

RACE VIOLENCE: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY
OF CONDITIONS AND TENDENCIES
TOWARD VIOLENT BEHAVIOR

by J>J 5-

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requirements for the degree

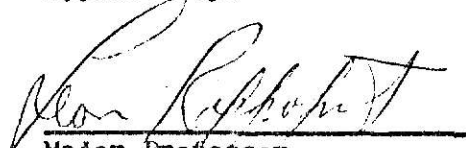
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. Introduction	1
Violence as an Issue for Study	1
Prevalence	1
Traditional Status	3
Prejudice	3
Preliminary Study	4
Theory	4
Approaches to Violence	5
Ghetto Conditions	5
Revolution	8
White Violence	9
Approach to Violence in the Present Study ..	10
2. Method and Design	12
Task Construction	12
Experimental Procedure and Design	18
Analysis Plan	19
Research Issues	20
3. Results	21
Scene Impact	21
Scale Relations	25
Race and Sex Differences	29
Summary of Results	39

	Page
4. Discussion and Conclusion	41
Discussion of Specific Results	41
General Discussion	45
References	48
Appendix A	51
Appendix B	53
Appendix C	55

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. A rank order of slides by mean VR	23
2. Variance for Category Scale on Each Slide	26
3. Scale correlation values for all <u>Ss</u> according to VR groups	27
4. F ratios for Race on three response scales	30
5. F ratios for Race, Sex, and Interaction on the Approval-Disapproval Scale	32
6. F ratios for Race Sex, and Interaction on the Disturbance Scale	33
7. F ratios for Race-Sex Interactions on three response scales	40
8. Mean VR: Black-white and male-female for Slides 1 and 11	37
9. F ratios for Sex on three response scales	38

LIST OF PLATES

Plate	Page
1. Illustration of slides used in SPST	17

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Much of the attention of this nation's political leaders, educators, and social scientists is being directed toward investigation of the social unrest of today. Many concede quite readily that racism stands at the center of this unrest. Moreover, ever since the early "race riots" of the 60's (Watts, Cleveland, etc.), violence has become a more and more salient factor in racism. The present study attempts to explore dispositions to race violence.

Violence as an Issue For Study

Several factors suggest that it is important to study race violence. Among these are: a. the prevalence of violent incidents connected with the race issue, b. the effectiveness of traditional studies which focus on racism, c. the current role of prejudice, and d. the results of interviews concerning specific incidents of race violence.

Prevalence

In the wake of the civil rights era remedial programs such as voter rights, desegregation, manpower training and others have gained impetus. The opponents of these measures have resorted to various forms of violence to thwart their success; such violence has in turn lead to counterviolence. The memory of violent encounters should quickly be aroused with the mention

of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. The names of Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma, Alabama, "Bull" Conner of Birmingham, and George Wallace can be connected with violence and aspects of racism. The violence which "sit-in" demonstrators, freedom riders, voter registration workers (Chaney, Goodman, Schwerner; Viola Liuzzo), and children (Birmingham church bombing which killed four little girls) have faced indicates that it is a very real issue. Another factor indicating the significance of violence can be seen in attacks upon vocal advocates of change. Medger Evers, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, James Meredith, and Dick Gregory are but a sampling of such people. All of these matters are sketched in Grant's Black Protest (1968).

Such violence perpetrated by whites against Blacks has resulted in counterviolence by many Black organizations and individuals. The Deacons for Defense was one early example of Blacks organizing and willing to use violence as a means of self-defense. More recent examples of the role of counterviolence as seen by Blacks include the creation of the Black Panther party. Eldridge Cleaver revealed part of the Panther philosophy in this way: "If we [Blacks] cannot walk down the street in security, then you [whites] cannot walk down the street in security [p. 1]" (Marine, 1969). A more pervasive conception of counterviolence is illustrated by the change of organizational names. One such example, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has changed nonviolent to national in its name.

Traditional Status

Traditional studies identifying psychological and sociological factors in racism seem irrelevant to the function and meaning of violence. Violence is largely ignored as a specific component in the problem of racism. Illustrative of studies which overlook violence or allude to it in a very tangential fashion are such classics as The Authoritarian Personality (Adorno, T. W., Frankel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J. & Sanford, R. N., 1950) and The Nature of Prejudice (Allport, 1954). More often than not the result of such work has been the collection of information concerning the sociological and psychological causes of racism. Violence, if mentioned, is usually treated as an extreme "effect" of racism and its functional and causal properties are ignored.

Prejudice

Attitude studies and surveys indicate that prejudice, per se, is no longer a crucial issue when dealing with the effects of racism; whereas open violence is. Survey research organizations, such as the National Opinion Research Center of Chicago and the American Institute of Public Opinion, periodically "determine" the racial attitudes of the country. Data from these sources indicate that prejudice has decreased significantly over the past two decades but open violence has increased. Such a discrepancy appears to suggest that race violence is more than an extreme effect of prejudice.

Preliminary Study

Interview results collected during preliminary study indicate that violence may be a cause of racism as well as an outcome of racist attitudes. For example, after a local incident of race violence more negative feelings and opinions were expressed by participants on the opposite sides than before the incident.

Theory

The literature of psychology and the related social sciences contains many studies examining the nature of racism. Typically these studies have followed either a psychoanalytic or social learning approach. The essence of the psychoanalytic approach is to suggest that racism is explainable according to adjustment mechanisms. Exemplary of such an approach is that of (Adorno et al., 1950). Here the psychoanalytic concepts of projection and displacement are used to explain prejudice behavior. The Freudian tradition is further illustrated as the authors discuss "ego alien criticism" and "ego defenses". Such processes are used to explain how individuals and ethnic groups develop ways to insure their psychological well-being. For example, during the era of Nazi Germany many Jews identified with Germans in an effort to cope with their oppressed state. In America, many people attribute the higher degree of race prejudice found within "lower class" white society to the ego satisfying characteristics of believing one group is better than another. Such examples of neurotic adjustments make up the

bulk of psychoanalytic explanations for race prejudice.

The social learning theory approach can be seen in Allport's The Nature of Prejudice (1954). Allport maintains that prejudiced behavior is the result of a need to conform to cultural patterns and maintain them. He asserts that social and cultural mores are relatively easy for individuals and groups to identify. Therefore, in line with the argument of Allport, individuals can readily identify patterns of racial prejudice and learn to conform to and maintain them.

A third approach which is usually without any specific theoretical framework involves the measurement of racist attitudes. Illustrative of this is much of the data revealed by opinion surveys. Cook (1967) and his colleagues offer another example of such an approach with their work on attitude measurement.

In sum, these general approaches leave unanswered the question of the functional and causal meaning of race violence. The psychological and sociological orientations employed to date have failed to explain the violence in race matters or offer information that would aid in such an explanation. However, while such orientations have largely ignored the meaning of violence, sources closer to the problem have emphasized that violence plays a crucial role in racism.

Approaches to Violence

Ghetto Conditions

Life for the ghetto resident is graphically different

than it is for most Americans. Claude Brown in his book Manchild in the Promised Land (1965) and Firi Thomas in Down These Mean Streets (1967) give detailed accounts of their "normal" childhood days in the streets of Harlem. Crime and violence for them was a way of survival. Brown opens his book with an account of the author being a shooting victim at the age of thirteen.

Grier and Cobbs, two Black psychiatrists, have had many occasions to treat the physical and mental ailments of their Black patients. In their book Black Rage (1968) they attempt to illustrate how the methodical dehumanization and exploitation of Blacks in American society contributes to a vast array of emotional difficulties and physical aggression. The authors state "aggression leaps from wounds inflicted and ambitions spiked. It grows out of oppression and capricious cruelty. It is logical and predictable if we know the soil from which it comes. [p. 1]" The authors go on . . . "and of the things that need knowing none is more important than that all blacks are angry. White Americans seem not to recognize it. They seem to think that all the trouble is caused by only a few 'extremists.' They ought to know better. We have talked to many Negroes under the most intimate of circumstances and we know better. [p. 2]" Grier and Cobbs give several accounts of Black patients venting their anger and hostility against other Blacks.

Eldridge Cleaver also talks of the violence associated with being Black. In Soul on Ice (1968) he goes to great lengths to reveal why he became a rapist. In general his explanation suggests that such personal violence was a response to the social repression imposed by white society. Even more important, such a revelation provides an insight as to how violent racist events (Emmett Till's murder) can result in violence by others.

Another Black author who talks of violence and emphasizes its importance in racial issues is Malcolm X. His autobiography (X, 1964) contains many accounts of his life of crime and violence. Not only does he reveal his personal experience with violence, but he offers a meaning and function for aspects of violence. He believes that violence is useful and is functional in the struggle against racism. He reached this conclusion following an incident involving a Black Muslim "brother" who had been brutalized by the police and placed in jail. Malcolm X relates how he and members of Fruit of Islam (security guards of the Muslim religion) formed and marched in military formation to the precinct station. Once there he demanded and saw the Muslim "brother" and threatened violence unless the "brother" was taken to a hospital and given medical treatment. This successful show of force ordered much of Malcolm X's thinking concerning violence and its function.

The role Malcolm X has played in the fight against racism should add impact to his conclusions on violence. His life and

development closely personify the growth and development of Black thought on the evils of racism and how to combat them. Violence for Malcolm X and the Black Muslims was a necessary tool to have at their disposal to aid in the attainment of their goal. Such a perspective of violence appears to be held by many Blacks.

Revolution

Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth (1963) supports many of the conclusions reached by Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver. Fanon says that violence can have a function and meaning; he further asserts that violence is a means for man to recreate himself and that to decolonize is always a violent matter. His work indicates a real potential in America for full scale violent encounter concerning the race issue.

His exploration and report of conditions prior to the Algerian revolution are reminiscent of the things ghetto residents and others are saying about America. Fanon talks of the separation of the "native" and "settler" into compartments and quarters. He recounts how the very beginnings of their relationship was founded in violence. Fanon points out how the "native" vents his anger, frustration, and aggression against others like himself and those responsible for his plight. Just as Cleaver's violent acts and the violent experiences of Malcolm X translate into useful methods for goal achievement and combating a life style, so too did the Algerian "native" use violence to change his status and a society. The racism of America and

the colonialistic society and revolution described by Fanon are not as far apart as one might think, and the violence associated with each is fact. Violence has become an inextricable component of the race issue and is capable of affecting its outcome.

White Violence

Staff reports to the Eisenhower Commission on Violence point out many of the functional roles violence has played in American culture. These reports fit the generalization made by H. Rap Brown that violence is as American as cherry pie. It proved to be a disquieting appraisal for most of white America. Ted Robert Gurr (1969) sums up white America's reaction to violence this way: "Americans have always been given to a kind of historical amnesia that masks much of their turbulent past. [p. 14]" However, such amnesia does not erase the impact that America's tradition of violence has had. If one doubts the role of such a tradition, an examination of the formative years of this nation, the frontier legacy, labor violence, and the histories of the Red man and the Black should remove such doubt.

As previously mentioned, white violence has been very much a part of racial issues. The terrorist activities of the Klan, White Citizen Councils, and lynchings of Blacks by whites are but a few examples. Even more recent acts of violence by whites occurred during the construction labor disputes in Chicago and Philadelphia. Another example was the violence accompanying

the Cicero open-housing demonstrations of 1967 and 1968. Such evidence would appear to indicate that the dominant culture has a propensity for violence and that violence is often forthcoming when the path to goal achievement is blocked.

The examples of white violence previously mentioned seem to fit Fanon's picture of violence. Violence appears to have a function and meaning for America and white Americans. In many ways this function and meaning is related to the status violence has held in American culture. Moreover, violence has been a "respected" American method of goal achievement and problem solving.

Approach to Violence In the Present Study

Although there are a number of ways to examine violent behavior, the present study investigates the stimulus properties which tend to elicit violent responses. By presenting a range of individual as well as institutional examples of racial interaction, the study also provides a means of examining predispositions toward violence.

If racial and sexual patterns of predispositions can be studied effectively and the stimulus properties which are indicative of violence can be isolated, then it might be possible to understand the functional and causal properties and meaning of race violence.

Aims of the Present Study

The nature of the present study is exploratory and does not offer definitive explanations or answers. However, the study does examine the stimulus properties which elicit violent responses. Such an investigation of stimulus properties could lead to the identification of an ecology of race violence. In addition, by determining and studying predispositions toward violent behavior, it might be possible to predict when future race violence is likely.

Chapter 2

Method and Design

In order to accomplish the exploratory purposes of this study, a picture rating task was developed. By presenting Ss with a representative range of realistic scenes concerning race problems, this task provides a way of eliciting personal responses relevant to the basis for violent behavior. Moreover, such a task provides the means for examining personal responses across a variety of interracial situations. Ss completed the task by indicating their personal reactions to pictures which had various racial implications.

Task Construction

Picture Selection. Pictures were used in the study for four reasons. (1) They provided a more convenient way of examining personal reactions than other methods used (interviews, verbal descriptions of situations). (2) Picture sampling proved to be a safer means of investigating violent behavior as it relates to racism than the initial participant-observer role of investigation. (3) Pictures were chosen because of their close approximation to real-life situations. (4) The picture-rating technique allows a greater number of persons to be tested as subjects.

In order to obtain a representative sample of pictures depicting a variety of interracial situations the following procedure was used:

1. Depth Interviews. It was felt that if the responses and feelings of participants in incidents of race violence could be sampled, they might indicate some of the dispositions leading to violent reactions. With this in mind, depth interviews were conducted with participants in several specific incidents of race violence (see Rappoport, 1969). These interviews were designed to determine the factors and conditions which prompted participants to react violently. In addition, the interviews brought to light many of the feelings associated with such reactions. Information obtained from the depth interviews was instrumental in pointing out specific areas of everyday life (social order, education, etc.) associated with racism.

2. Situation Sampling. In order to refine the information gathered from the depth interviews, a number of pictures (over 150) were collected from newspapers, magazines, and other sources. Interview results were used as guidelines for selecting pictures which would be relevant to the areas of racial interaction interviewees had indicated.

The initial collection of pictures was then used in a free-sort task. The free-sort task was given to twenty student Ss. Ss were given instructions to group the pictures in any manner they wanted and give reasons for their groupings.

By analyzing the groupings Ss made and their explanations,

it was determined which pictures were grouped together most frequently and the general criteria Ss were using to make such groupings. Results of this analysis substantiated the findings of the depth interviews. Specifically, the grouping task accomplished two things: a. it revealed that Ss generally responded immediately to the pictures in an approval-disapproval fashion. b. it indicated a tendency to categorize the implications of the pictures into specific areas.

3. Final Selection. Based on the analysis of picture groupings twenty-five pictures were initially selected for use in a pilot study. The pilot study was used to test picture representativeness. Moreover, the study (a) further distinguished factors making up S approval or disapproval, (b) established workable categories for the manner in which Ss were grouping pictures, (c) determined various courses of personal action Ss would follow if they were involved in the situation depicted.

The pilot study questionnaire (see Appendix A) was administered to seventy (70) Ss. A frequency distribution was carried out on the responses to the 25 pictures. In addition to showing modal distributions, this analysis revealed response variances.

In addition to the pilot study, another more qualitative technique was used to further refine the basic information that was being gathered. Five pictures were chosen for a projective task arranged along the lines of a TAT. Fifteen (15) Ss

completed this projective task. The results of this task further defined category groupings for pictures. Moreover, the task provided a means of securing clues about the emotional reactions triggered in Ss as they viewed the pictures.

Finally, based on all the information gathered in the steps outlined above, thirteen pictures were chosen and made into slides (see Plate 1).

Development of Response Measures

Information gathered while making picture selections was instrumental in development of the response measures. Assuming that a representative picture sample of interracial situations was obtained, the responses Ss made during preliminary study were also representative of a range of reaction behavior. The response booklet (see Appendix B) contains individual response sheets for each of thirteen slides. Each sheet is composed of four (4) scales and a space for additional comments.

1. Scale A (Approval-Disapproval). This scale is based primarily on information obtained from the depth interviews and the projective task. As mentioned earlier, an approving response was generally the first type elicited by the pictures.

2. Scale B (Category). Much of the reference material for this study as well as the depth interviews indicated separate areas or categories of strained racial interactions. In addition, such materials provided clues as to how individuals reacted to interracial activity within these areas. This

Explanation of Plate I

Illustration of slides used in SPST



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information lead to the isolation of five categories (Education, Politics, Sex, Social Protest, Law and Order) which were illustrative of specific areas of sensitive interracial activity.

3. Scale C (Disturbance). As mentioned earlier, Ss responded at different emotional levels in their reactions to racial situations. Much of the preliminary material suggested that emotional arousal was an important variable affecting their responses. Such materials appeared to indicate that the personal disturbance felt by Ss was a basis for their tendency to think of violent behavior. The response of personal disturbance appears somewhat different than the immediate approval-disapproval responses discussed previously.

4. Scale D (Reaction). The reaction scale is the result of information obtained from the pilot study. A portion of the pilot study questionnaire was designed to let Ss respond to two open-ended statements concerning the pictures being used: (1) "In this situation I would . . ." and (2) "The following action ought to be taken . . ." Based on examination of answers to such questions, a set of alternative reactions were developed. These range from participating in the activity depicted and enjoying it to opposing the activity with physical violence.

Experimental Procedure and Design

Based on the results of the procedures mentioned above, the slides and response measures were incorporated into a "test" described to Ss as the Social Perception Sensitivity Task (SPST) (see Appendix C).

The following procedure was employed in administration of the SPST:

1. General orientation was given to Ss as to the intent of the task. Ss were told the task sought to determine how sensitive people were to various social situations.
2. Ss were asked to read the cover page and provide the demographic information requested.
3. Ss were then asked if they had any questions concerning the nature of the task. Following this procedure, the first of the thirteen slides was presented for thirty seconds. During and immediately after this time Ss were asked to give their individual reactions to the slide by marking the four scales. They could then write in further comments concerning the slides.

Subjects. One hundred eighty-seven college students acted as Ss (Black: 37 females, 13 males; white: 88 females, 49 males). The task was voluntary and anonymous for all Ss. Students were solicited to be Ss by their classroom instructors. They were all interested in taking the task, but were told that they could leave it blank if they were in any way offended.

Analysis Plan

The present study explored dispositions to race violence by investigating responses Ss made to situations displaying varying degrees of racial interaction and implications. The data are analyzed separately for each slide and for each of the response scales. That is, a separate two-way analysis of variance (sex by race) was run for each of the 13 slides and was repeated for the different response scales relevant to each slide. In

addition, various correlations were run on the data to determine content relatedness.

Research Issues

Although the present study was exploratory in nature, it nevertheless investigates three general questions.

1. Scenes. Prior material suggests that different racial situations produce different types of responses (differences in types of race violence). It therefore follows that the slides in the present study should produce varied dispositions that could lead to varying degrees of violent reactions.

2. Response Measures. Assuming that violent behavior results from a variety of personal reactions, the data should indicate the relative importance of certain reactions as predictors. In addition, correlations between the scales should reveal if the response measures are qualitatively different.

3. Race-Sex Differences. Much attention has been directed toward the conceptual differences of Blacks and whites as well as males and females concerning racial issues. Hernton's book Sex and Racism (1966) is a case in point. In this study one can see whether Blacks and whites differ with respect to the situations and emotional reactions associated with violence. An analysis of the data along racial and sexual lines should shed light on such differences if they do exist.

Chapter 3

Results

Results are organized to cover three specific areas:

Scene Impact, Scale Relations, and Race-Sex Differences.

Scene Impact. Results focus on the violence Reaction Scale. This analysis is designed to show which scenes elicit the strongest violent reactions (VR).

Scale Relations. Relationships among the various response measures are examined here. Correlational analysis is used to determine whether any patterns exist among the four response scales.

Race-Sex Differences. Differences in the way Ss respond to each response scale are analyzed by means of a separate two-way analysis of variance (race-sex) for each of the 13 slides. In addition, an analysis of racial and sexual interaction (similarities across race and/or sex lines) is included in this section.

Scene Impact

Reaction. Table 1 shows the slides ranked according to the mean VR they produce in all Ss. The obtained means ranged from 2.75 to 6.65 and the mean for all slides was 4.14. For convenience in analysis, the slides were grouped into high, medium, and low-VR groups. The high group (slides 6,9,2,10)

had a mean VR level of 5.70. The medium group (slides 1,7,11,12) revealed a VR mean of 3.93, and the five remaining slides composing the low group had a VR mean of 3.05.

Scene Activity. An examination of the three VR groups revealed significant characteristics for slides in the high and medium groups. The high VR scenes ($\bar{x}=5.70$) are all distinguished by activity which depicted potential or actual violent confrontation. For example, the slide eliciting the highest VR mean (slide 6, $\bar{x}=6.65$) showed a Black man lying on the ground apparently dead; two police officers are close by. The second slide in the high VR group (slide 9, $\bar{x}=5.57$) showed what appeared to be army troops in direct confrontation with a group of Black youths. The remaining two slides in the high VR group (slides 2 and 10) have the same type of potential or actual violence indicated.

It is noteworthy that both Blacks and whites revealed equally high VR for slides 6 and 9 (slide 6; Black VR, $\bar{x}=6.92$: white VR, $\bar{x}=6.38$. Slide 9; Black VR, $\bar{x}=5.18$: white VR, $\bar{x}=5.95$) even though Blacks in both slides appeared to be in unenviable positions, or as one S put it during the depth interviews, "Black people always end up with the 'shitty' end of the stick."

The medium VR group $\bar{x}=3.93$ contained three out of four slides which depicted interracial social and/or sexual activity. Illustrative of this type of activity is slide 7 ($\bar{x}=4.82$) which showed a white male and a Black female apparently engaged in sexual relations. Slide 11 in the medium VR group depicts a

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TABLE 1

A rank order of slides by mean VR

Rank Order	Slide	VR $\bar{x}$
1	6	6.65
2	2	5.86
3	9	5.57
4	10	5.35
5	7	4.82
6	12	4.04
7	11	3.76
8	1	3.55
9	13	3.31
10	3	3.24
11	5	3.23
12	4	2.88
13	8	2.75

Black man and white woman standing arm in arm. The next slide in this group depicted a Black male and white female walking outdoors. In addition to the couple in the slide there is also a youngster who appears to be walking along with them. The fourth slide in the medium VR group (slide 12) is a picture of the 1968 "Olympic incident" (the Black power salute by Tommie Smith and John Carlos).

The medium VR group does not show simple differences along purely racial or sexual lines. However, race-sex interactions for the medium VR group are very interesting and will be discussed later.

The low VR group ($\bar{x}=3.08$) contained the remaining five slides (13,3,5,4,8) used in the SPST. These slides included a picture of a Black man in uniform holding a rifle (slide 13), a classroom filled with Black children (slide 3), a Black candidate at a political rally (slide 4). Completing the low VR group were slides showing the faces and upper torso of Black men (slides 5 and 8).

In general, situations depicting actual and potential incidents of violence elicited the highest VR ratings. Sexual and/or social interaction between Blacks and whites, as a group, followed the violence group in the degree of VR reported. Scene activity within each VR group does not elicit uniform differences for Blacks and whites. No consistent content pattern was found in the remaining lower slides.

Scale Relations

In order to determine relationships among the response scales, correlations were run between the Approval scale, Disturbance scale, and VR scale. The category response scale, in which Ss were required to state whether the action shown involved education, social protest, etc., is not included in this analysis for two reasons. First, being a nominal scale, it cannot be used for correlation purposes. Second, and more important, the frequencies obtained on the scale (see Table 2) showed very little variance. Except for Slide 8, apparently Ss could easily identify action according to the given categories.

In addition to comparing response scale relations, it was hoped that correlations would reveal any patterns of relatedness for response scales. Such patterns might provide information concerning any qualitative differences in response scales. To facilitate analysis of correlation among response scales, the high, medium, and low VR groups were used.

Response Scale Correlations. Table 3 shows response scale correlations for all Ss, grouped according to slides which provoked the highest, medium, and lowest VR. Correlations are for the Approval scale and the VR scale ($R_{A.D}$); the Disturbance scale and the VR scale ($R_{C.D}$); and Scales A and C ($R_{A.C}$).

For all Ss across all slides in the High VR group (slides which elicited the highest mean VR) there were higher correlations between scales A and D than between scales C and D :

TABLE 2

Frequencies and variances obtained on the content category scale
for each slide

Slides	Activity Content Categories					Variance
	% Education	% Politics	% Sex	% Social Protest	% Law & Order	
1	6.49	1.08	56.22	32.97	2.16	.75
2	3.24	4.32	0.54	47.57	42.16	1.22
3	91.89	3.78	0.00	3.78	0.00	.36
4	1.62	95.14	1.62	1.08	0.54	.12
5	11.89	5.95	3.24	69.19	6.49	1.60
6	0.00	2.70	0.00	8.11	88.65	.43
7	1.08	0.00	94.05	3.78	0.54	.15
8	21.08	14.59	2.70	50.81	7.03	3.97
9	0.00	3.24	0.54	44.86	51.35	.45
10	1.08	3.24	0.54	30.81	64.32	.59
11	4.86	0.54	71.35	22.70	00.00	.47
12	11.35	9.73	0.54	74.59	2.70	1.31
13	1.62	9.73	0.54	3.78	83.78	1.15

TABLE 3

Scale correlation values for all Ss according to VR groups

	Slide	A:D	C:D	A:C
High VR	2	.667	.549	.672
	6	.487	.309	.586
	9	.436	.271	.459
	10	.438	.423	.638
Medium VR	1	.608	.508	.676
	7	.459	.461	.813
	11	.648	.540	.782
	12	.770	.702	.841
Low VR	3	.620	.548	.657
	4	.507	.419	.533
	5	.538	.333	.452
	8	.535	.328	.345
	13	.472	.419	.712

A=Approval-Disapproval
C=Disturbance Rating
D=VR

Slide 2 ($R_{A.D}=.667$; $R_{C.D}=.548$), Slide 6 ($R_{A.D}=.487$; $R_{C.D}=.309$), Slide 9 ($R_{A.D}=.436$; $R_{C.D}=.271$), Slide 10 ($R_{A.D}=.438$; $R_{C.D}=.423$).

This correlation pattern is similar for Blacks and whites.

In general, for the High VR group higher correlations existed between the Approval scale and the VR scale than between the Disturbance scale and the VR scale.

Correlation comparisons for the Medium VR group (see Table 3) reveal the same pattern mentioned above. Namely, that higher correlations exist between the Approval scale and the VR scale than the Disturbance scale and the VR scale for three of the four slides: Slide 1 ($R_{A.D}=.608$; $R_{C.D}=.507$), Slide 7 ($R_{A.D}=.459$; $R_{C.D}=.461$), Slide 11 ($R_{A.D}=.648$; $R_{C.D}=.540$), Slide 12 ($R_{A.D}=.770$; $R_{C.D}=.702$). As in the High VR group, Blacks and whites reveal similar correlation patterns.

For the Medium VR group, higher correlations existed for scales A and D than scales C and D on all but two slides. It is worth noting that the correlation differences in the Medium VR group were not as great as those of the High VR group.

The same pattern exists for correlations in the Low VR group. Scales A and D had higher correlation values than Scales C and D for all Ss across all slides: Slide 3 ($R_{A.D}=.620$; $R_{C.D}=.548$), Slide 4 ($R_{A.D}=.507$; $R_{C.D}=.419$), Slide 5 ($R_{A.D}=.538$; $R_{C.D}=.333$), Slide 8 ($R_{A.D}=.535$; $R_{C.D}=.328$), Slide 13 ($R_{A.D}=.472$; $R_{C.D}=.419$). Again, correlation patterns for Blacks and whites do not differ.

In general, a very definite and consistent pattern of scale correlations was evident for all VR groups. Obviously the magnitudes of these differences are too small to reach correlational levels of significance in all cases. However, the pattern of these correlations should be emphasized. Higher correlations were found for response scales A and D than for scales C and D in all cases except one (Slide 7).

Race and Sex Differences

Race and sex differences are analyzed by means of a separate two-way analysis of variance (sex by race). That is, an analysis of variance is carried out for each of the 13 slides and was repeated for the different response scales relevant to each slide.

To facilitate presentation of these data, the results were grouped according to Race Differences, Sex Differences, and Race-Sex Interaction. The general pattern of racial and sexual differences in responses and the interaction of race and sex were examined for each group. In addition, specific racial and sexual results for the Approval scale, Disturbance scale, and the VR scale were analyzed in depth.

Race Differences. Table 4 shows significant main effects for race on 18 of a possible 39 slide/scale combinations. That is, for each of the 13 slides a main effect for race is possible on each of the three scales. Note that the significant effects were mainly on the approval scale. For five of the slides (1,2,5,12,13) race had a significant main effect on at least

TABLE 4

F ratios for Race on three response scales

Slide	Response Scales		
	Approval	Disturbance	VR
1	11.05***	4.90*	5.31*
2	28.55***	19.86***	32.99***
3	3.75	.02	.00
4	6.02*	.84	.36
5	29.78***	1.31	5.80*
6	4.53*	2.98	1.71
7	1.82	1.82	.16
8	14.69***	.24	.18
9	.40	.84	3.25
10	3.24	5.71*	.71
11	4.87*	2.69	2.34
12	55.98***	23.45***	15.41***
13	9.02**	9.21**	3.26

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

two of the three response scales. Finally, for three slides (1,2,12) the main effect of race was significant on all the response scales.

Specifically, on the Approval Scale (see Table 5) there was a significant difference in responses for Blacks and whites on nine of the 13 slides. Slides 3,7,9,10 were the only slides which did not show significant response differences according to race on the Approval Scale. Two of these slides were of actual or potential violence. The classroom scene was in this group as was the slide of the intimate interracial couple.

The Disturbance Rating scale (see Table 6) had a significant main effect for race on five of the 13 scales (1,2,10,12,13): Slide 1 ($F=4.90$; $p<.05$) showed the interracial couple with the child, Slide 2 ($F=19.86$; $p<.001$) depicted the store scene, Slide 10 ($F=5.71$; $p<.05$) showed the crowd struggle with the Black officer, Slide 12 ($F=15.41$; $p<.001$) was a picture of the "Olympic incident", and Slide 13 ($F=9.21$; $p<.01$) showed a Black man in uniform holding a rifle.

On the Reaction Scale significant main effects for race are found on slides 1,2,5,12. Slide 1 ($F=5.31$; $p<.05$) pictured the Black man and white woman walking with a child. Slide 2 ($F=32.99$; $p<.001$) showed the store scene with Blacks milling around inside the structure. Slide 10 ($F=5.71$; $p<.05$) showed the head and torso of a Black man. Slide 12 ($F=23.45$; $p<.001$) pictured the "Olympic incident" and Slide 13 ($F=9.21$; $p<.01$) depicted a Black man in uniform carrying a rifle.

TABLE 5

F ratios for Race Sex, and Interaction
on the Approval-Disapproval Scale

Slide	Main Effect		
	Race	Sex Interaction	
1	11.05**	6.61*	13.30***
2	28.55***	1.07	.53
3	3.75	.03	.87
4	6.02**	1.85	3.07
5	29.73***	1.19	.20
6	4.53*	5.26*	.02
7	1.82	7.46**	4.64*
8	14.69***	.15	1.23
9	.40	3.47	.05
10	3.24	.15	1.66
11	4.87*	9.30**	13.61***
12	55.98***	.05	2.24
13	9.02**	.42	.02

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

TABLE 6

F ratios for Race, Sex, and Interaction
on the Disturbance Scale

Slide	Main Effect		
	Race	Sex	Interaction
1	4.90*	8.06**	4.67*
2	19.86***	.95	.98
3	.02	1.43	.71
4	.84	1.35	.61
5	1.31	2.94	.34
6	2.98	5.66*	.89
7	1.82	11.74***	4.64*
8	.24	.15	.39
9	.84	.25	2.03
10	5.71*	.00	.10
11	2.69	7.66**	5.87*
12	23.45***	.31	.87
13	9.21**	.56	2.01

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

In general, slides 1,2,5,12,13 differentiated most (a significant main effect existed for race on at least two of the three response scales) as to the responses elicited from Blacks and whites. It therefore appears that slides which depict Blacks in apparently aggressive or active roles elicit the largest degree of response differences according to race. For example, three of these slides (2,12,13) show Blacks clearly in active or aggressive roles while the activity of the remaining two slides is not as obvious. However, slides 1 and 5 show latently aggressive activity by Blacks. Often Blacks are considered aggressive or "intruding" when they are involved in interracial social relationships. Slide 5 can easily be thought to show an angry and potentially aggressive Black man (primarily because of the gesture).

Sex Differences. Although race differences for elicited responses appeared most consistently for certain types of activity, sex differences were also prevalent. Table 6 shows that differences in responses of male and female Ss were significant on four slides (1,6,7,11). Moreover, the significant difference held for two of the three response scales on all four slides. Slides 1 and 11 showed response differences according to sex on all three response scales.

On the Approval Scale (see Table 5) a significant sexual main effect existed for slides 1,6,7,11. Slide 1 ($F=6.61$; $p<.05$) is the picture of the interracial couple and the young child. Slide 7 ($F=7.46$; $p<.05$) and Slide 11 ($F=9.30$; $p<.01$)

also showed interracial sexual and/or social activity. Slide 6 ($F=5.26$; $p<.05$) showed the Black man lying on the ground with the two police officers close by.

The Disturbance Rating scale (see Table 6) revealed significant differences for slides 1,6,7,11. Note that sexual differences in response to the disturbance scale held for the same slides as sexual differences for the Approval Scale: Slide 1 ($F=8.06$; $p<.01$), interracial couple with child; Slide 6 ($F=5.66$; $p<.05$), dead man with police officers; Slide 7 ($F=11.74$; $p<.01$), intimate interracial couple, and Slide 11 ($F=7.66$; $p<.01$), interracial couple standing arm in arm.

Male and female responses on the Reaction scale differed significantly for Slide 1 ($F=7.40$; $p<.01$) and Slide 11 ($F=8.49$; $p<.01$). It is interesting to note that both of these slides depict casual interracial social activity.

In summary, males and females differed consistently in their responses to interracial sexual and/or social scenes. Slide 6 (dead man with police officers) showed significant sexual differences on two of the three response scales. More will be said later about these sex differences.

Race-Sex Interaction. An examination of race-sex interaction revealed that in some cases Ss of one race were responding more like Ss of the opposite sex of the other race. Responses to slides 1,7,11 will show this interaction very clearly. These slides all showed interracial sexual and/or social activity.

For Slide 1 there are significant interactions (similarities across racial and sexual lines) on all three response scales (see Table 7): Approval ($F=13.39$; $p<.001$), Disturbance ($F=4.67$; $p<.05$), and Reaction ($F=12.83$; $p<.001$). Here, white male and Black female responses are alike as are Black male and white female responses.

Slide 11 also showed a similar significant race-sex interaction on all three response scales: Approval scale ($F=13.61$; $p<.001$), Disturbance scale ($F=5.87$; $p<.05$), Reaction scale ($F=12.18$; $p<.05$).

The analysis of results of race-sex interaction cited previously indicated that for slides depicting interracial sexual and/or social activity, responses differ according to sex. For example, the responses of white males are more like those of Black females than white females. In like manner, responses elicited from Black males were more like those of white females than Black females. This unexpected, interesting result can be understood more clearly according to the means shown in Table 8. This table shows the mean VR for Black and white, male and female Ss for Slides 1 and 11.

In general, racial and/or sexual differences were found for all but two of the slides (3,9). Significant differences between Black and white responses were found on 18 of 39 slide-scale combinations (see Table 4). Table 9 shows significant differences in responses for males and females on 10 of 39 slide-scale combinations. Eight of 39 slide-scale combinations

TABLE 8

Mean VR: Black-white and male-female
for Slides 1 and 11

	Male	Female
Black	2.20 *2.37	4.23 *4.69
White	4.08 *4.16	3.09 *2.97

*Slide 11

TABLE 9

F ratios for Sex on three response scales

Slide	Response Scales		
	Approval	Disturbance	VR
1	6.61*	8.06**	7.40**
2	1.07	.95	3.31
3	.03	1.43	.15
4	1.85	1.35	.09
5	1.19	2.94	1.49
6	5.26*	5.66*	.11
7	7.46**	11.74***	.20
8	.15	.15	.01
9	3.47	.25	.08
10	.15	.00	.09
11	9.30**	7.66**	8.49**
12	.05	.31	.10
13	.42	.56	.00

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

(see Table 7) revealed a significant degree of racial-sexual interaction in the responses they elicited.

Summary of Results

Results showed two things. (1) Situations depicting actual or potential violence elicit the highest VR responses. Interracial sexual and/or social scenes are second to violence scenes as to the degree of VR elicited from Ss. (2) Racial differences in responses were more numerous than sexual differences. However, sexual differences were manifest in response to scenes showing interracial sexual and/or social activity. Race-sex interactions were most significant for sexual-social scenes.

A definite pattern for response scale correlations was found for the Approval and the Reaction scale, and the Disturbance scale and the Reaction scale. In addition, the degree of correlation differences was greater for the High VR slides than for the Medium VR slides.

TABLE 7

F ratios for Race-Sex Interactions
on three response scales

Slide	Response Scales		
	Approval	Disturbance	VR
1	13.30***	4.67*	12.83***
2	.53	.98	.07
3	.87	.71	.84
4	3.07	.61	1.39
5	.20	.34	.68
6	.02	.89	.01
7	4.64*	4.64*	.60
8	1.23	.39	.13
9	.05	2.03	.00
10	1.66	.10	1.08
11	13.61***	5.87*	12.18***
12	2.24	.87	.08
13	.02	2.01	.00

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Chapter 4

Discussion and Conclusion

The discussion of results is divided into two major sections: (1) Specific findings concerning Scenes, Response Measures, and Group Differences; and (2) General discussion and implications.

Discussion of Specific Results

Scenes. Present results indicate that the degree of violent reaction elicited from individuals was affected by the type of activity depicted. This finding is in agreement with prior materials which suggest that different racial situations produce varying degrees of reaction in individuals. The stimulus properties of racial situations produced definite trends toward types and degrees of violent reaction elicited from different groups. The tendency for scenes depicting actual or potential violent activity to elicit the greatest VR is in accord with the thoughts of Fanon and Malcolm X. Findings would appear to indicate that Blacks and whites do respond violently when consistently confronted with violence. However, although Blacks and whites do respond equally to violence, they may be responding to different stimulus properties. More specifically, they might be doing the same thing for different reasons.

In addition to the rationale for Black counterviolence, there is possibly a more encompassing notion concerning violence in America. American tradition has always been ready to meet violence and resistance with mightier and more effective violence. Such a method of problem solving and goal achievement probably works to increase the use of violent means.

Findings concerning interracial sexual and/or social activity seem to validate the contention that this is a very sensitive area. It is evident that this is an area which strongly affects individuals. However, the determination of factors contributing to such affect appears to be quite complex. This is so because reactions appear to result from individual perceptions concerning the roles of individuals involved in interracial sexual and/or social activity. The effect of such role perceptions appears to warrant more intensive investigation.

Basically, the type of activity depicted does affect individual reactions. Moreover, it seems that a specific type of activity (violent confrontation) is consistent in eliciting similar reactions from specific racial and/or sexual groups.

Response Measures. Patterns found for the response scale relations indicate that the approval and disturbance dispositions, as measured by the response scales, are related to violent reactions. In addition, the consistency of correlation patterns appears to point out the existence of qualitative difference for the dispositions being rated. Recent works (Fanon, 1963; Kerner Report, 1968) offer that the meaning

and function of violence varies for individuals and groups. The findings of the present study seem to give some degree of empirical validity to the notion that race violence is a function of different causative factors for different groups.

Existence of definite correlation patterns suggests that the stimulus properties of activities eliciting violent reactions might have a definite format. The consistently higher correlation between the Approval scale and the Reaction scale would initially appear to indicate that an approval disposition is a better predictor of VR than a disturbance disposition. Such patterns of correlation among the response scales are quite tempting for conjecture, but conclusions should be drawn carefully. However, if the specific stimulus properties of activities which contribute to dispositional make-up can be determined, they might offer areas of investigation in attempts to curb violent behavior.

Race-Sex Differences. The present results show that significant differences exist within and across racial and sexual lines for certain types of interracial activity. Specifically, Blacks and whites differ in their reactions to activity depicting Blacks in active or aggressive roles. Scenes showing interracial sexual and/or social activity elicit different degrees of reaction from males and females of the same race. Prior materials dealing with the race issue have suggested that racial and sexual differences do exist. However, they have not offered substantive explanations as to why they exist.

Moreover, traditional studies offer little in the way of reference material for the present findings on race-sex interaction.

It is difficult to determine why race groups differ in their reaction to the same activity. Many authors suggest that reaction is a function of training and perception. Fanon (1963) directs himself to this issue when he reveals how the native of Algeria learned of his oppression and became better able to recognize it. Such learning established a pattern of perception as well as modes of reaction for the native; in this case violent reaction which lead to revolt. It would appear that the perception of violent activity elicits violent reaction. Therefore the chances of self-perpetuating violence are greatly increased. However, this explanation does not answer the question of spontaneous isolated incidents of race violence. Such a pattern of perception could be important if more can be learned about the specific stimulus properties of such incidents which produce violence.

The results of the sex difference analysis seem to open even wider the discussion concerning the interplay of racism and sex. Findings show that males and females of each race differ significantly in their reaction to interracial sexual-social activity. Such findings validate the sensitivity of this area of racial concern, although traditional studies have all but overlooked it. Many Black authors (Cleaver, 1968; Malcolm X, 1964; Hernton, 1966) contend that the sexual-social aspect of

racism has done much to affect the current state of racial matters. It would appear that scientific research has either underestimated or avoided this area of racism.

Findings show that Black males and white females react to interracial sexual-social activity in a similar way. This is also true of the reactions of white males and Black females, although they respond more violently. It is interesting to note that an examination of the effect of intertwining myths about sex and race reveal that Black males and white females experience similar psychological pressures and inhibitions. This could possibly account for their similarity. The effect of the dominant role that white males and Black females have had might account for their likeness in reactions.

The effect of race-sex interactions is one that has been absent from the volumes of research on racism and violent behavior. Findings of the present study indicate that interracial sexual and/or social activity is second only to actual violent confrontation as to the degree of violent reaction it elicits. This suggests that this area is very important as a factor contributing to racism and potential violent behavior. Such an important factor of racism and violent behavior certainly warrants more attention and study than it has received to date.

General Discussion

The present work explores the stimulus properties of activity which can lead to race violence. Such properties are examined by eliciting dispositional responses to representative

situations of various kinds of racial activity. The present study is novel in both its approach and technique for investigating race violence.

General results indicate that the tendency toward violent behavior is influenced by the type of activity perceived. Contributing to this tendency toward violent behavior are dispositions which appear rather consistently within racial and/or sexual groups. Specifically, definite patterns of reaction exist for racial and/or sexual groups. It appears that Blacks and whites have comparable tendencies toward violent behavior.

Methodological and theoretical considerations. The exploratory nature of the present study tends to raise more questions than it answers. However, the study does appear to have achieved its purpose as outlined in Chapter 2. It shows that different types of activity produce varying degrees of violent reaction; in addition it shows that responses differ and are related in consistent ways. The differences in response of Blacks and whites, as well as male and female, show that group differences do exist.

A number of findings here suggest interesting problems for future research. Investigation could be directed toward the factors of race-sex interaction, the different factors which contribute to Black and white dispositions, or isolation of other areas which elicit consistent reactions.

In addition to investigating basic findings, this study offers new areas of research. For example, future work could be directed toward getting more realistic examples of situations where the behavior under study is likely to take place. The area of race violence is capable of being and should be studied in ways other than those found in traditional literature. This study shows that violent behavior can be studied with the intent of more fully understanding its functional and causal meanings. Such an approach appears to have more utility for the future than traditional approaches.

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Appendix A

Sample Page of Pilot Study Questionnaire

Picture # _____

A. Approval-Disapproval Scale (Circle One)

Strongly Approve	Moderately Approve	Slightly Approve	Undecided	Slightly Disapprove	Moderately Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove
---------------------	-----------------------	---------------------	-----------	------------------------	--------------------------	------------------------

B. Action Category Scale (Check One)

Political	Education	Social Sexual Interaction	Housing-Economics
☐	☐	☐	☐

Racial Implication
but does not fit in any of
4 above categories ☐

No Racial Implication

☐

C. In this situation I would: _____

D. The following action ought to be taken: _____

Appendix B

Sample response page for SPST

Slide # _____

A. Approval-Disapproval Scale (Circle One)

Strongly Approve	Moderately Approve	Slightly Approve	Undecided	Slightly Disapprove	Moderately Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove
---------------------	-----------------------	---------------------	-----------	------------------------	--------------------------	------------------------

B. Action Category Scale (Check One)

Education	Politics	Sex	Social Protest	Law & Order
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. Disturbance Rating Scale (Check One)

None		Slight		Moderate		Extreme
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

D. Reaction Scale (Choose one and check one of the statements under it).

If I were in this situation I would probably:

☐ Participate in it by

☐ Withdraw from it by

___a. Enjoying it

___a. trying to ignore

___b. trying to learn from it

___b. leaving the area

___c. joining in

___c. not being concerned

☐ Actively oppose it by

___a. arguing against it

___b. complaining to authorities

___c. using physical force

Write in further comment if necessary.

Appendix C

Cover page and instructions for SPST

Social Perception Sensitivity
Task (Preliminary Study)
Do not identify by name.

Sex ____ Age ____ Race ____

Instructions

You will see a number of slides. Each slide shows one or more persons engaged in some activity which can be considered to have racial implications. For each picture we want you to:

- (A) Indicate to what degree you approve or disapprove of the action shown by marking the Approval-Disapproval Scale.
- (B) Classify the action shown into one of the 5 categories provided on the Action Category Scale.
- (C) In the past people seeing these pictures have said that some are quite disturbing to them. For each picture, indicate on Scale C the degree to which you personally feel anxious or disturbed by the action shown.
- (D) We are also interested in what people might actually do in situations like those shown on the slides. On Scale D please complete the following sentence by picking one of the alternatives.

If I were in this situation I would probably:

RACE VIOLENCE: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY
OF CONDITIONS AND TENDENCIES
TOWARD VIOLENT BEHAVIOR

by

LODIS RHODES

B.A., Kansas State University, 1968

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Psychology

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Manhattan, Kansas

1970

This study investigates predispositions to violence associated with racism. Traditional studies dealing with this topic have sought to explain racism by means of a social learning perspective or a psychoanalytic orientation. In addition, survey studies and attitude measurement comprise a large portion of the research investigating racism. In such studies violence has been largely ignored as a specific component of the problem of racism, or else treated as an extreme effect of racism. In addition, functional and causal properties of race violence have been overlooked. Basically, traditional approaches have been attempts to offer explanations of past behavior and/or measure and categorize racism and race violence. Within the laboratory, little concern has been given to examining situational conditions associated with race violence or the possibility of predicting the areas (political, educational, sexual-social) likely to generate race violence. This study is a preliminary effort to focus on the whole ecology of actions and thoughts leading to violent behavior.

Method and Design. 187 male, female Black and white college students acted as Ss (Black: 37 females, 13 males; white: 88 females, 49 males). Ss rated their individual reactions to a forced choice projective task (scenes depicting various activity having racial implications). Individuals

rated their reactions on four response scales: a) Approval-Disapproval, b) Category, c) Disturbance, and d) Reaction.

Results. Results are organized into three areas.

(1) Scene Impact: Different types of activity elicited different responses from racial and/or sexual groups.

Sensitive areas which were investigated and which revealed the greatest degree of violent reaction were those showing actual or potential violence and those showing interracial sexual and/or social scenes. (2) Scale Relations: Consistent patterns of scale relations were found for the response scales. The Reaction scale showed higher correlation values with the Approval scale than others. (3) Race-Sex Differences: Reactions elicited by various situations differed significantly according to race and/or sex. In addition, a notable pattern of race sex interaction was revealed for interracial sexual-social activity.

Conclusions. The methodological intent of the present study is to focus on situational factors relevant to race violence. In this connection, findings show that violent reactions can be predicted according to certain criteria.

Theoretically, the present findings indicate that violent behavior is more than an extreme effect of racism. Moreover, they suggest that much of the violence associated with racism has function and meaning for different groups.