

AN EXPLORATORY FIELD STUDY
OF THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL-ACTIVIST TRAINING
ON THE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR OF CONCERNED CITIZENS
IN THE COMMUNITY

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
Purpose of Study	
Definition of Terms	
Hypotheses	
Significance of the Study	
Limitations of the Study	
Summary and Overview	
CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	8
Laboratory Method Training	
Favorable Conditions of Interracial Contact	
Counterattitudinal Behavior with Positive Reinforcement	
Behavioral Commitment	
Reference Group Formation	
Summary	
CHAPTER III. PROCEDURES	26
Community Setting	
Experimental Design	
Subject Selection	
Program Trainers	
Racial Activist Training	
Selection of Racial Attitude Scales	
Development of the Behavioral Inventory	
Determination of Reference Group Formation	
CHAPTER IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	45
Results	
Racial Attitude Change	
Racial Activist Behavior Change	
Reference Group Formation	
Discussion	
Racial Attitude Change	
Racial Activist Behavior Change	
Reference Group Formation	
Participant Evaluation	
Trainers' Observations	
Applicability	
CHAPTER V. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS	62

TABLE OF CONTENTS, CONTINUED

	Page
BIBLIOGRAPHY	65
APPENDIX A. Schedule and Description of Racial Activist Training Program	70
APPENDIX B. Materials Distributed to Participants	77
Definitions of White Racism	
Self Inventory on Interracial Communication	
Black Intelligence Test	
Goal-Setting Exercises	
Participation Evaluation	
APPENDIX C. Racial Attitude Scales	111
Multifactor Racial Attitude Scale	
Anti-Negro Scale	
Anti-White Scale	
APPENDIX D. Inventory of Experience in Anti-Racism Activities	123
APPENDIX E. General Information Sheet to Publicize the Program	127
APPENDIX F. Letters to Subjects	129
APPENDIX G. Newspaper Publicity	136
APPENDIX H. Data	139

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Attitude Scales - Range of Individual Means	46
II. Attitude Scales - t-Test of Difference of Means	46
III. Behavior Inventory - ANOVA Summary Table	48
IV. Behavior Inventory - Range of Individual Scores	48
V. Behavior Inventory - Comparison of Means	49
VI. Behavior Inventory - Change in Scores	49

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1968 the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders concluded that white racism was the root cause of the tension, hostilities, and polarization between whites and blacks. The report stated:

'What white Americans have never fully understood - but what the Negro can never forget - is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.'(Kerner, 1968, p.4).

White racism is the systematic subordination of people with dark skin by people with white skin. It may be intentional or unintentional. Racism is not just a phenomenon of individual attitudes and behavior, it is an institutional and cultural phenomenon as well. Jones (1972) describes three levels of racism.

Individual racism - Attitudes which support the belief in the superiority of one's own race over another, and behaviors designed to maintain the superior and inferior positions.

Institutional racism - Conscious manipulation of institutions to maintain subordination of minority group persons, or continued adherence to policies and practices which are not intended to be racist, but which have racist consequences.

Cultural racism - The imposition of white cultural values and norms as the criteria by which all other cultures or sub-cultures are evaluated.

Racism permeates this society denying minority group persons an equal opportunity in education, employment, health care, or housing.

Some white Americans are aware of their individual racism. Far fewer are aware of institutional and cultural racism. It is becoming increasingly

evident that the hope of eliminating racism rests with those individuals who are concerned about racism and aware of its many manifestations in this society. From their ranks must come the racial activists who will work for change at all levels. Individuals who wish to combat racism must be willing to challenge racist attitudes and practices wherever they exist: in themselves, in their friends, in all institutions of which they are a part.

How can the positive racial attitudes of these persons be strengthened and maintained? What will motivate concerned citizens to become active in combatting racism? How can their initial involvement in anti-racist activities be transformed into a commitment to continuing participation in the struggle for change? The racial activist must risk alienating his neighbors, his co-workers, his employers, and his friends. How can the strength and courage be developed to sustain him in this effort? All these questions are pertinent to helping concerned citizens realize significant personal roles as racial activists committed to building a society free from racism. Interest in these and other questions were the basis for this investigation.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore the effects of racial activist training on the racial attitudes and the racial activist behavior of a group of community residents who had demonstrated concern about racism. More specifically, this study measured the effect of a six week (28 hour) small group training experience on racial attitudes and behaviors and sought to determine whether the training experience would lead to the formation of a new reference group of adults involved in combatting racism.

Definition of Terms

A definition of terms used in this study is presented here to clarify the description and discussion which follows.

Racial activist - A person who takes action designed to combat racism on a personal or institutional level. In this study racial activist is operationally defined as a person who participates in the types of behavior listed on the Inventory of Experience in Anti-Racism Activities described below.

Racial activist training - Twenty-eight hours in a six week period of training in small groups utilizing a combination of laboratory method and structured exercises designed to change racial attitudes and racial activist behavior of concerned citizens. The design and content of the program was based on an eclectic approach based on findings in four theoretical areas which are reviewed in chapter II. A brief outline and discussion of the training program is included in chapter III, and a complete schedule and copies of materials used are available in appendix A and B. The training program as described constituted the experimental condition of this exploratory study.

Racial attitude - The predisposition to evaluate persons in a favorable or unfavorable manner on the basis of their race. For the purposes of this study, racial attitudes were measured with the following instruments:

1. The short form of the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) was developed by Woodmansee and Cook (1967). The inventory obtains attitude positions on the following racial issues and attitudes: integration-segregation policy, gradualism, local autonomy, private rights, Negro inferiority,

and acceptance in close personal relationships. A copy of the inventory may be found in appendix C.

2. The Anti-White (AW) and Anti-Negro (AN) scales developed by Steckler (1957) were also administered. These scales consist of statements of negative, stereotyped opinions and hostile attitudes regarding whites and Negroes. A copy of each of these scales is provided in appendix C.

Racial activist behavior - Acts related to combatting personal and institutional racism. Racial activist behavior refers to observable actions such as writing one's congressman, participation in a demonstration, or signing a petition, the objectives of which are to effect change in racist policies, practices, or priorities of public or private institutions. Educational efforts such as recruiting people to attend a race relations program, making a speech on a racial issue, and participating in a racial awareness program, are considered to be racial activist behaviors. Efforts to help non-white persons adjust to their present subordinate position in American society are not considered racial activist behaviors.

Behavioral data was gathered by administering the Inventory of Experience in Anti-Racism Activities, an instrument developed specifically for this study. A copy of the inventory may be found in appendix D.

Reference group - Any group to which an individual relates himself and from which he takes the norms and values that influence his behavior. A membership reference group is a group whose members know each other and which has regular meetings.

The existence of a new membership reference group of the experimental subjects was measured by collecting data on frequency of meetings and attendance

at these meetings of the experimental subjects in the three months following the close of the program.

Concerned citizens - Persons who volunteered to participate in a training program entitled "Seminar on Combatting Racism," and met one of the two following conditions:

(1) Volunteers who paid a fifteen dollar fee and attended five or more of the seven meetings of the training program. These constituted the experimental group.

(2) Volunteers who were unable to attend the training program because of a schedule conflict, but did participate by completing and returning at least two of the three mailings of questionnaires in a five month period. These constituted the control group.

Hypotheses

The effect of racial activist training on racial attitude, racial activist behavior, and formation of a reference group was explored. The following three hypotheses were tested:

1. There will be significant racial attitude change after participation in racial-activist training.

2. There will be significant change in racial activist behavior after participation in racial-activist training.

3. The training group will continue to function as a membership reference group for the participants after the conclusion of the formal training.

Significance of the Study

This study was significant because it provided information and insight into the application of speech communication and human relations theory to

a community action program in race relations. The use of laboratory training techniques for racial activist training may prove to be an effective method for achieving racial attitude and behavior change. Several theoretical approaches which have been shown to be related to positive racial attitude and behavior changes or which have been shown to help stabilize and maintain new attitudes and behaviors were utilized in the development of the training program. Positive results in this exploratory study would support this eclectic approach to the application of human relations theory to the designing of training programs for residents in the community.

Limitations of the Study

The design and implementation of a field research study utilizing volunteers in a community setting is limited by certain factors which are normally controlled in experimental research.

External influences on the participants and on the program may be reflected unknowingly in the results. For example, in the third week of the program the mayor of the community tried to fire the director of the Human Relations Commission. (See newspaper coverage of the controversy in appendix G.) Since she was a participant in the program, and the program was sponsored by the commission, this had a definite effect on the group. Considerable time was spent discussing possible actions to support the director in her fight to keep her job. Other events on the national and local scene and personal experiences in the private lives of the subjects during the experimental period may have affected the results of this study in one direction or another. Such influences are largely unknown.

All the subjects, both those in the experimental group and those in the control group, were volunteers from those segments of the community

which received information about the program. Assignment to the control group was based on inability to attend the program at the scheduled time. Failure to do this may have been an indication of insufficient motivation. It is assumed that level of motivation was controlled, to some extent, by including in the control group only those who continued to cooperate by returning at least two of the three mailings of questionnaires.

Summary and Overview

Utilizing an eclectic theoretical approach to develop a structured laboratory method training program for citizens in the community, this field study was designed to explore the process of training concerned citizens to be racial activists. It was hypothesized that participants in the training program would show greater positive racial attitude change and greater increase in participation in racial activist behaviors than subjects in the control groups and that the training group would become a new reference group for its members.

Chapter II is a review of the literature in the areas of laboratory training, favorable conditions for interracial contact, attitude change following participation in counterattitudinal experiences, behavioral commitment and the formation and functions of reference groups. These are the major theoretical bases on which the training program was developed. In Chapter III the research design, subject selection, the trainers, the training program, and the data collection will be described. Experimental results are reported and discussed in Chapter IV. Summary and recommendations follow in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Racial activist training, the experimental condition of this applied research project, was designed specifically for this study. No studies were found which were designed to develop community residents in the area of racial activism. A recent field study by Sears and Blubaugh (1971) was similar to the present investigation and greatly influenced the formation and development of the training program.

Sears and Blubaugh investigated the effects of a ten week (30 hour) program on racial awareness of white participants in a community program. The program was based on the study of racism in selected social institutions, (e.g. education, employment, housing), in the participants' community and in the nation. Participants met in small discussion groups one evening each week to discuss information about racism and its effects. The discussions were based on reading assignments and on data collected during participation in assigned field experiences. Case studies, video tape recordings, and structured exercises were employed to facilitate individual learning about racism. Most of the subjects were community leaders recruited by the director of the local Human Relations' Commission. Three dependent variables were used to measure the effects of the program: (1) attitude change, (2) behavior change, (3) information gain. The results indicated that information about racism increased significantly as a result of the training. Racial attitudes

and behavior indicating greater racial awareness changed in a positive direction, but the differences for these two measures were not significant.

Experience with the above study served as the basis for certain decisions in the present study. High attrition was experienced; only about fifteen of the forty-six registrants completed the program. It was concluded that this was related to subject selection, schedule, and program methodology. The participants had been recruited because they were community leaders rather than because they were concerned about racism. The groups met one evening a week for ten weeks. The program was designed so that most of the meeting time was spent on discussion of conceptual material. This cognitive approach did not involve the participants in their own racially related feelings and behaviors. It also resulted in very limited group cohesiveness and identification with a common goal. These two factors, lack of personal concern about racism and lack of group commitment to a common goal, were considered to be related to the small degree of change in attitudes and behavior. Another factor which may have limited attitude change, was that community leaders were likely to be more resistant to change because they had a public image to maintain.

Based on the experience afforded by this study, it was decided to seek volunteers who expressed interest in combatting racism. The impact of the program was intensified by scheduling all day Saturday meetings at the beginning and the end and Wednesday evening meetings in the five interim weeks. Greater emphasis on laboratory method training provided an opportunity for participants to become aware of their own racial feelings and of their experiences with institutional racism. It was felt that these changes from

the Sears and Blubaugh approach would be more likely to produce significant attitude and behavior change and should result in greater group cohesion.

Laboratory method training seemed particularly well suited to the objectives of racial activist training. Features which distinguish this type of training from conventional group discussion are the focus on the feeling level of communication rather than on the information level, openness to letting the individuals deal with the problems as they see them, and intense involvement and a high level of participation by the group members (Tannenbaum et al, 1961). The history of laboratory method training is well documented in Bradford, Gibb, and Benne (1964). Its basic characteristics will be discussed in the next chapter. Evidence of the impact of laboratory method training on the individual has been reviewed by Cooper and Mangham (1971). They conclude with some reservations that there are significant and effective changes of attitudes and behaviors in individuals participating in laboratory training as compared with other types of training with similar objectives. Miles (1960) found that the amount of change in participants was related to desire for change, intensity of involvement in the group, and amount of feedback received. The importance of feedback was supported by French et al (1966) who concluded that feedback was particularly productive when it was directed at a weakness previously identified by the subject as a change objective. In racial activist training, feedback focused on racist feelings and behaviors as they were generated in the group. Laboratory method training thus provided the opportunity for the participants to achieve greater awareness of themselves in relation to racist society and to experiment with new behaviors for combatting racism.

To increase the chances of effectiveness, the development of the racial activist training program was based on the findings in four theoretical areas:

- A. Interracial contact
- B. Counterattitudinal behavior with positive reinforcement
- C. Behavioral commitment
- D. Reference group formation and function

In the following review of the literature each of these theoretical areas is discussed together with empirical studies related to racial attitude and behavior change.

A. Favorable Conditions of Interracial Contact

Interracial contact has been the fundamental experimental condition of many racial attitude change studies. Because of the prevalence of segregated living in this country, interracial contact is counterattitudinal behavior in some degree for most subjects. However, racial attitude change studies demonstrate that interracial contact can have favorable or unfavorable results. Bringing racial groups together may result either in reduction of prejudice or may increase intergroup tension and prejudice. In 1954 Allport described four situational conditions of interracial contact which are related to reduction of prejudice:

1. Individuals of equal status from each racial group.
2. Pursuit of a common goal important to all members.
3. Institutional support (sanctioned by law, custom, or recognized authority).
4. Sense of common humanity and common interests between members of the different races.

Allport proposes that the first two characteristics, being of equal status and seeking common goals, are the most important, and may be sufficient to result in prejudice reduction. Community sanction of blacks and whites being together and perception of common humanity and interests enhance the chances of development of more positive racial attitudes. Each of these four characteristics will be discussed and related studies reviewed.

The principle of equal status of members of an interracial group has two aspects: equality of status prior to or outside of the contact group (such as socioeconomic or educational status) and equality of status within the group. It has been shown that equality of status outside of the interracial contact situation relates positively to favorable attitude change in short-term contact, such as discussion groups (Mackenzie, 1948, Mann, 1959). Equality of status prior to contact may be one of the most significant factors in experimental programs involving a single occupational group, such as students or teachers. In community projects, however, this condition is difficult to attain.

Equality of status within the group is productive of positive attitude change when the contact is long-term and intensive as in integrated combat units in wartime (Mannheimer and Williams, 1949, Brophy, 1945) or interracial summer camp (Yarrow, Campbell, and Yarrow, 1958). These groups had long term close contact, and were also demonstrated to have common goals. Equal status of the members of each racial group is of primary significance in achieving positive attitude change. If the members are not of equal status prior to or outside of the interracial contact group, a sense of equality of status must be achieved inside the group. In this study the participants

were of three racial groups and from a broad range of socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. They were not of equal status outside the group. The trainers attempted to achieve equal status within the group by building a sense of common humanity, common concerns and common goals.

The pursuit of a common goal was described by Allport as cooperative striving to achieve agreed-upon objectives (Allport, 1954, p. 264). Sherif (1966) defines this characteristic somewhat more strongly. "Contact is an effective medium for reduction of intergroup hostility when groups are directed toward superordinate goals overriding their separate concerns" (Sherif, 1966, p. 146). The importance of "superordinate goals" is supported empirically by Sherif (1966) and Burnstein and McRae (1962). The necessity of acceptance of the goal by the participants is suggested by two studies of interracial teacher institutes on school desegregation, one with significant results in racial attitude change and one with no significant change. Price (1971) showed that attitudes of both black and white teachers changed in a favorable direction toward each other after participation in the institute. Welch (1970) found no significant change in racial attitudes. In the Welch study, the superintendent of each school district had selected the teachers who attended the institute. These teachers may or may not have been in favor of school desegregation. In the Price study, the teachers volunteered to participate in the institute on school desegregation. Presumably they were all interested in school desegregation.

Negative results of interracial contact in the absence of a superordinate goal has been documented by Winder (1952), whose subjects were residents in a neighborhood of changing racial composition, and by Wertzer (1971), whose

subjects were unwed mothers-to-be who lived in a common residence the last trimester of their pregnancies. Lack of a superordinate goal among the subjects in these studies was considered a primary factor in failure to show positive racial attitude change. These findings suggest that identification with a common goal brings a group together and helps build positive feelings between the members. Acceptance of the common goal of the present study was considered to be implicit in the act of volunteering to participate in a "Seminar on Combatting Racism." Goal setting exercises were planned to increase identification of the participants with the goal of combatting racism.

The effectiveness of interracial contact is greatly increased if the contact is sanctioned by custom, mores, law, or any authority that is accepted by the interacting groups. In many cases, institutional support comes from explicit or implicit norms or expectations in the community. Institutional support was probably a major factor in the achievement of favorable attitude change among soldiers in wartime combat units (Brophy, 1945) and among children in camp (Yarrow et al, 1958). In the housing study by Deutsch and Collins (1951), the importance of the social norm was brought out clearly. In the segregated housing projects, white people expressed the view that they would not mix with Negroes because, "It just isn't done," or, "They'd think you're crazy." In the integrated housing project, on the other hand, people felt quite differently, the social atmosphere favored social integration and the people formed interracial friendships. A marked reduction of prejudice took place among residents of the integrated project. The interracial contact

that follows desegregation of schools is an example of contact sanctioned by institutional support. In Searcy, Arkansas, Verkler (1970) found marked positive change in attitudes toward Negroes over a six year period spanning the time of implementation of school desegregation. The fact that other communities experience unfavorable attitude change after school desegregation is evidence that institutional support is only one of many factors influencing attitudes when schools are desegregated. In this study, the joint sponsorship of the program by the Human Relations Commission in the community and the University of Kansas Community Development Center served to give community sanction and prestigious institutional support to the program.

The fourth characteristic described by Allport is related to the quality of the interaction between the persons of different races. If the interracial contact becomes an intimate relationship in which the members become personally involved with each other and aware of their common humanity and common interests, the contact will result in positive attitude change. Such intimacy does not automatically develop over time. Studies of people employed in integrated work situations or of children in integrated schools may or may not show positive racial attitudes (Cook, 1963, Minard, 1952, Williams and Ryan, 1954). Studies of people residing in integrated housing usually show improved racial attitudes (Wilner et al, 1952, Deutsch and Collins, 1951). It would seem that frequent contact between neighbors leads to intimate relationships, whereas work associates may confine their interaction to a casual, functional level.

Several recent planned racial attitude change projects have utilized small interracial discussion groups. Favorable results have been demonstrated

by Gaughran with high school students, by Kinnock and Plattor (1967) with teachers and by Brine (1970) and Racheotes (1970) with college students. Other interracial discussion groups show no significant change of racial attitude. High school students who participated in an instructional unit on cultural differences in small interracial groups showed no significant attitude change (Bass, 1969). Kelly (1971) failed to show significant change among counselors who had volunteered for an interracial training institute in which part of the time was spent in small unstructured group discussions. Another project using small interracial groups of teachers in a task-oriented training laboratory studied by Gant (1972) showed no favorable attitude change. Small interracial groups are not a sufficient condition to achieve racial attitude change. The quality of the interaction that takes place in the small group is an important factor related to attitude change.

Interracial sensitivity groups are a special example of an interracial contact which is intimate and personally involving. The use of laboratory training methods with emphasis on development of self-awareness and acceptance of others generates an intensive interracial experience. Open and honest communication leads to a sense of common human needs and values. By the giving and receiving of personal feedback in the here-and-now situation participants achieve new insights about themselves and others. Increased acceptance of self and others was reported after interracial sensitivity training by Krear (1968), Pickhardt (1970), Rubin (1967) and Dodson (1970). These sensitivity training groups varied in length from $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours to a two week residential session and yet all showed positive results. These findings for small interracial groups were considered relevant in designing the training program in the present study.

In a recent review of the literature, Yehuda Amir (1969) concluded that contact between members of different ethnic and racial groups produces changes in attitudes, but these changes may be positive or negative depending on the conditions of the contact. In addition to the four situational characteristics discussed in detail above, he lists the situation in which members of the majority group are placed with higher status members of the minority group. This can be considered as a special case acceptable under the principle of equal status. The reverse, however, where members of the majority are of higher status is not acceptable, and not facilitative of positive attitude change. This second unacceptable condition was true of this group of community volunteer participants. The whites were from higher socio-economic and education backgrounds than the blacks or Mexican Americans. This problem is common in planned change programs with community residents. The other Amir addition is that the contact should be pleasant and rewarding.

Two authors studied directly the factors of interracial contact. In an exploratory field study, Trubowitz (1968) focused on the influence of six conditions of interracial contact: (1) satisfaction with the interracial contact, (2) the relative status of the participants, (3) the social norm toward contact, (4) attitude toward the activity shared, (5) perception of skill of the leader or teacher, (6) attitude toward one's own group prior to interracial contact. The first three conditions were found to have a significant influence on racial attitude change. Cook (1969) reports a laboratory study in which five conditions of interracial contact were manipulated. These conditions included the four Allport criteria plus a condition in which the Negro confederates were persons who did not exemplify the prevailing

negative stereotype. Each of these conditions was shown to be related to positive attitude change. In addition, a complex analysis of the network of descriptive concepts and explanatory processes was carried out to explore the relationship between motives and attitudes in directing behavior in interracial contact. The results of these studies are supportive of Allport and Amir criteria for interracial contact.

Equal status of members, identification with common goal, institutional support, and sense of common humanity have been shown to be related significantly to the achievement of positive attitude change from interracial contact. Because of the many variables in any interracial contact situation, these four characteristics are obviously not the only significant factors. However, empirical evidence suggests that it is important that these four conditions be met in planning racial attitude change programs for interracial groups. In this study these four situational conditions were considered important criteria to be met in the design and implementation of the training program.

B. Counterattitudinal Behavior with Positive Reinforcement

Participation in counterattitudinal experiences followed by positive reinforcement has been utilized successfully in several racial attitude change studies. According to Doob (1947), if a person performs certain behavior not in line with the attitudes he holds, and that behavior is reinforced, the related attitudes may change in the direction of the rewarded behavior. Litcher and Johnson (1969) and Riegel (1969) report marked positive changes in racial attitudes after voluntary participation in counterattitudinal experiences with positive reinforcement. Carkhuff and Banks (1970) showed

more effective interracial behavior of lay counselors after training in interracial interviewing with positive reinforcement. DeKock (1969) used role playing in a simulation game as counterattitudinal experiences and his results show positive attitude change. These studies involve the subject in counterattitudinal experiences with positive reinforcement, and as Bem (1965) theorizes, the individual observes his own behavior and infers his attitude from it.

This type of experimental condition is not always successful, however. Geer (1971) showed no significant change of attitudes of whites towards blacks after participation in role play exercises of black-white problem situations with positive reinforcement of positive racial statements. It is probable that these role plays conducted in an all white group were not realistic experiences, adequate to affect attitude change. Based on these findings, counterattitudinal experiences were designed into the experimental treatment of this study in several ways.

C. Behavioral Commitment

Stabilization of changes in attitude and behavior so that they persist over time was implicit in the purpose of the program. The process by which one becomes pledged to a certain line of behavior is the process of commitment. When studying behavioral commitment, sociologists describe situational factors such as norms and expectations which constrain one to continue a course of action. Psychologists, on the other hand, tend to observe and manipulate individual behavior and study the effects on the continuance of a behavior pattern. Both of these approaches are relevant to this field study.

Kiesler's recent monograph on The Psychology of Commitment (1971) synthesizes much of the past research relevant to commitment, develops an operational definition of commitment and reports on a series of laboratory experiments which demonstrate some factors which affect commitment. In common usage the term commitment is used as a comprehensive term to describe a person who acts consistently in relation to an attitude. The person who is willing to "take a stand" for something that he believes in, for example, the pacifist who participates in a peace demonstration, has other attributes which can be discerned in psychological analysis. In addition to commitment to peace, he may have extreme attitudes in relation to war, he may be very familiar with the facts about war, and he may sense social support for his anti-war attitudes. These three psychological dimensions, extreme attitudes, familiarity with facts, and social support, may vary together or independently. Each of these variables has been significantly related to committed behavior congruent with attitudes by empirical studies (Kiesler, 1971, p. 27).

In the series of experiments that Kiesler reports, he and his co-workers tried to control variables of known relevance such as those above, and tested the consistency of attitude sustained after manipulation of behavior. Kiesler interprets commitment as a behavioral phenomenon which effectively freezes attitudes in the Lewinian sense or makes them more resistant to change. Commitment serves as a determiner of behavior in subsequent events. Commitment is not motivation, but it supplies directional influence on future behavior. Their conclusions are that commitment is increased by the following factors: public acts, as contrasted with private acts, repetition of the act, and real or imagined attack on one's attitude or behavior.

Although the study reported here does not concern itself with the analysis and measurement of achievement motivation, McClelland's goal-setting exercises from achievement motivation training (McClelland, 1969) do seem applicable to the increasing of commitment to behavior congruent with newly formed attitudes. McClelland states that, "the more a person commits himself to achieving concrete goals in life related to the newly formed motive, the more the motive is likely to influence his future thoughts and actions" (McClelland, 1971, p. 72). Defining motives as having two functions in relation to behavior, a directing function and an energizing function, (Berelson and Steiner, 1964, p. 240) and attitudes as a predisposition to act in a certain direction, the word attitude may be substituted for "motive" in the above statement with only loss of an energizing component. The more a person commits himself to achieving concrete goals in life related to the newly formed attitude, the more the attitude is likely to influence his future thoughts and actions. Goal-setting exercises are included as part of the experimental treatment and are described fully in Chapter III. Briefly the individual is asked to write down and share goals relevant to his new attitudes, priority list the goals, describe sub-goals for reaching the goals, discuss barriers anticipated and the method for overcoming the barriers (Blubaugh and Sears, 1971). Based on Kiesler's empirical findings, it appears that the goal-setting process should effectively enhance commitment because it requires behavior consonant with the new attitude to be publicly shared, repeated over time, and it requires the anticipation of attacks (barriers) which may be experienced as a result of this new line of action.

Additional support for the utilization of goal-setting exercises can be found in many social science experiments. The "freezing" effect of making

public one's plans and intended acts was verified by Hovland, Campbell, and Brock (1957). Writing down one's decision makes it more resistant to change (Deutsch and Gerard, 1955). Making explicit the importance of a line of action to oneself increases the degree of commitment (Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall, 1965). All these variables have been shown to reinforce and stabilize behavioral commitment to the new attitude.

Sociologists have another approach to increasing commitment. They view behavior as situationally determined. Individuals tend to take on the characteristics required by the situations in which they participate. This is referred to as the process of situational adjustment. If we know a person desires to continue his participation in a certain group, we can predict he will behave in consonance with the norms and expectations of that group. Another approach to explaining human behavior is the process of commitment, "in which externally unrelated interests of the person become linked in such a way as to constrain future behavior" (Becker, 1969, p. 256). A person is committed when we observe him pursuing a consistent line of activity in a sequence of varied situations. Behavior which is initiated as situational adjustment may become an act to which one is committed when the rewards for continuing it outweigh the desire and comfort of adjusting to the demands of each new situation. This approach to commitment is discussed in more detail below under reference group theory.

Only one study was found that isolated commitment as a variable related to changed racial behavior. In "A Study of Whites' Attitudes, Commitment, and Overt Behavior toward Members of a Minority Group," Fendrich (1965) found commitment to be the best single determinant of overt behavior toward members of a minority group.

Elements of the psychological and sociological factors of behavioral commitment discussed above influenced the development of the experimental condition in this exploratory study. Although commitment was not measured it was assumed that a high degree of commitment would have to be achieved if changed behavior was to be sustained in the controversial area of race relations.

D. Reference Group Formation

Another element that is important in stabilizing attitude change and maintaining commitment to behavior change is reference group membership. Reference groups are those groups to which an individual related himself and from which he takes the norms and values that influence his behavior. Reference groups function in two ways for the individual, normative and comparative. When an individual wants to gain or maintain acceptance in a particular group, he holds his attitudes and behavior in conformity with what he perceives to be the consensus of the group members. Implicit here is the idea that the members of the group observe the individual and evaluate him according to group norms. Behavior which is congruent with group norms is rewarded by social support, one of the variables Kiesler finds related to behavioral commitment to a course of action. From this normative function comes the motivational aspect of reference group theory. If the individual wants to maintain membership in the group, he is motivated to conform to their expectations (Kelley, 1968, p. 80).

The second function of reference groups is the comparative function in which the person uses the group as a reference point in making evaluations of himself or others. 'A group functions as a comparison reference group

for an individual to the extent that the behavior and attitudes and other characteristics of its members represent standards or comparison points which he uses in making judgements and evaluations" (Kelley, 1968, p. 81).

Both these functions can be served by the same group at the same time. A person need not be a member of a group which serves for him as a reference group, but membership groups are usually most influential in serving both normative and comparative functions. Several studies support the importance of the reference group in achieving attitude change and in stabilizing and maintaining new attitudes (Berelson and Steiner, 1964, p. 580). In the process of achieving attitude change, Sherif concluded that "attitude change of the greatest scope and degree is found when individuals shift or change reference groups" (Sherif, 1968, p. 92). He became convinced that the most powerful mechanism for achieving attitude change was the facilitation of identification with a new reference group. Newcomb's (1943) Bennington study demonstrated the strong influence of the college community as a reference group in affecting attitude change among its students. The process may go either direction. The individual may change his attitudes because he identifies with a new reference group or he may seek out a new reference group to support his changed attitudes (Berelson and Steiner, 1964, p. 580). A normative reference group may be large and impersonal or small and personal. Verkler (1970) found that small primary groups seemed to be of greater influence than larger membership or non-membership groups in supporting changed racial attitudes among community residents.

Factors which facilitate stabilization of behavior in accordance with group norms are identification with the group, and the strength and clarity

with which the norms are described and communicated to the members (Converse and Campbell, 1968). These conditions are easier to attain in small primary groups.

Reference groups are significant in achieving attitude change and in stabilizing new attitudes and behavior. The small membership group whose members know each other and are in contact with each other has been shown to be most influential in stabilizing new attitudes and behavior. Because of these findings, the development of the training group as a new reference group was one objective of the experimental program.

Summary

The development of racial activist training, the experimental condition of this study, was based on the theory and techniques of laboratory method training and elements from the research findings in four theoretical areas: interracial contact, counterattitudinal behavior, behavioral commitment, and reference group. Description of the design and implementation of the study follows in chapter III.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

This chapter describes the procedures employed in this exploratory study. The first section is an introduction to the community in which the study was conducted. This is followed by description of the following elements of the study: experimental design, subject selection, program trainers, the training program and data collection instruments.

Community Setting

The Human Relations Commission of Kansas City, Kansas requested that the Community Development Center at the University of Kansas design and conduct a racial activist training program. The designated target group was citizens who had expressed concern to Human Relations staff members about racial problems in their community, and who seemed to be asking, "What can I as an individual do?"

Kansas City, Kansas is a small city across the state line from Kansas City, Missouri. In the 1970 Census, the population was 168,213, of whom 34,345, or approximately 20 percent were Negroes. There were 5,382 who listed themselves as Spanish speaking. Since Mexican Americans may list themselves as Spanish speaking or as whites, it is not possible to know their percentage of the total population of this city. Most of the persons in these two minority groups were not new arrivals from rural areas; they were born and raised in Kansas City, Kansas. In recent years when the ghettos of other

cities have been in turmoil, there have been few confrontations and relatively little destruction of property in Kansas City, Kansas. There has been, however, a growing awareness of discrimination and exclusion of black and Mexican American citizens in public and private employment, housing, education, and health and welfare services. In the summer of 1971 when this training program was being developed there were diverse signs of how this community was moving. For example, during the previous winter, citizens from all segments of the community had organized a successful campaign to persuade the Board of Education to provide a school lunch program in the older schools in the central part of the city where most of the minority students attended. Prior to this, only the newer "suburban" schools had school lunch facilities and programs. On the other hand, a new mayor had been elected in the spring who frequently spoke of his "mandate to represent the white 'suburban' residents of the city," and to restore balance between representation of and service to all segments of the community. He had already taken several actions affecting the strength of the Human Relations Department, and during the course of this program attempted to fire the director (appendix G). Citizens of this community volunteered to participate in the Seminar on Combatting Racism. This study reports their racial attitude change and their progress toward racial activism.

Experimental Design

Attitude change was measured with a post-test questionnaire administered to the experimental group and to the control group. Behavior change was measured with a pre-test and delayed post-test administered to both groups.

Data on reference group formation was collected at a follow-up meeting called by the program trainers.

The design of this study may be diagrammed as follows with O_A indicating observation of attitude and O_B indicating observation of behavior, O_R indicating observation of reference group, and X indicating experimental treatment, i.e. participation in racial activist training:

N = 17	O_{B1}	X	O_{A3}	O_{B5}	O_{R7}
N = 17	O_{B2}		O_{A4}	O_{B6}	

Attitude

The attitude scales were administered as a posttest only to the experimental group and the control group, because attitude measurement instruments are particularly susceptible to testing effect and interaction effect from the pretest (Campbell and Stanley, 1966, p. 18). The pretest was given up to avoid possible effect of the pretest on the posttest, to avoid interaction between the pretest and the experimental manipulation, and to avoid the reactive effect of starting the program with a leader-introduced pretest session.

Behavior

For the collection of behavioral data, the pretest--delayed posttest design was chosen because the anti-racism activities inventory was not considered susceptible to the effects of testing to a significant degree. To decrease possible reactive effects of the pretest on the experimental treatment and on the leaders' rapport with the participants, the inventory was presented at the beginning of the first day with the explanation that the results would be used to tailor the design of the program to the experiential

level of the participants. At the same time the survey was sent to the control group by mail.

The posttest of the behavioral survey was delayed for three months in order to record anti-racism activities of the subjects after the close of the program. This gave an indication of behavioral commitment to racial activism by the subject. The second behavioral survey was administered to the control group at the same time.

Reference Group

Data on existence of a membership reference group was collected at a follow-up meeting scheduled by one of the program trainers three months after the last session of the training program.

Subject Selection

The subjects for this study were a self-selected group of individuals who live in Kansas City, Kansas, who volunteered to participate in the "Seminar on Combatting Racism." The title was selected intentionally to eliminate those who were looking for a relatively comfortable experience in race relations education and to establish a common objective, one of the conditions posited by Allport (1954).

Extensive efforts were made to publicize the program for the six weeks prior to its beginning. A letter was sent out by the Commission on Human Relations of Kansas City, Kansas, to a selected mailing list of 150 individuals and organizations which the Human Relations staff had identified as persons concerned about racism. These individuals were asked to recommend

names of others who might be interested in the program. Eleven of the participants were persons who learned about the program from this initial mailing. In order to attract additional participants, notices were sent to community relations and social action committees in Roman Catholic and Protestant churches in Wyandotte and Johnson Counties (appendix E). Personal calls were made to seventeen community organizations to explain the purpose of the program. A special effort was made to recruit minority group participants. Fee exemptions were made in circumstances of special need.

Experimental Group

Twenty persons signed up to participate in the program. Three of these attended less than three meetings and then dropped out. The seventeen participants who attended five or more of the seven meetings included two Mexican Americans, two blacks, and thirteen whites. There were twelve women and five men in the group. The experimental subjects were described as "concerned citizens" on the basis of: 1) their volunteering for a program entitled, "Seminar on Combatting Racism," 2) their willingness to devote 28 hours of their personal time to racial activist training, and 3) their paying a fifteen dollar fee.

Diversity was the primary characteristic of the experimental group. Demographically they represented a broad spectrum of the community. Their ages ranged from approximately twenty to fifty-five. Eight had completed college, one left school after third grade, and the others finished high school and started college. Occupations represented included teacher, union shop steward, small businessman, poverty program worker, minister, housewife,

clerical worker, and social welfare worker. Although a few of the subjects had little previous participation in racial activities, the majority of the group were deeply involved in racial activities in the community at large or within their own employment situation. These were not people saying, "I'm concerned, what can I do?" but people asking, "How can I do more effectively what I am already doing to combat racism?".

Control Group

This was a self-selected group of citizens who expressed interest in participating in the program, but were unable to attend because of other commitments. Thirty-five such persons were identified and were asked to assist in the evaluation of the program by filling out three questionnaires over a five month period. The seventeen individuals who returned the first questionnaire at the beginning of the program were considered the control group. Two withdrew after returning the second survey, and the remaining fifteen returned all three questionnaires. This group was composed of two blacks and fifteen whites. There were eleven women and six men. Several of these persons expressed hope that the program would be repeated so that they might participate. These control subjects were described as "concerned citizens" on the basis of their professed interest in participating in the program and their cooperation in completing and returning at least two of the questionnaires.

Although these subjects are not a random sample of the concerned citizens of the community, they shared with the experimental group the fact that they were volunteers from that part of the community who heard about the program.

Thus, they provide a reasonable benchmark for comparison of the effects of the program upon the experimental group. Because, presumably, their failure to take part in the program resulted only from a schedule in which Wednesday night (instead of some other night) was not free, one might conclude that only random factors determined the assignment of subjects from the total group of volunteers to the experimental and control conditions.

Program Trainers

The two trainers were graduate students in Speech Communication and Human Relations whose professional and academic interests are in the field of interracial communication. Both were experienced in leading interracial groups and were trainers in an earlier seminar on racism for community leaders. They were associates of the Racial Awareness Training Consortium of the Community Development Center.

The trainers differed in their leadership style and in racial awareness. In style one was frequently confrontive and the other was usually supportive. In working together, they tried to capitalize on this difference in style which enabled them to be confrontive and supportive simultaneously. Because the trainers had had different interracial experiences, they were sensitive to different aspects of other persons' racial feelings, and made different inferences during group discussions. These differing perceptions were shared with the group to enrich the interaction and to help everyone feel free to be honest in their feedback to others. The trainers were aware of these differences in their training style and racial awareness when they

agreed to co-train the program and they felt that in collaboration they would be better able to meet the needs of the heterogeneous group that might volunteer to participate.

During the course of the program it evolved that the trainers were in different positions in relation to how to combat racism. One was committed to changing the system from within by evolution; the other, discouraged by lack of progress of such methods, was in the process of exploring more revolutionary methods. As co-trainers, they hoped that their acceptance of each other served as a model for greater acceptance of individual variation in the group. However, it may have been that their espousal of different approaches to combatting racism created some tension in the group, and confused some participants. To some individuals it presented a challenge to select and defend a course of action that was right for them. For others it was demoralizing and discouraging that two "leaders" interested and involved as racial activists could differ so greatly in personal strategy. The trainers were not aware of the extent of their difference on the evolutionary-revolutionary dimension when they agreed to co-train this program. This diversity of position on anti-racism may have lessened the effectiveness of the training program.

Racial Activist Training

In order to deal with the affective and cognitive aspects of racial attitude and behavior change, laboratory method training was selected as the basic mode of the program. Although laboratory method training designs

vary tremendously, the characteristics which were important to this program were:

- (1) a face-to-face group small enough so that everyone could interact.
- (2) a group in which participants exchanged feedback about commonly shared experiences.
- (3) a group which was facilitated by a trainer who did not lead, but tried to help the group members focus on learning from each other.

Experiential learning was based on what occurred within the group and on the sharing of racial experiences that occurred outside the group. In recognition of the limited successes and frequent failures of racial attitude and behavior change studies, the design and content of the program was based on a combination of four theoretical approaches which were reviewed in chapter II.

The program required twenty-eight hours of meeting time in a six week period between October 2, and November 6, 1971. To provide time for a long session which would be conducive to an intense level of interaction and to the building of group cohesion, the first and last meetings were scheduled on Saturday. Weekly evening meetings were held during the five interim weeks. An outline of the program is presented here, followed by a discussion of the rationale of various elements of the program. A more detailed description and schedule of the program may be found in appendix A and copies of materials distributed to participants in appendix B.

Saturday, October 2, 1971, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

Introduction by the co-trainers and the Community Development Center director
Administration of the behavior inventory
Sharing of an experience with racism by each participant
Lunch
Definition of Racism
Racism by Design - an exercise
Discussion of goals and expectations by trainers and participants
Distribution of reading materials

Wednesday, October 6, 7:00 p.m.-10:00 p.m.

Continuation of the sharing of experiences with racism
Distribution of Self-Inventory on Interracial Communication

Wednesday, October 13, 7:00 p.m.-10:00 p.m.

Three racial awareness exercises
Discussion of feelings experienced during the exercises
Discussion of rationale for setting goals
Selection of target institution
Reading assignment - Institutional Racism, Chapter VIII

Wednesday, October 20, 7:00 p.m.-10:00 p.m.

Unscheduled discussion of mayor's attempt to fire H. R. director
Presentation of the Power-Coercive Model for Change
Distribution of goal setting materials

Wednesday, October 27, 7:00 p.m.-10:00 p.m.

Unscheduled discussion of mayor's action against H. R. director
Discussion of goals for combatting racism in two smaller groups

Wednesday, November 3, 7:00 p.m.-10:00 p.m.

Unscheduled discussion of actions being taken to support the H. R. director
Discussion of action plans for reaching goals in two groups

Saturday, November 6, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

Review of each person's goals and plans for combatting racism by the
total group
Discussion of institutional racism in Kansas City, Kansas
Lunch
Discussion of major issues in combatting racism
Administration of attitude scales and program evaluation
Discussion of feelings about the program

Interracial contact

Four conditions favorable to changing racial attitudes as described by Allport (1954) were considered important. The program was designed so that participants met in small interracial groups with trainers experienced in laboratory method training. Members were asked to introduce themselves by sharing with the group a personal experience with racism. The experiencing of common feelings of hurt and guilt, of fear and hate, during this exercise engendered a sense of common humanity and established a common denominator which brought the group together and made outside status seem less important. The meeting of the first and fourth Allport criteria were fostered by this exercise.

Acceptance of a common goal was considered implicit in the act of volunteering to participate in a "Seminar on Combatting Racism." The title was selected to make it clear that this was not only a racial awareness program, but that participants would also be preparing for actual involvement as racial activists. To strengthen this initial commitment, participants were involved in racial awareness exercises and goal-setting exercises both of which are described later in this section. It was hoped that identification with this common goal would be enhanced by identification with the group.

Sanction by authority or custom increases the effectiveness of interracial contact. This condition was met by the joint sponsorship of the Human Relations Commission in the community and University of Kansas Community Development Center. During the recruitment effort it became obvious that some segments of the community were attracted by the local sponsorship and others by the involvement of the university.

Counterattitudinal behavior

Studies in which participants are induced to participate in counterattitudinal behavior have shown positive results in racial attitude and behavior change. Experiences designed into this training program which were presumed to be counterattitudinal were interaction of small interracial groups, participation in racial awareness exercises, and discussion of the power-coercive model of change. The intensity of the interpersonal communication in the small interracial groups was a new level of interaction with persons of another race for some participants and resulted in an intimacy that was a counterattitudinal experience. This was true for blacks or Mexican Americans with whites, for whites with blacks and Mexican Americans and between the blacks and the Mexican Americans. Racial awareness exercises were designed or adapted which required that the participant play a role in a racial situation other than his usual role. Each of these exercises involved the participant with racial issues and racism from perspectives other than his own. The discussion and working through of the power-coercive model of social change was planned to inform the participants of a model for change that community residents could use. At first the idea of organizing people to make an effective confrontation was unacceptable to this group who shied away from being disruptive. However, after discussion of how this model might help solve some of the problems they were concerned about, most were able to see that power-coercive strategy was not violent and might well be useful in their community. Each of these elements of the program gave the participant the opportunity to have experiences outside the limits of his usual attitudinally defined behaviors. Those who opened themselves to these experiences were positively reinforced by the trainers.

Behavioral commitment

Because one of the objectives of this program was that the participants become increasingly involved in anti-racism activities, the process of commitment was an important element. From his own and others' experiments Kiesler (1971) concludes that commitment to a line of behavior is increased by the following factors: public acts, repetition of the act, and real or imagined attack on one's attitude or behavior. Goal setting exercises (Blubaugh and Sears, 1971) were planned to meet these conditions. Each individual was asked to set one to three goals in relation to anti-racism activities. They were asked to choose one area of racism in the community on which they wanted to focus their efforts. It was suggested that this might or might not be related to their employment, but it was to be a goal that they thought would make significant progress against racism. These goals were written down and discussed with other members of the group. Next they were asked to list their goals in order of importance and to describe sub-goals. Listing of sub-goals helps to define the process by which the end goal is reached. Plans of action were then made and barriers anticipated. This goal-setting process was designed to increase identification with the common goal (Allport, 1954), to stabilize newly formed attitudes (McClelland, 1971) and to increase commitment to a line of behavior (Kiesler, 1971).

Reference group formation

Because empirical studies support the importance of the reference group in achieving attitude change and stabilizing new attitudes and behavior, the processes of group maintenance and the building of group cohesiveness were

emphasized by the co-trainers. The objective was to have the group members identify with the group and to think of this group as having norms and expectations for its members. From the first day of the program when experiences with racism were shared and common feelings of hurt and guilt, of hate and fear were experienced, the group members listened to each other, attended regularly, and were supportive and helpful to each other when they were setting goals and discussing plans of action.

Unexpected intervention by the mayor

As has been mentioned previously, the day before the fourth meeting of the program the mayor announced he would ask the City Council to request the resignation of the director of the Human Relations Commission who was a participant in the program. For the next three weeks the first part of the meeting was taken up with discussion of developments of this issue. Initially members were recruited to attend the city commissioners meeting on behalf of the director. The mayor failed to get the support for his motion at that time. The issue was still alive, however, in that it was evident that the director would soon be replaced. The important issue then became who would select the next director and how the future role of the Human Relations Commission would be defined. The mayor wanted to change the focus of the Human Relations Commission from race relations to public relations for the city government. This event constituted a very dramatic, unexpected part of the experimental condition. It is not possible to know how it affected the results of this study.

Selection of Racial Attitude Scales

Racial attitude is the predisposition to evaluate persons or groups in a favorable or unfavorable manner on the basis of race. For this study attitude scales were needed that would be appropriate for community residents, and that would measure the attitudes of blacks, Mexican Americans, and whites toward each other and toward themselves. Factors that needed to be considered in this selection were the wide range of reading ability among the subjects, the lack of recent testing experience and the consequent feelings of discomfort and inadequacy, and the extreme concern about one's image and ongoing role that exists in the community. Consideration of these factors suggested that the scales should be short, easy to read, and have directions and a format that are easy to understand. The content of the items should be meaningful and relevant to the community resident and should be phrased so that they are discriminating of a range of positions on an attitudinal dimension. After careful consideration the following instruments were selected:

Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) (Short form) by John J. Woodmansee and Stuart W. Cook (1967). As a result of a series of factor analysis studies, the authors identified ten different dimensions of racial attitude. Five of these deal with major issues in race relations: general policy toward integration, local autonomy in integration, private rights in relation to integration, gradualism in integration, and Negro inferiority. Three dimensions have to do with acceptance of Negroes; one in close personal relationships, and one in superior-status relationships, and ease in inter-racial contacts. The other dimensions are derogatory beliefs and Negro superiority. Testing of each subscale for its relative ability to predict

membership in a group of known attitudinal position found all subscales to be useful, but Negro superiority showed the lowest correlation. These validation studies were carried out with 100 items on a seven point Likert type scale with ten items in each subgroup. For the short form of 12 items, the authors selected the most discriminating items from each subgroup omitting the subscale of Negro superiority. The authors maintain that the short form is comparable to the long form (Cook, 1970).

Anti-White (AW) and Anti-Negro (AN) Scales by George A. Steckler (1957).

These are two separate scales of the seven point Likert type. They were developed to measure "negative, stereotyped opinions and hostile attitudes regarding Negroes and whites" (Steckler, 1957, p. 396). Content of the items was drawn from review of literature on racism, and from current magazines and newspapers. The AN items state that many Negroes are irresponsible, lazy, immoral, rowdy, ignorant, and infer that such disreputable deviants are the cause of the Negroes' problems today. The AW items assert that whites are intrusive, untrustworthy, dishonest, and inferior in certain spheres, and advocate that they be deprived of their present monopoly of power. A preliminary form of both scales was administered to 299 subjects by Steckler and the most discriminating items were selected for the final forms which consist of seventeen AN items and eighteen AW items. After administration of the final form of the AN and AW scales to 449 Negro college students, odd-even reliability coefficients, corrected by Spearman-Brown prophecy formula, were computed for each scale. Reliability coefficients of .84 and .88 respectively were obtained. These scales were selected for this study because of their reliability for measurement of anti-white and anti-black attitudes.

A copy of each of these instruments is provided in appendix B. It is recognized that these instruments measure only black-white racial attitudes. No well researched attitude scales dealing with Mexican American-white attitudes were found.

Development of Behavioral Inventory

In this exploratory study, change in a particular dimension of racial behavior was the objective. This dimension of behavior was referred to as racial-activist behavior and was defined to include any behavior which was relevant to combatting personal or institutional racism (see chapter I). Behaviors which help non-white people cope with their present subordinate position were not included. No evaluative judgement was intended by this distinction, but the objective of the racial-activist training program was to produce increased participation in activities that combat racism. Because no instrument could be found to measure this behavioral dimension, a questionnaire was designed by the researchers.

Inventory of Anti-Racism Activities. The development of this inventory was based on the behavior inventory used in the Sears and Blubaugh study described in Chapter II. Items from that Behavioral Performance Survey which fit the dimension of behavior described above were used in this inventory. Some new items were added to complete the following five categories:

- (1) Taking a stand on a racial issue
- (2) Gathering data on racist policies or practices
- (3) Participating in an interracial group
- (4) Planning a program of action
- (5) Implementing a change program

In the Sears and Blubaugh inventory, subjects checked the items which described an experience that they had had. On this inventory, subjects were asked to record the number of times that they had engaged in each action during the last four months. Space was provided for subjects to list additional acts that fit the definition above which had not been included on the inventory. Although the items describe activities of varying degrees of difficulty and of varying amounts of time commitment, it was decided that a simple sum of the numbers listed by each item would give a valid indication of the amount of participation in anti-racist activities. A copy of the inventory may be found in appendix C.

Determination of Reference Group Formation

Any group to which an individual relates himself and from which he takes the norms and values that influence his behavior is a reference group. A membership reference group is a group whose members know each other and which has regular meetings. Small membership reference groups are most influential in stabilizing and maintaining new attitudes and behavior. It was hypothesized that the experimental group would continue to meet and would serve as a membership reference group for the experimental subjects after the end of the program. In order that such an ongoing group be the result of a felt need of the participants, the trainers did not suggest at any time that they continue to meet after the training ended.

A de-briefing meeting of the experimental subjects would be called by the program trainers four months after the close of the program. If it was

reported that the experimental subjects had had a meeting once a month, and that half of the members had been attending these meetings, the hypothesis would be accepted.

Summary

Racial activist training which was based on an eclectic approach to human relations theory was tested for effectiveness in changing racial attitudes and behavior of volunteers from the community. The results are reported and discussed in chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter reports changes in the experimental group as compared to the control group in the dependent variables of attitude, behavior, and reference group formation. In addition to the discussion of the results related to the hypotheses, participant evaluation and trainer observations are presented and discussed.

Results

Racial Attitude Change

The number of subjects for whom there was attitude scale data was thirty-one. All seventeen of the control group subjects completed and returned the three attitude scales which were mailed to them at the time of the end of the program. Fourteen of seventeen experimental subjects completed the attitude scales. The three participants who failed to complete the attitude scales were among those subjects who were absent at the last meeting. The attitude scales were delivered to them, but they were not returned.

The t-statistic was used to test for difference between the mean scores of the experimental group and the control group on each of the three racial attitude scales administered at the end of the program. Because the hypothesis of attitude change was non-directional, a two-tailed test with a .025 level

Table I

Attitude Scales - Range of Individual Means

	Experimental Group N = 14	Control Group N = 17
MRAI	1.250-3.333	1.250-3.916
AW	1.333-4.722	1.111-4.666
AN	1.000-4.000	1.000-4.333

Table II

Attitude Scales - t-Test of Difference of Means

	Experimental Group Mean N = 14	Control Group Mean N = 17	t 29 degrees of freedom
MRAI	2.428	2.421	0.029
AW	3.095	2.258	2.469*
AN	2.047	2.082	0.100

*significant at the .025 level

of significance was used. The range of the mean scores in each group on each scale was almost identical (Table I). The mean scores on the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory and on the Anti-Negro Scale were very nearly the same for both groups. The MRAI and the AN Scale yielded no significant difference between the attitudes of the participants in the program and the attitudes of the members of the control group. The Anti-White Scale yielded a difference that was significant at the .025 level (Table II). The participants had significantly more negative opinions of whites and hostile attitudes toward whites than the control group members. Was there a relationship between the AW score of a participant and his change in racial activist behavior? A correlation was figured on these two sets of data and the coefficient of .39 was obtained. Because results were significant on only one of three attitude measures, the first hypothesis that there would be significant racial attitude change after participation in racial activist training was partially accepted.

Racial activist behavior change

Behavior inventory data was based on thirteen experimental subjects and fifteen control subjects, a total of twenty-eight subjects. The posttest was mailed to all subjects three months after the end of the program. All subjects were called two weeks later to remind them to return the inventory if they had not already done so. Fifteen of the seventeen subjects in each group completed the inventory. The scores of two of the experimental subjects who are employed full-time in racial activist work were deleted because their

Table III

Behavior Inventory
ANOVA Summary Table

Source	df	SS	MS	F-ratio
Between subjects	27	86680.214	3210.378	
Between groups	1	7140.008	7140.008	2.334
Error between	26	79540.205	3059.239	
Within subjects	28	10882.000	388.643	
Time	1	454.572	454.572	1.257
Group X Time	1	1123.079	1123.079	3.107*
Error within	26	9398.852	361.494	
Total	55	97562.214	1773.858	

*significant at the .10 level

Table IV

Behavior Inventory - Range of Individual Scores

	Experimental N = 13	Control N = 15
Pretest	1-166	0-115
Posttest	4-164	1-117

Table V

Behavior Inventory - Comparison of Means

	Experimental N = 13	Control N = 15
Pretest	46.46	32.80
Posttest	61.15	29.53

Table VI

Behavior Inventory - Change in Scores

	Experimental N = 13	Control N = 15
Number who increased	10	6
Number who didn't change	0	1
Number who decreased	3	8

inventory scores were extremely high on the pretest and on the posttest. Because they were racial activists by occupation, their inventory scores were not comparable with the scores of other subjects.

The behavior inventory scores of the experimental subjects and of the control subjects on the pretest and the posttest were tested in a 2(groups) X 2(times) analysis of variance with repeated measures on the second factor. Although the F ratios obtained were not significant at the .05 level, the interaction between groups and time was significant at the .10 level (Table III). The direction of the interaction was as expected: the mean of the experimental group went up from 46.46 on the pretest to 61.15 on the posttest; the mean of the control group went down slightly from 32.80 on the pretest to 29.533 on the posttest. Examination of individual scores shows that in the participant group the racial activist behavior increased for ten subjects and decreased for three. In the control group six subjects increased, one stayed the same, and eight subjects decreased. However, because the results are not significant at the .05 level, the hypothesis that there would be racial activist behavior change was rejected.

Reference group formation

Three months after the end of the training program, a follow-up meeting was called on a Wednesday evening at the same time and place that the training program meetings had been held. The expressed purpose of the meeting was to explain the research and evaluation of the study to the participants. Since no mention of forming an ongoing group had been made to the participants, the collection of data about such a group was not stated as a purpose

of the meeting. Five of the experimental subjects attended the meeting, and four called in to say that they had a prior commitment. These nine subjects reported that no scheduled meeting of the training group or of subgroups within it had been held during the intervening period. The third hypothesis that the experimental group would continue to function as a membership reference group was rejected.

Discussion

Racial attitude change

It is assumed that because there is no significant difference between the means of the experimental group and the control group on the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory and the Anti-Negro Scale that no attitude change occurred on the issues and dimensions measured by these scales as a result of participation in the experimental condition. The scores of both groups on the MRAI indicate that both groups of subjects were concerned about racism. On this seven point Likert scale, the score of four represents the midpoint between positions on racial issues that are favorable or unfavorable to the Negro. The group means of 2.428 and 2.421 indicate that both the experimental and control group take a position that is definitely favorable to the Negro on racial issues. The scores on the Anti-Negro Scale indicate a rejection of negative Negro stereotypes by both groups. On the seven point Likert scale scores above four indicate agreement with negative stereotyped opinions and hostile attitudes, scores below four indicate disagreement with these opinions and attitudes. The means of 2.047 and 2.082 indicate firm disagreement

with negative stereotypes of Negroes on the part of both the experimental and the control group. The relatively low means on both these scales indicate positive attitudes toward Negroes and a stance favorable to minority group persons on racial issues.

It is assumed that the significant difference between the experimental group and the control group on the Anti-White Scale was related to participation in the experimental condition. This assumption is enhanced by the fact that the two groups measured the same on the other racial attitude scales. On the AW Scale the experimental group was significantly weaker in its rejection of the negative white stereotypes than the control group. The experimental group mean score of 3.095 was closer to the theoretical midpoint of four on the seven point scale than the control group mean score of 2.258, and indicates that the experimental group disagreed only slightly on the average with negative stereotypes of whites. More experimental subjects were in agreement with some of the negative opinions of whites on the items of this scale than was true among the control subjects. This difference in anti-white attitudes is interpreted as an indication of increased awareness of institutional racism. It is a corollary to the postulate that racism exists and persists in this country because whites allow it to. The correlation of .39 between the AW score and the increase in racial activist behavior in the experimental group suggests that the experimental subjects were beginning to accept racism as a white problem and were beginning to increase their involvement in combatting racism.

Attitude data was collected for 31 out of 34 subjects. This was regarded as a good return considering the many potential problems in data collection in a field study. The cooperation in the control group was excellent.

The attitude scales were the second mailing to them and the most difficult task asked of them. All seventeen subjects returned the scales completed. In the experimental group, three of the seventeen subjects failed to return the attitude questionnaires. As stated above, all three of these subjects were absent from the last meeting. The failure to cooperate in data collection was related to negative feelings about the training program as expressed on the participation evaluation for one of these. The other two participants who were "too busy" to complete these questionnaires may have been deterred by the content of the attitude scales or by lack of enthusiasm for the training experience.

Racial activist behavior change

Even though the differences among group means on the behavior inventory seem rather large, they were statistically significant at only the .10 level of confidence because of the wide variation among individual scores. This wide variation was a true reflection of the heterogeneity of the groups. The diversity in the experimental group on age, education, and occupation was described in Chapter III. It is likely that the control group was equally diverse on these factors although such information was not collected. The diversity of individual subjects' scores on the racial attitude scales (Table I) also indicates wide variation in positions even in this area of concern that brought these persons together. It is not surprising that the scores on a measure of the racial activist behavior of these subjects should vary from 0 to 166.

Considering the fact that the behavioral data was collected by mail three months after the end of the program, the number of returns was good. Fifteen of the experimental subjects completed their inventories. In the control group in which seventeen subjects returned the first two mailings, fifteen returned the third delayed posttest mailing. This was considered a very small attrition rate for a field study.

Reference group formation

Because no meeting had been held in the three month period following the close of the program, it was concluded that no continuing membership reference group existed. Failure to form a membership group may be related to the following factors:

(1) The cohesiveness which developed in the group was not sufficient to produce the desire for continuing to have group meetings.

(2) The training experience did not result in a feeling of need for ongoing contact.

(3) Most of the subjects were actively involved citizens, and already had many meetings to attend.

(4) Those subjects who were attending community meetings such as the city commissioners' meetings had contact with each other at these meetings, and did not need a special meeting to keep in touch.

As described in Chapter II, reference groups can be membership or non-membership groups. There were indications that this group was serving as a non-membership reference group. At the follow-up meeting, there was a great deal of discussion between participants about their racial activist

involvement, and a sharing of the problems that they were facing. This seeking to show evidence of meeting the expectations of the group and giving of mutual support may have been taking place when the participants met each other in the community. Even without continuing regular contact, just knowing there were others in the community who were trying to combat racism was an important source of support mentioned by some subjects on their evaluations of the training program. As a result of the small group methods used in the training program, the participants did come to know each other well during the course of the training program. The norms and expectations of the group were made explicit during the program. These conditions enhance the function of the group as a reference group, even in the absence of scheduled meetings. This suggests that although no membership reference group was formed, the participant group may have been functioning as a reference group.

Participant Evaluation

At the end of the program the participants were asked to complete an anonymous evaluation of the training program (see data in appendix H). Most participants stated that the most valuable aspect of the program was the opportunity to know and to better understand individuals from different segments of the population in their community. They valued coming to know each other for the insights they gained into different experiences with racism, and for the contacts they now had for use in future community-wide racial activist projects. Just discovering that there were persons concerned about racism in all segments of the community was reassuring and encouraging to some participants. Participants stated that they thought all elements

of the program should be included if the program were to be repeated, but the aspects that had been most helpful to them were sharing racial experiences, racial awareness exercises, and the goal setting exercises. Some of the shortcomings of the program experience listed were insufficient time to get prepared to set goals, too little guidance on goal setting, the discouraging skepticism of one of the trainers, not enough minority group representation, and too much time spent in unstructured discussion. All the evaluations were more positive than negative except one.

The negative evaluation was from a Catholic sister who taught in a black elementary school and had conducted racial awareness training for sisters in her order. At the next to last meeting a confrontation between her and a teacher from the Catholic high school was precipitated by the trainer. After this incident she withdrew from further participation. Her evaluation indicated that she felt she had learned very little from the training program, and she did not complete and return the attitude scales or the behavior inventory. This participant had more knowledge and experience with racial activism than most of the others. The program may have been too elementary for her, but she did attend until she became involved in a confrontation. Two problems common to community programs were relevant here. First, it is difficult to satisfy the objectives of each person in a diverse population of participants. Second, confrontation is a risky technique with volunteer subjects, and may result in a member withdrawing from the group.

Trainers' Observations

In this section selected aspects of the implementation and outcome of the racial activist training program will be discussed in order to increase

the understanding of what occurred in the experimental condition. This discussion will focus on recruitment and attendance, difficulties in meeting program objectives, the effect of two unanticipated events, and a description of a few of the goals and action plans for combatting racism developed by the participants.

Recruitment and attendance

Recruitment and maintenance of a group of volunteers for a community program of this type is fraught with problems. The following discussion is based on the limited experience of this one project, but there may be some helpful clues here for those interested in conducting action research projects in the community. The common denominator to the successful recruitment of every subject in this study was personal contact. Each volunteer had either had personal contact with the Human Relations staff and was on the selected mailing list, or his name was suggested by someone known to the Human Relations staff or to the trainers. Also, each subject was personally contacted by a trainer during the recruitment period. Not one person volunteered as a result of the hundreds of notices sent to organizations or to community relations and social action committees in churches.

Attendance was maintained at a high level during this program. Among the seventeen participants who completed the program, the average attendance was 5.5 meetings out of 7. One factor that was thought to help sustain attendance was the payment of the fifteen dollar fee. The participants had made an investment in the program. Also, beginning with an all day session and sharing personal racist experiences seemed to build cohesiveness and strengthen

commitment to the group from the first day. Utilization of laboratory training methods may have increased identification with the group. Unfortunately six members missed the last all day session. Of these, five had a prior commitment, but did not become aware of the conflict until it was too late to reschedule the final training program session. It would seem that the fifteen dollar fee, scheduling a full day session as the first meeting, and the facilitation of personal involvement were all contributing factors to the high attendance rate.

Difficulties in meeting objectives

As mentioned in Chapter III some difficulties in meeting objectives were encountered in two facets of the program. The interracial contact condition of equal status was a most difficult one to meet in a community group. The volunteers for this program were from a broad spectrum of socio-economic levels and educational backgrounds, but the minority group members had less education and their average income was less than that of the white members. Because the reason for coming together for this group was to learn about racism and to do something about racism, the four minority group persons had to some extent a special status as resource persons. Their participation was valued by the white members of the group. This may have compensated in part for the difference in status by other criteria, but it must be acknowledged that the lack of equal status in this interracial contact may have weakened its effectiveness in producing attitude and behavior change.

The other facet of the program in which difficulty in meeting objectives was encountered was in the goal setting exercises. There was some resistance

to setting individual goals for combatting racism. Two factors seemed to be related to the failure to set goals. Those who were most ready to set goals were the teachers, minister, and social service workers who were trained in thinking in terms of stating objectives and developing action plans. Most community members did not have such educational training. They found goal setting difficult. They needed assistance to understand what advantage goal setting would have for them, and they needed practice in the process of goal setting. Insufficient time was allotted in this program to prepare the group for the goal setting process. The other factor related to failure to set goals was the trainer with whom the subject met when the experimental group was divided into two groups during the fifth and sixth sessions. Five of the eight subjects with the trainer who was in the more revolutionary stance failed to set goals. All but one with the other trainer defined goals and action plans during these two meetings. The trainers being in different positions on this dimension of racial activism was particularly critical in this program where they were assisting the subjects in setting goals for combatting racism. In selecting the trainers for a training program, it would seem advisable to consider as part of the selection criteria their philosophical position on the objectives of the program.

Unanticipated events and problems of interpretation

The mayor's attempt to fire the director of the Human Relations Department in the middle of the series of training meetings may have had significant effects on the results. Discussion of the latest developments of this event took at least a half hour of each of the last four meetings. The issue could

not be ignored even though it was time-consuming and had a divisive effect on the group. Participants reacted at different levels. Those who were friends and supporters of the director joined together to defend her. Those who did not respect the director kept their silence and withdrew. In the middle were those who felt that the relationship between the mayor and the director had so deteriorated that she must be replaced, and the important issue was who would select her replacement. It is obvious that this event influenced the implementation of the training program. Other events unknown to the researcher may have occurred which decreased the effectiveness of the training program and undermined the commitment of the individuals to the group and to its common goal.

Goals for combatting racism

Whether the racial activist training of this small group of community residents has any effect on racism in this community will depend upon the implementation of their plans for combatting racism. A sampling of a few of these goals and action plans is described below. One black participant who worked full time as a racial activist had become inactive in the affairs of the high school that her children attended because racially speaking, she thought they were "hopeless." After participating in this program with three faculty members from that school she helped organize a series of racial awareness meetings for the Parent Teachers Association. Another black participant became willing to recognize her prejudice against black welfare recipients during the course of this program. Her action plan to reach her goal of organizing parents to pressure for improvements in the inner city schools

included visiting the homes of ADC mothers in her neighborhood. She hoped this would help her accept them as persons with similar concerns and problems. One white high school counselor concluded that she must make a special point to inform black students of college education opportunities even though she may be criticized for showing partiality. A young white minister decided to work within his own church organization to try to increase minority group representation in the upper levels of the hierarchy. A Mexican American union shop steward developed strategies to get minority group persons promoted to foreman and elected as officers of the union. Setting goals and developing action plans is only the beginning, but it provides for a channeling of concern and a direction for one's efforts that may result in significant progress in combatting racism.

Applicability

This training program was shown to be partially effective in achieving attitude change and behavior change. These results can be generalized only to concerned citizens in the community. There are many levels of racial awareness training. This training program would probably be appropriate for any persons from the community who volunteer to participate in a "Seminar on Combatting Racism." This is an action-oriented program designed for persons who are concerned about racism and are asking, "What can I do?"

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This exploratory field study has shown that racial activist training has some positive effects on the attitudes and behavior of concerned citizens in the community. The experimental group had significantly more negative attitudes toward whites than the control group on the Anti-White Scale. This was considered as evidence of increased understanding of whites' responsibility for racism in this society. On the other two attitude scales, the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory and the Anti-Negro Scale, no difference was measured between the experimental group and the control group. It is interesting to note, however, that the mean scores of both groups were relatively low indicating positive attitudes towards Negroes and a position on racial issues which is favorable to minority group interests.

Although the mean scores on the behavior inventory showed a marked increase in the experimental group between pretest and posttest, and a slight decrease in the control group, these results were statistically significant at only the .10 level.

There was no evidence of an ongoing membership reference group, but there were indications that the experimental group was functioning as a non-membership reference group for its participants.

The program was shown to be only partially effective in meeting the hypothesized objectives. Whether it met in some small degree the larger

social objective of combatting racism in this community could only be measured by a long term follow-up on the participants to gather data on their progress toward their goals and action plans.

Recommendations for further research

1. The design and content of the program which was based on a combination of theoretical approaches was well received by most of the participants, and the program as a whole was related to some change in racial attitudes and behaviors. Study of the relation of each element of the training program to attitude or behavior change could be designed into a larger study with several groups.

2. The needs of the individual participants could be more efficiently met in a less diverse group. In a larger study, the participants could be split into small groups on the basis of their racial activist involvement as registered on the behavior inventory pretest.

3. The behavior inventory needs to be refined. Further research with this instrument might give weighted value to racial activist acts which require greater amounts of time and effort. Such weighting might increase the sensitivity of the inventory.

4. Replication of the exploratory study on a larger scale in several communities and with several trainers would make it possible to study the effects of unanticipated events such as the mayor's intervention and the trainer differences.

5. Setting goals and developing action plans is both an orientation to life and a skill. Persons who have not been trained in this process need

practice. It is recommended that a series of exercises simulating goal setting should be conducted before the participants are asked to set their goals for combatting racism.

6. The socially significant outcome of racial activist training is the success that participants have or do not have in implementing their plans for combatting racism. In future studies this could be measured by periodic and long term follow up.

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APPENDIX A

RACIAL ACTIVIST TRAINING PROGRAM

RACIAL ACTIVIST TRAINING PROGRAM

Saturday, October 2, 1971, 9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

Introduction by the director of the Community Development Center at
University of Kansas

Orientation to the program by the co-trainers

Administration of the Inventory of Experiences in Anti-Racism Activities

Sharing of experiences with racism - Each member was asked to share with the group a recent racist experience. The group was asked to respond to the feelings expressed. This provided each member the opportunity to introduce himself to the group and laid the groundwork for open and trusting communication.

Lunch - served in the meeting room to provide a social break and yet keep the group together.

Definition of racism - Trainers listed all definitions offered by members of the group. Diversity of the definition was discussed.

Racism by Design - Participants were divided into two groups and were asked to design a community that could exist in the United States today that was clearly racist and to describe the mechanisms used to keep blacks and Mexican Americans subordinate in social institutions of government, education, employment, etc. The two groups came together and compared what they had designed with what existed in their community.

Closing Discussion - Participants and trainers discussed their goals and expectations of this program. Some objectives were agreed upon.

There was a general request to continue the first exercise of sharing of individual experiences with racism at the next meeting in order that each person have the opportunity to contribute in this way.

Distribution of reference materials

Institutional Racism ed. by Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt

For Whites Only by Robert W. Terry

Summary of the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Otto Kerner, chr.

Racism in America and How to Combat It, The United States Commission of Civil Rights, Urban Series No. 1, Jan., 1970

Wednesday, October 6, 7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Continuation of sharing of racist experiences - Those persons who had not had a turn on Saturday introduced themselves by sharing a recent racist experience.

Closing - Trainers asked everyone to be thinking about goals for combatting racism. The self-inventory on interracial communication was distributed.

Wednesday, October 13, 7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Racial Awareness Exercises

1. Black Intelligence Test (BIT) - an instrument composed of items on black culture. BIT was administered to the group as if it were an employment test for a high paying job. Results were recorded on the blackboard. Feelings about the fairness of the test were discussed.
2. Self-inventory of interracial communication - Discussion dwelled on implications of the statement, "Color is unimportant in interpersonal relationships." The group explored the concept of "color-blind" and its merits and shortcomings in race relations.
3. What it means to be black, Mexican-American, white - The trainer made three columns on the blackboard. As the group called out adjectives to apply to each group, they were written on the board. Each list was read and discussed. (This precipitated a discussion in which the black members were very critical of blacks who give up, who are lazy and on welfare. White members defended poor blacks saying that they are not given an equal chance from birth because of racism in education, employment, health and welfare institutions.)

Discussion of feelings experienced during the exercises

Goal Setting -

Discussion of the benefits of setting up priorities for the use of one's time.

Selection of institutions or systems in which one intends to work for change. (Only ten were ready to do this. The others were evasive.)

Closing Discussion - Participants were asked to read Institutional Racism, Chapter VIII, taking special note of the three criteria for evaluating activities to combat racism.

Wednesday, October 20, 7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Unscheduled discussion of Mayor's attempt to fire the Director of Human Relations who is a participant in the program. Members of the group agreed to try to attend the city commissioners meeting the following day when the vote would be taken on the Mayor's request for the Director's resignation.

Presentation of the Power-Coercive Model for Change

Rationale for this approach

Step-by-step procedural explanation

Group discussion on applications of this model in their own racial activist plans.

Closing - Goal setting materials passed out for completion at home.

Wednesday, October 27, 7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Unscheduled discussion of Mayor's failure to get vote to fire Director of Human Relations. Members reported on their investigation of this crisis and great concern was expressed over the Mayor's acts affecting the strength of the Human Relations Commission.

Goal Setting II - Trainers divided the participants into two groups: those interested in combatting racism in education formed one group, those interested in other institutions were the second group. In each group members helped those who were ready to set goals to evaluate and further delineate their change objectives. (About two-thirds of the group were ready to set a goal.)

Wednesday, November 3, 7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Unscheduled discussion of Human Relations Director's conflict with the Mayor. Reports on actions being taken in support of the Director were given.

Discussion of action plan and anticipated obstacles - Those who had set goals discussed their action plans and received helpful criticism from other members. (In education group, a confrontation developed when a teacher in a black elementary school accused the high school of being racist. Two teachers from the high school became very defensive. The group explored this with them.)

Saturday, November 6, 9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

Review of everyone's action plan and anticipated obstacles with the total group so that all would be informed on what each person planned to do and could offer advice to each other.

Discussion of institutional racism in Kansas City, Kansas.

Lunch - the group went out together.

Discussion of issues in combatting racism, such as, should minority group persons receive preferential treatment in employment, college admissions, etc.? (Group was divided on this question. Minority group members tended to say "no.")

Administration of attitude scales and program evaluation

Discussion - Trainers invited members to discuss their feelings about the program.

APPENDIX B

MATERIALS DISTRIBUTED TO PARTICIPANTS

WHAT IS WHITE RACISM?

(Excerpts from an address by Mr. D. McEvoy at the 14th National Police and Community Relations Institute. Reprinted from the newsletter of the Kansas Civil Rights Commission)

"What is White Racism? White racism is the assumption, conscious or unconscious, that the white race is inherently superior to other races, and the establishment and perpetuation of a social, political and economic system which reflects this underlying belief.

"White racism, as used by the Kerner Commission, does not imply that all white people are bigots. It does not blindly lump together all white people and cloak them in the robes of the KKK.

"The Commission's use of the term white racism does not belittle nor neglect the conscious, costly, and sometimes heroic effort of many white men in behalf of equal opportunity for all.

"It does refer to 'a system under which all of us live, and by which all of us are influenced, wherein the basic humanity of many of us is violated and denied.'

"What is white racism? White racism is the fact that no black man appeared on the platform of this institute throughout the first two days. The institute committee did not deliberately plan things that way. We just didn't think at all. We were insensitive.

"White racism is not just the planting of a bomb in the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham and the resultant murder of four children as they attended Sunday School. White racism is this, but it is also a social system which decrees that 2 1/2 times as many Negro infants will die in the first month of life compared to the infant mortality rates among white children.

"White racism is not only the isolated bigot loudly proclaiming that 'black men are savages and ought to be returned to African jungles.' We can reject that kind of stupidity out of hand. White racism is also a system which decrees that the per pupil ratio in the black schools is nearly double that in the white schools in any community, and that black students still receive textbooks which are too old and mutilated to be used in the white schools. White racism is an educational system which assumes that a black student should be prepared for menial labor and discourages him from the pursuit of academic courses which would lead to professional or managerial careers.

"White racism is that which causes police officer to stop and politely offer a gentle warning and a protective escort if I am seen walking in the deserted streets of a Negro neighborhood late at night, but would prompt the same officer to stop and question the right of freedom of movement of a black man walking the streets of a white neighborhood at the same hour.

WHAT IS WHITE RACISM?

"White racism is the freedom with which I have expressed my appreciation of the physical beauty of more than one of the black women in this institute, and the difficulty with which a black man in this institute would express identical appreciation for the physical attractiveness of white women here this week.

"White racism is not only the Youth Legislature of Georgia, taking over the state government for a day, passing a resolution in 1968 affirming the right of states to secede from the Federal Union and demanding reparations from the United States government for damages incurred during the Civil War; it is also the Federal Congress willingly appropriating 30 times as much annually for subsidies to prosperous farms as they are willing to direct for the alleviation of people living in the poverty of our urban ghettos.

"White racism is not just a Lester Maddox with an ax handle in his clenched fist. It is also the real estate man on Long Island who told me last month, 'This is a good neighborhood. A place where you would want to raise your children. A place where you know your wife will be safe. You know what I mean.'

"White racism is not just a copy of Thunderbolt, or a publication of the National States Rights Party. It is also a system which has edited history in such a way that neither Kevin McEvoy, my ten year old son, nor his good friend, Martin Luther King III, born the same day, are provided with any teaching in their schools on the contributions of black people in the building of America -- with the results that both of these youngsters are deprived thereby.

"White racism, built into the very fabric of American life, institutionalized and all pervasive, is that which has robbed black Americans of the opportunity for meaningful participation in the decision-making process of our society."

Self-Inventory on Interracial Communication

prepared by Judy Carter

Bertram M. Lee and Warren H. Schmidt (1969) have compiled a list of assumptions which block authentic relations, assumptions which facilitate authentic relations, behaviors which block authentic relations and behaviors which facilitate authentic relations. This list was compiled as a result of a review of tapes of human relations sessions devoted to interracial relations. You will find all of this information on the following four pages in the form of a self-inventory. The self-inventory is yours, use it as you see fit.

Explanation of the columns in the self-inventory:

Column One -- Relevant to Me -- From my personal experience, past and present, I can relate to, understand, make sense of this assumption or behavior. (awareness) Indicate it is relevant with an R. Indicate it is not relevant with NR.

Column Two -- Blocks -- From my own personal experience, past and present, this assumption or behavior blocks authentic relations. (function) Indicate it blocks with a B, otherwise leave the space blank.

Column Three -- Facilitates -- From my own personal experience, past and present, this assumption or behavior facilitates authentic relations. (function) Indicate it facilitates with an F, otherwise leave the space blank.

Column Four -- Strengths or Weaknesses -- From my own personal experience, past and present, this assumption or behavior is one of my strengths or weaknesses. (evaluation) Indicate it is a strength with an S. Indicate it is a weakness with a W.

SELF-INVENTORY

SUMPTIONS WHITES MAKE	1	2	3	4	5
Color is unimportant in interpersonal relations					
Blacks are human -- with individual feelings, aspirations, and attitudes					
Open recognition of color may embarrass Blacks					
Blacks are trying to use Whites					
Interdependence is needed between Blacks and Whites					
Blacks are angry					
White society is superior to Black society					
"Liberal" Whites are free of racism					
Whiteness/Blackness is a real difference but not the basis on which to determine behavior					
All Blacks are alike in their attitudes and behavior					
Blacks are oversensitive					
Blacks want a responsible society					
Blacks are capable of managerial maturity					
Blacks must be controlled					
I may be part of the problem					
Blacks will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society					
People count as individuals					
Blacks can be stereotyped					
Blacks have a heritage of which they are proud					
Most Blacks can handle Whites' authentic behavior and feelings					
Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be Black					
	Relevant to Me				
	Blacks				
	Facilitates				
	Strength or Weakness				

SELF INVENTORY

ASSUMPTIONS BLACKS MAKE	1	2	3	4	5
. All Whites are alike					
. The only way to gain attention is through confrontation					
. All Whites are deceptive					
. All Whites will let you down in the "crunch"					
. Openness is healthy					
. Interdependence is needed between Blacks and Whites					
. Honkies have all the power					
. All Whites are racists					
. Whites cannot and will not change except by force					
. Negotiation and collaboration are possible strategies					
. There are no "soul brothers" among Whites					
. Whitey's got to deal on Black terms					
. People count as individuals					
. Some Whites can help and "do their own thing"					
. Whites are united in their attitude toward Blacks					
. Silence is a sign of hostility					
. Some Whites have "soul"					
. Whites are always trying to use Blacks					
. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of the Blacks					
. Whites are human beings and, whether they should or not, do have their own hang-ups					
	RELEVANT TO ME				
	BLOCKS				
	FACILITATES				
	STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS				

SELF INVENTORY

BEHAVIORS OF WHITES	1	2	3	4	5
. Assuming responsibility for examining own motives -- and where they are					
. Directness and openness in expressing feelings					
. Insisting on playing games according to White rules					
. Expressions of too-easy acceptance and friendship					
. Talking about, rather than to, Blacks who are present					
. Staying with and working through difficult confrontations					
. Listening without interrupting					
. Showing annoyance at Black behavior which differs from their own					
. Offering help where not needed or wanted					
. Interruptions					
. Condescending behavior					
. Avoidance of contact (eye-to-eye and physical)					
. Verbal focus on Black behavior rather than white behavior					
. Assisting other White brothers to understand and confront feelings					
. Supporting self-initiated moves of Black people					
. Demonstration of interest in learning about Black perceptions, culture, etc.					
. Taking a risk (e.g., being first to confront the difference)					
	RELEVANT TO ME	BLACKS	FACILITATES	STRENGTH OR	WEAKNESS

SELF INVENTORY

BEHAVIORS OF BLACKS	1	2	3	4	5
1. Isolationism					
2. Meeting Whites half-way					
3. Treating Whites on one-to-one basis					
4. Realistic goal-sharing					
5. Confrontation too early and too harshly					
6. Giving answers Blacks think Whites want to hear					
7. Rejection of honest expressions of acceptance and friendship					
8. Allowing Whites to experience unaware areas of racism					
9. Telling it like it is					
10. Showing interest in understanding White's point of view					
11. Openness					
12. Showing pride in own heritage					
13. Using confrontation as the primary relationship style					
14. Pushing Whites into such a defensive posture that learning and re-examining is impossible					
15. Failure to keep a commitment and then offering no explanation					
16. "In-group" joking, laughing at Whites -- in Black culture language					
17. Dealing with Whites where they are					
18. Acknowledging that there are some committed Whites					
19. Acting as if "we have some power" -- and don't need to prove it					
20. Expression of real feelings					
	RELEVANT TO ME	BLOCKS	FACILITATES	STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS	

SELF INVENTORY

Assumptions Which Block Authentic Relations

Assumptions Whites Make

1. Color is unimportant in interpersonal relations
2. Blacks will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society
3. Open recognition of color may embarrass Blacks
4. Blacks are trying to use Whites
5. Blacks can be stereotyped
6. White society is superior to Black society
7. "Liberal" Whites are free of racism
8. All Blacks are alike in their attitudes and behavior
9. Blacks are oversensitive
10. Blacks must be controlled

Assumptions Blacks Make

1. All Whites are alike
2. There are no "soul brothers" among Whites
3. Honkies have all the power
4. Whites are always trying to use Blacks
5. Whites are united in their attitude toward Blacks
6. All Whites are racists
7. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of the Blacks
8. Whitey's got to deal on Black terms
9. Silence is a sign of hostility
10. Whites cannot and will not change except by force

SELF INVENTORY

11. The only way to gain attention is through confrontation
12. All Whites are deceptive
13. All Whites will let you down in the "crunch"

Assumptions Which Facilitate Authentic Relations

Assumptions Whites Make

1. People count as individuals
2. Blacks are human -- with individual feelings, aspirations, and attitudes
3. Blacks have a heritage of which they are proud
4. Interdependence is needed between Blacks and Whites
5. Blacks are angry
6. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be Black
7. Whiteness/Blackness is a real difference but not the basis on which to determine behavior
8. Most Blacks can handle Whites' authentic behavior and feelings
9. Blacks want a responsible society
10. Blacks are capable of managerial maturity
11. I may be part of the problem

Assumptions Blacks Make

1. Openness is healthy
2. Interdependence is needed between Blacks and Whites
3. People count as individuals
4. Negotiation and collaboration are possible strategies
5. Whites are human beings and, whether they should or not, do have their own hang-ups

SELF INVENTORY

6. Some Whites can help and "do their own thing"
7. Some whites have "soul"

Behaviors Which Block Authentic Relations

Behaviors of Whites

1. Interruptions
2. Condescending behavior
3. Offering help where not needed or wanted
4. Avoidance of contact (eye-to-eye and physical)
5. Verbal focus on Black behavior rather than white behavior
6. Insisting on playing games according to White rules
7. Showing annoyance at Black behavior which differs from their own
8. Expressions of too-easy acceptance and friendship
9. Talking about, rather than to, Blacks who are present

Behaviors of Blacks

1. Confrontation too early and too harshly
2. Rejection of honest expressions of acceptance and friendship
3. Pushing Whites into such a defensive posture that learning and re-examination is impossible
4. Failure to keep a commitment and then offering no explanation
5. "In-group" joking, laughing at Whites -- in Black culture language
6. Giving answers Blacks think Whites want to hear
7. Using confrontation as the primary relationship style
8. Isolationism

SELF INVENTORY

Behaviors Which Facilitate Authentic Relations

Behaviors of Whites

1. Directness and openness in expressing feelings
2. Assisting other White brothers to understand and confront feelings
3. Supporting self-initiated moves of Black people
4. Listening without interrupting
5. Demonstration of interest in learning about Black perceptions, culture, etc.
6. Staying with and working through difficult confrontations
7. Taking a risk (e.g., being first to confront the differences)
8. Assuming responsibility for examining own motives --and where they are

Behaviors of Blacks

1. Showing interest in understanding White's point of view
2. Acknowledging that there are some committed Whites
3. Acting as if "we have some power" -- and don't need to prove it
4. Allowing Whites to experience unaware areas of racism
5. Openness
6. Expression of real feelings
7. Dealing with whites where they are
8. Meeting Whites half-way
9. Treating Whites on one-to-one basis
10. Telling it like it is
11. Realistic goal-sharing
12. Showing pride in their heritage

B. I. T.
(from Blubaugh and Sears)

1. _____ This black man founded Chicago and was its first settler: (a) Du Sable; (b) McCormick; (c) Chicawaas; (d) Doley.
2. _____ Which man wrote Native Son? (a) Richard Wright; (b) James Baldwin; (c) John A. Williams; (d) Dick Gregory.
3. _____ Which man wrote the book Black Bougeoisie? (a) Benjamin Quarles; (b) E. Franklin Fraser; (c) Basil Davidson; (d) C. Eric Lincoln.
4. _____ What was the name of the ship which slaves seized and bargained for their freedom with during the Middle Passage? (a) The Boston; (b) Good Ship Jesus; (c) The Colombus; (d) The Amisted.
5. _____ Who was Dred Scott? (a) White Slave Master; (b) Slave; (c) Free Black Man; (d) Civil War Revisionist.
6. _____ Who wrote "Lift Every Voice and Sing?" (a) Paul Lawrence Dunbar; (b) James W. Johnson; (c) Langston Hughes; (d) W.E.B. DuBois.
7. _____ Who did Stagger Lee kill: (a) his mother; (b) Billy; (c) Frankie; (d) Johnny.
8. _____ A disease which attacks only black people is called: (a) ash fungus; (b) yaws; (c) shard cell anemia; (d) sickle cell anemia.
9. _____ Which of the following is not known for his poetry? (a) Claude McKay; (b) Sterling Brown; (c) Richard Hatcher; (d) James Weldon Johnson.
10. _____ A famous slave who became an author and statesman was: (a) Nat Turner; (b) Charles Drew; (c) Ward Milton; (d) Fredrick Douglass.
11. _____ Before Malcolm X became a Muslim, his name was: (a) Little; (b) Litell; (c) Langford; (d) Lewis.
12. _____ Ralph Ellison was honored for a novel he wrote entitled: (a) Curse of Darkness; (b) The Invisible Man; (c) Black Like Me; (d) On the Ropes.
13. _____ A Black leader of the 1920's is: (a) Colin Cook; (b) Abadiah Royal; (c) Marcus Garvey; (d) Robert Shelton.
14. _____ The spiritual leader of the Black Muslims is: (a) Julius 2X Best; (b) Elijah Muhammed; (c) Ali Ahbah Kahn; (d) Minister Muhammed Bey.
15. _____ "Dashikis" are to be: (a) eaten; (b) worn; (c) sung; (d) played.
16. _____ "Hully Gully" came from: (a) East Oakland; (b) Fillmore; (c) Harlem; (d) Watts.
17. _____ The first black American to shed blood in the American Revolution was: (a) James B. Russwurm; (b) Crispus Attucks; (c) Hiram Revells; (d) Fredrick Johnson.

18. _____ Which word is most out of place here: (a) splib; (b) blood;
(c) grey; (d) spook.
19. _____ "Chitlins" are: (a) pig bladders; (b) pig intestines; (c) chicken
livers; (d) fried watermelon rinds.
20. _____ If you roll the dice and 7 is showing on top, what is facing down:
(a) snake eyes; (b) seven; (c) boxcars; (d) Little Joes.

Answers to B.I.T./W.I.T.

- 1 -- A
- 2 -- A
- 3 -- B
- 4 -- D
- 5 -- B
- 6 -- B
- 7 -- B
- 8 -- D
- 9 -- C
- 10 -- D
- 11 -- A
- 12 -- B
- 13 -- C
- 14 -- B
- 15 -- B
- 16 -- D
- 17 -- B
- 18 -- C
- 19 -- B
- 20 -- B

A Power-Coercive Model of Change

(prepared by Mike Sears)

What is White America:

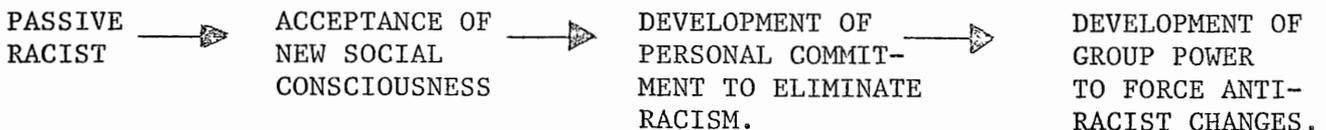
		RACIST	
		ACTIVE	PASSIVE
RACISTS		K.K.K. Birchers LOCAL, STATE, & NATL. POLITICIANS	"SILENT MAJORITY"
RACIST/ ANTI-RACISTS		NEW SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS	X

What are the criteria for new social consciousness?

(What does the anti-racist activist know or understand?)

- (1) Recognition that whites -- not only those in power, but those who support the ones in power -- are the enemy.
- (2) Recognition that the enemy cannot be changed by moral persuasion or reason and that a struggle for power is inevitable if change is to occur.
- (3) Recognition that the enemy is a direct danger and threat, not only to the black man, but to you.

What are the steps in moving from a passive racist position to anti-racist activist?



- (1) PASSIVE RACIST -- The passive racist is typified by the person who carries on "business as usual." He may be neither concerned nor knowledgeable of major racial issues and their root causes in America. He may be frightened by the development of minority group power and such group's increasing use of violence as a tactic for social change. He may be ideologically conservative or liberal. He supports many of the nation's social, economic, and political institutions directly and supports an idealized (and non-realistic) view of America indirectly. He may consider himself racially unbiased, racially sophisti-

cated in terms of understanding of causes, and not part of the problem; but if he is depending on other people (government agencies or commissions, social institutions, religious institutions, etc.) to solve these racial problems and takes no active part himself in working toward their solution, he may be classified as passively racist.

- (2) ACCEPTANCE OF NEW SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS -- Acceptance, in this case, entails more than a simple intellectual agreement with the above three criteria for new social consciousness. It also includes an emotional acceptance of the need to struggle with the enemy (your enemy) over power and with power in order to achieve your change objectives. Such an emotional acceptance may take a long time to personally develop, but until it does, most anti-racist actions involved in will probably turn out to be counter-productive to significant racial change. If your social consciousness has not yet reached this level of understanding, then a good rule of thumb to follow in order to avoid counter-productive actions is: "If the established powers do not object or put up only passive resistance to your change efforts, then your efforts may be considered counter-productive."
- (3) Development of PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO ELIMINATE RACISM -- Out of a person's new social consciousness springs a personal commitment to anti-racist activism. This commitment may be judged in one's self and in others on two levels:
 - a) Intensity of feelings
The intensity of feelings associated with a person's new social consciousness reflects his deep day-in/day-out desire to eliminate racism. Everyday activities, "business as usual," angers and frustrates such a person and reinforces his desire to create significant change.
 - b) Specifying concrete change objectives
The person of new social consciousness cannot be considered an anti-racist activist without a concrete change objective toward which he is working. Those persons whose "heart's in the right place," but remain non-actively involved in changing people and society, remain in the passive racist "silent majority."
- (4) DEVELOPMENT OF POWER
The new socially conscious and committed person realizes that the only way to achieve significant change objectives is to effectively use power. When a person has specified a concrete change objective and is strategizing ways in which power may be created, converted, manipulated, distorted, etc., he is behaving in an anti-racist activist manner.

Where does power come from?

POWER
CHANGE
GROUP

POWER
STATUS QUO
(RESISTANCE TO
CHANGE)
(1) CO-OPTATION
(2) REPRESSION

The objective of the change group is to increase its power relative to the target of its change, or the status quo. How is such power increased?

- (1) By adding or creating new power
(Read Saul Alinsky or creating power)
- (2) By conversion of existing resources by efficient group organization.

This Power-Coercive Model of change is a method of group organization by which power can be converted from the status quo to the change group. It is a power conversion model.

Three (3) stages of the Power-Coercive Model:

- (1) Pre-crisis
 - (2) Crisis
 - (3) Post-crisis
- } What is meant by "crisis?"
The crisis in this model represents the critical point at which the strategy for change becomes known and public:
It also represents the point at which the change group power equals (or approximates) the power held by the status quo.

Four (4) phases of the Power-Coercive Model:

- Private arena ← { (1) Initiation phase
(participants = leadership only; possibly 2 or 3 people)
- Public arena ← { (2) Planning phase
(participants = leadership & cadre members)
- Institutional arena ← { (3) Implementation phase
(participants = leadership, cadre members, general support)
- (4) Institutionalization phase
(Implementation of new structure, policy, personnel, etc.)

Ten (10) steps of the Power-Coercive Model
(all steps are sequential)

- 1) Development of prototype (original) change objective
Criteria for measuring validity of change objective
 - (a) Is the change objective specific?
(Is it clear to people? How will you know when or if you've reached your objective? Can the objective be recorded more clearly?)

- (b) Is the change objective significant? (Does it fit your criteria of what needs to be done? Is it something which the status quo power will actively resist? Do you or others believe it is a co-optable or counter-revolutionary action?)
- (c) Is the change objective feasible? (Can people really imagine that your change objective will be realized? If not your specific change objective, can people imagine that the general direction of your action could be realized?)

Developing mental pictures of changed environment.

The leadership should create in words, as best as possible, a mental image of the way things will look or be after the change objective has been realized. These mental pictures will be helpful in motivating themselves and the cadre members as they work toward the objective. They will also give each person a more or less concrete idea of the change they are seeking.

Analysis of major steps leading to realization of change objective.

It is extremely important that the change group experience "victories" or positively reinforcing rewards as they work towards the realization of their change objective. For this reason, the leadership should plan carefully those steps along the way which may be achieved by the group which will allow for such victories. Any analysis at this point will be sketchy, but it is important to plan such steps carefully. These "small" victories will be the stuff which carry the group onto the achievement of its larger goal.

2) "Staking Out The Turf"

(The process of checking out with people the general concern of your change objective. Critical people should be checked out: those who you think may be (a) actively interested in } your
(b) actively opposed to } general
(c) disinterested in } concern

Important: Talk to people about your "general concern" and not your specific change objective. (Change objective is still in the private arena; any leak in information about it at this point could mobilize the opposition and end your action before it starts.)

How do you check out people about your general concern?

- (a) Talking face-to-face with critical people.
- (b) Talking about critical people with others.
- (c) Talking before groups about general concerns and rating reactions.

What is the purpose of "Staking Out The Turf?"

- (a) To develop an index of potential support/resistance
- (b) To test the saliency (realism) of this change objective
(Are other people or groups onto this change yet?)
- (c) To analyze potential for moving into a power position:
 - 1) It identifies potential coalitions
 - 2) Identifies people, groups, who may be publicly identified with your change objective, but are potentially cooptable resources. (EXAMPLE: Human Relations Commission support may be valid only if you are not opposing the Mayor. At a critical time, Mayor may pull this support out from under your change action.)

3) Cadre Formation

(The identification and active inclusion of those supportive persons identified in staking out the turf.)

What is a Cadre?

The cadre is a tight-knit brotherhood group -- it is made up of people who you, or a leader, can trust, who are willing and able to commit their skills and time, etc., to a possibly long-range change action. The cadre will become the group which designs and directs the actual change action.

What are the Basic Criteria for Inclusion in the Cadre?

These are visible and necessary resources for realization of change objective.

- (a) Cadre members must be dependable.
 - 1) Above cooptation by the opposition.
 - 2) Strong enough in commitment to not be repressed.
- (b) They must have skills which contribute to the change objective.
(Any time a person is included in the cadre, a risk is taken. Only people who can contribute directly to the realization of the change objective should therefore be included.)
- (c) They must share the same social consciousness with the leadership.
 - 1) general consciousness (societal)
 - 2) specific consciousness (about change objective)

- The fourth (4th) criterion is of secondary importance. --

- (d) Cadre members should be representative of several larger community groups.

Important: Don't sacrifice any of the above criteria in order to have a "representative" group.

The cadre should probably not number more than 10-12 people. 8 seems to be a good size group.

4) Gathering of Information, Analysis and Refinement of Original change objective.

(The kind of information sought should be that which is critically important to your change objective -- That information is called "INTELLIGENCE")

Concepts which should guide Intelligence gathering:

- (a) Never simply "define" the reality of your change environment from what you think it is -- test that reality. Don't assume, find out for sure.

- (b) Gather intelligence -- not just information.
 - 1) Change strategy will eventually be built on intelligence.
 - 2) Change objective is sharpened on intelligence.
 - 3) The gathering of intelligence allows a check-point for the dependability of your cadre members.
- (c) Intelligence should always be gathered discretely and quietly. (To let the change objective out at this point, is to mobilize your opposition.)
- (d) Prepare and maintain a written record of intelligence data:
 - 1) This intelligence should always be available to cadre members.
 - 2) In safe place, but easily retrievable.
- (e) While intelligence should be continuously gathered, you may assume that you know enough to move to the next step when, from your intelligence, a general strategy for action starts to emerge in your collective cadre mind.

5) Building the Strategy

What is a Strategy?

It's a road map that gets you from where your cadre is at this point to where your cadre wants to be once the change objective has been realized. This map must deal with the institutionalization of your change objective. Select the strategy which has the greatest potential for shifting the balance of power in your direction.

What are the Basic Steps in Building a Strategy?

- (a) Identify the people who are critical to the realization of your change objective.
 - 1) Blockers
 - a) Eliminate them
 - b) Get around them
 - c) Convert them
 - 2) Facilitators (Supporters)
 - a) What is the best way to use them?
- (b) Identify the critical actions of your change objective to be realized:
 - 1) What must happen for change objective to be realized?
 - 2) What must be prevented from happening?
- (c) Link the critical actions with the critical people.
 - 1) Whatever must be done, put those people who will accomplish it on the task.
 - 2) What must be prevented, put those people who will block it on the task.

Things to be aware of in Strategy building:

- (a) Beware of self-interests of those who you work with. Where does a person's real self-interest lie?
- (b) Beware of the power of the social context from which a person comes. A person will act most often like those he spends most of his time with.
- (c) Beware of a person's expressed behavior. Don't trust just a person's word, check out his "typical" behavior. What lies beyond the words?
- (d) Beware of permitting ambiguity. Don't let your understanding of the complexities involved in your opposition's position deter you from realistic judgments.

6) Developing Specific Tactics

What is a Tactic? It is a specific plan which will move your strategy in the pre-planned direction. It is the specific action which will implement your strategy.

What are the basic criteria for Evaluating Tactics?

- (a) Are the tactics pertinent? (Does it indeed advance the strategy? Does it implement exactly what you've planned?)
- (b) What are the counter-productive risks involved in each tactic? (Will the tactic yield some negative results? More negative than positive?) (The most exact tactic with the least amount of negative effects should be chosen.)
- (c) What probable reactive tactics will your tactics generate from the opposition?

Once the tactics have been decided upon by cadre members, the action plan is ready to move out of the private arena (and out of the pre-crisis stage) into the public arena and the crisis stage.

7) Securing general support endorsement of Strategy and Tactics.

This is the point at which your strategy and tactics are opened to the public. The public may be the large community, an organization, a church, or another group. From your intelligence gathering, you have identified those persons and/or groups who you may move into coalition with. This is the time to do it.

What factors should be considered in gaining support?

- (a) Is your change objective one which will elicit general public support? If so, then widely publicize it. If not, carefully chose your public announcements.
- (b) Does the cadre's social consciousness elicit general public support?
- (c) Is the personal style of group's leadership attractive to the public? Is the group style attractive?
- (d) Is the change model you're operating under attractive to general public.

If persons or groups identified by intelligence gathering are definitely going to be impressed with your plans, then use them. If they are unpredictable or negative, beware of them.

What is the purpose of gathering this general support?

- (a) To demonstrate to the opposition the power or potential power of your intended change strategy.

8) Mobilization of Support

What is mobilization of support for?

- (a) The realization of your change objective.

How much mobilization is adequate?

- (a) Only what is needed to realize change objective.

How may the opposition be immobilized?

- (a) By keeping the change activity information away from the opposition.
- (b) By leaking false information to the opposition in hopes that they will mobilize in unimportant and wasteful ways.
- (c) By leaking real information to the opposition in hopes that their mobilization efforts will appear publicly foolish, reactionary, and cause them to lose general public support. This hinges on the cadre's perception of public response to the inconsistencies, etc. of the opposition's mobilization.

ivate, pre-
crisis
↑
↓
crisis,
public

er tell
one outside
cadre more
n they need
know.

9) Crisis showdown

The point of crisis, or critical point, in this model of change usually occurs immediately following the mobilization of support. In some cases, the opposition may surrender to your change objective without the mobilization of public support if the threat of such support is sufficiently strong. Irregardless, the critical point is reached when the power (or perceived power) of the change group surpasses or equals that of the status quo target.

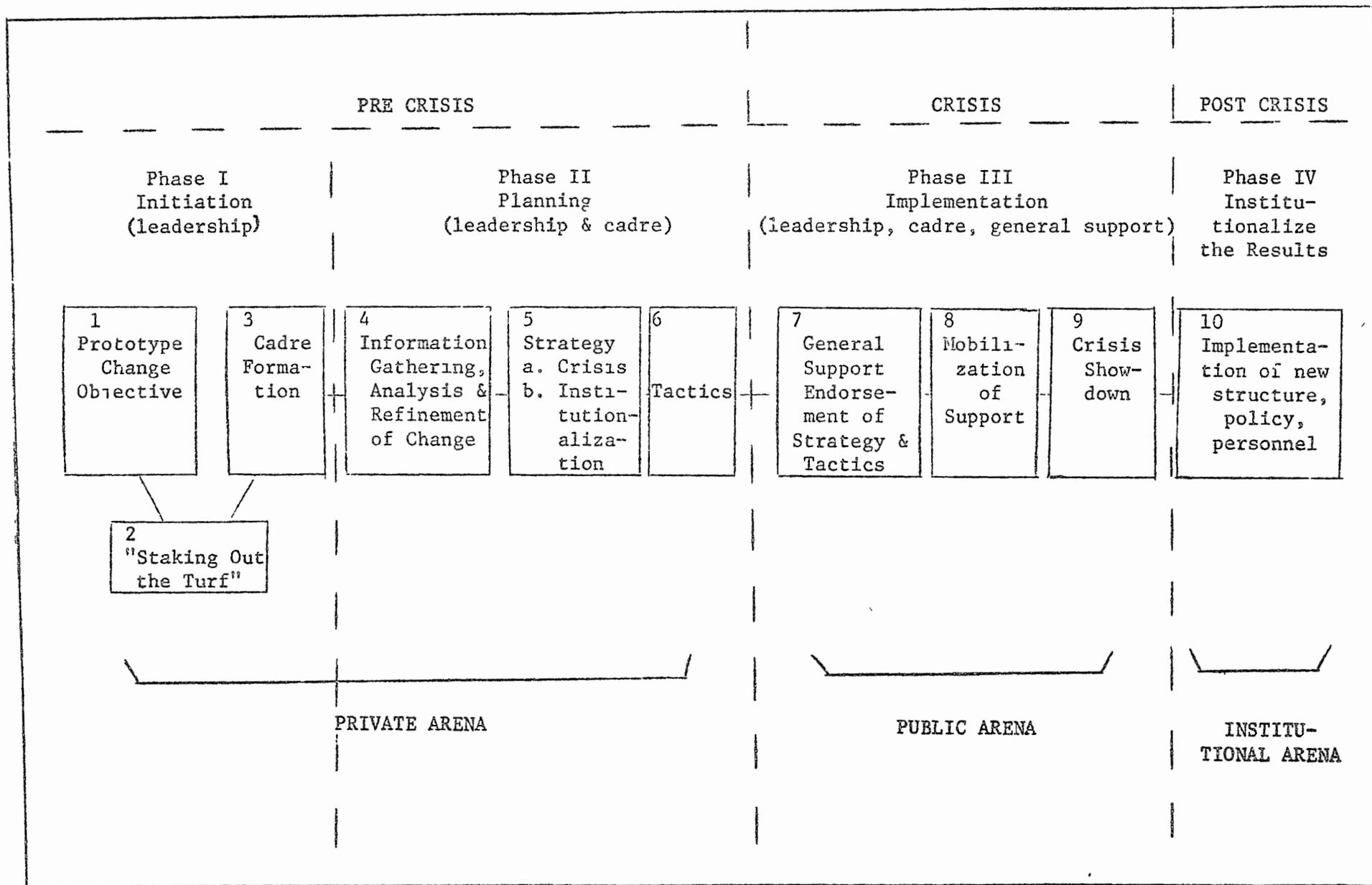
The crisis may take the form of negotiation between the target and the change group, or acquiescence by the target may be a direct communication. It is important to remember that the change objective may not be totally secured, or may not even be realized. If negotiations are held, a pre-determined level of achievement of the change objective should be agreed upon by the cadre members. In this manner, opposition compromises may be seriously discussed at the negotiation table. If realization of the change objective does not seem possible as a result of your efforts, it may be that the opposition simply anticipates a lessening of pressure after the initial mobilization. If you believe this to be the case, then continuous and, if possible, increasing pressure should be brought to bear. If the target group is seemingly unaffected by your power tactics, then it may be that your intelligence was insufficient to give you a realistic idea of their resistance to change, or that your tactics were too cautiously employed. In either case, a very quick analysis needs to be made by the cadre members as to their next steps before public support enthusiasm falls off.

10) Institutionalization of change

In order to insure that your change efforts will not be wasted, it is very important that your tactics include considerations of the environment after your change objectives have been realized. If your objective, for example, is the elimination of a racist public official from office, then it is important for the change group to have some control over the decision of who is to replace him. This may be accomplished by maintaining the pressure on the target group. In any case, this institutional control must be planned as early in your strategy building as possible

For the change to be "institutionalized" means that your change objective will become part of the opposition's status quo environment. If this final step cannot be secured, then the total effort may have been wasted. Too much will have been invested in the change effort to fail at this point. This failure can be avoided by early and careful consideration of institutionalizing your change objective.

Mike Sears
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Lawrence, Kansas 10/71



GOAL SETTING I

(from Blubaugh and Sears, 1971)

Look over the goals you have just listed and select the one goal that you most want to accomplish. Place a single check (✓) next to that goal.

Place two checks (✓✓) next to the goal that is the second most important to you and three checks (✓✓✓) next to the goal that is the third most important to you.

See if all of your goals meet the following criteria. If they do not, you should go back and strengthen them before going on.

Are your goals

1. SPECIFIC?

The temptation is great to set very general goals. It is important that goals be made specific and concrete. A general goal such as, "I want to help eliminate racism in the schools" could be made more specific by stating what manifestations of racism exist in the schools and steps to be taken to eliminate them.

2. MEASURABLE?

In order to know that a goal has been reached, it must be measurable. There must be a way in which you know you have reached it. Thus, of the goal "I want to help eliminate racism in the schools" were made more specific -- e.g., "I want to learn more about the effects of current educational practices upon black and chicano as compared to whites" -- its attainment could be measured.

3. DATED?

That goal could be further strengthened by adding an achievement date. By putting yourself in a specific time framework, the likelihood of achieving the goal is enhanced.

Often, when the accomplishment of a major goal lies too far out in the future, a person can lose interest in achieving it because he no longer anticipates its accomplishment. Therefore, you will be setting sub-goals to serve both as benchmarks and stepping stones to your major goals.

Goal Setting I

List below the goals you would like to achieve in eliminating racism within your community during the next one to five years. These goals should be your goals, and not what you think someone else wants your goals to be. Only list goals that you really want to commit yourself to. For each goal listed, provide a date by which you feel you can accomplish the goal.

My major anti-racism goals are:

Target Date



POWER INVENTORY

In developing your plan of action, are you making maximum use of the powers you have?

1. Which of the following powers do you personally possess?
 - (a) responsible position in an organization or association
 - (b) elected or appointed office in some level of government, civic or social organization
 - (c) control over and responsibility for use of:
 - money
 - physical property
 - personnel with various skills
 - (d) control over and responsibility for use of:
 - policy formulation
 - policy implementation
 - (e) ability to introduce or to control the introduction of new ideas
 - (f) influence with other people
 - (g) influence as a consumer
 - (h) influence as a voting citizen

2. Which of the following powers are possessed by people with whom you have informal and personal relationships?
 - (a) responsible position in an organization or association
 - (b) elected or appointed office in some level of government, civic or social organization
 - (c) control over and responsibility for use of:
 - money
 - physical property
 - personnel with various skills
 - (d) control over and responsibility for use of:
 - policy formulation
 - policy implementation
 - (e) ability to introduce or to control the introduction of new ideas
 - (f) influence with other people

3. Which of the following powers are possessed by groups, clubs, or organizations with which you are affiliated?
 - (a) control over and responsibility for use of:
 - money
 - physical property
 - personnel with various skills
 - (b) representation in community organizations or associations
 - (c) representation in groups established by government
 - (d) influence with newspaper, radio or TV
 - (e) ability to introduce or to control the introduction of new ideas
 - (f) influence over people's buying habits
 - (g) influence over people's political activities

Goal Setting Exercise II

Taking each of your major goals in order of priority, list the sub-goals that will mark the steps toward achieving the major goal.

The sub-goals should be specific measurable and have a target date. Underline the sub-goals you intend to achieve between now and November 6, 1971.

Major goal

Sub-goals

Target Dates

<u>Major goal</u>	<u>Sub-goals</u>	<u>Target Dates</u>

PLANNING ACTION STEPS

Plan action steps to reach those sub-goals which have target dates on or before November 6, 1971 in the space provided below. These steps should be specific steps that you actually intend to take. You should include for each action step a date on which you will review your progress as well as the final accomplishment date.

Action Steps
to be taken

I will review my
progress on (give
specific dates)

I will accomplish
this step by (give
specific dates)

Anticipating Obstacles

List the obstacles that would prevent you from achieving each of these action steps. In the second column, list those things which you could do to overcome these obstacles.

Personal shortcomings that will keep me from reaching these action steps

What I Can Do About It

Obstacles outside myself that will keep me from reaching these action steps

Participant's Evaluation
Seminar on Combatting Racism
November 6, 1971

The purpose of this questionnaire is to help us find out whether this seminar met your needs and how we might be able to improve future seminars. Please answer as completely as possible. DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME.

1. If you missed any sessions, what was the reason you did not attend? (Check one for each session you missed)

- Late enrollment
- Other commitments
- Illness
- Work
- Lack of interest in the program
- Other reasons

2. Which of the seminar sessions did you miss?

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sat. Oct. 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> Wed. Oct. 6 | <input type="checkbox"/> Wed. Oct. 15 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wed. Oct. 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> Wed. Oct. 27 | <input type="checkbox"/> Wed. Nov. 3 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sat. Nov. 6 | | |

3. What were your goals in attending the seminar? _____

4. I feel the main strength of the program was _____

5. I feel the main weakness of the program was _____

6. In the items below, please check the category which best describes your reaction to the statement and add any comments you wish.

Little or No Help	Somewhat Helpful	Moderately Helpful or (Did not attend) or read	Considerably Helpful	A Very Great Help
----------------------	---------------------	--	-------------------------	----------------------

a. The degree to which participation in this seminar has helped me reach my goals.

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

b. The degree to which participation in this seminar has effected my anti-racist activities.

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

c. The black-white communication exercises with Marty were:

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

d. The action model presented by Mike was:

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

e. The Goal Setting Process was:

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

f. The developing of Action Plans and listing of obstacles was:

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

g. Reading Institutional Racism was:

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

h. Reading For Whites Only was:

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

i. To facilitate learning from each other, the leaders encouraged unstructured interaction between group members. Was this helpful in giving you new insights or information?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

j. I think periodic meetings of this group in the future would be _____ to me.

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments _____				

7. Please indicate whether you think these items of program content or procedures should be used again in this type of seminar. Check one of the five responses below.

	Should definitely discontinue	Should probably discontinue	Undecided (Did not) attend	Should continue with changes listed below	Should continue as presented
a. Introduction-opportunity to relate a racist experience to the group.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
b. Opportunity to react to each other's racist experiences.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
c. Exercise-definition of racism	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
d. Exercise-plan a racist community that could exist today in U.S.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
e. Exercise - Black Intelligence Test	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
f. Self-Inventory on Black-White Communication	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
g. Exercise-What It Means to be Black, Chicano, White	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
h. Presentation of action model for institutional change	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
i. Setting individual goals	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
j. Developing individual action plans	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				
k. Group-sharing of individual goals and action plans.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Comments	_____				

Would you please evaluate each of the discussion leaders in the following questions:

Trainer I

Poor Fair Average Good Excellent

- Contribution of relevant material
- Ability to explain ideas
- Understanding of my outlook
- Helping the group learn from each other
- Relationship with group members

Comments _____

Trainer II`

- Contribution of relevant material
- Ability to explain ideas
- Understanding of my outlook
- Helping the group learn from each other
- Relationship with group members

Comments _____

What follow-up to this seminar would be helpful to you? _____

Please feel free to use the space below to add any additional comments or suggestions you might have as to the course content, instructors or procedures.

APPENDIX C

RACIAL ATTITUDE SCALES

(MULTIFACTOR RACIAL ATTITUDE INVENTORY)

OPINION RATINGS

Form C-4

Here are 12 questions about your opinions on controversial issues.

You can state your position by checking one (and only one) of the seven answers listed under each question. If your exact position is not given please choose the answer that comes closest to it.

Please answer every question.

Now go ahead and work fast.

1. Do you believe that integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) will benefit both whites and Negroes?

- I agree strongly that integration will benefit both whites and Negroes.
- I agree on the whole that integration will benefit both whites and Negroes.
- I agree slightly that integration will benefit both whites and Negroes.
- I am undecided that integration will benefit both whites and Negroes.
- I disagree slightly that integration will benefit both whites and Negroes.
- I disagree on the whole that integration will benefit both whites and Negroes.
- I disagree strongly that integration will benefit both whites and Negroes.

2. Do you think desegregation should be gradual or should it take place all at once?

- I strongly favor gradual rather than an all-at-once desegregation.
- I moderately favor gradual rather than an all-at-once desegregation.
- I slightly favor gradual rather than an all-at-once desegregation.
- I am undecided between gradual and all-at-once desegregation.
- I slightly favor all-at-once rather than gradual desegregation.
- I moderately favor all-at-once rather than gradual desegregation.
- I strongly favor all-at-once rather than gradual desegregation.

Opinion Ratings

3. Who do you think should decide about desegregation: the federal government, or states and local communities?

I strongly favor having the federal government decide about desegregation.

I moderately favor having the federal government decide about desegregation.

I slightly favor having the federal government decide about desegregation.

I am undecided about who should decide about desegregation.

I slightly favor letting states and local communities decide about desegregation.

I moderately favor letting states and local communities decide about desegregation.

I strongly favor letting states and local communities decide about desegregation.

4. Do you believe that a businessman or landlord has a right to choose whom he will deal with, even if this means refusing to deal with Negroes?

I agree strongly that the businessman or landlord has this right.

I agree moderately that the businessman or landlord has this right.

I agree slightly that the businessman or landlord has this right.

I am undecided whether the businessman or landlord should have this right.

I am slightly opposed to giving the businessman or landlord the right to refuse to deal with Negroes.

I am moderately opposed to giving the businessman or landlord the right to refuse to deal with Negroes.

I am strongly opposed to giving the businessman or landlord the right to refuse to deal with Negroes.

5. What is your opinion of this statement: "The fact that Negroes are human beings can be recognized without raising them to the social level of whites."

I strongly disagree.

I moderately disagree.

I slightly disagree.

I am uncertain.

I slightly agree.

I moderately agree.

I strongly agree.

6. If a Negro were put in charge of you, how would you feel about taking advice and direction from him?

I would dislike it a great deal.

I would dislike it on the whole.

I would dislike it a little.

I am uncertain whether I would like or dislike it.

I wouldn't mind it.

I would like it.

I would be very pleased about it.

Opinion Ratings

7. If you had a chance to introduce Negro visitors to your friends and neighbors, how would you feel about it?

I would be very pleased about it.
 I would like it.
 I wouldn't mind it.
 I am uncertain whether I would like or dislike it.
 I would dislike it a little.
 I would dislike it on the whole.
 I would dislike it a great deal.

8. What is your opinion of this statement: "Although social equality of the races may be the democratic way, a good many Negroes are not yet ready to practice the self-control that goes with it."

I strongly disagree.
 I disagree on the whole.
 I disagree a little.
 I am uncertain whether I agree or disagree.
 I agree a little.
 I agree on the whole.
 I strongly agree.

9. How would you feel if you were eating with a Negro of the opposite sex in a public place?

I would feel extremely self-conscious.
 I would feel quite self-conscious.
 I would feel a little self-conscious.
 I would feel at ease -- but just barely.
 I am uncertain whether I would feel at ease or self-conscious.
 I would feel at ease on the whole.
 I would feel completely at ease.

10. Which do you think helps the Negro more: Laws preventing discrimination against Negroes or programs aimed at improving the Negro's ability to compete in our society?

I would give much more emphasis to laws preventing discrimination.
 I would give somewhat more emphasis to laws preventing discrimination.
 I would give slightly more emphasis to laws preventing discrimination.
 I am undecided.
 I would give slightly more emphasis to improving the Negro's ability to compete.
 I would give somewhat more emphasis to improving the Negro's ability to compete.
 I would give much more emphasis to improving the Negro's ability to compete.

Opinion Ratings

11. How do you feel about interracial marriage?

- I am strongly opposed.
- I am moderately opposed.
- I am slightly opposed.
- I am undecided whether I am in favor or opposed.
- I am slightly in favor.
- I am moderately in favor.
- I am strongly in favor.

12. How do you feel about it when Negroes hold mass demonstrations to demand what they want?

- I am strongly in favor of such demonstrations.
- I am moderately in favor of such demonstrations.
- I am slightly in favor of such demonstrations.
- I am uncertain whether I favor or oppose such demonstrations.
- I am slightly opposed to such demonstrations.
- I am moderately opposed to such demonstrations.
- I am strongly opposed to such demonstrations.

(Anti-Negro -- Anti-White Scales)

PERSONAL INVENTORY

Directions:

On the next few pages, you will be asked questions concerning social issues. Please read this questionnaire carefully, responding to each question with that which is closest to your own attitude.

This questionnaire is personal and your responses will be held in strict confidence.

Please answer every question.

1. A large part of the problems facing Negroes today are caused by Negroes themselves.

_____ I strong agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

2. I would rather not marry a person who has very kinky hair, wide nostrils, and thick lips.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

3. The lower-class Negro is to blame for a lot of anti-Negro prejudice.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

4. Whites and Negroes can get along on jobs until too many Negroes try to push themselves in.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

5. One big reason why racial prejudice is still so strong is that Negroes offend people by being so sensitive about racial matters.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

6. One important reason why Negroes are discriminated against in housing is that they don't keep up the property.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

7. One reason why racial prejudice still exists today is the fact that many Negroes are dirty, loud, and generally offensive in their ways.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

8. One trouble with Negroes is that they are even more jealous of each other's success than are whites.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

9. Too many Negroes have abused the privilege of attending baseball games by being rowdy, noisy, and cheering only for the colored ballplayers.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

10. Segregation and jimcrow will never end unless the average colored person becomes better educated and better mannered.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

11. Colored people can hardly be expected to gain social equality until many more of them exert some effort to better themselves and live more decently.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

12. With all of the drinking, cutting, and other immoral acts of some Negroes, white people are almost justified for being prejudiced.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

13. Too many Negroes, when they get a little money, spend it all on whiskey, flashy cars, or expensive clothes.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

14. One is almost ashamed to be a Negro when he sees so many of them who look and act like cotton pickers fresh from the fields.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

15. A great many Negroes become officious, overbearing, and disagreeable when given positions of responsibility and authority.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

16. Negroes would solve many of their social problems if so many of them were not irresponsible, lazy, and ignorant.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided

17. There is nothing lower than white trash.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

18. White people may be all right, but they carry it too far when they try to butt into the Negro's affairs and go around with Negro women.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

19. The whites have shown by their actions that they are naturally immoral, vicious, and untrustworthy.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

20. No matter how nicely they treat a colored person, white people don't really mean it.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

21. It is usually a mistake to trust a white person.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

22. Any Negro who marries a white is a traitor to his people.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

23. There may be a few exceptions, but white musicians and athletes are definitely inferior to Negro musicians and athletes.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

24. White people are only friendly to Negroes when they want something out of them.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

25. Negroes can expect no real help from white people in the fight against racial discrimination.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

26. Most white people are always looking for ways to cheat and steal from the colored people.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

27. The colored race has been pushed around long enough; it's about time that the whites were made to get out of the Negro communities.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

28. If there is a Heaven, it is hard to imagine that there are many white people up there.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

29. Although the white man now rules the world, it will be a happy day when the tables are turned and the colored people become the rulers.

_____ I strongly agree
_____ I agree
_____ I slightly agree
_____ I am undecided
_____ I slightly disagree
_____ I disagree
_____ I strongly disagree

30. The world might be a better place if there were fewer white people.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

31. When the Bible says, "The bottom shall rise to the top," it gives hope that the Negro people will someday give the orders in the country instead of whites.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

32. It may be wrong to damn all whites, but it's plain that whites have all the money and power, and that they look down on anyone who is colored.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

33. There are many white people who are not prejudiced and who sincerely believe that Negroes are equals.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

34. When it comes to such things as sports, dancing, music, and making love, the white man is not as talented as the Negro.

- _____ I strongly agree
- _____ I agree
- _____ I slightly agree
- _____ I am undecided
- _____ I slightly disagree
- _____ I disagree
- _____ I strongly disagree

APPENDIX D

INVENTORY OF EXPERIENCES IN
ANTI-RACISM ACTIVITIES

Inventory of Experiences
in
Anti-Racism Activities

To the left of each item, please write the number of times you have engaged in the action described during the last four months.

Number of
times in
four
months

- _____ 1. Organized a letter-writing campaign to support change in a law, policy or practice which has racist effects
- _____ 2. Written my congressmen about a racial issue
- _____ 3. Attended a group meeting in the non-white community
- _____ 4. Written to my state legislators about a racial issue
- _____ 5. Planned a demonstration against racism
- _____ 6. Participated in a demonstration against racism
- _____ 7. Signed a petition dealing with a racial issue
- _____ 8. Participated in an interracial action organization
- _____ 9. Written a person in authority about my position on a racial issue
- _____ 10. Made a speech about a racial issue to a group
- _____ 11. Attended a church program about race relations.
- _____ 12. Interviewed a person in authority about his position on a racial issue
- _____ 13. Served as a volunteer in an interracial action organization
- _____ 14. Attempted to interest a social organization of which I am a member in a race relations program
- _____ 15. Organized workers in my compnay for work stoppage because of racist practices in the company
- _____ 16. Discussed racial issues relevant to my place of employment with my co-workers
- _____ 17. Discussed racial issues relevant to my place of employment with my superiors
- _____ 18. Made calls for a telephone campaign to gather support on a racial issue

19. Made calls for a telephone campaign to gather people for a racial action program
20. Been arrested because of racist activity
21. Attended a city commissioners' or Boards of Education meeting to support an anti-racist issue
22. Served as a volunteer in a political campaign to support a candidate who was concerned about racism
23. Made calls door-to-door to discuss a racial issue
24. Contributed money to anti-racist action group
25. Examined hiring policies and practices of a business or local institution such as the schools for racist effects
26. Talked with minority group members about the community services that they receive
27. Quit or forced out of my job because of anti-racist activities
28. Talked with minority group members about employment opportunities
29. Planned an educational program on race relations
30. Participated in a program on race relations
31. Interviewed a white employer regarding the percentage of non-white workers in his company at each job level
32. Worked in a small group with white, black and chicano people
33. Encouraged white persons to actively resist racist practices
34. Interviewed an official in the government about the poor quality of community services in the ghetto
35. Assisted in a survey to gather evidence of racial discrimination, exclusion, or subordination
36. Helped plan a program on racial awareness for a social organization of which I am a member
37. Served as an officer in an interracial organization
38. Planned a campaign to combat racist policies and practices in a particular institution
39. Recruited people to participate in an racial action program

- _____ 40. Spoke at a public meeting on a racial issue
- _____ 41. Spoke at a board meeting such as Board of Education or City Commissioners about a racial issue
- _____ 42. Changed my buying habits to patronize fair employers
- _____ 43. Helped plan an economic boycott
- _____ 44. Recruited people to support an economic boycott
- _____ 45. Reviewed textbooks used in our schools for inclusion of the contribution of blacks and chicanos to our history
- _____ 46. Studied the school curriculum for units on race relations, black history, black culture, etc.
- _____ 47. Discussed with the school principal the interracial education of the students
- _____ 48. Ran for office in an organization on an anti-racist platform
- _____ 49. Circulated a petition on a racial issue
- _____ 50. Accepted an appointed position in an organization in order to combat racism
- _____ 51. Organized a race relation's committee in an organization
- _____ 52. Studied books on racism and anti-racism by black and other non-white writers
- _____ 53. Other anti-racist activities not included in this inventory.

APPENDIX E

GENERAL INFORMATION SHEET

SEMINAR ON COMBATTING RACISM

General Description

A program of positive action for improving race relations in Kansas City sponsored by the Commission on Human Relations and coordinated by the Community Development Center, Division of Continuing Education, University of Kansas.

Purpose

1. To increase awareness of racism as it operates in Kansas City, Kansas.
2. To study strategic skills and techniques of planning social change.

Program

The class will focus on small group exercises and field experiences designed to assist participants in their efforts to combat racism.

Program Leaders

Leaders are associates of The Racial Awareness Training Consortium of the Community Development Center.

Schedule

The twenty-five to thirty hour program will be concentrated within a six week period. It will begin and end with all day Saturday sessions.

Saturday, October 2, 9.00 - 4 00

Five Wednesday evenings, October 6, 13, 20, 27 and November 3, 7 00 - 10.00

Saturday, November 6, 9 00 - 4 00

To Enroll

Anyone interested in improving race relations, please send the attached form to COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS, CITY HALL, KANSAS CITY, KANSAS 66101. If the dates specified are not possible for you, please indicate on the form below. For more information, call Jean Pavela, Commission on Human Relations, 371-3300 Extension 268.

Cost \$15.00 per participant. This includes cost of all books and materials.

_____ I am interested in attending the Seminar on Combatting Racism

_____ I am interested in attending the Seminar but the dates conflict with previous commitments. Conflicting dates are _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE NUMBER _____

APPENDIX F

LETTERS TO SUBJECTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66044

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

September 15, 1971

Dear

I am pleased that you are able to participate in the Seminar on "Combatting Racism." This is a non-credit program offered by the Community Development Center, Division of Continuing Education, University of Kansas. The enrollment fee is \$15.00.

The Seminar will be held at the Y.W.C.A. located at 6th and State, Kansas City, Kansas. The first meeting will be from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Saturday, October 2, 1971. There will be five Wednesday evening meetings from 7:00 - 10:00 p.m. on October 6, 13, 20, 27 and November 3, 1971. The final meeting will be Saturday, November 6, 1971, from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Maximum participation of everyone is essential to benefit from the program.

Please make checks payable to the University of Kansas and send with the enclosed enrollment form to:

Community Development Center
Division of Continuing Education
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

To reserve your place, please send your payment by return mail.

Sincerely,



Jon A. Blubaugh
Director
Community Development Center

JAB/vmk

Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66044

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

October 7, 1971

Dear

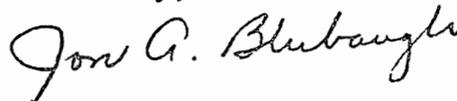
I am writing to you because you indicated interest in participating in the "Seminar on Combatting Racism" which is now being held in Kansas City, Kansas. We are sorry that you were unable to be with us because of conflicting engagements, but we are pleased to know you are committed to "combatting racism."

You can be of great help to us by filling out the enclosed inventory. In this way, you can participate in the current seminar and in the planning for future seminars which we hope you will be able to attend. The information from the inventory concerning your anti-racism activities will assist us in evaluating this seminar and in planning activities for future programs. As part of your expressed commitment, we hope you will fill out and return this inventory and two others that we will send to you in the future.

Doing this inventory will require 10-15 minutes of your time. A self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience. Please read the instructions carefully and write the appropriate number in front of each item.

Thank you for your participation.

Sincerely,



Jon A. Blubaugh
Director
Community Development Center

JAB/vmk

Enclosures

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66044

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

November 9, 1971

Dear

I am contacting you again in connection with the "Seminar on Combatting Racism." At an earlier time, you indicated you would be willing to participate by responding to additional, written materials.

Enclosed are two questionnaires that I am asking you to fill out and return at your earliest convenience.

Your responses to these questionnaires will not be identified with you as an individual but will be added to those of others who are participating in this evaluation.

A self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience. Should you have any questions, please call Marty Leape at 631-3176 after 5:00 p.m.

In connection with the final evaluation, we will contact you again in February.

Sincerely,

Jon A. Blubaugh
Director
Community Development Center

JAB/vmk

Enclosures

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66044

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

December 16, 1971

Dear

I am writing to you to thank you for cooperating with the evaluation of the Seminar on Combatting Racism.

As I explained before, your responses on these questionnaires will not be identified with you as an individual, but will be added to those of other participants and community members.

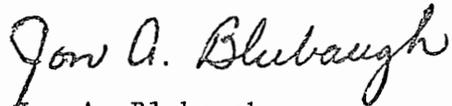
If you are one who has not yet returned the questionnaires sent to you in November, I hope that you will complete and return them soon.

We will be contacting you one more time in February with a follow-up questionnaire. That will be the last request we make of you, and I hope you will stay with us through that time.

Thank you for your continuing cooperation.

Happy Holidays!

Sincerely,



Jon A. Blubaugh

Director

Community Development Center

JAB/vmk

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66044

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

January 26, 1972

Dear

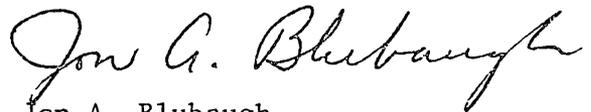
A substantial majority of those participating in the "Seminar on Combatting Racism" expressed a desire for a follow-up meeting. For this reason, we have scheduled a meeting of the members of the "Seminar on Combatting Racism" on Wednesday, February 9, 1972 at 7:30 p.m. at the YWCA at 6th and State. We will come together to share our problems and progress in our anti-racism activities, and to share our concerns about our community. At that time, Marty Leape will give an interim report on the evaluation of the program. If you will be able to come, please call Mrs. Leape at 631-3176 in the evening.

We are enclosing the last questionnaire that we will ask you to fill out. It is very important for the program's evaluation that you complete the last phase. Please be sure you put the number of times you have participated in each specific activity on the blank before the item. If the printed questionnaire does not contain an item for your activity, please add other anti-racism activities at the end and put the number of times you have engaged in each. It is important that you register by number all of the anti-racism activities that you have participated in in the last four months.

Please fill this out and mail it today in the enclosed envelope.

We hope you will be able to meet with us on February 9th. We thank you for your past cooperation in this evaluation, and for your completion of the final phase.

Sincerely yours,



Jon A. Blubaugh
Director
Community Development Center

JAB/vmk
Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66044

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

January 26, 1972

Dear

I am enclosing the last of the series of questionnaires for the evaluation of the "Seminar on Combatting Racism." It is very important that you complete this last phase.

Please be sure you put the number of times you have participated in each specific activity listed on the blank before each item. If the printed questionnaire does not contain an item for your activity, please add a list of other anti-racism activities at the end and put the number of times you have engaged in each. It is important that you register by number all of the anti-racism activities that you have participated in in the last four months.

It is not necessary that you put your name on this inventory. Your responses will not be identified with you as an individual, but will be added to those of others who are participating in this evaluation. Should you have any questions, please call Marty Leape at 631-3176 after 5:00 p.m.

Please fill this out and mail it today in the enclosed envelope.

We thank you for cooperating with this three-part evaluation of the "Seminar on Combatting Racism." If you would like a report on the results of the evaluation, please send a postcard with your name and address to Mrs. Marty Leape.

Sincerely yours,



Jon A. Blubaugh
Director
Community Development Center

JAB/vmk
Enclosures

APPENDIX G

NEWSPAPER PUBLICITY

Kansas City Star, October 28, 1971

Rights Issues Revealed

By David Lee

A Member of The Star's Staff

Mayor Richard F. Walsh of Kansas City, Kansas, said last night his conflict with Mrs. Jean Pavela, executive director of the Human Relations Commission there, began because of what he termed her "aggressive" campaign to combat racial and minority discrimination. He gave little indication their disagreements had been resolved.

At a Jaycee meeting at the Town House, Walsh revealed for the first time these attitudes toward Mrs. Pavela whom the mayor has attempted to fire.

He disagrees with Mrs. Pavela that the Human Relations Commission should have subpoena and enforcement powers against racial discrimination in employment and housing.

Some members (whom he did not name) of the Human Relations Commission "realize she should not interfere" with his authority in city government and have told him she should be fired if the Walsh-Pavela feud discredits the commission.

He believes Mrs. Pavela has favored minorities and inner-city residents thereby ex-

Johnson County

cluding "decision-making" by suburban residents who gave him a mandate to reverse this policy.

He thinks Mrs. Pavela's policy of "outraging" and "antagonizing" businessmen by examining their minority hiring policies is creating racial conflict in Kansas City, Kansas.

Calling the human relations commission an "insignificant department" of city government, Walsh said if Mrs. Pavela was fired he would appoint a search committee to seek her successor rather than make the decision himself.

"I met with the Ministerial Alliance this (Wednesday) morning on that," Walsh said. "There are a lot of qualified people who would like to have the job," he added.

He did not say whether he would renew his campaign to fire her, but said he would like to "get along with her." Walsh is the only member of the 3-man city commission who has voted to dismiss Mrs. Pavela.

Walsh's comments came in a question-and-answer session after a speech on recent changes in the police department and the proposed consolidation of city and county government.

"She's too aggressive," Walsh said about Mrs. Pavela. "She creates problems," he added, "where they don't exist. Six months ago I approached her and told her that if we were going to have harmony there should be consultations to bring suburbanites into the realm of decision-making in human relations. That's a mandate of my election. I'm working in that direction. But she has antagonized businessmen who have threatened to take her to court on some of her insinuations."

"I've had 20 letters from businessmen who are outraged when she comes walking in asking how many blacks they hire. One man told me he not only refused to tell her if he hired 20 per cent blacks, but turned around on the spot and fired the 15 or 16 blacks he had working for him then. These quotas and percentages are ridiculous."

Saying that his disagreements

with Mrs. Pavela on racial quotas are more than just racial, Walsh renewed his complaints of absenteeism and insubordination.

"On two separate occasions" the mayor said, "I have tried to get hold of her but she has been gone in or out of town. Her staff is under-manned. The assistant executive director and the community relations director have quit. One time in May I called her and there was only a secretary in the office. I asked her not to do it again. But this has happened again."

One Jaycee said Walsh's comments about unhappy businessmen proved Mrs. Pavela was doing an effective job.

"This nice guy approach doesn't work," the Jaycee said. "Any good the Human Relations Commission is going to do is going to make some businessmen mad. So what if you got 20 letters from businessmen? I know of at least three firms in this town that are very bigoted. And when you talk about her going on these out of town trips, didn't some other city official go somewhere today?"

"Yes," said Walsh. "The traffic director went to Omaha. This is his first time. He went on a staff development program."

Kansas City Times, October 27, 1971

Pavela Given Support

Mrs Jean Pavela, embattled human relations director of Kansas City, Kansas, who so far has successfully thwarted all attempts by Mayor Richard F. Walsh to fire her, last night received consensus support from her citizen commission. However, no official vote was taken.

Gary Gruendel, chairman of the Human Relations Commission, said the commission backed Mrs Pavela in her effort to retain her job.

"I believe the commission has already indicated its support in

relations for Mrs Pavela," Gruendel said "I believe we all support what she did and what she is doing.

The meeting followed a closed session between Walsh and the commission on the future of Mrs. Pavela and the commission in general.

As the private meeting extended into the regular meeting time Walsh said before a small group of spectators conferring with the commission that communication was the primary

problem and that perhaps he was partly to blame.

"There has been lack of rapport between myself and Jean and it should be resolved one way or another," he emphasized.

Gruendel said the city attorney is studying the city ordinance governing the Human Relations Commission to determine who can legally hire and fire the director.

Mrs Pavela contends that the ordinance specifies the Human Relations Commission recom-

mends hiring and firing of staff members and that the city commissioners can act only on such recommendations as come from the Human Relations Commission.

Supporters of Mrs Pavela assert the ordinance was written to keep the director's job out of politics and give the director a free hand in working on controversial human relations issues.

John Harell, commission member, said the whole controversy is of such grave significance that the commission should move slowly and carefully.

"I think we would be acting foolishly if we went further publicly and kept the argument going," he told persons in the audience who asked the commission to take a more militant stand.

"I think the future of this commission and its effectiveness is at stake," he said.

APPENDIX H

DATA

EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

Code	Number of Meetings Attended	Behavior Inventory Pretest	Behavior Inventory Posttest	AN	AW	MRAI
A	6	40	28	1.333	1.944	3.166
B	6	77	164	1.933	2.666	2.250
C	5	10	46	1.666	4.000	3.333
D	5	114	--	--	--	--
E	7	60	99	2.533	2.944	2.750
F	5	21	41	--	--	--
G	5	296	494	1.600	4.555	2.666
H	6	53	38	1.266	3.055	2.583
J	6	1	4	3.666	4.388	2.916
K	5	402	180	3.666	2.222	2.083
L	6	30	42	1.200	4.722	1.250
M	5	77	--	--	--	--
N	5	166	192	4.000	3.277	2.000
O	6	6	40	2.133	2.611	3.330
P	5	19	25	1.066	1.333	1.916
Q	6	26	51	1.600	2.333	1.583
R	6	<u>95</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>1.000</u>	<u>3.277</u>	<u>2.160</u>
$\sum X =$		604	715	28.662	43.327	33.992
$\bar{X} =$		46.46	61.15	2.047	3.095	2.428

CONTROL GROUP

Code	Behavior Inventory Pretest	Behavior Inventory Posttest	AN	AW	MRAI
1	15	20	1.466	1.666	1.916
5	38	6	3.400	2.944	3.916
6	43	26	2.066	2.444	2.666
7	115	117	1.000	1.944	3.250
8	0	0	1.533	1.611	3.583
9	9	12	1.866	1.944	1.833
12	3	16	3.000	1.555	3.166
14a	6	2	2.600	2.944	1.917
14b	50	22	2.333	3.055	2.833
15a	16	9	1.400	2.500	1.583
15b	24	18	1.066	1.111	1.250
18	123	--	1.066	1.222	2.000
19	37	34	1.333	1.500	2.416
21	63	75	4.333	2.000	1.750
23	43	35	2.133	3.166	3.000
24	30	51	1.866	2.611	2.000
25	<u>32</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>2.933</u>	<u>4.666</u>	<u>2.083</u>
$\Sigma X =$	492	443	35.394	38.383	41.162
$\bar{X} =$	32.8	29.53	2.082	2.258	2.421

Participant's Evaluation

Seminar on Combatting Racism

November 6, 1971

The purpose of this questionnaire is to help us find out whether this seminar met your needs and how we might be able to improve future seminars. Please answer as completely as possible. DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME.

1. If you missed any sessions, what was the reason you did not attend? (Check one for each session you missed.)

- 1 Late enrollment
- 6 Other Commitments
- 5 Illness
- 2 Work
- 1 Lack of interest in the program
- 3 Other reasons

2. Which of the seminar sessions did you miss?

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <u> 1 </u> Sat. Oct. 2 | <u> 1 </u> Wed. Oct. 6 | <u> 3 </u> Wed. Oct. 15 |
| <u> 2 </u> Wed. Oct. 20 | <u> 3 </u> Wed. Oct. 27 | <u> 4 </u> Wed. Nov. 13 |
| <u> 5 </u> Sat. Nov. 6 | | |

3. What were your goals in attending the seminar? (in rank order) N = 16

- (9) To learn about racism in Kansas City and how to work against it.
- (5) To meet other community leaders who wanted to change society.
- (2) To receive concrete examples, materials, and resource people.
- (2) To communicate how a minority person feels.

Little or No Help	Somewhat Helpful	Moderately Helpful or (Did not Attend or Read)	Considerably Helpful	A Very Great Help
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e. The Goal Setting Process was:

<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

f. The developing of Action Plans and listing of obstacles was:

<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

g. Reading Institutional Racism was:

<u> </u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
---------------	----------	----------	----------	----------

h. Reading For Whites Only was:

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

i. To facilitate learning from each other, the leaders encouraged unstructured interaction between group members. Was this helpful in giving you new insights or information?

<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

j. I think periodic meetings of this group in the future would be to me.

<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

7. Please indicate whether you think these items of program content or procedures should be used again in this type of seminar. Check one of the five responses below.

Should definitely discontinue	Should probably discontinue	Undecided (Did not attend)	Should continue with changes listed below	Should continue as presented
-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	----------------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

a. Introduction-opportunity to relate a racist experience to the group.

<u>1</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
----------	---------------	---------------	----------	----------

b. Opportunity to react to each other's racist experiences.

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>
---------------	---------------	---------------	----------	----------

	Should definitely discontinue	Should probably discontinue	Undecided (Did not attend)	Should continue with changes listed below	Should continue as presented
c. Exercise-definition of racism.	<u> </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 3 </u>	<u> 3 </u>	<u> 6 </u>
d. Exercise-plan a racist community that could exist today in U.S.	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 8 </u>
e. Exercise-Black Intelligence Test	<u> 1 </u>	<u> </u>	<u> 3 </u>	<u> </u>	<u> 9 </u>
f. Self-Inventory on Black-White Communication	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> 3 </u>	<u> 3 </u>	<u> 7 </u>
g. Exercise-What It Means to be Black, Chicano, White	<u> </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 5 </u>	<u> </u>	<u> 5 </u>
h. Presentation of action model for institutional change	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 8 </u>
i. Setting individual goals	<u> </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> </u>	<u> 5 </u>	<u> 7 </u>
j. Developing individual action plans	<u> </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> </u>	<u> 7 </u>	<u> 5 </u>
k. Group-sharing of individual goals and action plans.	<u> </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 1 </u>	<u> 4 </u>	<u> 7 </u>

Would you please evaluate each of the discussion leaders in the following questions:

Trainer No. I	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Excellent</u>
Contribution of relevant material			1	10	2
Ability to explain ideas		1	2	11	1
Understanding of my outlook		1	4	8	
Helping the group learn from each other	1	1	3	6	3
Relationship with group members	1	1		7	4

Comments Sincere, fair, honest, warm, sensitive

(1) Could have confronted us more directly

(1) Good way of relating to people and integrating ideas

(1) Should have given more direction and more substantive content

Trainer No. II

Contribution of relevant material	1	1	1	6	4
Ability to explain ideas	1		2	7	4
Understanding of my outlook	3	2	3	3	
Helping the group learn from each other	1	2	5	3	2
Relationship with group members	1	2	4	4	2

Comments Sincere, honest, committed

(1) I sensed a lack of investment in the group

(1) Very controversial ideas that I don't understand yet

(1) Why do you give your time when you think we have so little

chance of succeeding? (1) Hard for him to appreciate others

ideas. (1) He appears to have deeply entrenched skepticism and

distrust of white people and institutions

What follow up to this seminar would be helpful to you?

(1) No Saturdays (1) Once a month

(1) Conduct more seminars

(1) More practical methods and skills for being a change agent

(1) Occasional meetings to discuss individual projects

Please feel free to use the space below to add any additional comments or suggestions you might have as to the course content, instructors or procedures.

(1) I gained helpful information and contacts

(1) I felt reinforced by the group

(1) The non-directive approach was very frustrating

(1) No matter how competent, two white leaders turned me off

(1) A waste of time