The effects of music and clothing on youths' ideological development

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THE EFFECTS OF MUSIC AND CLOTHING ON
YOUTH'S IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.

by
Troy Turner

A Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
Master of Arts Degree
of
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Professor

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With adults such as sociologists, psychologists, public officials, and laypeople looking for answers into building more cordial racial relations, a key could be to see how white people's exposure to black culture facilitates such relationships. 65 white males between the age of 16-21 years old, who identified as preferring the music and clothing style of hip hop/r&b, were compared to 58 white males 16-21 years old, who did not indicate such a preference.

The Morrison Scale of Attitudes on Black and White Relations (M.S.A.B.W.R.), which measures for comfort with integration, and the Anxiety of African Americans Scale were used. While the M.S.A.B.W.R. produced no significant difference, the target group scored significantly lower for fear on the A.A.A.S.
MINI-ABSTRACT

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THE EFFECTS OF MUSIC AND CLOTHING ON YOUTH'S IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

1999

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Master of Arts Degree in School Psychology

The purpose of this study is to see if white people’s participation in African American monopolized activities results in more advocating and less fearful feelings toward black people. Morrison’s Scale of Attitudes on Black and White Relations (M.S.A.B.W.R.) and Anxiety of African Americans Scale were used.
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Chapter I
Introduction

There are many topics that can be discussed within the area of adolescence. This is the time period from about 14 to mid-twenties, in which youth develop secondary sex characteristics as well as a well formed adult identity. One such area that can be looked at is the development of this identity. Many factors go into shaping these youths' identity and ideological stances or beliefs. Factors include parents, siblings, community, and the media. Some theorist estimate that children spend 6-8 hours listening to music. Friendships and planning of events sometimes is dependent on musical tastes.

Harvard and Princeton "Race Matters" author Cornell West has spoken with enthusiasm and hope of the "negrolization" of the suburbs, not due to integration but due to the black mind sets of many of the white youth. Monthly, if not weekly, newspapers and popular magazines publish articles with such titles as "White Youth, Black Attitudes", "Hip Hop Hits the Suburbs", and "The African American Male's Influence on Fashion."

Adolescents face criticism and those who enjoy Hip Hop/R&B sometimes receive the added slams of "why do you like that?", "you are not being yourself", or "you wanna be black." White youth who remain loyal as hip hop/R&B enthusiast in spite of such digs demonstrate a perseverance that will no doubt factor into their identity development.
Hip Hop and much of R&B is diametrically and philosophically opposite of such predominately white genres as rock and roll, country and western, heavy metal, punk, and hard rock. Rapper Ice Cube speaks of breaking free of big brother institutions which control the masses. In contrast, hard rockers Korn speak of totally dominating and controlling all whom they come into contact with. The late Tupac Shakur spoke of an upbringing in tenement buildings and government subsidies, while Marilyn Manson speaks of psychodelic dream worlds. The anti-thesis of Guns n' Roses mocking of immigrants to go away, is militant rapper KRS 1's indictment of Colin Powell and U.S. troops fighting brown people over seas.

In light of the polar opposites often seen between the liberal left sentiments of rap and the conservative right sentiments of rock and roll, it is hard to believe that fans of each could result in similar ideologies. One would suspect that fans of rap would tend to see things more liberally, and rock fans more conservatively.

The white youth who prefers hip hop/R&B will probably differ from white youth who identify with Rock and Roll, Country and Western, Punk, or some other music genre. The hip hop white youth will probably have a higher degree of black identity. This assumption comes based on the idea that hip hop whites should be more acculturated to black customs than average whites. Inversely, hip hop white youth will probably have less of a white identity than the average white youth.
Other assumptions are that the hip hop youth will have greater levels of multicultural sensitivity and comfort with black culture, propensity toward liberal ideas, openness to diversity, and positive feelings toward integration.

The struggling and freedom seeking sentiments of such rappers as Tupac Shakur and DMX is in stark contrast to the overpowering and dominating sentiments of the groups Korn and Guns n' Roses. Enthusiast of each type of music usually know all the subtleties of their music type including the general political overtones and ideology. Should the two factions have anything other than differing viewpoints readily palpable and detectable by a standardized inventory would be a surprise.

Examining how the lyrics of two or more music genres differ may be speculative, however the actions of these artista can lead to more pronounced examples of dissimilarity. At the start of this decade, the behavior of rocker Axel Rhodes and rapper Sister Souljah were well documented. These exploits boldfacedly illustrated opposing factions. Rhodes argued for the merits of using the "n" word by noting that many blacks use it toward one another.

Souljah challenged President Clinton to a debate while publicly denouncing birth control campaigns as a reaction to the fear of a black baby boom, criticizing many black leaders as kissing up to white bureaucracies, and concluding that College entrance exams measure ones degree of whiteness. The halo effect (Hawthorne, J., 1977) says that ones take on these arguments is influenced by how you feel about Rhodes and Souljah or their music.
Acculturation often pictures the minority taking on the ways of the majority members. The recent phenomenon is the pattern of white youth to assimilate to the culture of minorities. The uniqueness of a white blending in with blacks was played for comedic affect by more than a few Hollywood films.

Fact is, such interracial relations are quite common and often go without much dramatics. This type of assimilation is arguably easier on the white than when blacks try to assimilate. One obvious reason is that blacks have traditionally welcomed people of other races into their community due to 1) the traditional lack of status in the community which fosters cooperation as opposed to competition (crossing over has a better connotation than socioeconomic climbing) and 2) the old plantation definition of Negro as the slightest amount of black blood has resulted in members growing use to those with white appearances who are in fact of black ancestry.

Whites who begin to almost exclusively deal with blacks often report positive feelings. Steven Schukei of Campbell, Nebraska is a Senior at the predominantly Black Morehouse College in Atlanta (Chippell, K., 1998). Once partial to country music, he has grown to like the R&B sounds of Mariah Carey among others since entering the school. 4 years ago he got an SAT score of 1430 of 1600 and a subsequent scholarship. He is one of only 2 currently enrolled full-time White students. Winning his bid as Student Council Vice-President confirmed his beliefs that he was fully accepted by most. Schukei feels at home in his setting of reverse-integration (Chippell, K., 1998). The outspoken young man has distinct ideas about how Whites can integrate into Black settings. "The transition can be hard for the average White person", Schukei revealed. You have to be open and realize that you are not going to be the average guy.
"I like R&B music and so forth, but if you are going in and you like alternative music and every weekend you want to eat mosh, then you are probably going to have a difficult time." "It's not to say that people will dislike you, its just that people will have different interests", Schukei informed (Chippell, K., 1998).

Richard Leiby, Washington Post editor, wrote a 3 page essay, "White Like Me" describing his self-consciousness while attending a National Association of Black Journalist convention. Michael Davis, in 1992, became the first white student to receive a scholarship to historically black Morehouse College. Israeli student Gil Landau reported having to adjust to black culture at Grambling State University where he took classes as well as played football. “Back home I heard of slavery and different issues in the third person.” “It’s better understanding in the first person,” says Landau (Randolph, L., 1994).

Just as in the case of some young hip hoppers, many bicultural people report a major source of grief coming from their old community as opposed to the new one. Karen Hinton, press secretary for Washington, D.C. School Superintendent Dr. Franklin Smith, has a decade of experience working in predominantly black environments. “My school friends thought I was confused or having an identity crisis.” “Some family members wondered why I was wasting my talents when I could be making more money in a surrounding more like that I was raised in.” “They fear that I will fall in love and marry a black man,” Hinton confides. National Urban Coalition media relations director Louise T. Lindblom likes the challenge of learning two cultures. “Minorities have to know twice as much as others. They must know the majority culture as well as their own,” says Lindblom (Randolph, L., 1994).
Need

One Philadelphia cop describes how since graduating from the Police Academy he now notices his tendency to immediately take into account exits and corners which can serve as possible hiding spots even when entering the houses of friends. An Art Appreciation Professor has said that he has done his job if students see artwork differently after taking his class in comparison to before his class. Finally, many M.D. s and nurses report a mild bothersome habit of theirs. When meeting people, they tend to visualize diagnoses. What one person might see as an alert look in someone’s eyes, or merely large hands, they tend to pick up on as possible signs of Graves disease, water retention, or hypothyroidism respectively.

All three professions share in their ability to constantly look at what seems to be trivia and use it to their advantage as a step up on initial assessments. School Psychologists and teachers may not look into dark corridors or need to assess why someone’s skin is a tad dryer than usual, however there are certain clues that can be of benefit to the school professional. Children often try to communicate through nonverbal language, so if the school professional is able to pick up on these cues, it is a plus. Clothing choice and musical outlet are two likely modes of communicating inner messages.

Malcolm X. and Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke of an almost cherubic society in which people are judged by the way they behave as opposed to their ethnic affiliations. Every so often there are those that transcend their racial group and seem to care about all people.
If whites and blacks and whites get along so well in parks, on basketball courts, and in nights spots across urban enclaves, then perhaps these overlooked examples can be exalted as microcosms for the populations at large to follow. The harmony and camaraderie displayed in these particular situations can make it hard to conceive the discord going on outside of these cubbyholes.

The purpose of this study is to see if young people truly adopt the political social mores of the group they emulate or see if changes in dress and style merely superficial with little to no underlying metamorphosis. Do integrated whites change mentally and spiritually or just physically?

There is a scene in the motion picture “Devil’s Advocate” where a team of defense lawyers are huddling as they plan their next strategy. The one partner questions why Keannu Reeves’ character advocates dropping one particular African American male from the jury when it is a known fact that African Americans tend to argue against the death penalty and this could give their defendant his best shot.

Reeves’ character responds, “You see a brother with dreads, but take a closer look.” “This man has perfectly polished shoes.” “He’s disciplined, tired of crime, and even more tired or excuses.” “He is not our man.” “Drop him.”

Sure that was Hollywood, but maybe there is something to the idea that personal appearance is as pivotal to mindset as those factors we think of first.
Idealist may counter that people are just people. They argue that studies which look into ethnicity downplay commonality while stressing differences that when seen in members of the same group are noted as unremarkable individual choices. While individual difference may be an area of interest, some question the point of looking at groups as a whole. Nonetheless, The Congress for New Black Leadership is one of a few organizations which has put together a persuasive presentation on the uniformity and predictability which characterizes White versus Black thought.

Americans of all backgrounds may share a belief in such basic tenets as expressing oneself freely, looking after the young, and creating rewards through work, however recent publications make the case that the way in which Whites and Blacks pursue these goals differs substantially in many regards. The Congress for New Black Leadership published attitudes in such categories as economy, social issues, the political process, racial attitudes, and the role of the American Government (Center for New Black Leadership, 1996).

Statistics were gathered by the National Opinion Research Center in Chicago. They have conducted the General Social Survey at least every two years since 1972. When asked if the White-Black income, job, and housing gaps are mainly due to discrimination, about 70% of Blacks polled 1985 to 1994 said yes. During that same period about 40% of Whites said yes. Respondents during a period of 1983 to 1994 were asked if Government should do everything possible to improve living standards for all, Blacks had a mode of about 50% to Whites approximate 30%.
Other questions on the survey produced larger discrepancies between the two group’s responses. Between 1983 and 1994 poll takers were asked the question of reparations and affirmative action. They were asked if the Government has a special obligation to Blacks due to past discrimination (This question is also asked on Morrison’s Scale). Just over 50% of Blacks say yes, while less than 15% of Whites respond that way.

Another poll question which promotes a dispute is when respondents are asked if the Black-White income, jobs, and housing gap is due to no motivation among Blacks. From 1985 to 1994 about 55% of Whites said yes, whereas about 40% of Blacks said yes. In 1994 65% of Whites felt that too much money went toward Welfare as compared to 35% of Black respondents. In 1984, the ratio for this question was 40% to 20%.

Blacks tend to feel that criminals are punished too harshly. Between 1972 and 1994 about 3% of Whites felt criminals were punished too harshly as compared to the Black average of about 10%. Whites tend to support the death penalty in greater numbers, however Blacks tend to be more in favor of prayer in schools. Findings of this study as well a similar ones by the USA today and LA Times make the case that there are definite patterns of ideology among Whites and Blacks.

This paper takes the position that Whites acculturated to Black environments quite likely become part of the White minority who’s answers on this poll resembles that of Blacks. At the very least, this paper predicts that their response to the differences are more forgiving than the average White person.


Purpose/ Rationale.

Much of a Psychologist's job is predicting behavior. By examining the influences of dress and music, it can be determined if it is worth while to place tentative value to a particular appearance or if such observations lend themselves to grossly misguided stereotypes that add little or nothing to interaction and waste time. While Psychology has made it acceptable to look at one’s inner matters, motives, and deep thoughts, etiquette and polite upbringing abhors us looking to hard or to long to assess physical dealings such as dress choice.

There is adequate justification for going counter to social norms by applying observational value to what people wear. What if dress choice could provide useable messages to the receiver of the information? What if we were able to make a correlation between neck tie use and social norm conformity, mini skirt wear frequency and promiscuity, or eyeglass need and reading vivaciousness? What if we were able to link spit polished shoes to pro-death penalty sentiments, a wrinkled raincoat to giftedness, or children’s cardigan preference to precociousness? Would this be worth looking into?

If the results from the Morrison Scale indicate that the assimilating study group has a world view that is more open to cultural diversity and integrated black and white communities than a control adolescent group, this could be a key to understanding race relations and promoting cultural sensitivity across the board.
Background.

The United States has long been a melting pot. Sociologists note that it was traditional for minority groups to assimilate to the culture of the majority group while trying to preserve some of their own customs. Interestingly, a recent phenomenon as noted by such political scholars as Harvard's Cornell West, is the assimilation of White teens into Black culture.

There are two opposing schools of thought on this subject. One maintains that these White teens leach off of the culture taking that which they see as good, such as the music and clothing, but giving nothing back (a criticism not unlike that levied against Elvis Presley decades earlier). The other, which is the position taken by this thesis is that the music and the clothing is merely outer proof of a deeper interpersonal transition that has taken place within these youth. Proponents give these young people the ultimate compliment in likening them to such color blind revolutionaries as John Brown, Eleanor Roosevelt, Donald Woods, and the Yankee officer in the bio-epic film “Glory”.

Some predictions can be made about how whites will fare in black settings by looking at acculturation patterns at large. The overwhelming consensus among researchers is that development of bicultural or multicultural competence ultimately allows for successful living in the bicultural context (Bochner, S., 1986; LaFrombois et al., 1993). These researchers agree that bicultural competence leads to a shift in bicultural identity.
Hypothesis

Caucasian teen males that specify a hip hop clothing and music preference will score more favorably on The Morrison Inventory of Attitudes on Black-White Relations than the control group of Caucasian teen males who did not indicate such a preference. The Morrison Scale measure the degree of comfort one has with the races integrating.

The lower the score, the more it is believed that the person favors cooperative measures and racial intermingling. The lowest score that can be obtained is a 26, which is a value of 1 for each statement. Two of the 28 statements have been deemed throw out items. The higher the score, the more that it is believed that the person harbors ill-eased feelings about integration or favors separatism measures. The highest score that can be obtained is 130 which is 5 points times 26 items.

Morrison devised his test around the time that integration, busing, and desegregation, were major concerns. Fast forwarding to 30 years later, the scale continues to hit on issues that remain pertinent today. Preliminary results found that most participants had scores ranging between the 60 to 90 mark. According to Morrison this range is indicative of someone who is quite comfortable with people integrating, seeks cooperation, but considers separation on a case by case basis.

For fear that the M-Scale would produce similar scores among most modern participants, The Anxiety of African Americans Scale was introduced. It is predicted that the white Hip Hop/R&B group will have scores on this that are indicative of less fear than those that specify another preference.
Research Question

Research questions. Does clothing and music have a predictable and appreciable effect on young peoples' outlook on life? Are white males who identify with hip hop culture more inclined than a control group of non-identifiers to have a world view that resembles that of African-American teen males? Do these white males have less fear of blacks than those who indicate another clothing and music genre?

Do these white males harbor feelings about integration that are more supportive than others? Are they less likely than someone who likes Country and Western, Rock and Rock, or Alternative to support separatist ideologies?

Perhaps the largely Latino and Black R&B and Hip Hop style supplies the contact, which Allport spoke of, which tends to serve as a catalyst for positive interaction. Or maybe those who have liberal and open minds are more likely to seek role models who look quite different from them. In contrast, there are probably some who rule out Hip Hop/R&B as a favorite on the grounds of it lacking artists who look similar to them.

People tend to shy away from that they are scared of. It stands to reason that whites who fear blacks are quite likely to steer clear of venues which cater to them, such as the Hip Hop/R&B culture. In contrast, whites who are at great ease with different groups are less likely to steer clear from activities that which feature such people.
Theory

Developments in Eastern Europe and South Africa show tremendous political and social change. These changes show that they can result with large scale social consequences. Social changes can also affect individuals to a great degree. Psychological changes resulting cultural contact are generally referred to as acculturation changes (Graves, 1967).

Proponents of the contact hypothesis argue that direct contact between social groups leads individuals to see the ingroup (their group) and the outgroup as more similar to each other, and it ultimately results in more favorable evaluations of the outgroup (Amir, 1976; Hamilton & Bishop, 1976; Wilder, 1978).

Negative stereotypes that portray a group as behaving irrationally result from misunderstanding and/or misinterpretation of underlying differences. In direct interactions with each other people realize that differences in behavior reflect differences in environment, climate, and choices in handling life's challenges (Amir, 1976; Hamilton & Bishop, 1976; Wilder, 1978).

The common ground conclusion tends to occur when contact is in a noncompetitive setting and the parties are of similar socioeconomic status (Amir, 1976; Hamilton & Bishop, 1976; Wilder, 1978).

In contrast, it has been illustrated rather astoundingly that anxiety, boredom, competition, and distance are ingredients that help to cultivate separatist sympathies. This was the content matter of such books as “Lord of the Flies”. This was also the finding of a 1970’s grade school study by one sociologist. She found that children could be reared to mistreat blue eyed children with the use of neckbands and the slightest encouragement.
One contemporary Psychiatrist has worked out a grading system to describe people's acculturation or ability to blend in with another group's culture (Howell, 1992). He breaks the transition into another culture into 4 grades in which 2 are failed transitions and 2 are successful. They are unconscious incompetence, conscious incompetence, conscious competence, and unconscious competence (Howell, 1992).

Unconscious incompetence refers to the situation in which the person consistently misinterprets others intentions and motives due in large part by their attempting to place values of their culture on others. This person does not realize what they are doing. They may have good intentions, so they are often perplexed by the response of people of other groups (Howell, 1992). They are oblivious to causes of why social interactions between diverse members and themselves often don't pan out.

A worker who is an unconscious incompetent might shower co-workers with compliments. Black co-workers may tend to shy away from this worker. The White worker may sense distance between himself and other workers, however he continues in his way of constant praise over trivial tasks oblivious to the idea that many of his Black co-workers find such "head patting" insulting and demeaning. Conscious incompetence refers to the situation in which the person becomes aware of their interaction shortcomings, but lacks the tools to turn the situation around and improve things.
Going back to the scenario, the White employee may attempt to curtail the way they acted in the past only to find that sometimes they are able to discontinue the earlier practice and other times they relapse into it. This person is characterized by a trial and error approach.

The person with conscious competence is an expert. They speak and act with full knowledge of what message they are conveying, which is in stark contrast to the previous two categories. This person is truly bicultural. This person knows the social mores of his environment and the mores of his most recently adopted setting. In the scenario, this would be the White worker who knows just what actions will bring him the wrath or the respect of his Black co-workers. He consciously switches gears as he processes how to behave in his one environment as compared to the other. He knows the subtleties, such as his Black co-workers prefer a silent nod as a greeting as opposed to a boisterous “Hello” followed by a lengthy tale.

The conscious competent worker may remind himself to adjust his behavior in and out of the two situations. Soon the worker in our scenario does not have to remind himself to adjust. It becomes second nature. When at work, he head nods regularly and does not have to think about toning it down. Many of the cultures other norms, such as ordering co-workers red meat dishes “well done”, or endorsing a flex schedule of come early leave early, come late leave late for times of 20 minutes and less, may also become part of his cultural repertoire.
Gordon Allport and R. Williams theorized that positive or negative feelings toward specific groups is contingent on the amount of contact with that group (Allport, G., 1954). An example is a male who has no sisters and works in a male dominated profession. Because of his limited exposure to females, he is likely to internalized that most women are passive or dainty. Hostility or envy could miscast him as misanthropic or misogynous.

As Allport noted, many times a person’s prejudice of a particular group or groups arises out of misunderstandings, limited contact, to very little contact at all (Allport, 1954). He noted that narrowing the physical distance between two people or groups often led a narrowing of attitudinal and behavioral distance. This is not to say that members began acting alike, which does happen to some degree, but rather it’s to say that individuals were more receptive to noted differences.

Newly migrated groups come with a host of descriptors, of which few are positive. Limited exposure to a group can be almost as thwarting to cross-culture acceptance as none at all as this sometimes merely reinforces stereotypes. Contact for longer duration and with larger numbers of individuals allows for a broader spectrum of what encompasses a particular group.

In the 1960’s, Heavyweight contender Muhammad Ali tapped the pulse of America at that time when he responded to concerns of him fighting a bigger, younger, stronger champion. “White people are scared of Foreman.” “I’m Black. I’m not scared of him,” He quipped. The undercurrent charge was that the champion represented the unknown for many White Americans. As contact usually leads to understanding, perhaps the vicarious contact of music or clothes too leads to greater receptiveness.
Definitions

Acculturation. The process by which members of minority groups gradually modify their ways of life to conform to patterns of the dominant culture.

Assimilation. See acculturation.

Bicultural. Expertise in the society that one adopts as well as knowledge of the one to which they were born.

Black identity. Janet Helms theory that African Americans have varying levels of self-consciousness and opinions of others based on their experience and social learning.

Caucasian. Member of the white race with skin from pale pink to dark brown, with hair color from blonde to dark brown (Halsey, William D., Macmillan School Dictionary, 1987).

Contact hypothesis. Allport's idea that distance between groups promotes fear and suspicion while integration promotes cooperation and understanding.

Crossover. The transcending of a initially small operation into a larger market.

Desegregation. Having an open door policy in which all are allowed to apply, but no major steps are made to ensure that people of different backgrounds apply.

Ethnicity effects. The tendency for people to pick role models and vote for candidates who have the same racial background as them.

Ghetto. First associated with Jews across Europe, in the U.S. the term has come to be associated with low income housing, high crime, and crowded cities.

Hip Hop. The style developed by inner city Blacks and Latinos that developed out of rap music's emphasis on designer labeled clothing and a flair for innovative communication.
Integration. Positive steps are made to ensure that a diverse group is formed.

Negrolization. A contemporary coined term that describes the recent phenomenon of white children in largely white areas taking on the dress, persona, and style of many of the cities Blacks and Latinos.

Nonpolitical rap. Mainstream or commercial rhyming music that emphasizes fun, partying, or a humorous short story. Examples include Will Smith's Fresh Prince, James Todd's L.L. Cool J., and M.C. Lyte's various releases.

Preppy. The style of clothing and attitude that stresses corporate values of production, achievement and mainstream widely accepted entertainment tastes.

Racism. The belief that one racial category is innately superior or inferior to another.

Radical Political Rap. Rhyming that espouses a particular philosophy and seeks to draw people to action. Often times anti-establishment, the artist pride themselves on their raw grassroots productions as opposed to big budget commercial sounds. Most notable in this form are Chris Parker's KRS One, Chuck D's Public Enemy and "The Brand Nubians".

Reverse integration. An atypical situation in the U.S. where a White finds themselves among a predominantly Black constituency.

Segregation. The physical separation of categories of people as typified by South Africa 1980 and United States 1950.

Split half reliability. A test is looked at for internal consistency by comparing how one person did on two equal valued parts.

Suburbs. a city or town just outside of a major city which in the U.S. has become associated with moderate to wealthy incomes and a white majority.

Urban. Pertaining to the city.

White identity. Theory put forth by Janet Helms to describe the evolution of white Americans thoughts on such ideas as race relations and how these ideas impact their self worth.

Xenophobia. Fear of strangers. Webster dictionary.
Assumptions

It is assumed that the subjects have commensurate opportunity for exposure to people of diverse backgrounds. Subjects are expected to comprehend all statements of the Morrison Scale in spite of its mild complexity, use of compound sentences, and use of abstractions. Subjects are assumed to come from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and the preliminary screening survey works to ascertain approximate family income brackets. Subjects are thought to answer all questions truthfully and honestly and to the best of their ability and this was fostered by the conscious effort to always have a nurturing and caring ionosphere or milieu.

It is also assumed that those with clear cut positive feelings toward integration will be so identified on a reliable basis by the Midwestern normed Morrison Scale. Inversely, it is assumed that those with admitted hostile feelings toward multi-racial cooperation and supremacy attitudes will be so identified by the Morrison Scale as the inventory promises.

In this particular study, it is assumed that most teens who identify a music preference hold music as a somewhat vital part of their lives and they listen quite frequently to it as many contemporary studies indicated. Relatedly, it is assumed that youth readily distinguish between the different music and dress style genres. It is believed that while there may be some overlap, there are clear distinctions even amongst similar genres. All or most subjects have commensurate opportunities to form bonds with blacks as ensured by the strategic choosing of Burlington County as the recruiting site.
Limitations

The Morrison Scale used as the tool for identifying people's level of positive or negative feelings toward integration and segregation is good in that it can be easily and readily administered in a relatively short period time in a non-laborious manner. The fact that it has not undergone any changes in terminology or otherwise since it was normed 30 years ago limits it somewhat. Though it may not use the latest language or address specific current events, the enduring timeliness of the inventory's content is uncanny.

The test is admittedly limited in that it has low predictive reliability. The test's creator had used it for 20 years as a means of initiating race relation discussions among workers at seminars. He found it to be a fairly good indicator of ones "at the moment" feelings of race relations, however he warned that such feelings are very unstable and subject to change with the latest current event.

The study is admittedly limited in its focus. Studying white males 16-21 allows for a more compact sample size than if other variables were added. Future studies should look at minority groups and women to see how music preference and racial views correlate in those cases. Budget constraints meant subjects were recruited or taken on a volunteer basis. Compensation which could have motivated subjects was not afforded to them.

Rewards were limited to intangibles such as self-esteem, sense of community, volunteerism and knowledge. The probe was somewhat stunted by the goal to identify degree of positive feelings toward integration as opposed to a more ambitious inquiry such as the white children’s degree of black racial identity or comfort with black culture.
Overview

In chapter 2 the literature review on how clothing, music, and interaction with specific groups affects behavior and attitudes will be presented. Chapter 3 is the section in which the tools used in the study and the particularities of the two groups are described. It is here that the specific designs of study are explained. Chapter 4 follows with an analysis of the results.
Studies that show that music influences Teens’ behavior.

There is a study suggesting that White teens listening of radical political rap makes them more receptive of movements that will empower Black Americans (Zillman, D., 1995). This study is arguably the closest parallel to this paper’s hypothesis. 80 African Americans and 74 White high school students were exposed to music videos featuring popular rock, nonpolitical rap, or radical political rap (see definition page) and then rated their enjoyment and self-esteem. Subjects then took part in a mock student government election. African American (AA) and White candidates presented ethnically liberal, neutral, or radical platforms. AA subjects tended to enjoy rap more than popular rock, whereas there was a pattern for White subjects to enjoy popular rock more than rap.

Musical genres appeared to have little to no affect on the self esteem of AA. Interestingly, the self-esteem of White subjects was higher after exposure to rap, however this increase was only with regard to scholastic abilities. AA subjects were unaffected by musical genre when it came to supporting a candidate. In contrast, White subjects were greatly affected by music exposure. Their support of political candidates was significantly affected. After exposure to radical political rap, White subjects gave more support to a liberal AA candidate and less support to a White radical candidate. In this case, the mere short time introduction of Radical Political Rap seemed to motivate White subjects to support efforts toward racial harmony.
Chapter II

Overview

Separate literature will address different specifics. One probe will solely examine how music affects behavior. A similar segment will isolate the affects of clothing or what one chooses to wear in determining that person's beliefs. Works that correlate degrees of acculturation to subsequent racial attitudes or ideological tendencies is yet another area that will receive equal attention.

The subject of music and behavior is a popular one. Most of the studies go in expecting to find a link between music and attitudes. It was revealed that when one suspected affect didn't occur, another affect did. For example a study that failed to show that punk fans were more risk taking, coincidentally found that these subjects tended to be more analytical and challengers of conventional wisdom.

Studies on contact and subsequent belief structure are thoroughly examined. Studies on this subject rival that of music and beliefs with regard to quantity. Contact with different cultures and people of different backgrounds is credited with a number of varying behavioral alternating consequences. Studies on integrated communities give insight into the long term effects of multi-ethnic heterogeneous groups living in close proximity to one another. There is the strong chance that support will go toward the notion that intermingling in everyday settings fosters understanding and warmer relations, while a few may suggest that it causes more strife.
African American and White High School students were exposed to music videos representing the genres (a) popular rock, (b) non-political rap, and (c) political rap, a genre that has recently grown in popularity to the extent of having entire programs feature just it (Zillmann ET AL, 1995). Afterward they were assessed for their preference of candidates who stood for liberalism, radicalism, and neutralism. Respondents were recruited from ethnically mixed American History and Economics classes at a mid-size Southeastern city high school.

157 Juniors and Seniors from six class sections participated. Data from 3 students who identified as other than black or white, was not tallied. Of the African Americans, 52 were girls and 28 were boys. Of the Whites, there were 41 girls and 33 boys. Teachers described 3 of the classes as “average” and 3 as “accelerated”. The study took place in 1992 prior to the Rodney King verdict. Students were exposed to one of the 3 music genres via 4 videos with a total time of approximately 20 minutes.

“Heed the Word of the Brother” by X Clan, “Now’s the B-Turn” by Luquan, “The Devil Made Me Do It” by Paris, and “Fight the Power” by Public enemy were played as the political rap representatives. Each video expressed anger and dissatisfaction with an oppressive white culture while calling for black pride and solidarity. Images included slavery, police brutality, and historical black and white footage of Malcolm X. Nirvana, Ugly Kid Joe, and Guns and Roses were in the Popular Rock set.
After video exposure subjects were shown photographs of fictitious student Government candidates who were actually undergraduate confederates. Each candidate's picture slide was projected as a recording of their age, major, organizations and most importantly platform was read by a narrator. The face slide remained as subjects were instructed to choose an answer of what kind of leader the candidate would make, how strongly they agree with them, and would they vote for them? The candidates were assigned names such as Andy Baker as well as backgrounds such as member of the Southern Sociologists Association. There was one white and one black for each of the ideologies for a total of six candidates. Liberal candidates were given a platform that preached harmony and getting along. Radical platforms were patently racial. They condemned or praised quota systems for example. Neutral platforms were void of racial overtones. Facility improvement and environmental issues took precedence in this case.

Results found that the black liberal candidate was supported more by blacks than whites. Women supported this candidate more than men. After exposure to political rap, white students supported this candidate more. Music had no appreciable affect on votes for the white liberal. Parallel ethnicity played a part here as well as with the white neutral candidate and the black radical candidate.
White students offered the least support to the white radical after exposure to political rap. The finding that political rap diminished White students’ support for a white radical candidate more so than the other genres is consistent with the predictions of this thesis. This thesis predicts that exposure to hip hop coupled with ones desire to hear such music results in similar support for Black candidates as well as identification with concerns of the Black community.

The white liberal candidate received parallel ethnicity (p = .001) and gender (p = .03) main effects which means that they were primarily supported by those of their similar race. The votes for the African American neutral candidate was without appreciable effects.

With a range of 0-2, the African American neutral candidate benefited slightly after participants heard rap music. White response rose from a post-rock average of 1.05 to 1.33 mainstream rap, and 1.40 political rap. African American 1.26 mean support of this candidate after rock exposure fell to 1.13 after political rap, but was at its’ most enthusiastic following mainstream rap (1.56).

Music appeared to have little influence over how white voters perceived the White neutral candidate, however it was quite inspiring for black students. Surprisingly, this candidate received more black support after blacks listened to mainstream rap, less after rock & roll exposure, and the most support following the political rap session. The African American radical candidate loss some of his black support following militant rap exposure. Whites, upon hearing mainstream rap, gave this candidate his least amount of support. The white radical got his all time highest support after rock & roll exposure.
Studies that show that music influences teenagers’ behavior.

Adolescents from a psychiatric facility participated in a study to determine the effects of listening to heavy metal as well as rock and roll music (Wooten, M., 1992). The author was interested in the differences between heavy metal’s affect on mood as compared to rock and roll’s affect on it. She also expected to find out if there was a relationship between music preference and shifts in affect. 35 patients aged 12-28 years old were measured for short-term fluctuations in mood before and after listening to music.

Music preferences were determined and noted during the grading process. Overall, there were no significant pre-test/ post-test differences found with regard to mood shifts. When grouped according to music preference, it was discovered that those that enjoyed heavy metal music most were significantly affected by hearing that music type. These subjects had an increase of positive affect when a heavy metal music sample was played for them. Subjects’ primary diagnosis had little to no bearing on shifts in affect after music was played.

A study out of Chicago University also gives insight into the mindset of Heavy Metal enthusiasts (Arnett, J., 1991). Momentum for the project came out of the million dollar attraction of such groups as Guns and Roses and Metallica. At the end of the 1980’s. Magadeth, Anthrax, and Slayer were also popular acts. Using open ended questions, it was determined that those who listened to this music type the most were less likely to see it as destructive.
When looking at music's affect on behavior, Heavy Metal has traditionally been indicted as a catalyst. A structured questionnaire relating to perceptions of reality, personality, music preferences, and reported self-exposure to music were obtained from 66 female and 30 male undergraduates to look at the relationship between popular music preference, social judgement, and personality characteristics (Kotarba, J.A. et al, 1987).

White fans of Heavy metal were isolated as noteworthy in one study that started off looking at several music types (Roberts, K., 1998). This study examined the relationship between the intensity of emotional response to music and health risk taking behavior in 11-21 year olds from either the University of California or Adolescent Medicine Clinics. After completing a written survey about music preference, emotional response to music using the Positive Affect Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS), and a variety of health-risk behaviors.

The PANAS scores were tallied to give a positive, negative, and total Affect Score. Health risk behaviors were given a point value based on the level of risk. Health-risk behavior was found correlated with increasing emotional response to music. This correlation for risk taking was found whether the emotional response was positive or negative. Strong negative emotional response was correlated with a history of greater risk behavior. This negative response was most notable among White subjects who preferred rock and heavy metal music. Subjects who experience strong negative emotions to music are at increased risk of participating in a variety of risk-taking behaviors.
Parents have long questioned the influence music has on teenagers. One recent study sought to find the relationship between the intensity of emotional response to music and risk taking behavior (Roberts, K.R., Dimsdale, J., East, P., and Friedman, L., 1990). Participants from the University of California, San Diego, Adolescent Medicine Clinics completed a written survey about music preference, emotional response to music using the Positive Affect Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS), and a variety of health-risk behaviors. Each participant was given a point value that coincided with their particular risk level.

142 11-21 year olds were asked to participate. 127 completed the survey. 13 dropped out and 2 were returned only partially completed. The test was anonymous. Subjects wrote how they felt while listening to their favorites music. 10 forced choices include excited, proud, alert, and active on the positive side, and hostile, irritable, upset, and nervous on the negative side. Intensity is rated from 1 to 5 as in not at all through to extremely. The range of score to this point is 10-50. Subjects then complete a survey of 18 questions related to whether they engaged in a number of risk taking behaviors. The questions cover seat belt use, drug use, violating curfew. The results indicated that increased emotional response to music was correlated with increase in health risk behavior. Older subjects engaged in more risk taking behaviors than younger ones. Age aside, the best predictor of increased health risk score was the teens’ self report of strong negative emotions when listening to their favorite music (Roberts, K.R., Dimsdale, J., East, P., and Friedman, L., 1990).
One researcher found that adolescents receiving acute care in a psychiatric unit for substance abuse, 59% claimed Heavy Metal was their music of choice. Of acute care patients with a psychological condition other than substance abuse, only 19% favored Heavy Metal. This adds weight to the notion put forth by some that the Heavy Metal scene is conducive to illicit drug use. The open ended questions asked in Arnett's study were developed based on debates in Congress on the supposed destructive nature of Heavy Metal. "What do you like in particular about it?", and "How devoted are you to it?" are sample of the 28 questions asked (Roberts, K., 1998). Adolescents were recruited from an Atlanta, Ga. Suburban music store. Each was given a CD of their choice for participation.

75% were white males. Subjects 14-20 were all from middle to high income class families. 35 of 52 were interviewed at length. Many similarities emerged. Most wanted their band to address social issues as was the case when Anthrax denounced the hostile takeover of Native Americans by settlers. 11% thought lyrics were most important, 48% thought the instrumental was most important, and 41% thought it was a combination. 43% listened when angry. 23% listened always. Only 9% listened when they were happy. Most need it as a release to get them going. 48% described themselves as Republican and 14% Democratic. 26% claimed conservatism and 29% claimed liberalism. 45% refused to commit to liberal or conservative feelings. 59% reported that all or almost all of their friends were Metal fans as well. 49% said they were Christian, compared to the 76% control group. 33% said they were atheists, whereas only 11% of the control group claimed this. 1 Metal fan claimed Satanism, but qualified that it was a means of contacting the dead and not devil worship. 80% fancied themselves a prospective Metal star. Metal fans reported lower satisfaction than other boys on the Family Relationship sub-scale of the Offer Self-Image Questionnaire (Roberts, K., 1998).
It is believed that black teens use black music different than other children use other music. 176 young people aged 14-19 years old were surveyed regarding their emotions associated with music and in particular their favorite music (Hakanen, E., 1995). Overall, positive emotions were associated with all musical forms. Rap music evoked feelings of happiness and excitement. There were quotes such as, “It got me pumped up.”

Rhythm and blues and Soul like that popularized by such people as R. Kelly, Kurt Franklin, and Brandy produced a different response. This music was related to grief, anger, and pride. Jazz, such as that by Grover Washington, Jr., Al Jarreau and Sade resulted in all the feelings of Soul with the addition of confidence and hope.

25 University student volunteers from an introductory psychology course were assigned to one of three treatment groups. No music, Steven Halpern’s relaxation music, and a boroque style music, that boasted of learning enhancement, were used. A self-report measure of subjective tension level was the dependent variable. Subjects were instructed to rate their tension level on a 1-10 point scale.

Relaxed was 1 and tense was 10. Each session lasted 20 minutes. Subjects were instructed to mark their tension levels at eight different times. Results indicated significant differences across groups for the music variables across the third and fourth data points (p<.05). No other significant differences were obtained. Halpern’s music and no music produced differences at data points three and four. No music produced the lowest amount of tension, while Halpern’s produced the most (Logan, T.G. & Roberts, A.R., 1984).
Studies which indicate that music has little affect on attitude.

Rebut S. Stack (not to confuse with famed Neuropsychologist author Robert Sacks) looked at how Country and Western (C and W) music affected college students who were fans of that genre. Armchair theorists, stand up comedians, and keen observers have long noted the bittersweet characteristic of such songs as Wynona Judd’s “Heaven Help My Heart”, Travis Tritt’s “Hard Times and Misery”, Reba McEntire’s “Tears on My Pillow”, Robert Earl Keen’s “Road of No Return”, and Garth Brook’s “If Tomorrow Never Comes”.

It would be a reasonable guess to conclude that C and W music, which is often characterized by stories of heartache and sorrow, would result in its enthusiasts having extended periods of feeling down. The hypothesis was put to the test with a recent study.

58 female and 35 male undergraduate students were examined. All were pre-screened and selected for the study based on their preference for C and W music (Lester, 1996). They were assessed for depression as well as suicidal preoccupation. The study found that these students had no greater level of depression or suicidal preoccupation than a normal healthy control group. These researchers found that past suicidal ideation was associated more with those who preferred alternative rock and heavy metal music.

Based on these findings, the idea that depressed feelings were precipitated by a love of country and western music could be somewhat refuted. This study failed to lend support to that often heard common sense notion.
In comparing Rock and Roll Music and Heavy Metal Music, one study found that the affects of music on behavior are minimal (Wooten, M.A., 1992). 35 adolescents from a psychiatric facility participated in the study that sought to compare Rock and Roll and Heavy Metal's affect on mood. Subjects indicated their music preference via a point sheet, listened to particular music types, then short term fluctuations in mood were measured. This particular study found no significant pre-post differences in the affect shifts overall.

21 females and 14 males from a psychiatric facility in Dallas, Texas, participated in the study. The age range was 12-18. Most were diagnosed as either major affective disorder, disruptive behavior disorder, and/ or psychoactive substance use disorder. There were 3 treatments; a baseline, heavy metal music condition, and "mainstream" popular music condition. Five selections were chosen for each style of music from popular releases highlighted during one 8 week period in October and November of 1988. Each selection was limited to about 5 minutes.

Fluctuations in mood were assessed using the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) which is sensitive to short term changes in mood. Positive affect is the degree to which a person feels enthusiastic, active, and alert. Negative affect is the degree to which a person feels distressed, depressed, or tired. The scores are independent, thus one could have a high negative and positive affect.

The study took place over a 3 day period. No music was played on the first day as this was used as the baseline. On the second day subjects were exposed to either Heavy Metal or mainstream popular "rock and roll" music.
Between each five minute selection, subjects were given five to ten seconds to rate how much they enjoyed the particular song using a 5 point Likert scale. On the third day, subjects were exposed to the opposing genre of music and asked to rate that from 1-5 between sets.

Music preference was ascertained by these calculations. Although positive affect increased for those with a Heavy Metal preference following the Heavy Metal session, those who preferred Rock and Roll had no significant change in mood after listening to music. Even those who preferred Heavy Metal failed to show an increase in negative affect. Negative affect scores decreased during all three conditions as subjects became more and more relaxed as each of the three conditions played out.

This is one of the few studies that lends support to music having minimal to no significant affect on behavior. The researchers of this particular study refrained from giving their personal opinions of how they believed music affects adolescents. The statistics of the 35 participants found no appreciable difference between music types and a music-less baseline. This finding goes contradictory to the bulk of information on music and subsequent behavior (Wooten, M.A., 1992).

A 1987 study attempted to find a link between Heavy Metal music preference, delinquency, and the choice of delinquent friends, but failed to do so in some regards (Singer, S., 1994). 715 suburban high school students were examined. It was found that Heavy Metal had an effect on delinquency, however there was no support for the hypothesized interaction of Heavy Metal music and a preference for delinquent peers as friends. Contrary to expectations, those students with better grades who preferred Heavy Metal music had higher rates of self-reported delinquency.
Some studies counter the notion that music influences people by noting that people pick music that suits their already determined style. 74 University students were giving the NEO Personality inventory plus the Music Preference Questionnaire. The goal was to find the relation of openness and extraversion to music preference (Dollinger, S., 1993). Extraversion was positively correlated to jazz, while excitement seeking was highly correlated with hard rock music. Openness to experience related to various music forms classified outside of popular rock music.

One study both found and failed to find connections between music and behavior. 715 suburban high school youth were examined for music preference and delinquency (Singer, S., 1993). This had both supporting and non-supporting results. The researchers controlled for parental and school related variables, as well as delinquent associations. Heavy metal music proved pivotal in instigating delinquency when parental control was low. There was little support for heavy metal music preference alone leading to delinquency. Surprisingly, those with better school grades that had a Heavy Metal preference, still had a higher incidence of self reported delinquency than a normally sampled group.

An English researcher sought to see how contemporary music shaped identity (Frith, S., 1996). They argued that the aesthetics of popular music are best examined in terms of how a particular piece of music or performance produces rather than reflects people, and how it creates and constructs an experience that can be made sense of only by taking on both a subjective and collective identity. Unlike earlier studies, this study included the hip hop style was included.
With fitness gurus reporting that they can do more exercise more efficiently with a set of headphones and their favorite CD and those who are heavy on their gas pedal sometimes pleading that they were lost in their song, one group of researchers put the notion of music affecting people to the test (Logan, T.G., and Roberts, A.R.).

Subjects were recruited from a University in Las Vegas, Nevada. The 25 undergraduate students were told little of the experiment which they had volunteered for. The design was that the students would be exposed to three different conditions on separate occasions. Their level of anxiety was ascertained using the objective signs of heart rate, degree of perspiration, and coloring. Each were hooked up to monitors. Each would receive the condition of Halpern’s relaxation music, Ostrander’s super learning music, and no music at all. It was predicted that Halpern’s music would result in less anxiety than the other two conditions.

The dependent variable of level of anxiety was to be determined by the independent variable of what music was played if any. The sequence for each candidate was the same, however there were enough sessions that each condition could be placed in the others order. The time for each condition was 20 minutes long.

A one way ANOVA variance indicated no significant difference across the three conditions. In this case music had no real affect. Out of 9 sessions, only two produced significant differences. This difference occurred during the 3rd and 4th session. During these times it was noted that Halpern’s music resulted in significantly higher tension levels.
It was thought that Heavy Metal music would result in subsequent predictable behavior, however this was not found to be the case according to one finding (Singer, S.I., Levine, M., & Jou, S.). Although there is a tendency for each generation to complain about youths' music, there is little proof of a relationship between popular youth culture and deviant forms behavior (Newman, G.R., 1990).

One study found that many children are alienated and resckless prior to gravitating toward any music type (Arnett, J., 1991). The article argues that Heavy Metal acts to support these children's attitudes as opposed to creating them. Another study failed to show an interaction between music and suburban delinquency in cases where there was high parental attachment and control (Barich, W., 1986).

One theorist downplays the influence of music on behavior while emphasizing peer group affiliations (Shoemaker, D.J., 1990). He writes "Heavy Metal music should have no affect on the delinquent behavior of youth who are isolated from other youth who are delinquent. Sutherland's theory of differential association maintains that the principal part of the learning of delinquent behavior occurs within intimate groups. Therefore, heavy metal music tends to only increase delinquent behavior when it promotes an increase in delinquent peer identification.

Preference for Heavy Metal was not correlated with poor grades in school (Singer et al., 1993). The interaction between heavy metal and school grades was a bit surprising. When the variable of school marks is one standard deviation above its mean, the effect of heavy metal on delinquency increases to .38. Among the youth who prefer heavy metal, it is not the ones who get worst grades who report the most delinquent acts. Rather, youth who prefer heavy metal and have higher rates of delinquency appear to achieve relatively better grades in school.
This goes contrary to that found outside of heavy metal in which delinquent behavior tends to correlate with poorer grades.

Gifted youth tend to tire from routine, see inconsistencies in rules and find many possibilities to a problem sometimes leading to their questioning of authority. Gifted youth's gravitation toward heavy metal is one explanation for the discrepancy of good grades and increased delinquent behavior among metal fans (Singer et al, 1993).

During the field study, a 16 year old honor student spoke of how punk music added meaning to her life (Kotarba, J.A., & Wells, L., 1987). "I get tired of the same old bullxxxx of top 40 radio, you know? It's all mindless disco and heavy metal. They make it for some to listen to while they drink their beer. At least punk acknowledges that there are problems in the world and life is not all about Bon Jovi (a popular heavy metal band).

Zillman's study (1995) had a number occasions when music appeared to have an influence, however it was noted that there were cases when no affect took place. 150 High school students were played sets of popular rock, mainstream rap, and political rap. In spite of predictions that the three music conditions would result in changes of self-esteem, political ideology, and subsequently revamping of support of political candidates and their platforms, this was not altogether the case. While white students became more supportive of the black liberal candidate following exposure to radical rap music, a number of the situations in this study produced no appreciable consequence. Few subjects' self-esteem changed as a result of the music sets. Music also failed to have an appreciable effect on the support that the white liberal candidate
Studies that suggest that clothing influences behavior.

One study looked at how dress typically affects the behaviors of teenagers at a Rock and Roll nightspot in Houston, Texas (Kotarba, J.A. & Wells, L, 1987). Data for the study was collected over a four-month period. Approximately 70 hours of observation were logged. Monday was most frequently used as that was “all-ages” night. There were 24 personal interviews, 9 group interviews, and 5 orientation interviews with managers and staff. Study samples were limited to those 18 years of age or younger. Because of the loud volume inside the club, most interviews were conducted in the outside lot or at a nearby fast food restaurant. In addition to the basic “face sheet” information, open ended questions were asked. Teens’ placement in style categories were largely based on self reported perceptions of identification and preference.

The area surrounding Roma’s nightclub consists of a busy thoroughfare and commercial development. Cover charges range from $1 to $12 depending on what act is booked for the evening. Heavy Metal is the most played most often. Adolescents mingle with adolescents and adults with adults with little intermingling. Groups that share similar hairstyles, dress, and taste in music tend to cluster together away from groups with distinctively different features. The teenage patrons use these styles to identify each other. These styles resulted in predictable behavior patterns.

Metal Heads refers to one particular dress style. These youth prefer music that uses electric guitars like that of such groups as Cream and Led Zeppelin of the late 1960’s. These youth value loudness and boldness. Their music tends to yell and scream as opposed to sing. They are dichotic in that their overt interests range from Christian salvation to oral sex. Evidence of this dichotomy is heard in the names of some of the favorite groups;
Twisted Sister, Iron Maiden, Quiet Riot, and Judas Priest. Many like to offset their simplistic black attire with make-up, and downplay their long locks by not having any particular hairstyle.

Metal Heads were not the only youth who appeared to be affected by their clothing preference (Kotarba, J.A. & Wells, L., 1987) The Punker or Punk clothing style was found to have high shock value mainly aimed at adults. These children may sport many earrings, tattoos, and have multi-colored spiked hair. Many that entered Roma’s had belts constructed from interwoven handcuffs. This shock affect may employ the letter A for Anarchy with a circle or a swastika. It was found that as a group, Punkers were from middle class families, quite bright, articulate, and success oriented. One 16 year old interviewed was an honor student.

Their loyalty to the Punk rhythms, which resemble Heavy Metal in loudness with a faster tempo and absence of meter, is such that most come to Roma’s only when a Punk band is on tap. Punkers acknowledge political contradictions and world problems while criticizing Heavy Metal and Top 40 music for not addressing issues.

Preppies have also been termed socialites and yuppies. They don’t go to Roma’s much as the club does not book many bands that appeal to them. Unlike Metal Heads and Punkers, Preppies are more likely to label themselves rather than people labeling them. They think of themselves more as young adults than a teen subculture. They closely adhere to middle or upper-middle class values and behavioral expectations. They appreciate top 40 music in spite of its limitations and commercial packaging. They enjoy music rich on melody and harmony which is in contrast to Metal Heads and Punkers. They aspire to obtain jewelry, designer clothing and fashionable automobiles. These items can easily monopolize the content of their conversation. Their playfulness is consistent with the use of blues, reds, and yellows that they like to wear.
Unlike the other groups who rely heavily on symbolization and non-verbal cues, Preppies relied heavily on words. They enjoyed hugging, kissing, and smiling more than any other group. The Roma study illustrates how Teen’s are able to construct their identity through clothing.

**Studies that show that Assimilation/ Acculturation influences behavior.**

The fact that you share experiences and become friends with someone of a different race can influence your worldview according to some studies (Reich & Purbhoo’s, 1975). One study found that becoming friends with someone of another race resulted in the person identifying more with that race (Cook, 1984). This finding was consistent with similar findings before it (Parrish & Fleetwood, 1975; and Sappington, 1976).

While the person identifies with the group to which they are becoming familiar, they may quite likely become more dissonant with their own in-group’s customs, habits, and rationales (Wilder & Thompson, 1980).

One study examined a specific consequence of growing up in an integrated as opposed to segregated community (Ferman & Entwistle, 1976). The study compared White children in integrated communities to White children in segregated communities with regard to their ability to identify face photographs as Black, White, Latino, or Asian. Laboratory experiments show that people of the same race tend to identify face pictures of in-group members with better accuracy than out-group subjects (Chance, Goldstein, & McBride, 1975). However, children living in integrated environments had greater accuracy in identifying out-group members than those in homogenous environments (Ferman, & Entwistle, 1976). Other studies show that white’s with close friends who are black fare better than other whites when identifying Black faces (Craik & Lockhart, 1972).
During the United States’ initial desegregation of neighborhoods some researchers took interest in the effects of blacks moving in on the attitudes of white neighbors. One study took place in 100,000 population homogenous suburb of Stockton, California during the Spring of 1963 (Meer, B., and Freedman, E., 1966).

Blacks constituted only about 1% of the community. Black subjects were used in the sample only when they owned their own home, lived at the address for at least a year, and had occupations that equaled or exceeded the status of their neighbors. This resulted in 10 families out of 20.

10 families that surrounded each black home was considered as an experimental home. Families at least 3 blocks away from black homes were used as the control group. It was hypothesized that families living in close proximity would result in more positive feelings about blacks than those living further distances away. The Negro Social Distance Scale was used to access attitude when the Ethnocentrism Scale’s anti-Negro sub-scale failed to produce discernable results.

The Negro Social Distance Scale (NSDS) is a forced choice survey that asks participants to rate such statements as “dating a Negro is…” and “having a Negro as a neighbor is …” as completely acceptable to completely unacceptable, with less absolute options in between. The 16 item scale employed split half reliability which correlated .92 for the experimental group and .90 for the control and .92 for the combined groups.
Having interracial friendships influences attitudes concerning race matters.

3,806 subjects from France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and West Germany responded to a questionnaire aimed at assessing their degree of intergroup prejudice, which is the prejudice of groups outside of their own (Pettigrew, T.F., 1997). It was hypothesized that those with greater amounts of intergroup contact, or contact with those of different groups, would have less intergroup prejudice.

Prior to this study, support for the idea that intergroup contact leads to reduced prejudice was put forth in a study of German children in school with Turkish children (Wagner, U., Hewstone, M., and Machleit, U., 1989), young people’s attitude toward the elderly (Caspi, A., 1984) and one communities reaction toward the mentally ill (Desforges, D.M. et al., 1991).

In yet another area, G.M. Herek and P. Capitanio (1996) uncovered that telephone interviewees who had a friend who disclosed their gayness were significantly more likely to give more positive comments about homosexuality. There were 455 French people who commented on North African Blacks, 475 French on Asians, 462 Dutch on Surinamers, 476 Dutch on Turks, 471 British people on West Indian Blacks (ie; American screen legend Sidney Poitier), 482 British on Asians, and 984 West Germans on Turks.

To ascertain level of contact, “many”, “few”, and “little to none” responses were given to a variety of statements such as “the number of people of people of another race who I consider my friend are ...”. 43

The Subtle prejudice scale asks questions from how immigrants should be treated to the degree of positive or negative feelings the subjects gets when rating each group that is outside of their own. The hypothesis was that greater amounts of intergroup contact would lead to less prejudice scores on this scale.

As predicted, identification of many friends outside of one’s own group positively correlated with lower prejudice scores. Those with such interracial friendships were more likely to report sympathy and admiration for minority members than those without such friendships (Pettigrew, T.F., 1997).

Those who reported many minority neighbors or co-workers supported immigration, but to a smaller degree than those who reported many friends. Those with minority friends reported more positive feelings about other groups. This lends support to the idea that a generalization. Generalization takes place when a person with many friends of one race other than their own is apt to be receptive of other minority groups.

This study differs from it’s predecessors in that it encompasses four nations as opposed to the exhausted black and white relations in N. America. A fresh slant on trans-ethnic relations is provided by examining 6 minority groups in Western Europe.

Another study looked at friendship patterns in 3 Northern Ireland Schools (McClenahan, C., Cairns, E., Dunn, S., and Morgan, V., 1996).
96 students were from an integrated school. 211 were from a Protestant desegregated school, and 69 were from a Catholic desegregated school. This breaks down as 52% Protestant, 48% Catholic, 43% boys, and 57% girls. The questionnaire was administered at the beginning of the school year (Oct./Nov. 1990) and at the end (May/June 1991).

Proctors were careful not to reveal the true nature of the test, but instead gave a general explanation that researchers were interested in attitudes. Subjects were aged 11-12 and 14-15. Enough identifying info was gather to determine each child's religious affiliation without coming right out and asking. They then were instructed to write down the full names of students they would like to be with in the classroom, in the lunchroom, on the playground, and when off the school grounds. Each of the students first, second, and third choices for the 4 scenarios were classified as in-group or out-group.

Using chi-square tests it was determined if a student had or didn't have an in-group bias. Younger Protestants friendship choice did not differ from the actual distribution of Catholic and Protestant children. Younger Catholic children exhibited in-group bias across the four situations. Older Protestant children had a Protestant preference in the lunchroom and playground scenarios only. Older Catholics picked fellow Catholics as their first choice at a rate that is higher than would be expected by chance. Overall it was found that in-group bias for friendship was the exception and not the rule. This bias was more likely to occur during the first month of the school year.

When present, it usually disappeared by the end of the school year. These findings lend support to the idea that children are likely to form bonds that transcend groups when the opportunity presents itself.
Black/White unions in the U.S. have flourished in situations where there are common interest/goals, lifestyles, and personalities (Jackman, M., and Crane, M., 1986). The friendship preferences of these Catholic and Protestant children appear to have been sparked in a similar manner. K. Thomas (1984) assertion that in-group bias increases with age and peaks during adolescents was not supported by this study.

Another cross-cultural study was aimed at examining specific aspects of cultural identity within the context of intercultural contact (Kosmitzki, C., 1996). German and U.S. American individuals who either lived in the respective non-native culture (bicultural) or had no direct contact (mono-cultural) were looked at. Participants were asked to rate which of 120 trait items related to them, which related to their native people, and which related to the people of the non-native land. They then were asked to rate native and non-native people in terms of positive and negative traits.

Compared to mono-culturals, biculturals saw themselves as more similar to their native group, rated their groups’ characteristics more positively, and rated the two groups as more dissimilar. These findings were in line with J.C. Turner et al (1987) findings which suggested that individuals tend to attach one set of stereotypes to describe an out-group, more positive stereotypes to describe their own in-group, and contact merely serves as an opportunity to apply these stereotypes. Despite the negative findings of Turner et al. and C. Kosmitski, the bulk of studies lend support to Allport’s claim that contact fosters understanding (Amir, Y., 1976; Hamilton, D., & Bishop, G., 1976; Wilder, D., 1978; Stephan, W.G., 1987).
Youth's attitudes are affected by interaction in diverse settings.

Allport first suggested that homeogenous societies can foster xenophobia and integrated societies cooperation and understanding the 1950's (Personality and Social Psychology, 1997). In a Canadian study, intergroup friendships in school were found to increase the children's acceptance of cross group role models (Reich, C., & Purbhoo, M., 1975).

Increased contact with members of different ethnicity often has the inverse of less contact with the person's own group. This decreased time from own group has a much an affect on the person's attitudes as what they get out of the new group (Wilder, D.A., & Thompson, J.E., 1980). Those with out-group relationships have time away from their own group in which they can reappraise early taught beliefs. There has been casual relationships between out-group contact, decreased prejudice toward that group, as well as all out-groups in general (Wilder, D.A.& Thompson, J.E., 1980).

Some aspects of how teenagers integration feelings can be sifted from how adults fare. In the late 1960's, one researcher conducted extensive interviews in a recently integrated small California community in order to ascertain general feelings of whites about the less than 5% that made up the black families (Bishop, G., 1976). He took great pains to ensure that all subjects were of equal economic class, were homeowners and not renters, and had been living at their current address for at least 12 months. The families who lived directly across, behind, and on the side of each black family were pooled into what eventually became the sample. Because the interviews were in the day, housewives tended to be the participants. On whole, there was an indifferent acceptance of black neighbors and some surprise about these black's nobility.
Summary

The findings had a number of unexpected results. Contrary to popular opinion, armchair hypothesizing, and now a major study, Country and Western music failed to show adverse affects of depression, suicidal tendencies, or lowered self esteem. This was one of the few studies when music did not have an affect.

Even in cases when music failed to have the intended affect, a substitute affect took place. For example, when Whites were expected to rebel against pro-black sentiments of political rap, they did not. Instead they showed sympathetic and cooperating gestures.

Clothes and behavior is a relatively unexplored area that promises to have more research on it in the future in light of current debates over school and work dress codes. One social study found distinct patterns in youth’s dress and their actions. Much of the contact writings support the idea that the more you get to know a group the more you better understand them. The less you interact with them, the less you understand them, the more fear you have of them, and the more likely you are to have prejudicial negative feelings and stereotypes about them.

A chicken-egg conundrum develops in looking at personal style and ensuing attitudes and political ideology. There is no great certainty that the style influences the person or if the person comes in with a particular slant which flavors their choice of style. For example, some whites become more black friendly after exposure to black settings while other’s original openness results in their tendency to enter such arenas.
Chapter III

Instruments and sample

The assessment tool for the study must be able to distinguish between attitudes of subjects. It should give raw scores of how White students rate with regard to multicultural sensitivity, degree of Black identification/acculturation/assimilation or comfort with Black people, inversely the degree of in-group non-identification, openness to diversity and social change, inclination toward integration, togetherness of different groups, and racial harmony, or predilection toward separation of racial groups, separatism, and racial strife.

The African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS), Baldwin and Bell's African Self-Consciousness Scale, The Belief Systems Analysis Scale (BSAS), and Helm's Black Racial Identity Scale are just a few of the instruments that can examining the traits in question. Subjects were administered Morrison's Scale of Attitudes on Black and White Relations (M.S.A.B.W.R.). The 50 experimental subjects were compared to the 46 participants representing the control group. 50 subjects self-identified as preferring the black urban culture while the 46 in the control group did not specify such a preference.
All subjects come from the racially diverse community of Burlington County which sits 30 miles North of Philadelphia and 55 miles South of New York City; two melting pots.

The M.S.A.B.W.R. is a 28 question forced answer survey which asks readers to rate the strength of their agreement of disagreement along a 5 point Likert scale. 1 is strongly disagree, 2 is simply disagree, 4 is simply agree, and 5 is strongly agree.

On the pre-screening sheet subjects fill in their age, date of birth, place where test taken, city where they live and nickname so to ensure anonymity yet distinguish between participants and have a means of tracking down specific individuals should the worst case scenario necessitate a follow up (Appendix A). Britt’s Anxiety of African Americans Scale is a 11 statement questionnaire in which subjects simply agree or disagree.

There is no time limit however most participants finish all three within an 1/2 hour. The questionnaires should be taken in one sitting with no break in session. While no one was turned away from taking the survey, the two categories that were isolated for comparison were White adolescent males 16-21 who either identified as preferring hip hop or did not identify as preferring hip hop/r&b, but instead some other music and clothing style.

The scale was normed in 1969, and some of the language used seems dated. Most notably is the use of the word Negro instead of African American. This is not problematic as many find the term Negro more inclusive of many Black people of different origin in America than the specific African American.
The scale remains significant in light of recent headlines in which a lot of black civic leaders are accused of being self serving and pompous, legislation tussles with the idea of affirmative action, and personal stories of hardship are regularly made fun of as laughable excuses. Though Dr. James H. Morrison designed his questions 30 years ago, they are pertinent to today's current events.

The scale also is timely as evidenced by recent differences of Blacks and Whites in opinion polls. The statements cover economic, political, racial, and social issues just as did the General Social Survey. Without committing copyright infringement by giving an actual question, it will suffice to give a few examples of what kind of statements are found on the Scale. Typical statements on the test are, "One of the best ways for Negroes to get respect from Whites is to work between themselves and show that they can achieve without intervention from outsiders", "Interracial couples very likely will form a stronger bond than others as they have so many obstacles to overcome", and "Race has never been as much of a big deal that some have made it out to be."

Experimental design

Rather than darkening the thin rectangles which can be difficult to see, subjects are told to put circles around the thin rectangle which corresponds with their letter response. All items are to be answered and there should be no blanks as answer 3/C always allows the out for not knowing what to write. Care is taken at every opportunity to provide a safe, comfortable, and friendly milieu in light of the potentially intimidating and sensitive nature of the subject matter. Researcher effect was noted in limitations.
Testable Hypothesis

It was predicted that white teens who identify as hip hop aficionados would have scores on Morrison's Scale of Attitudes on Black White Relations and Britt's Anxiety of African Americans Scale that are more indicative of black advocacy than white males who are not aficionados of that genre.

Analysis

After completing the Morrison on integration feelings and the Britt on level of fear of black people a simple T-Test will show if the two groups are significantly different in attitude. The Pearson will compare scores of younger subjects to older subjects.

Summary

This chapter fully described the methods that were used in this study so that duplication can take place. The tools used were the pre-screener which gets demographic and style preference information, the Morrison which assesses attitudes on integration, and Britt’s which rates the degree of fear that a subject has toward black people. A simple T-Test and Pearson were used for analyzing the hip hop versus the non-hip hop group and the young test takers versus the older test takers respectively.
Chapter IV

It was predicted that white males who preferred the hip hop style would test more liberal and less afraid of black people. 50 subjects who preferred the hip hop style were compared to 48 who liked another style. The producer of the Morrison Scale of Attitudes on Black and White Relations (M.S.A.B.W.R.) noted that his original group of Midwestern business adults scored much lower (60) on average. The averages of these youth represents a re-norming of the original findings.

One non-hip hop subject earned a score of 10 on Britt’s Anxiety of African Americans scale (A.A.A.S.). This suggests that this person has fear ridden feelings in most, if not all, facets of dealing with black people. This same subject scored a 77 on the M.S.A.B.W.R. This is greater than the mean of 67, but within the range of 90 for cooperative integration feelings. Another non-hip hopper scored 9 out of 10 for anxiety and 92 on Morrison which suggests fear of blacks and separatist sentiments respectively.

The hip hop group had no such high scores as one subject scored 84 which is getting close to suggesting separatists feelings yet still within the range of cooperation. The highest anxiety score for hip hoppers was 5, which is admitting to a mild degree of fear of blacks. White males with a hip hop preference reported a much lower anxiety level than those without one. The mean for hip hoppers was 1.4 as non-hip hoppers had 2.7 (table 1 and 2). An independent sample t test compared the hip hop and non-hip hop group’s scores on Britt’s Anxiety of African Americans Scale.

53
There was a significant difference between the scores of the two groups at .002.

The hip hop group, on whole, scored less anxious ($t = -3.255$, $p < .002$).

Most subjects reported harmonious feelings about integration. An independent sample t test compared Morrison's scale for integration attitudes and found no significant ($.821$) difference between the two groups. While there was no significant difference between the two groups with regard to satisfaction with integration, there was a significant difference in how the two groups perceived interactions with black people with regard to anxiety levels.

Lending support to the original hypothesis, the white males who identified a hip hop preference reported a much lower anxiety level than those who did not. The mode for hip hoppers was 0. 16 members scored zero edging out 13 ones and 11 twos. The mode for non-hip hoppers was zero at 15. This edged out 13 ones and 10 fours. The mean for the hip hoppers was 1.4. Non-hip hoppers mean was significantly higher at 2.7 (table 1 and 2). The mean for the M.S.A.B.W.R. was 65.62 for the hip hop group and a less black advocating integration friendly 67.48 for the non-hip hop group.

Both groups had scores indicative of warm integration feelings. Randomly sampled, the hip hop group had 18 sixteen year olds and 4 twenty year olds among other ages. The non-hip hoppers had 30 sixteen year olds and 5 twenty year olds among others. Pearson correlation showed a correlation between age and anxiety of blacks as well as age and white teenagers' feelings about integration.
## Tables of Means and Standard Deviation

### Table 1 - Anxiety

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<th>S.D.</th>
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<td>2.5287</td>
<td>.3728</td>
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\[ t = 3.255 \quad p < .002 \]

### Table 2 - Integration

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<td>11.3191</td>
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</table>
Chapter V

This study looked into whether music and clothing could provide the contact which Allport spoke of as necessary for opposing groups to come together in a more harmonious union. If lovers of black and Latino hip hop culture expressed black advocating sentiments and less fear than those whites without such a preference, it could lend support to the idea that even vicarious contact results in cooperating feelings.

Discussion and Implications for further research

Follow up inquiries could determine if the role modeling of distant idols, such as a rap superstar, heavily influences the youth who otherwise has little personal contact with members who resemble that superstar. This study could see to what extent people can vicariously adapt to different groups. With more than 40 respondents who were either female, black, or some other minority group, the beginning data for further research has already begun. Many adults middle aged and older have expressed a desire to see how they would fare in this study of political ideologies, thus this opening another avenue for future research.

Different, yet related, investigations could look at whites in the heavily integrated sports of football or basketball will score less afraid of blacks and more in favor of cooperation than someone in the predominantly white sports of golf or hockey.
This study concentrated on the teenage years, however grade school and adulthood are areas that could add insight to this specific area of contact and race relations.

This study focused on the middle socioeconomic class. Contrary to the widespread notion that higher economics and education leads to more cooperating attitudes, there is a school of thought that higher social classes are merely more sophisticated in their methods of expressing discord with out-group members. High versus lower economic groups could be compared.

A case study of subjects in this study could provide clues on how subjects developed their particular feelings. On the question,"How would you feel if you were the only white in a room full of black people ?" one 21 year old brown haired blue eyed respondent exclaimed, “I’d love it. That’s actually what I prefer.” This was one of the final incidents during the testing phase. It was in the spirit of this type of embracing of a stigmatized group that this study was first envisioned. With it as a closing statement, it seemed to confirm early suspicions and bring the entire study full circle.

Conclusion

There appears to be strong evidence that contact with another cultures music and clothing results in advocating feelings toward that culture. Subjects who identified as identifying with the predominantly black and Latino influenced hip hop culture expressed significantly lower levels of anxiety toward those groups. Conversely, it can be concluded that lack of contact results in significantly higher levels of fear and this xenophobia results in less advocating feelings toward that group.
References


Appendix A
### Appendix A

**Total Scores**

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Appendix B
Memorandum

To: Parents
From: Troy Turner
cc: 
Date: Tuesday, November 10, 1998
Subject: Thesis research

Hello,
I am a Graduate Student in the School Psychology program at Rowan University. Though being too specific could compromise the reliability of my study, I can reveal to you that I am looking at how external forces, such as the environment help to shape young people’s viewpoints. Many of the survey questions deal with race, class, and gender, yet the author Dr. Morrison worded his questions tastefully and thoughtfully.
This is an anonymous test. Neither the school nor the student will be identified, although the preliminary screening asks age, and city where test taken for the purposes of scoring and distinguishing between two anonymous test takers.

Although I need 30 subjects and 30 controls for a total of 60, 15 students from a few different area high schools would give me my numbers. The more the better for me.

I will avail myself to your child’s school in case you have any questions.

Thank-you for your attention,

(Troy Turner, Rowan U. School Psychologist Program)

parent’s signature