six months later a follow-up study, using a "shortened form" of the previously used opinionnaire, revealed
the attitudes still persisted with the exception of the item which attempted to measure the counselor's concept of his role in terms of how he viewed himself — as a vocational-educational counselor or as one dealing primarily with personal problems.

A form of Osgood's Semantic Differential Technique was used by Webb and Harris (1963) to measure changes in counselor attitudes after another NDEA summer institute. Again, positive changes were found in the thirty enrollees' attitudes toward such areas as "Actual Self" and "Ideal Self," and concepts of the "Slow Learner," "Average Student," and "Gifted Student." However, the concepts of "Punishment" and "Discipline" seemed to be more neutral in meaning for the trainees after the institute. The persistence of these attitudes was not mentioned.

Munger et al. (1963) have extended their previously reported research (1960) to include an evaluation of a semester-long NDEA institute and a follow-up study which measured the persistence of attitude change six months later. They also published in this same article the results of a three-month and a twenty-seven-month follow-up of the eight-week NDEA Institute conducted in the summer of 1958 and referred to previously. In both cases they found significant positive post-institute changes in counselors' attitudes in three categories of the Porter Attitude Test. The categories were I, evaluative or value setting; III, understanding; and V, probing and diagnostic. However, the follow-up studies show that in the case of the eight-week institute all significant changes had disappeared in three months and twenty-seven months later only slight changes occurred in the various categories,
but there was a further loss of responses in category III, understanding.

The semester-long institute fared somewhat better than the shorter institute. Two categories, III, understanding, and V, probing and diagnostic, were still significantly different three working months later. Munger et al. summarize these findings as follows:

On the basis of these studies some tentative conclusions are suggested.

1. The eight-week institute was effective in bringing about desirable attitude changes in the trainees, insofar as differential responses to the Porter represent them. However, the temporary nature of these changes suggests that; rather than learning new attitudes, the trainees were learning what the faculty thought were the proper answers to the Porter; or the newly learned attitudes were not sufficiently viable to persist outside the academy walls.

2. Attitude changes associated with the semester-long institute did persist as long as three working months after the training had ended. Trends toward the choice of more understanding responses and fewer diagnostic and probing responses which were indicated during the training continued. However, the happiness generated by this finding must be tempered by the recognition that except for category V, these persistent attitudes were indistinguishable from the "back-slid" attitudes of the eight-week trainees (p. 419).

When one considers these findings in conjunction with the forty-four studies previously reported, a considerable amount of incongruity is found. About as often as not the educational approach seems to be ineffective. What lies behind this inconsistency?

The list of writers who have referred to the manner in which ethnic attitudes resist change is far too long to set down here. It seems that once these attitudes are conditioned in an individual the possibility of altering them with information is very difficult at best.
Recent studies indicate that the imparting of specific information about minority groups does not materially alter attitudes toward members of those groups. This is not to say that transmitting such information has no value, but simply that its usefulness in producing more favorable attitudes toward "out-groups" is less great than many professional educators have believed. About all that can be claimed for purely factual instruction is that it tends to mitigate some of the more extreme expressions of prejudice and that, where there is any readiness to receive it, it provides some protection against the mob raising appeals to which ignorance is exposed (Simpson and Yinger, 1956, p. 764).

The views expressed by Gordon Allport (1960) about the effectiveness of education alone are more emphatic:

Let me repeat that school knowledge is insufficient. As Sorokin points out, the twentieth century marks the highest educational level in all human history. At the same time, it is immeasurably the bloodiest century, in terms of civil and international wars, persecution of minorities and criminal violence of all types ... But, fortunately, even hostile images are susceptible to change. They change when films, radio, newspapers and textbooks change. They change when people travel observantly and sympathetically. They change when people engage as participants in shared projects of work or recreation. They change when people gain insight into the myth-making process of their own mind as it is manipulated by publicists (pp. 338-339).

Similar views are expressed by Saenger (1953):

Attitudes may change through the mere experience of living together without any attempt at education. Education may often not even be the best way to tackle peoples' prejudices. Even the young child was found to be impressed with the discrepancies between the teachings of school and the realities of life. It was considered unlikely that he would learn to give up his prejudices if the adoption of new attitudes brought him into conflict with his prejudiced environment (p. 213).

These views may lead one to believe that education in changing ethnic attitudes is of little or no value. Evidence does not show this to be true; it does show an inconsistent pattern which would seem to point to a need for improvement in some of the methodological techniques of the educative process. Perhaps the educative process is not
long enough or intense enough to effect a change in ethnic attitudes. 

The Munger study (1963) tends to support this hypothesis. Hartley and Hartley (1959) also seem to adopt this view when they write:

In general, stereotypes tend to be relatively stable. It is true that they are susceptible to modification, but traumatic personal experience, intensive re-education, or major social changes are required to affect them significantly. Minor experiences or personal contact with a few individuals who do not conform to the stereotype tend to lead to a perceptual re-definition. Carver, Enstein and Marconi are regarded as "exceptions" and leave the stereotype of the Negro, the Jew, and the Italian unchanged .... Since attitude influences perception, situations that are ambiguous are perceived in a manner which serves to reinforce the attitude (pp. 696-697). (Underlining is mine.)

Then, again, there is another way to view the inconsistent changes in ethnic attitudes reported in this study. The question can be raised concerning the persistency or permanency of those positive changes reported. Perhaps short-term instruction does little to change attitudes. Many of these studies did not report follow-up studies for persistene© of attitudinal change. Have attitudes really changed or are the subjects merely parroting back those responses they feel will be pleasing while attitudes remain unchanged? Munger (1963) refers to this possibility as does Tyler (1961) and others. Perhaps the instructional approach needs to be a continuous, long-term process; maybe the teachings must truly reflect the desires of society. On the other hand, perhaps equally important is the possibility of the "time delay action" of instruction in ethnic differences. Allport (1954) raises this point when he writes:

At the same time, there is virtually no evidence that sound factual information does any harm. Perhaps its value may be long delayed, and may consist in driving wedges of doubt and
discomfort into the stereotypes of the prejudiced. It seems likely, too, that the greater gains ascribed to other methods require sound factual instruction as underpinning. All in all, we do well to resist the irrational position that invites us to abandon entirely the traditional ideals and methods of formal education. Facts may not be enough, but they still may be indispensable (p. 486).

It is possible that this aspect of the problem may prove to be most significant of all.

To recapitulate, there are far more questions raised than available answers when one reviews the literature pertaining to changing ethnic attitudes. The success ratio for the instructional approach seems to be about fifty per cent. The fact that many of the findings reported did not include follow-up studies may have a bearing on this ratio.

Reasons for the inconsistent results obtained with the instructional approach are not apparent in the literature. It would appear that the tenacious nature of ethnic attitudes may hold many implications concerning their effective change.

There is need for more research, especially follow-up studies, to ascertain the components of an instructional program that will be successful in effecting a persistent change in ethnic attitudes.

Other approaches to changing ethnic attitudes: There seems to be some overlapping between the several approaches which have been employed to change attitudes. Therefore, in the interest of clarity a brief discussion of three of these other approaches, propaganda, contact, and therapy, will be given.

The propaganda approach is perhaps the oldest of the various approaches. In recent years propaganda seems to have reached a peak
of perfection. Some regard it as "all powerful," a "social menace," a means of "pressure selling," etc. There is little doubt that it is employed universally for many purposes. Just how effective is propaganda in controlling intergroup behavior? If it can convert cigarettes and alcohol into necessities, surely it should be a powerful instrument for controlling human behavior. There seems to be no general answer to this question. However, there is evidence indicating that it should be viewed with some skepticism as a means to alter ethnic attitudes (Allport, 1960; Berelson and Steiner, 1964; Hovland, 1959; Saenger, 1953).

The question still remains of how effective is propaganda in changing ethnic attitudes? Flowerman (1947) suggests that this question can be answered only when complete situational information is available, including understanding of the psychological characteristics of the groups or the individuals to whom the propaganda is directed. The conditions he considers important are (1) the group in control of the channels of mass communications, (2) the amount of saturation, that is, the proportion of pro-tolerance symbols in the flow of communications, (3) the source, and the expertness of the source; he indicates that commercial communication with its "something for everyone" creates "radio deafness," (4) the fact that issues should not be clearly defined and well structured, and (5) the necessity for closely observing conformance to group standards.

It would seem that the effectiveness of propaganda will vary considerably depending on how well the many intervening variables are met. It has been noted that propaganda in a democratic society is
limited somewhat because the people have a choice of what they wish to listen to.

Success of the contact approach also depends on the specific situation. Simpson and Yinger (1958) seem to reflect the thinking of many when they sum up the present knowledge about the effects of contact on ethnic attitudes:

1. Incidental, involuntary, tension-laden contact is likely to increase prejudice.

2. Pleasant, equal-status contact that makes it unnecessary for the individuals to cross barriers of class, occupational, and educational differences as well as differences in symbolic (nonfunctional) group membership represented by such symbols as "race," is likely to reduce prejudice.

3. Stereotype-breaking contacts that show minority-group members in roles not usually associated with them reduce prejudice. It must be added, however, that many people have little capacity for experiencing the members of minority groups as individuals; their stereotypes easily persist in the face of contrary evidence.

4. Contacts that bring people of minority and majority groups together in functionally important activities reduce prejudice. This is largely an illustration of point 3. When white soldiers find Negroes fighting side by side with them, they are more likely to see them as fellow soldiers, less likely to see them as "Negroes" (p. 757).

Individual therapy does not seem to be a practical approach for changing the attitudes of large numbers because of cost and time factors. It seems best suited for those individuals with severe personality defects. Group therapy overcomes these disadvantages to a degree and is becoming more important as techniques and procedures are improved. The research findings in group therapy indicate a general lessening of hostility toward out-groups when individuals are allowed to express their feeling of hostility freely in a group where
permissiveness and acceptance prevail (Haimowitz and Haimowitz, 1950; Allport, 1945). A quote from a study reported by Haimowitz and Haimowitz (1950) may give the reader some idea of the effectiveness of group therapy in changing ethnic attitudes:

This study is a preliminary investigation into the relationship between personality adjustment and ethnic hostility. ... the trends evidenced in this preliminary investigation were so significant and so clear-cut as to make us feel that this initial study, based on 24 cases, is meaningful.

It has been noted that with improved adjustment, hostility to minority groups declines (p. 235).

In summation it can be said that therapy is effective in changing persons with prejudiced feelings. To what extent it will be used and an evaluation of its true effectiveness wait further research.

D. Methods and Problems in the Measurement of Attitudes

There are several ways to approach the classification of methods employed in the measurement of attitudes. Two that seem to be prevalent in current literature are the direct and indirect approach.

The direct approach to the measurement of attitudes, for the most part, samples verbal behavior in a straightforward manner. The subject is asked to check or mark his responses to a group of items which are obviously intended to measure his feelings about or toward a particular object.

The indirect approach conceals its motive. The objective is to sample the intensity and direction of attitudes, but the process is hidden within an instrument which purports to measure "information," "vocabulary level," etc., or an open-ended questionnaire which is
commonly found in the projective technique method. Non-verbal behavior may also be sampled in this approach.

There are whole hosts of instruments available for measuring or that have been designed to measure attitudes by these two methods. A few examples are given in the following discussion.

Direct techniques for the measurement of attitudes: A scale that has been used by many is the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. This scale is based on the fact that the relative intimacy and understanding between racial groups varies. Bogardus devised a scale which consists of a vertical listing of racial groups and a horizontal seven-point scale with categories of social intimacy ranging from "Would Marry" to "Would Exclude from Country." The subject checks one or more of these intervals for each racial group depending on his feelings toward each group. The composite score (social distance) for each racial group is based on the sum of all rankings given this group by the rating group.

The continued use of the Bogardus Scale can be attributed to the simplicity and ease with which it can be administered and scored. Even more important is the fact that it is based on empirical observation of group relations. However, it is limited to problems concerning attitudes toward out-groups (Bogardus, 1933).

A more complicated scale to construct and use is the Thurstone equal-appearing interval scale. In general, the approach is this: (1) the specific area in which attitudes are to be measured is decided, (2) a large number (usually over one hundred) of statements reflecting
degrees of favorable and unfavorable views of the chosen area or object are collected, (3) a group of judges sort the statements into intervals (usually eleven) which represent a continuum from favorable to unfavorable, (U) the median of the positions assigned to each statement by the judges is determined and this becomes the scale value for that item. There are some other statistical steps to complete before the scale is ready to administer. However, this general view does indicate that it is complicated to construct and to use. Also, some have questioned the use of judges to sort the statements, feeling that the judges may be biased in their sorting (Thurstone and Chave, 1929; Sherif and Sherif, 1956, Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962).

In an attempt to overcome the time consuming characteristics of the Thurstone Scale, Likert (1932) devised a scale in which each item is a rating device. One example may help show the characteristics of the Likert Scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Approve</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
<th>Strongly Disapprove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Negroes belong in one class and should be treated in about the same way.

The numbers, of course, do not appear on the instrument but are given to indicate the method of scoring. Using this technique many issues, including broader topics, such as "conservatism," "morale," etc., can be measured both for direction and intensity.
A more complicated approach is the Guttman (1947) scale. This approach uses cumulative scaling to discover whether or not the issue in question is "scalable" for the group being studied. The issue in question is scalable if:

... it is possible to rank the people from high to low in such a fashion that from a person's rank alone we can reproduce his response to each of the items in simple fashion. It is understood that a perfect scale is not to be expected in practice. Data have been considered sufficiently scalable if they are about 90 per cent reproducible (pp. 249-250).

The items chosen appear to be quite similar to items on the Likert Scale. The alternative responses are on a five point interval ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree." As is true with many of the scales which measure attitudes directly, the Guttman is limited in practice by problems of validity (Guttman, 1947; Sherif and Sherif, 1956; Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962).

Osgood et al. (1961) report that in the factor analysis leading up to their book, The Measurement of Meaning, one factor readily identifiable as evaluative in nature invariably appeared. Usually it was the dominant factor in that it accounted for the largest proportion of the total variance. This they recognised as the attitudinal component of meaning.

Despite different concepts and different criteria for selecting scales, high and restricted loadings on this factor were consistently obtained for scales like "good-bad," "fair-unfair," and "valuable-worthless," "stable-changeable," and "heavy-light," usually had small or negligible loadings on this factor. It seems reasonable to identify attitude, as it is ordinarily conceived in both lay and scientific language, with the evaluative dimension of the total semantic space, as this is isolated in the factorization of meaning judgments (p. 190).
They next designed a set of scales which had high loadings on the evaluative factor. In this process polar adjectives which met the factor levels described above were used. Thus, scales like "good-bad," "optimistic-pessimistic," and "positive-negative" could be used to describe the object of an attitude. These scales are fairly easy to score in that the polar adjectives are placed on the opposite ends of a seven-interval continuum. The intervals are numbered for scoring purposes from one to seven. The highest favorable score for any item is seven. Therefore, direction of attitude, favorableness or unfavorableness, is indicated by the selection of a point on this continuum which the subject feels describes his feeling toward the object being measured. If the subject checks a majority of the items near the more favorable pole (7), his total score for all items will then tend to be high. A score which falls near the middle for all items (4) would mean that the individual appears to be neutral in his attitude toward the object. The intensity of an attitude is measured by how far out on the evaluative dimension from the origin (4) the score lies; i.e., if there are sixty items (sixty pairs of polarized, evaluative adjectives) then a neutral score would be near 240, whereas a score nearer 420 would tend to indicate a strong, positive attitude toward the object of the attitude.

Perhaps an example would help clarify the intensity aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>Quite</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Optimistic</th>
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<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
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<th>Extremely</th>
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Pessimistic

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<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
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</table>

Perhaps an example would help clarify the intensity aspect.
This method of measuring the direction and intensity of attitudes does seem to encompass many of the more desirable features of the direct approach.

The four scales presented in this summary of the direct approach to measuring attitudes are not necessarily given as the most valid and reliable scales nor is it inferred that they are best suited for all purposes. They were chosen because of the frequency with which they are used and appear in the literature. There are literally hundreds of scales, as indicated before, which could have been reviewed and which may be better suited for some situations.

Regardless of which direct scale is used, there seems to be a weakness which is common to all of them.

The major point of contention in using the direct approach seems to be, will man expose his innermost feelings, feelings which may cast him in a bad light, on open and direct questions? Another parallel question is, does man know he has an unseemly side; i.e., has he repressed these asocial feelings for such a long time that they are no longer available to his conscious thought? This controversy is supported by another group that take the position that man is a rational, thinking organism; therefore, he is capable of responding accurately to questions related to his feelings. The answer to these points of contention would appear to stem from the individual's basic philosophy of life. Therefore, the final answer to this struggle may never appear. However, there is some evidence that man's verbal behavior does not always agree with his non-verbal behavior. In particular this
seems to be true when the topic is ethnic attitudes. Some of the evidence which supports this position will be examined.

Williams (1964) in his book, Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities, points out the inconsistency between verbal and non-verbal behavior rather vividly.

The Cornell Studies accumulated a considerable body of systematic observations in community contexts, showing instances of seemingly inconsistent behavior. For example, a restaurant proprietor testifies in vigorous terms that he does not and will not accept Negro patrons. On the following day a Negro member of the field staff enters the establishment and is served with promptness and cordiality. And the opposite pattern is abundantly documented (p. 314).

Kutner et al. (1952) performed an experiment in which he wrote letters to nineteen restaurants and asked for reservations for a party of mixed Negroes and whites. He received no replies to his requests. Seventeen days after mailing the letters the same restaurants were contacted by telephone and an inquiry about the letter requesting reservations was made. Nearly all gave some excuse or other for refusing service to the mixed group; either they didn't accept reservations or they were booked up in advance. However, a control telephone call the next day resulted in nineteen reservations when no mention of group makeup was made.

This matter of social approval seems to exert a great deal of power over people in many situations. Maccoby and Maccoby (as reported in McCord and McCord, 1961) have these comments to make about the validity of personal interviews.

Validity studies all suggest that when people are interviewed directly concerning behavior about which there is strong expectation of social approval or disapproval, and in which there is
considerable ego-involvement, respondents tend to err in the
direction of idealizing their behavior (p. 171).

Not all agree with this position. Allport (1960) emphatically states
that man does give accurate reports of his feelings. In his words:

This prevailing atmosphere of theory has engendered a kind
of contempt for the "psychic surface" of life. The individual's
conscious report is rejected as untrustworthy .... The indi­
vidual loses his right to be believed .... Only in an unstruc­tured projective situation will he reveal his anxieties and un­masked needs. "Projective tests," writes Stagner, "are more
useful than reality situations for diagnostic purposes." To my
mind, this uncompromising statement seems to mark the culmina­
tion of a century-long era of irrationalism, and therefore of
distrust. Has the subject no right to be believed (p. 97)?

It would seem that this problem of "will," "can," etc., of the
subject's ability or willingness to answer items on an attitude ques­
tionnaire has much in common with a like problem in the measurement of
personality. The person knows what "he should be like" and may "fake"
the instrument. Therefore, many psychologists turned from the use of
personality questionnaires to the use of projective techniques.

This "faking tendency" may be understandable in the light of
the social pressure to conform, or at least to give lip service to
conformity, to those standards which are held up for all the world to
see. It is conceivable that this pressure is so great that tendencies
to act or think other than the way we "ought to" are suppressed and,
therefore, may not be available for direct measurement. The Hammond
study which follows lends further support to this position as well as
serving as an example of an indirect method of measuring attitudes.

Indirect techniques for the measurement of attitudes: Some of
the general advantages claimed for the measurement of attitudes from a
disguised or concealed approach are higher validity and less possibility of the examiner's producing an effect on the attitude itself (Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962).

The higher validity seems to be most noticeable when measuring attitudes which violate group norms and/or attitudes which are not in keeping with one's self concept. Attitudes such as those dealing with ethnic groups may fall into this classification.

Hammond (1948) demonstrated that when the individual knows his attitudes are being measured he will answer in a significantly different manner. To combat this, he used what he calls the "Error Choice Technique." The instrument was administered under the guise of an "information test."

The "Error Choice Technique" gives the subject two answers to choose from; both of the answers are wrong. Both answers err above and below (positive and negative) the correct one an equal degree. The one he chooses gives an indication of his feelings, favorable or unfavorable, on the subject.

An example from Hammond's study of attitudes toward Russia may help clarify the type of item used.

Russia's removal of heavy industry from Austria was (a) legal, (b) illegal (p. 39).

The facts were indeterminable and, hence, checking of "legal" or "illegal" depended largely on the subject's attitude toward Russia.

In the second part of this experiment, the same nonfactual tests were given to the subjects under two different instructions. To one group it was given as an information test (Inform-form). To the
second group of subjects it was given as an attitude test (Att-Infor-Form).

With reference to the verbal behavior when the subjects know it is an attitude test the author has this to say:

To summarize the latter section, evidence was presented to the effect that (1) responses may differ for an item depending on whether that item is presented as an "attitude test" item or an "information test" item ....

Since the error-choice technique is able to shift responses, the author suggests that it is a technique adapted to the purpose of eliminating the factor of "attitude test set" (p. 47).

Another fairly common approach is to use TAT type cards or photos which depict a social situation and ask the subjects to write a few sentences describing what they "see" in the picture. Then judges rate the responses on an established scale.

The Seeman (1947) study, which has been duplicated many different times in many ways, is an example of the projective technique to measure attitudes. He prepared a set of six questions pertaining to problems of extramarital and premarital sexual intercourse, divorce, etc. Question number two is given below as an example:

Bob and Helen want to get married soon. They have been engaged for a year. So far as they can foresee, it will be impossible for the marriage to take place for another two years at least. Bob and Helen have already had complete sexual relations upon a number of occasions. Helen says that she can see nothing wrong with this "as long as people marry eventually" and "do not feel guilty about it."

(a) Is this wrong for Helen?
   Yes__No__Uncertain__

(b) Is this wrong for Bob?
   Yes__No__Uncertain__

Any remarks? (p. 405)
Then Seeman attached a picture of a white couple and asked one half of a randomly selected group to respond to the six questions. Using the same questions a picture of a Negro couple was attached to the instrument, and the other half of the randomly selected group was asked to respond. The results confirmed his hypothesis that subjects given the Negro form would give more "No" and "Uncertain" responses.

To recapitulate, the most widely used method for measuring attitudes is the so-called attitude scale. The scale consists of a set of statements of which the subject indicates his approval or disapproval. The subject may be asked to respond on a continuum which makes scoring and the assigning of valence and the intensity of feeling an easier task.

There is some controversy over the validity of this direct approach. Some contend that a person either consciously or unconsciously will not answer these direct probes accurately. Therefore, this group has resorted to indirect means of measuring attitudes. The chief methods employed are the "disguised" inventories and the open-ended projective technique type of instrument. In this case the subject is asked to react to a situation which has been recorded on a card or photograph.

There is some evidence to support the contention that the validity of the indirect approach, in particular the disguised "test" of attitudes, is higher than the direct approach. Systematic study of the comparative validity of projective methods and direct methods has not yet been done.
Methods of scaling: There are four principal scaling methods for the measurement of attitudes: (1) equal-appearing intervals, (2) summated ratings, (3) social-distance scale, and (4) cumulative-scaling.

The equal-appearing interval method was introduced by Thurstone (1929). This method involves the use of judges to sort a large number of statements reflecting degrees of favorable and unfavorable views in the chosen area of measurement. The items were sorted into eleven categories. To obtain a single value representing the position of a statement on the eleven-point scale, the median of the positions assigned the item by all judges was determined; this became the scale value for the item. As a further check on the objectivity of the item the interquartile range for each statement was figured. If the interquartile range was small, a large number of judges tended to place the item in the same interval. Consequently, statements with a high interquartile range were eliminated. The remaining items were then administered to a large group of subjects (three hundred were used in the 1929 study). The results were carefully analyzed for consistency; that is, if the subjects endorsed several items of nearly the same scale value and rejected others of the same value, the rejected item(s) were dropped from the final form. The main criticism of this method was that the attitudes of the judges might influence their decisions. Many investigators have pointed out that the procedure of rejecting the sorting done by judges who sorted thirty or more statements into one interval was highly questionable. This procedure eliminated all judges with extreme attitudes. Other investigators have pointed out that when
the extreme pro- and anti-judges were not eliminated the overall effect on ratings was small (Sherif and Hovland, 1953).

The summated-rating was introduced by Likert (as reported by Krech et al., 1962). Steps necessary to produce a useable instrument were as follows: (1) the experimenter collected a large number of items representing various degrees of affect relating to the attitude object in question, (2) the items were administered to a large group of subjects who indicated whether they strongly approved, approved, were undecided, disapproved, or strongly disapproved, (3) by using a scoring scale of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 (5 representing strongly approved) a total score was obtained, (4) the last step involved an item analysis to select the most discriminating items. This was accomplished by computing for each item the correlation between scores on that item and the total score for all items. All items that correlated highly were thought to measure the same thing and were, therefore, retained in the final form.

The Bogardus Social Distance approach measured and compared attitudes toward different nationalities. The scale was based on a number of statements (usually seven) selected to elicit responses indicating the subject's degree of acceptance of a particular race or ethnic group. The usual procedure was to have a group of subjects check the statement which represented the degree of intimacy they wished to extend to a particular racial group: (1) to close kinship by marriage, (2) to my club as personal chums, (3) to my street as neighbors, (4) to employment in my occupation, (5) to citizenship in my country, (6) as visitors only in my country, and (7) would exclude from my country.
The subjects made this decision for all racial groups included on a particular instrument. To find the rank of each racial group being rated, the scale scores assigned by the subjects were summed and a mean group score was computed. The mean group scores and the racial group they represented were then arranged in numerical order. The larger the group mean score the greater the social distance (Bogardus, 1933).

A method of scaling that was developed for the armed forces during World War II was scalogram analysis. Guttman (1947) published a simplified version of the scalogram which he labeled the "Cornell technique." In recent years it has been referred to as the Guttman Scale. The crux of the Guttman Scale was a process he referred to as scalability. Steps leading up to the process were:

1. The universe of the content to be studied was defined.
2. The class of people to be surveyed was defined.
3. A pre-test sample, usually one hundred persons, was selected.
4. The inventory was administered, using Likert-type questions.
5. The scalability was determined.

The process of determining scalability is involved and complicated. In general, the theory is that from the rank of an individual's score on the pre-test it should be possible to reproduce his response to each item. For example, if the overall response to a particular question is, "Agree" sixty per cent and "Disagree" forty per cent, the item is scalable if the sixty per cent who agreed to the item were also among those in the upper sixty per cent for total score on all items.
Likewise, if the response to another item is "Agree" twenty per cent and "Disagree" eighty per cent, then to be scalable, the twenty per cent who agreed to the item must be the same individuals who scored in the top twenty per cent for all items. Guttman stated, "It is understood that a perfect scale is not to be expected in practice .... If the universe were a perfect scale, all of the techniques would involve little work and there would not be much to choose between them. It is the presence of imperfect reproducibility that raises the problem of technique" (pp. 249-251). He then cited two examples of a method referred to as "successive approximations" to overcome the problems created by imperfect reproducibility.

Selection of scale items: Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey (1962) described four criteria which they felt were relevant to the selection of scale items: (1) discriminating function, (2) sharpness of discrimination, (3) discrimination along the entire scale, and (4) minimal number of items for reliability.

They felt that subjects with "different attitude complexions must respond to the item in systematically different ways" (p. 117). The discriminating function of an item need not always be evident in its manifest content. They pointed out that an item which reflects a person's views on religion might be closely related to his attitude toward communism and therefore a discriminating item for inclusion in a scale of attitudes on communism.

With reference to sharpness of discrimination, their views were that an item which reflected valence should also indicate degree of favorableness or unfavorableness. Individuals with similar views
should always be on the same side of the positive-negative continuum of any particular item.

The authors felt that too many scales discriminate near the middle of the scale and are not sharp enough in differentiation at the extremes. Items should be able to separate the more extreme from the less extreme.

The criteria in regard to minimal number of items for reliability points to the fact that a large number of items tend to reduce the error of measurement. By error of measurement they referred to the unique meanings an individual may assign items. The larger the number of items the greater the probability that these unique meanings will cancel out. "However, considerations of efficiency and practicality in testing sharply limit the total number of items that can be comfortably accommodated in attitude scales" (p. 149).

The reliability and validity of attitude scales: The three most common methods of determining the reliability of attitude scales are: (1) the test-re-test method, in which the same instrument is re-administered a short time after the first administration, (2) the split-half method in which the usual practice is to correlate odd-even items, though this method has been questioned because "attitude set" may give spuriously high correlations, and (3) the equivalent forms methods in which measurements on two comparable forms are correlated (Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962).

A summary of the reliability coefficients using these methods indicates an average reliability ratio of .70 for the Thurstone, Likert, Bogardus, Guttman, and Osgood attitude scales. The range of
these coefficients was from .52 to .92. In this summary the only studies that used the split-half technique were those for the Bogardus Social Distance scales (Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962; Osgood et al., 1961).

There are some special techniques used to estimate reliability. Usually they are used with indirect approaches. One of the techniques used is to submit the written or spoken expressions of subjects to a series of judges. The degree to which these judges agree in their ratings becomes the measure of reliability for the technique. The obvious disadvantage to this procedure is the possibility of selecting biased judges.

Another technique used to estimate reliability of an instrument is to determine its capacity for differentiation of two or more groups. For example, in the Hammond study previously reported, a form of the "Error Choice Technique" was used to measure labor-management attitudes. It was administered as an "information test" to a group of business men and a group of labor union members. From the capacity of the "test" to differentiate the two groups, it was estimated that reliability of the instrument for each group was .87 and .78, respectively.

There are a number of methods to measure validity of an attitude scale. Three methods that seem to be the most commonly used are: (1) content validity established by a panel of "experts," (2) comparison to a "known group," and (3) comparison to a known valid instrument. Of these three methods, the one most frequently noted was validation by a panel of "experts." Thurstone's (1929) use of judges to sort a large
and heterogeneous sample of items exemplifies the method, the obvious weakness of which is the possible bias of the judges.

The validation of an instrument on the basis of its capacity to differentiate the attitudes of two known groups also has been questioned. The instrument may differentiate between businessmen and union members but will the same instrument categorize school teachers and housewives equally well? The point is that the instrument may be valid for differentiating groups with extreme attitudes but not moderate ones. Then there is always the possibility of not finding a group that ideologically represents even the extremes.

Comparison to another instrument "known" to be valid is another approach to establishing the validity of an attitude scale. After a series of measurements are made by each instrument using the same sample, correlation coefficients are computed. If the correlation scores obtained are high, the new instrument is equally valid. This last point may be a crucial one. The question it raises is, how valid is the "known" instrument?

The correlation coefficients reported for validity of attitude scales range from .29 to .95 (Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962; Berelson and Steiner, 1964). The validation of the same instrument by different researchers sometimes leads to coefficients markedly different. The problem of accurately measuring the affect of human behavior has been discussed by many writers. Freeman (1962) has this to say about the validity of "tests" of attitudes:
Validities of tests of attitude and values are extremely difficult to determine by statistical methods, since the only observable criterion is overt behavior. Obviously, it is practically impossible to obtain objective behavioral data on a population sampling with regard to attitudes toward church, the foreign born, specific minority groups, and the like. Furthermore, overt behavior need not always be correlated with attitude scores.

There is little to choose between the methods of attitude testing, so far as reliability is concerned. On the various scales devised, the median reliability coefficient has been about .70 (p. 604).

In summary, the reliability of attitude scales was found to be generally satisfactory. Methods commonly used to establish reliability were: (1) the test-re-test method, (2) the split-half method, and (3) the equivalent forms method. Some of the indirect methods were difficult to validate; consequently, information in regard to the reliability and validity of these approaches was scant.

There was less agreement in the matter of validity. Different investigators found coefficients which varied considerably for the same instrument. Methods most frequently used in establishing validity were: (1) judgment of a panel of experts, (2) comparison with a "known" instrument, and (3) comparison to a "known" group.

E. Summary

Any attempt to measure and interpret the affective side of man's behavior causes many communication problems.

Ethnic stereotype as used in the present study may be described as (1) a mental image or set which tends to view all members of an ethnic group as being essentially the same, and (2) the cognitive aspect
of an ethnic attitude which tends to place another group at a disadvantage.

The component parts of attitudes were seen as affective, cognitive, and behavioral. These three components vary in intensity and direction depending on the value of the goal to the individual.

The three principal sources of ethnic attitudes were found to be (1) group needs, (2) individual personality needs, and (3) the cultural teachings in our society. Of these sources, home and school were singled out as the primary source of ethnic attitudes. The feelings and actions of adults in the child's world conditions his future thinking and responses. The natural tendency of man to identify with one group and view out-groups as less desirable is part of this conditioning pattern.

Basic variables in programs to change ethnic attitudes were examined. Of these variables the desire of the subject to change and the degree to which he is encouraged to participate actively in the program were cited as major factors leading to a desirable change.

Research studies which used the instructional approach indicate a success ratio of approximately fifty per cent. A question was raised in regard to the accuracy of this success ratio, the high percentage perhaps resulting from the lack of follow-up studies. NDEA Institute studies and those studies which used a follow-up survey convincingly demonstrate that short-term instruction has produced only transient alterations in attitudes.
In addition to examining the role of instruction in altering ethnic attitudes, other approaches to changing attitudes were examined: the propaganda, contact, and therapy approaches.

In regard to the methods and problems of measuring attitudes it was pointed out that affect is very difficult to measure. Several methods of direct and indirect approach to measurement were discussed. Indications are that a form of the disguised attitude scale may be more effective in measuring attitudes and attitude change than a more direct means of measurement.

The principal scaling methods for measurement of attitudes were: (1) equal-appearing intervals, (2) summated ratings, (3) social-distance scales, and (4) cumulative scaling. A common deficiency of all scaling methods is that they do not provide for the measurement of neutral attitudes.

In the selection of items for use in attitude scales the discriminating feature is of utmost importance. Items must continuously discriminate the degree of attitude intensity along the entire continuum.

In general, the reliability of an attitude scale may be ascertained in three different ways: (1) the test-re-test method, (2) the split-half method, and (3) the equivalent forms method. The average reliability coefficient reported for many of the instruments in common use was .70. Validity coefficients may vary considerably for the same instrument. The two most frequently reported methods of establishing validity were the confirmation of content validity by means of a panel
of judges and correlating the results of the new instrument with one whose validity has been established.
A. The Subjects

The subjects of this study are largely graduate students, all majoring in education, with a small percentage of undergraduates in the control groups only. In order to simplify the process of describing the subjects they are divided into experimental and control groups.

Description of experimental groups: All subjects of the experimental group were counselors from the Southwestern states. These counselors attended National Defense Education Act Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes conducted on the campus of The University of Arizona during the summers of 1961, 1962, and 1963.

Of the total number of 88 attending these institutes, 77 are included in the final experimental group. The decrease of 11 is due to the fact that five enrollees were absent the day the pre-instruction sample was taken, two enrollees did not follow directions for filling out the follow-up instrument, and four either did not return the inventory or returned it incomplete. Thus, of the 83 enrollees qualified for inclusion in this study, a total of 77 responded, or 93 per cent.

Table II gives a partial summary of the personal data concerning these enrollees. A composite picture would show them as graduate students in education, with a mean age of 39 years, 83 per cent of whom have had prior counseling experience, and all of them employed by public schools in the Southwest.
TABLE II
NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE TRAINING INSTITUTES
ENROLLEE DATA SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Experimental Groups</th>
<th>Control Group A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NDEA Institute</td>
<td>NDEA Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961*</td>
<td>1962*</td>
<td>1963*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Enrollees:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of men</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of women</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of enrollees</td>
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<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of Enrollees:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30 years</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 60 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Highest degree in counseling</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's</td>
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<td>Other degrees</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Counseling Experience of Enrollees:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 or more years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*States represented by enrollees:
1961 NDEA Institute - Ariz. and New Mex.
1962 NDEA Institute - Ariz., Calif., Colo., and New Mex.
1964 NDEA Institute - Ala., Ariz., Colo., Idaho, Ill., Iowa, Minn., Miss., Mont., New Mex., Penn., Tex., and Utah
Description of the control groups: The information which represents the control groups is broken down into two major units: Group A and Groups B through E. They are divided because there is a real difference in instructional approach and content of instruction.

The subjects in Group A have a common background of training and experience. Group A represents the major control group in that it is made up of the 30 enrollees in the 1961 NDEA Counseling and Guidance Training Institute. The method of instruction for this group resembles the procedures used with the experimental groups. However, the content of the instruction is much different. It does not have the cultural anthropological orientation which is common to the three experimental groups.

For ease of comparison, Table II also contains a summary of Control Group A. The summary for this control group has much in common with the summary given for the three experimental groups. They are graduate students in education majoring in counseling and guidance, with a mean age of approximately 36, 80 per cent of the group have had prior counseling experience, and all are employed by public schools. The one dissimilarity is the greater diversity of states represented by the enrollees. The amount of contact with the ethnic groups central to this study is probably less for this group as a whole.

Control Groups B through E are composed mainly of graduate students in education enrolled during the first five-week period of the 1961 summer session at The University of Arizona. The classes represented and the number of subjects in these control groups is given below.
The total number of subjects in Control Groups A through E is 125. Two members of Control Group A were not present on the day that the pre-instruction sample was taken. No attempt was made to keep a record of absentees, either pre or post, for the Control Groups B through E. The figure of 97 represents the number of subjects who were present in class for both the pre and post samples.

An actual survey of Control Groups B through E revealed that 87 per cent of them were graduate students majoring in education.

The combined mean age for all individuals enrolled in the College of Education during the first summer session was 27 years (Registrar's Office, Data Processing). It was assumed that Control Groups B through E would show approximately the same average age as the college survey. This would mean that Control Group B through E has had less opportunity for contact with these ethnic groups; that is, less opportunity for contact than the experimental group whose mean age was 39 years. However, research studies indicate that by the time an individual reaches his majority the adult pattern of ethnic stereotypes is firmly established (Berelson and Steiner, 1964; Blake and Dennis, 1943; Sherif and Sherif, 1956; Simpson and Yinger, 1958).

Therefore, this age differential should not invalidate the findings.
A summary of Control Groups B through E indicates that their educational background and professional commitment is quite similar to the experimental group and to Control Group A. They are dissimilar in their choice of major within the educational field, their duties performed, and their mean ages. In regard to contact with the ethnic groups of this study, it would seem that this group, Control Groups B through E, drawn mainly from this geographical area, would be in contact with these ethnic groups while performing their teaching duties and in everyday living.

A review of the traits and characteristics of the experimental and control groups which have a significant bearing on this study indicates that the groups are quite similar. The educational level, professional goal, social class, and place of residence are in general accord for both groups.

B. Orientation of Instructional Program for the Experimental Groups

The basic feature of the instructional program for the experimental groups which sets it off from all control groups is the emphasis on the cultural anthropological aspects of the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American.

Stated objectives for experimental groups: The broad purpose of each of the three institutes, which make up the experimental group, did not vary a great deal. Therefore, the 1963 objectives of instruction are given below as representative of the objectives of the three NDEA Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes.
The broad purpose of the Institute was to improve on the part of the enrollees the qualifications for, and proficiency in, the counseling and guidance of able secondary school students, with particular reference to students from the major sub-cultural groups of the Southwest.

The specific objectives of the institute were:

1. To broaden knowledge and understanding of the cultural determinants of behavior and their implications for counseling with secondary school youth.

2. To develop a basic understanding of the general cultural, goals and values, abilities, interests, and needs of youth with Indian and Mexican-American backgrounds.

3. To develop an awareness of the conflicts of values and general culture the Indian and Mexican-American student may experience in a cross-cultural situation in general, and in the secondary school in particular.

4. To develop an appreciation of the education difficulties encountered by youth of sub-cultural backgrounds which may cause them to drop out of school or, if they remain, to fail to develop the potential they possess, and to examine the role of the counselor in preventing such loss, with emphasis particularly on his role in curriculum development and revision.

5. To develop and enhance knowledge of the uses, limitations, and the application of techniques of interviewing and case analysis as these relate to counseling able secondary youth in general and youth of sub-cultural groups in particular. (Director's Technical Report, 1963, pp. 5-6).

The broad objectives of these institutes do indicate a concern for increasing the effectiveness of counselors when working with youth in general. However, the emphasis is placed on their relationships with the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American.

Instructional program for experimental group: Again the similarity between the content of the material in this area for the three institutes is so nearly the same that it was felt that the 1963 content and organization of the instructional program would be sufficiently
representative of all groups. Therefore, this information for the 1963 NDEA Counseling and Guidance Training Institute is given below.

The instructional program was carried on by means of formal lectures, and large and small discussion groups or seminars. The first three weeks of the Institute were devoted to lectures and discussion in the area of cultural anthropology as follows:

First week: A survey of the field of culture and personality and the processes through which the individual acquires culture. Time was spent in the small groups, during the first week, discussing counselee values and cultural biases. Among other things, participants were administered something of a semantic differential scale; they described their concept of Anglo, Mexican-American, and Southwest Indian youth, providing a basis for discussion and, hopefully, self-examination of values and cultural biases.

Second week: Aspects of the contemporary culture of the Southwest Indian, with emphasis on subsistence patterns, personal living, socio-political organizations, religion and mythology, the Indian adolescent, and the Indian in transition, and values emerging from the various aspects of culture-competition, motivation, time orientation, conflicts of values in a cross-cultural setting and their implication for counseling.

Third week: Aspects of the contemporary culture of the Mexican-American in the Southwest following essentially the same constant emphasis as given above for the Southwest Indian.

Lectures were generally followed by groups discussion periods during which enrollees explored further the lecture content, exchanged observations and experiences related to the topic, as well as raised questions for further study.

The remaining five weeks of the Institute were devoted to instruction and practicum designed to develop and enhance knowledge and skills in the areas of individual analysis and counseling techniques (Director's Technical Report, 1963, p. 6).

The material covered during the first two-week period of the lectures in the cultural anthropological aspects of the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American is given in more detail in the Appendix, Item 1. In general, it would seem that for both ethnic groups the major aspects of the differences in cultural background which tend to
set these groups apart from the major reference group was covered by this series of lectures.

**Small group seminars for experimental group:** A unique feature of the instructional approach used in the experimental groups and Control Group A was the opportunity for small group seminars in addition to the regular large group discussions available during lecture. These small group (usually 10 enrollees) discussions were under the direction and supervision of a staff member who attended the lectures. He was also the group discussion leader. In addition to the leadership of this faculty member, many of the special lecturers and consultants joined the small group discussions or, in other ways, made themselves available to the individual enrollee.

It was felt by both staff and enrollees that the opportunity to exchange, consolidate, or reject ideas in these small group sessions was important. In addition, they felt that the availability of both faculty and guests for questioning during these meetings created an informal air which encouraged learning. This position is supported by the many positive comments turned in by enrollees on an optionally signed evaluation sheet during appraisal of the institutes.

**C. Orientation of Instructional Program for the Control Groups**

In order to facilitate discussion of the control groups in this section, they will again be presented in two groups, Group A and Groups B through E, because there is considerable variation in the objectives and procedures.
**Stated objectives for Control Group A:** The objectives of the 1964 NDEA Institute differ considerably from those presented for the 1961-1963 institutes. They are listed below for the purpose of comparison.

1. To increase the enrollee's knowledge of counseling theory, his awareness of how these theories can be applied in the counselor's work with secondary school students, both on an individual and a group basis, and to evolve a rationale for his own operation as a counselor.

2. To encourage and facilitate self-evaluation on the part of the counselor-enrollee, with particular reference to examination of values, as these are related to and affect his role and function.

3. Through supervised practice, to determine present counseling strength and weakness of counselor-enrollee, to improve skills where needed, and to provide a vehicle for the integration of theory with practice as these relate particularly to the above objectives.

4. To enhance skills of group work by providing an opportunity to plan and conduct group sessions with secondary school students, particular emphasis to be placed on problems of educational and vocational planning.

5. To develop understanding and appreciation of the counselor's role as a researcher, the place of psychological measurement in research, with special reference to the areas of pupil characteristics, prediction studies, and curriculum development and revision, and to gain knowledge of research techniques appropriate to these areas, as well as anticipate with enrollees the initiation of such studies in their local systems (Director's Technical Report, 1964, p. 6).

The 1964 institute stressed knowledge of the various counseling theories, techniques and skills of counseling, and self-evaluation on the part of the enrollee in the area of values, especially as they relate to and affect his role and function. It is obvious that ethnic differences are not a part of this program.
Stated objectives for Control Groups B through E: The instructional approach for these groups appears to be more in line with the traditional college lecture approach. The students raised questions, shared experiences with the class, and many felt free to discuss issues with the instructor after class. However, the informal atmosphere of the small group discussions and the continual contact of instructors and students, which was so typical of the NDEA Institutes, was missing. There did not appear to be any significant difference in training and educational preparation of the instructors. Therefore, the chief differences were the instructional approach and the subject matter taught.

The major points listed in the syllabus of each of these courses is given below.

Control Group B

Education 150 - Social Foundations of Education Syllabus:

I. Introduction.

II. American education in cultural, historical and philosophical perspective.

III. Socialization, its process and function.

IV. Analysis of culture theory and its importance on socialization.

V. Social stratification and its influences on socialization.

VI. Socializing agents or institutions and their historical and contemporary roles and functions and their influence on socialization.

VII. Analysis of American values as developed from the historical and philosophical foundations of education in a democracy and their importance to education.

VIII. Significant social trends and issues and their influence on educational practice.
Control Group C

Education 241 - Foundations of Guidance Syllabus:

I. The individual.
II. The individual and society.
III. The individual and the economy.
IV. Principles and practices of guidance.
V. Laboratory experience.

Control Groups D and E

Education 390 - Techniques of Educational Research Syllabus:

I. Sensitize students to contributions made by systematic inquiry.
II. Create awareness of problem area in daily experiences of student which can be profitably investigated.
III. Develop certain skills in systematic inquiry.
IV. Provide experience in the use of library resources.
   (College of Education, Office of the Dean)

In summary, it can be said that for Control Groups B through E the traditional college lecture approach was used. Group lectures and large group discussions were the essence of this instructional approach. The content and objectives of the courses were naturally different. There was almost no instruction in ethnic differences given to these groups.

D. Instrument Used

The instrument used in this study was patterned after a form of Osgood's Semantic Differential. The features it has in common with the
Osgood instrument are the use of polar, evaluative adjectives on a seven point interval, the scrambling of poles in an attempt to prevent a halo effect, and the format.

The instrument was designed and used by the instructional staff of the 1961 NDEA Counseling and Guidance Training Institute. This same inventory was used throughout this entire research project. A sample is included in the Appendix, Item 2.

As previously mentioned, one of the limitations of this study was lack of prior validation of the instrument. However, an attempt was made to establish the reliability and validity of this form.

Reliability: Three days after the last administration to the 1961 Institute it was readministered to the group. The result of this test-retest situation was a coefficient of reliability of .60.

Validity: The method chosen to test the validity of the instrument was the face-validity approach. The instrument was given to a panel of individuals highly trained in anthropology, sociology, psychology, and education. Instructions were given to evaluate the instrument on the basis of whether they felt it would be an adequate measure of the expressed attitudes of teachers and school counselors toward certain traits and characteristics of the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American. The panel of judges was unanimous in its approval of the instrument as a means of measuring group attitudes.

"Control" feature: When the instrument was designed the Anglo group was included as an added check. It was the thinking of the designers that the Anglo, middle-classed counselor would not change much
in his attitudes toward his own reference group. Therefore, ratings he would assign to members of his group would remain fairly constant. This proved to be true. All groups, pre, post and follow-up, consistently ranked the Anglo nearest the positive end of the continuum, the Mexican-American next, and the Southwest Indian nearest the unfavorable pole. It must be remembered that for the 1961 experimental group the intervening time between ratings was 38 months; yet their rankings remained the same. This consistency may be a better indication of social distance than it is of trustworthiness of the instrument.

E. The Categorization of the Inventory Items

During the time of the original research design it was felt that the items in the inventory would lend themselves to categorization. It was felt that attitudes tend to form clusters, clusters which are centered around one area or one object in the individual's thinking. For example, an individual may have a cluster of attitudes toward education, Jews, marriage, etc. Each of these clusters can be broken down into smaller units which describe his feelings toward a particular aspect of the attitude object. For instance, a person may have attitudes toward the Mexican-American's physical features, intellectual capacity, mannerisms, etc. All of these attitudes toward the traits and characteristics of the Mexican-American make up the whole cluster of attitudes toward the ethnic group. There may be groupings or categories of these traits and characteristics within the attitude inventory used in this study. If this is true, it is important to be able to identify these categories and during the analysis of the data
ascertain if any significant changes have taken place in the categories.

With these thoughts in mind a Q-Sort was constructed. To do this the polar adjectives from the inventory were typed on 60 three-by-five cards. After a review of counseling and psychological references, eleven categories were selected. These categories represented areas of difficult adjustment for adolescents or traits and characteristics deemed desirable by school leaders. The next step was a trial run. After ten sorts by faculty members it was felt that the level of agreement was not high enough to warrant the use of these categories. Therefore, the number of categories was reduced to four: intellectual attributes, social acceptability, emotional stability, and physical characteristics. The reduction in number of categories was based on the broad, general areas that seem to be of most concern to counselors and faculty. Physical characteristics became one of the categories because of the "social visibility" evident in the Southwest Indian and Mexican-American.

Another trial run using these four categories proved that there was a high degree of accord among panel members. Therefore, another panel composed of fifteen faculty and graduate assistants, all of whom were majoring in counseling and guidance or educational psychology, were asked to sort the 60 items into the categories cited above. Twelve of the fifteen judges had to agree on every item assigned to a particular category. The results of the sorting by this panel can be found in the Appendix, Item 3.
F. Procedure for Collecting Data

A change of administrators took place between the experimental and control group sampling. Therefore, the administration of the inventory may not have been uniform for all groups. Every effort was made to follow the same procedure as was previously used.

In general, this was the procedure followed for the experimental groups: The form was administered during the first and last days of the institutes. Participation was on a voluntary basis; however, there were no dissenters. The examiner read the directions aloud while the subjects read them silently. Questions were called for and answered so that all subjects were aware of the content of the question and its answer. During the examination time, questions which the examiner felt were of importance to the group were repeated so that all subjects were aware of the content of the question and its answer. There was no time limit.

The procedure for administration to all control groups was the same with one exception. The questions raised by the first group and subsequent groups were recorded in writing and then were read to groups that followed. These questions were read after the directions and before the subjects had a chance to ask questions. After the first group this process practically eliminated questions of any consequence. The main question could be paraphrased as follows: "What if you have not had contact with these groups enough to know anything about them?" The reply to this question which was given to the first group and read to the remaining groups was:
Base your responses on the knowledge you have available. If your only 'contact' with these ethnic groups has been reading the novel Last of the Mohicans or seeing the movie The Alamo, then use those impressions. Remember, there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers, no grades; your first thought is the one I want. If you feel that you are forcing a response or being forced to respond, please feel free to leave your inventory blank.

No other major question concerning content or administrative procedures was asked by members of the control groups.

Selection of control groups: The selection of the 1961 NDEA Institute to participate as one of the control groups was considered essential; however, the enrollees were given the opportunity not to participate. Again, there were no dissenters.

The selection of the Control Groups B through E was both by design and convenience. Social Foundations of Education and Foundations of Guidance were chosen with the idea in mind that the instruction in these classes may stress the uniqueness of the individual enough to show a significant change in attitudes. The other two classes, Techniques in Educational Research, were selected because it was felt that practically no emphasis would be placed on individual differences; therefore, these classes would serve as a reference point for the other two. The convenience aspect refers to the fact that both faculty and subjects had a free choice in whether they wished to participate or not. Only one faculty member felt it would be inconvenient for his class to participate. There were no dissenters among the students asked to participate.

Follow-up data: With the assistance of the director of the 1961, 1962, and 1963 institutes a cover letter was drawn up and signed
by the director. A copy of this letter can be found in the Appendix, Item 4.

A letter containing the cover letter, attitude inventory, and a stamped, self-addressed, return envelope was mailed to each of the participants in the 1961-1963 NDEA Institutes.

The first mailing took place on October 1, 1961. On October 20, 1961, a letter of inquiry was sent to each enrollee who had not responded. This was followed up on November 15, 1961, by mailing each enrollee who had not responded another complete set of materials. A waiting period of two weeks was observed before the final steps were taken to process the data available.

The success of this procedure is evidenced by the fact that all but two of the enrollees responded. Two of those that responded did not complete the inventory.

G. Scoring Procedure

Assigning adjective polarity: The four NDEA staff members who designed the instrument also assigned the polarity. The assigning of these adjectives to a favorable or unfavorable category represented the combined thinking of a group of four educators from the following fields: two were counselor educators, one was an anthropologist, and the other was an educator with a major in anthropology and several years of experience teaching Indians.

Mechanical aspects of scoring: The scoring scale contains seven intervals ranging from "Very Much" to "Equal," as indicated in the sample below:
Seven was selected to be the unfavorable or negative end of the continuum. Therefore, the nearer an individual's mean score is to seven, the more unfavorable are his views toward the ethnic group. Likewise, the higher the group mean, that is, the closer it is to seven, the more unfavorable is the group toward the ethnic group.

The favorable-unfavorable adjectives were scrambled on the attitude inventory to prevent a halo effect. The necessity for unscrambling the mixed polar adjectives made scoring more difficult. It was accomplished by the use of a sheet of clear plastic material with numbered scales to match the scrambled items. This sheet was placed over each inventory page in such a way that a two-member team could read and enter the ratings (from 1-7) on a specially prepared summary sheet. Every fifth summary sheet was checked for accuracy by a third person; the percentage of error was found to be negligible.

H. Statistical Procedure

It was decided to apply the Critical Ratio test for significance of difference between group means. The possibility of doing a factor analysis and computing the necessary array of intercorrelation coefficients was contemplated. This approach was rejected because it was felt that the less complex approach to the significance of difference between group means would best serve the purposes of this study.
Therefore, the raw data on the survey summary forms was turned into the Numerical Analysis Laboratory with instructions to punch the raw data for each individual into data processing cards. After a conference with the Director of the Numerical Analysis Laboratory all necessary steps were taken to program a computer run which would provide a group mean and standard deviation for each pre, post, and follow-up survey, for all control and experimental groups, and for each of the three ethnic groups. These group means were found by adding the 60 items rankings given each ethnic group by each subject. The mean ranking was then determined for each subject's attitude toward each of the three ethnic groups. These mean individuals rankings for a group of subjects were added and averaged. This group mean represents the attitude of the entire group toward a particular ethnic group on a favorable to unfavorable scale of seven points. The same procedure was followed for the items when divided into categories.

The array of means and standard deviation was scrutinized for maximum mean differences. The standard deviations which represented the means of these maximum differences and the appropriate group N's were substituted in the equation for the standard error of difference between means (Garrett, 1958).

These standard errors of the difference between maximum group means were tested to ascertain if they represented a significant difference at the .05 level of confidence. This step was performed by applying the Critical Ratio test to each of these standard errors of the difference (Garrett, 1958). The resulting ratios represent the
maximum effect of instruction on the attitudes of the control and experimental groups. This information can be found in table form (Tables III through VI) in Chapter IV.
A. Introduction

Previous studies on the change of attitudes by means of instruction show great diversity in conclusions. It indicates a real need for further research of depth in order to arrive at a more definite decision as to the value of instruction in this area. The broad purpose of the investigation reported here is to take a segment of population under conditions which lend themselves to measurement and determine if its attitude toward other ethnic groups has been altered by short-term instruction. Specifically, in order to accomplish the objective, this study is devoted to ascertaining if instruction in cultural anthropology will significantly alter the attitudes of high school counselors toward the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American.

The control group, numbering 125, was composed of two major sub-groups. Group A consisted of enrollees in the 1964 NDEA Institute which used the same basic approach to instruction as did the experimental groups except that the central instructional theme of this institute was not ethnic differences. Groups B through E were composed of four groups of more or less "traditional" college classes. The main difference between Group A and Groups B through E, other than course content and objectives, was the instructional approach used. The approach used with Group A was very similar to the one used with the three experimental groups in which small group seminars and active participation of
the enrollees was encouraged. In Groups B through E the lecture, question and answer type of instructional approach played the leading role. The importance of ethnic differences and cultural values was not a part of the instructional content of any of the control groups.

Consideration of the differences in instructional approach and the effectiveness of the instructional process in changing attitudes led to a series of questions in Chapter I, here restated.

1. Will there be a significant change in the counselor's attitudes toward the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American following a period of instruction emphasizing the cultural anthropological backgrounds of the two ethnic groups?

2. Will there be a significant change in the attitudes of individuals toward these ethnic groups regardless of the method or subject matter taught?

3. If modification of attitudes occurs in the experimental group, will these changes persist over a 1, 2, and 3 year period?

4. Will certain categories of traits that make up these attitudes be more subject to change with instruction than others?

The methodological approach used to answer these questions was described earlier. However, at this point attention should be called to the level of statistical confidence used in this study. The .05 level of confidence was chosen as sufficient for rejection of the Null Hypothesis.

All procedures and methods used in this study are commonly found in like studies. No abnormalities were noted in the distribution
of group means; that is, there were no patterns which might indicate a distribution of means in a skewed or other abnormal pattern. Trends and patterns were consistent throughout the data.

The data summarized in this chapter show the maximum effect of instruction on attitudes toward each of the ethnic groups for each administration of the instrument as indicated by group means and standard deviations. Also discussed in this chapter is the maximum effect of instruction on attitudes when the inventory items are divided into categories.

A more detailed tabulation of group mean changes and their standard deviations can be found in the Appendix Items 5 through 12. Appendix tabulations also show the entire group of mean differences, regardless of size, and their standard deviations for each sub-group of both the experimental and control groups. These changes are given for each of the ethnic groups, Anglo, Mexican-American, and Southwest Indian. The tabulations include more extensive information in regard to traits when divided into four categories.

B. **Comparison of Data for the Experimental Groups**

**Analysis of pre-post data:** There were no significant mean differences for any experimental group. The differences in group means were slight and all can be accounted for by chance variations. The greatest mean change for any pre-post group measurements, as will be noted in Table III, was for the 1962 NDEA Institute group. The Critical Ratio of .87 represents a more unfavorable view of the Anglo group.
TABLE III
SUMMARY OF THE MAXIMUM EFFECT OF INSTRUCTION ON ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Showing Maximum Change</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Pre-Post Maximum Mean Difference</th>
<th>Pre-Follow-Up Maximum Mean Difference</th>
<th>Positive or Negative Trend</th>
<th>Critical Ratio</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961*</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td></td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963*</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td></td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962*</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1961, 1962, and 1963 NDEA Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes
Analysis of the pre-follow-up data: The largest change noted for this interim, pre to follow-up survey, was that of the 1961 NDEA Institute group. This change reflected another increase in negative views toward the Anglo. The Critical Ratio was 1.28. However, this change does not reach the .05 confidence level.

The instructional approach used to alter attitudes in these NDEA Institutes appears to be ineffectual as measured by the particular attitude inventory employed in this study. The various means which portray their attitudes toward these ethnic groups have remained fairly constant for as long as 38 months after the instruction ended.

The data indicates that NULL Hypotheses (1) and (4), which were cited in Chapter I, cannot be rejected. They are repeated below for convenience.

1. There will be no significant difference in the manner in which experimental groups rank certain characteristics and traits of the Southwest Indian and Mexican-American before and after a program of instruction which emphasizes the cultural aspects of these two ethnic groups and allows time for small group seminars following lectures.

4. There will be no significant difference between the expressed attitudes of the experimental group as measured before a program of instruction that emphasizes the cultural aspects of these ethnic groups and one to three years later.

C. Comparison of Pre-Post Data for Control Groups

The mean changes for this group are even smaller. A summary of these changes is given in Table IV. The largest group mean change reported for any group was .11 with a critical ratio of .37. Neither the instructional approach nor the subject matter taught to any of five control groups seemed to influence ethnic attitudes. The variation
TABLE IV

SUMMARY OF THE MAXIMUM EFFECT OF INSTRUCTION ON ETHNIC ATTITUDES
OF CONTROL GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Showing Maximum Change</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Pre-Post Maximum Mean Difference</th>
<th>Positive or Negative Trend</th>
<th>Critical Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group E</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group E</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Group A - 1964 NDEA Counseling and Guidance Training Institute

**Group E - Ed. 390 Techniques in Educational Research
in instructional approach used with Control Group A, small group seminars and the informal atmosphere, was not significantly different from other control groups. Therefore, Null Hypotheses (2) and (3), as stated in Chapter I, cannot be rejected. These hypotheses are here repeated for convenience.

2. There will be no significant differences between the pre- and post-training rating of these characteristics and traits when members of one control group, Control Group A, are given an opportunity to interact in small group seminars but are not given instruction which emphasizes the cultural aspects of these ethnic groups.

3. There will be no significant differences between pre- and post-training ratings of these characteristics and traits when members of four control groups (B-E) receive instruction which neither allows time for interaction in small group seminars nor emphasizes the cultural aspects of these ethnic groups.

D. Comparison of Data Divided into Four Categories

Analysis of pre-post data for experimental groups: The maximum change was in the 1962 NDEA group's rating of the Southwest Indian in Category "Y", Emotional Stability. The Critical Ratio for this negative change was 1.41 (see Table V). The change represents a more unfavorable view of traits and characteristics as they pertain to the Southwest Indian.

Analysis of pre-follow-up data for experimental groups: The largest group mean change was in the 1961 NDEA group's rating of the Anglo in Category "X", Social Acceptability. The Critical Ratio for this negative change was 1.86 (see Table V). This negative change was a continuation of a trend started by this same group in the pre-post measurement when their negative feelings toward the Anglo reached a Critical Ratio of 1.22.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Showing Maximum Change</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Pre-Post Maximum Mean Difference</th>
<th>Pre-Follow-Up Maximum Mean Difference</th>
<th>Positive or Negative Trend</th>
<th>Critical Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Category &quot;W&quot; Intellectual Attributes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Category &quot;X&quot; Social Acceptability</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.86</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>.78</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Category &quot;Y&quot; Emotional Stability</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
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<td>1.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.38</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1962</td>
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<td>1.41</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Category &quot;Z&quot; Physical Characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis of pre-post data for control groups: Again the attitude changes were small and insignificant. The largest change was in Group B's rating of the Anglo in Category "Z", Physical Characteristics. The Critical Ratio for this negative change was 1.00 (see Table VI). The division of the inventory items into categories did not affect the "no change" pattern established in the examination of group means pre, post, and follow-up of the instructional process.

The fact that there were no significant group mean changes for any experimental or control group when the inventory items were divided into four categories indicates that Null Hypothesis (5) cannot be rejected. This hypothesis is repeated here.

5. There will be no significant difference in the pre- and post training attitudes as expressed by all control groups and the pre-trained and follow-up studies of attitudes expressed by all experimental groups toward these ethnic groups when the characteristics and traits ranked are separated into the broad categories considered significant by a panel of "experts."

Recapitulation of data analysis: The results of this study indicate that short-term instruction, regardless of instructional approach or course content, has little immediate effect on the subject's ethnic attitudes. Surveys of the experimental group made 1, 2, and 3 years later show the same pattern, no significant effect on the subject's ethnic attitudes.

Division of the inventory items into four categories did not change the pattern of results. No part of the Null Hypotheses can be rejected.
TABLE VI
SUMMARY OF THE MAXIMUM EFFECT OF INSTRUCTION ON ETHNIC ATTITUDES
OF CONTROL GROUPS
ACCORDING TO FOUR CATEGORIES OF INVENTORY ITEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category &quot;W&quot; Intellectual Attributes</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Ethnic Mean</th>
<th>Positive or Negative Change</th>
<th>Critical Ratio</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group B Anglo</td>
<td>.20</td>
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<td></td>
<td>.65</td>
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<td>Group C Mexican</td>
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<td>.48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group C Indian</td>
<td>.18</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Category &quot;X&quot; Social Acceptability</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Ethnic Mean</th>
<th>Positive or Negative Change</th>
<th>Critical Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group C Anglo</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group E Mexican</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group E Indian</td>
<td>.13</td>
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<td>.47</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category &quot;Y&quot; Emotional Stability</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Ethnic Mean</th>
<th>Positive or Negative Change</th>
<th>Critical Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group B Anglo</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B Mexican</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group A Indian</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.75</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category &quot;Z&quot; Physical Characteristics</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Ethnic Mean</th>
<th>Positive or Negative Change</th>
<th>Critical Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group B Anglo</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group E Mexican</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C Indian</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td></td>
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<td>.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Group A - 1964 NDEA Counseling and Guidance Training Institute
Group B - Ed. 150 Social Foundations of Education
Group C - Ed. 241 Foundations of Guidance
Group D - Ed. 390 Techniques in Educational Research
Group E - Ed. 390 Techniques in Educational Research
E. Discussion of Results

Possibilities for lack of attitude change: There are any number of reasons why the results of this study indicated no change in attitudes. Four possibilities which seemed most promising were selected for discussion purposes. Those four areas are: (1) lack of instrument validity, (2) quality and length of instructional process, (3) desire to change, and (4) delayed effect of education.

Results of this study indicate very little change in attitudes regardless of group, course content, or approach used. The effectiveness of our system of public education in dealing with cognitive matters has been demonstrated time and time again. Why, then, is it not more effective in modifying attitudes?

Lack of instrument validity: One argument that may be used in questioning the result of this study is the lack of instrument validity. That is one of the most common errors when measuring affect. The fact that the inventory used in this study had only one test-retest reliability coefficient (.60) could well indicate a severe weakness. There are other factors present which tend to prove it more valid than indicated by this ratio.

The consistency with which all groups ranked the three ethnic groups is an important factor. Except in one instance the Anglo always had the more favorable position, the Mexican-American next, and the Southwest Indian last. This social ranking agrees with the findings of several authors cited in the Review of Related Literature. It would seem that if 202 individuals react to the same inventory two or three
times over a course of three years and consistently rank the three groups in the same relative position and with nearly the same degree of affect, then the instrument may be more reliable than the .60 "r" indicates.

One could cite the fact that the instrument used does agree with the social distance found by many other instruments, which have been validated. This would seem like a "backdoor" approach in that the usual procedure for establishing validity in this manner would be to administer the two instruments under similar conditions, etc., and then compute the intercorrelation coefficient.

With reference to validity of the instrument used, the panel of judges agreed that the instrument was valid. These men were leaders in the field of research and teaching in the behavioral sciences.

In final analysis the only acceptable evidence of validity is the judgment of the panel.

For those reasons cited above, it was decided to accept the instrument as a valid and reliable instrument. This judgment is rendered in light of current knowledge in the construction of instruments that measure affect in a direct manner.

**Quality and length of instructional process**: Two major intervening variables which may account for the lack of attitude change is the type of instructional approach used and the content of instruction.

There is not enough evidence to indicate a "right" or a "wrong" way to design a program of instruction which has the change of ethnic
attitudes as one of its major goals. Evidence does seem to point to two factors which may have a considerable bearing on whether the instructional process will change attitudes. The two factors are the degree of individual participation and length of instruction. It is generally agreed that before attitudes will change there must be a greater degree of ego involvement than ordinarily takes place in the usual lecture approach. The current thinking stresses the creation of small groups with active participation by all members. However, based on this knowledge of the group process, it would seem that these NDEA Institutes met the basic requirements. There was active individual participation in small groups. However, the number that became ego-involved is unknown.

It would seem then that these institutes did, at least in part, fulfill the need for individual participation.

What is the role played by the length of the instructional process? Evidence examined in Chapter II pointed to the fact that during four years of college a person became more liberal in his views on many matters. It also demonstrated that two years of college reduces ethnocentrism. Of course, there could be many contributing factors in addition to classroom instruction. However, the same evidence points out that those who do not attend college for two years do not become less ethnocentric. Therefore, college life must have some bearing on this change of attitudes. Hunger et al. (1963) found that counselor attitudes were significantly changed after an eight-week long NDEA Institute, but the changes had disappeared a short time later. However, some twenty months after a one semester institute there were still
significant changes in two categories of counselor attitudes.

The point is that the length as well as the type of instruction may influence attitude change, but this contention is not borne out by the forty-four studies reviewed in Chapter II. Most of these studies were based on short-term instruction. The success ratio was approximately 50 per cent, when the short-term instructional approach was used. It is felt that this percentage would be reduced considerably if the researchers cited had all made use of follow-up studies. It could not be ascertained in all cases whether or not a follow-up study was made. However, in a sampling of 24 studies which used the instructional approach to alter attitudes only five of this number employed follow-up studies. The results reported by this group of five indicates that in only one study was there any significant change two years later. While this small sample may not be adequate to establish a case it does point to a neglect of follow-up studies.

This evidence coupled with that of Allport (1960), Tyler (1961), and others which point to the shallow effect of information on attitudes leaves some room to doubt the effectiveness of the short-term instructional approach. Therefore, it would seem that one possible reason why there were no significant changes in attitudes might be that the term of instruction was too short.

Another way of saying this is that due to the tenacious nature of stereotypes and prejudice, the re-education process must be long and intense. There is no need to belabor this point again. Evidence examined in Chapter II agreed that ethnic attitudes are usually deeply
ingrained and quite difficult to change, especially in adults.

The probability that short-term instruction will change attitudes only in a transitory manner may have great significance for future counselor training programs as well as education in general.

Desire to change: The individual's desire to change is referred to by many writers in the field as being one of the key determinants of attitude change. There is no direct evidence that the counselors in this study had a desire to change their attitudes toward these ethnic groups. However, there is some evidence that they did desire to learn more about these ethnic groups.

First of all, counseling is a field that stresses the uniqueness of the individual. The people who are attracted to this field are usually those with a keen interest in human behavior. Also, there were many NDEA Institutes operating during the summers of 1961, 1962, and 1963. Those conducted at The University of Arizona were the only ones in ethnic differences. Why did they elect this one if they did not have a desire to learn more about these ethnic groups? Furthermore, it can be assumed that those involved in this study accepted their counseling positions, knowing that they would be working with large numbers of students from these ethnic groups. Therefore, it would seem that these counselors were motivated to better understand the ethnic groups involved.

Delayed effect of instructions: The apparent lack of the immediate effectiveness of the instructional approach to alter attitudes has been accounted for by some by stating that the effect is delayed.
Allport (1960) says that "we drive wedges of doubt" which in time bring about a change of attitude.

While this possibility cannot be discounted and its importance seems vast, it does little to clarify the role of formal education in the process of "teaching" values and attitudes. If this be true, and it could very well be so, what percentage of the credit for changing attitudes goes to formal education and what part is credited to the vast array of informal agencies? Another interesting question would be, "How much delay - one year, five years, or ten years?"

For the purposes of this study, it would seem that this hypothesis is inappropriate because the intent of this research is to explore an "immediate" method of changing attitudes.

F. Summary

The analysis of the data revealed that there had been no significant changes in the attitudes of any group. This, of course, means that the five Null Hypotheses stated in Chapter I cannot be rejected.

Four of the intervening variables which may account for this lack of change were examined. They were (1) lack of instrument validity, (2) quality and length of instruction, (3) desire to change, and (4) delayed effect of instruction. Of these four areas it would seem that the one in this case which would be most apt to account for this lack of change would be length of instruction.

The tenacious nature of ethnic attitudes plays a key role in determining the duration of the instructional process necessary to alter ethnic attitudes.
It was assumed that for the most part counselors do desire to change undesirable attitudes.

The concept of the delayed effect of instruction was rejected because of the lack of evidence, as witnessed in this study and elsewhere, and its inappropriateness for this type of study.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Summary

Counselor attitudes play a predominant role in determining his effectiveness. Unfavorable attitudes may prevent him from accepting the counselee as a person of equal worth, thus forming a barrier to the creation of the rapport necessary for a productive learning situation.

Of the many counselor attitudes that may form barriers to rapport, the stereotyping of ethnic groups may be one of considerable importance and is of vital concern to this study. The fact that counselors do stereotype ethnic groups was substantiated by studies examined in related literature.

The problem of stereotyping (denoting a degree of prejudice) is one of significance in the Southwest where counselors are in frequent contact with adolescents from two ethnic groups, the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the possibility of changing the ethnic attitudes of counselors toward these two groups by means of short-term instruction in the cultural anthropological backgrounds of the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American.

A survey of related literature reveals that ethnic attitudes are acquired mainly through a process of conditioning which begins in early childhood and continues throughout life. They become deeply
Ingrained and difficult to change. Of several methods most frequently used in an attempt to alter ethnic attitudes the instructional method was reported as having a .50 success ratio. Very few of those findings were substantiated by follow-up studies and, therefore, casts some doubt on the permanency of this success. There is some indication that short-term instruction may have only a transitory effect on ethnic attitudes.

This study consists of an experimental group of 77 counselors from the Southwest who were enrolled in three National Defense Education Act Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes conducted on the University of Arizona campus during the summers of 1961, 1962, and 1963. The control group of 125 subjects was divided into two major sub-groups. Control Group A was composed of enrollees in the 1964 NDEA Institute. This group closely resembled the experimental group with the exception that it did not receive instruction in the ethnic differences of the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American. The other control sub-group (Groups B through E) was composed of students enrolled in one undergraduate and three graduate classes at the University of Arizona during the summer session 1964. Groups B through E were comparable to the other groups in all significant respects except course content and instructional approach.

The experimental group, which received cultural anthropological instruction, was given an opportunity to interact in small group seminars following lectures. The Control Group A was not given the cultural anthropological material but did have the small group seminars
following lectures. Control Groups B through E had neither the ethnic background material nor the seminars.

The instrument used to measure attitude change was an adaptation of Osgood's Semantic differential. The inventory allowed the subjects to express their feelings toward the ethnic groups by responding to 60 polar adjectives, each on a seven-point continuum.

To test the change in ethnic attitudes, when content and approach to instruction were varied, appropriate parametric procedures were followed. The Critical Ratio test was applied to test for significant differences between group means. The .05 level of confidence was chosen for the rejection of the Null Hypotheses.

B. Conclusions

Conclusions made as a result of this study must be considered in light of its limitations and assumptions.

The most significant limitations of this study were found to be as follows:

1. The instrument used for measuring a change in ethnic attitudes had not been previously validated.

2. There were two administrators of the instrument.

3. The study applies to counselor attitudes toward only two ethnic groups, the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American.

With these limitations in mind the following conclusions to the questions raised in Chapter I have been made. In addition to answering the original questions, one other conclusion is made.
1. There was no significant change in the counselor's attitudes toward the Southwest Indian and the Mexican-American following a period of instruction emphasizing the cultural anthropological backgrounds of the two ethnic groups.

2. There was no significant change in the attitudes of subjects toward these ethnic groups regardless of the method or subject matter taught.

3. There was no evidence of a significant change in ethnic attitudes of the experimental group one, two, and three years after instruction.

4. There was no evidence that concepts about categories of traits were more subject to change with instruction than concepts about individual traits.

5. The subjects displayed a consistent pattern when ranking the ethnic groups on an attitude scale. The most favorable rank was given to the Anglo and the least favorable to the Southwest Indian. It is concluded from this evidence that the subjects view the Mexican-American and the Southwest Indian as having characteristics and traits which are less desirable than those of the Anglo.

C. Recommendations

Research in the area of altering ethnic attitudes reveals several neglected aspects. Suggestions for further study are made in view of the limitations inherent in this study and in studies reported in the related literature.
1. It is recommended that more than one instrument be used to measure change in attitude in order to give a cross validation check. It has been demonstrated that subjects "fake" attitude scales; therefore, it is suggested that one instrument used should be of the "disguised information" type.

2. The possibility of a discrepancy between the verbal and non-verbal behavior of the subjects should be investigated if at all possible.

3. It is recommended that studies be made relative to effect of longer periods of instruction on the change of attitudes.

4. It is recommended that follow-up studies become an integral part of all attitude change research.
APPENDIX A

Exhibit I

NDEA Counseling and Guidance Training Institute

Outline of Weekly Activities
ITEM 1

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

College of Education

NDEA COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE TRAINING INSTITUTE*

Outline of Weekly Activities

First Week

Monday, June 17

Morning Registration

Afternoon Introductions and general orientation to the purpose of the institute.

Tuesday, June 18

Morning 8:30 - 9:30 Introduction to anthropological principles. Discussion of the subdivisions of anthropology.

9:30 - 9:45 Discussion

9:45 - 10:00 Break

10:00 - 11:30 Group meetings

Afternoon 1:00 - 2:00 The culture concept and its importance in understanding people of different cultural backgrounds.

2:00 - 2:15 Discussion

2:15 - 2:30 Break

2:30 - 3:30 Group Meetings

Wednesday, June 19

Morning 8:30 - 9:30 Aspects of culture on the manner of studying and understanding a group of people (a society and its culture).

9:30 - 9:45 Discussion

9:45 - 10:00 Break

10:00 - 11:30 Group meetings

Afternoon 1:00 - 2:00 The aspects of culture approach in education and its aid in counseling students of varied cultural backgrounds.

2:00 - 2:15 Discussion

2:15 - 2:30 Break

2:30 - 3:00 Group Meetings
Special Session 3:00 - 4:30 Lecture on linguistics, Anthropology Bldg., Room 216.

Thursday, June 20

Morning 8:00 - 9:30 Lecture on linguistics, Anthropology Bldg., Room 216.
9:00 - 9:15 Break
10:00 - 10:45 Beginning of lecture on Southwestern Indians - contemporary population, location, languages, reservations, etc.
10:45 - 11:30 Group meetings (or discussion)

Afternoon 1:00 - 2:00 Southwestern Indians, historical background: prehistoric to historic.
2:00 - 2:15 Discussion
2:15 - 2:30 Break
2:30 - 3:30 Group meetings

Friday, June 21

Morning 8:00 - 9:30 Lecture on acculturation, Anthropology Bldg., Room 216.
9:30 - 9:45 Break
10:00 - 10:30 Museum tour
10:45 - 11:30 Group meetings (or discussion)

Afternoon 1:00 - 2:00 Southwestern Indians, historical background: historical period to present.
2:00 - 2:15 Discussion
2:15 - 2:30 Break
2:30 - 3:30 Group meetings

*The 1963 Institute's Outline of Weekly Activities is presented as representative of the three NDEA Institutes making up the experimental group.*
Outline of Weekly Activities

Second Week

Monday, June 21

Morning 8:30 - 9:30  Southwestern Indian Cultures - Pueblos: Socio-political and ceremonial organization.

9:30 - 9:45  Break

9:45 - 10:45  Small group discussion

10:45 - 11:45  Total group discussion

Afternoon 12:45 - 1:45  Southwestern Indian Cultures - The Sedentary Pueblos: Cultural values.

2:00 - 3:00  Small group discussion

Tuesday, June 25

Morning 8:30 - 9:30  Southwestern Indians: The semi-sedentary and nomadic groups, socio-political and ceremonial organization.

9:30 - 9:45  Break

9:45 - 10:45  Small group discussion

10:45 - 11:45  Total group discussion

Afternoon 12:45 - 1:45  Southwestern Indian Cultures - The semi-sedentary Pueblos and nomadic groups: Cultural values and changes.

2:00 - 3:00  Small group discussion

Wednesday, June 26

Morning  Tour to San Xavier Mission.

Afternoon 12:45 - 1:45  Beginning of lectures on Mexican Americans: Distribution, population, general characteristics.

1:45 - 2:00  Break

2:00 - 3:00  Small group discussion
Thursday, June 27

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Afternoon 12:45 - 1:45 Mexican Americans: Community, family, and religious organization.

1:45 - 2:00 Break
2:00 - 3:00 Small group discussion

Friday, June 28

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Afternoon 12:45 - 1:45 Cultural conflict and values.

1:45 - 2:00 Break
2:00 - 3:00 Small group discussion
APPENDIX B

Exhibit I

Instrument Used to Measure Change in Attitudes
ITEM 2

DIRECTIONS: Everyone has a mental picture of what people are like. Using the word scales on the following pages, describe what you think a typical Anglo-American, Mexican-American, and Southwest Indian adolescent is like. You will note that each scale has an adjective at each end, with seven spaces in between.

1. Decide first which adjective on a scale seems most descriptive of the particular ethnic group.

2. Decide to what degree it seems descriptive by choosing one of the spaces on the scale.

3. Place the letter representing each group in the spaces chosen, using the following letter code:

   A = Anglo-American   M = Mexican-American   I = Southwest Indian

Example:

   Tall  A  |  I  |  M  Short

Each line should have three letters, one for each ethnic group. You may place one, two, or three letters in any given space. Make your judgment or estimate for all three groups for a single scale before proceeding to the next.

YOUR FIRST IMPRESSION IS PROBABLY THE MOST VALID, SO DO NOT SPEND TOO MUCH TIME ON ANY ONE SCALE.
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- Sensitive
- Non-responsive
- High motivation
- Superstitious
- Prefers change
- Concrete thinker
- Good memory
- Pessimist
- Materialistic
- Does not plan ahead
- Calm
- Hostile
- Not sarcastic
- Stubborn
- Tactful
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Not studious
Careful
Narrow-minded
Meat
Unreasonable
Mature
Not dependable
Confident
Wasteful
Efficient
Not considerate
Logical
APPENDIX B

Exhibit II

Inventory Characteristics and Traits as Divided by Panel of "Experts"
## Item 3

**Inventory Characteristics and Traits as Divided by Panel of "Experts"**

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<th>****Category &quot;Y&quot;</th>
<th>*****Category &quot;Z&quot;</th>
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<td>INTELLIGENT-unintelligent</td>
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<td>WITHDRAWN-outgoing</td>
<td>UGLY-good-looking</td>
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<td>LOW MOTIVATION-high motivation</td>
<td>PLEASANT-unpleasant</td>
<td>SAD-happy</td>
<td>SLOW-fast</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT THINKER-concrete thinker</td>
<td>NON-COMPETITIVE-competitive</td>
<td>ACTIVE-passive</td>
<td>LARGE-small</td>
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<tr>
<td>POOR MEMORY-good memory</td>
<td>NICE-awful</td>
<td>DEPRESSED-cheerful</td>
<td>SICK-healthy</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAMBLING-efficient</td>
<td>HONEST-dishonest</td>
<td>APATHETIC-enthusiastic</td>
<td>SMELLS BAD-smells</td>
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<td>ILLOGICAL-logical</td>
<td>TRUTHFUL-liar</td>
<td>SUBMISSIVE-aggressive</td>
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<td>CONFORMIST-non-conformist</td>
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<td>TALKATIVE-quiet</td>
<td>IMMATURE-mature</td>
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*Category "W" Intellectual Attributes

***Category "X" Social Acceptability

****Category "Y" Emotional Stability

*****Category "Z" Physical Characteristics
APPENDIX B

Exhibit III

Copy of Cover Letter Mailed With Attitude Inventory

For Follow-Up Study of Experimental Group
When you attended the NDEA Guidance and Counseling Institute in the summer of 1963 you reacted to a checklist of certain characteristics and traits of the Anglo-American, Southwest Indian, and Mexican-American adolescent. At the time you perhaps felt that someday you would again be asked to respond to that instrument. That day has arrived; we are soliciting your cooperation in the completion of a study started with our first NDEA Institute in the summer of 1961.

I would appreciate it if you will take the time to once again react to the checklist after refreshing yourself regarding the instructions on the face sheet. As indicated before, there are no correct answers. As with most instruments of this kind, your first impression is probably the most valid, so do not spend too much time on any one scale.

Mr. George Zahl, a graduate student in the College of Education, is handling the major part of the project. As you will note, the checklist is to be returned to him in the enclosed envelope.

Needless to say, no person, school or geographical area will be identified in the study. If you are interested in a summary of the research findings, please indicate this desire on the cover sheet.

If for some reason you are no longer employed in the field of education, please respond anyway; the results will be useful.

Your cooperation in this effort will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED) PAUL J. DANIELSON
Professor of Education
Counselor Education
APPENDIX C

Exhibit I

Ethnic Attitudes of Experimental and Control Groups

Group Means and Standard Deviations

(tables giving pre-post-follow-up information for all experimental groups and pre-post for all control groups)
ITEM 5

ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

GROUP MEANS* AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

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*The higher the group mean the less favorable are the attitudes.
ITEM 6

ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF CONTROL GROUPS

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*The higher the group mean the less favorable are the attitudes.
APPENDIX C

Exhibit II

Ethnic Attitudes of Experimental and Control Groups According to Four Categories of Inventory Items

Group Means and Standard Deviations

(tables giving pre-post-follow-up information for all experimental groups and pre-post for all control groups)
ITEM 7

ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS ACCORDING TO TWO CATEGORIES\textsuperscript{a} OF INVENTORY ITEMS

GROUP MEANS\textsuperscript{bc} AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

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\textsuperscript{a} Category "W" Emotional Stability - Category "X" Social Acceptability

\textsuperscript{bc} The higher the group mean the less favorable are the attitudes.
ITEM 8

ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS ACCORDING TO TWO CATEGORIES* OF INVENTORY ITEMS

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*Category "Y" Intellectual Traits - Category "Z" Physical Characteristics

**The higher the group mean the less favorable are the attitudes.
### ITEM 9

**ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF CONTROL GROUPS ACCORDING TO CATEGORY "W" OF INVENTORY ITEMS**

**GROUP MEANS** and **STANDARD DEVIATIONS**

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*Emotional Stability*

***The higher the group mean the less favorable are the attitudes.***
ITEM 10

ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF CONTROL GROUPS ACCORDING TO CATEGORY "X"\* OF INVENTORY ITEMS
GROUP MEANS\** AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

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\*Social Acceptability

\**The higher the group mean the less favorable are the attitudes.
## ITEM 11

ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF CONTROL GROUPS ACCORDING TO CATEGORY "Y"* OF INVENTORY ITEMS

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*Intellectual Traits

**The higher the group mean the less favorable are the attitudes.
ITEM 12

ETHNIC ATTITUDES OF CONTROL GROUPS ACCORDING
TO CATEGORY "Z"** OF INVENTORY ITEMS
GROUP MEANS*** AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

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*Physical Characteristics

**The higher the group mean the less favorable are the attitudes.
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