

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS AND PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS
TOWARDS BLACK AND WHITE SPEAKERS

A Thesis

by

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Towards Black and White Speakers

A Thesis

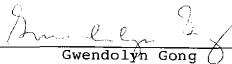
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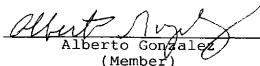
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ABSTRACT

Language Attitudes of Teachers and Prospective Teachers

Towards Black and White Speakers. (May 1989)

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Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Barbara Johnstone

Research evaluating attitudes towards speakers of various dialects of English provides evidence that people make judgments about others based on language use (Labov 1972; Hudson 1980; Williams 1976; Fasold 1984). Personality judgments are consistently made through language attitudes (Labov 1972). When people hear language varieties, they do not make decisions based solely on the sound of the language, and whether or not it was pleasant to them. Rather, their judgments reflect certain social stereotypes about the people associated with the dialect.

One significant implication of this research is that language attitudes of teachers can affect students who speak a dialect different from standard English. Children tend to become what their teachers and other adults expect them to become; thus, a teacher who forms a negative attitude towards a student who speaks a nonstandard dialect may seriously affect that student's self-confidence and ability to succeed (Hudson 1980; Edwards 1982; Piche',

Michlin, Rubin and Sullivan 1977).

Because of the importance that teachers play in the lives of their students, this research will concentrate on the language attitudes of teachers and prospective teachers towards black and white students. Specifically, this study will pinpoint whether or not certain demographic and educational characteristics of teachers and prospective teachers make a difference in their evaluations of students' speech. Furthermore, this project will also evaluate whether or not the instrument responded to by teachers and prospective teachers affects the outcome of responses.

DEDICATION

To my father for his unconditional support and love.

To Matthew for his motivation and patience.

To my brother for making me smile when I most needed to,
and to all my professors and teachers who have helped me
along the way.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am very grateful to Dr. Barbara Johnstone for always being available when I needed her guidance, and for motivating me more than she knows. I would also like to thank Dr. Guy Bailey for encouraging me to conduct this study. Many thanks go to Dr. Gwendolyn Gong and Dr. Al Gonzalez for taking time to help me with this project, and one last note of thanks must go to Nancy Hadaway for providing me with opportunities to gather the data necessary to complete my research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In a society where the ability to communicate is tantamount to success, research focusing on language use is consequential to understanding how to best succeed. In the past few decades, sociolinguistics has gained increasing attention, and research is beginning to reveal features of language which have certain social significance. One important area being studied by sociolinguists is the impact of language attitudes, or the way that individuals internalize associations between characteristics of a language and the people associated with that language.

Although popular belief suggests that there is only one right way to speak, linguists recognize that there is no particular variety or dialect of a language that is superior to another. Nonetheless, our society has placed great importance on the ability to speak what sociolinguists call the standard dialect, or in simpler terms the "network news" dialect. Research evaluating attitudes towards speakers of various dialects of English shows that

The format model for this thesis is Anthropological Linguistics.

people make judgments about others based on language use (Labov 1972; Hudson 1980; Williams 1976; Fasold 1984). Personality judgments are consistently made through language attitudes (Labov, 1972); when people hear language varieties, they do not make decisions based solely on the sound of the language, and whether or not it was pleasant to them. Rather, their judgments reflect certain social stereotypes about the people associated with the dialect. Thus, it is safe to say that language attitudes do not normally represent evaluations of a person's dialect, but rather attitudes towards the person's prestige and status in society (Edwards 1982; Giles, Bourhis, Trudgill and Lewis 1974).

Several research projects have looked at the evaluations listeners make about a speaker based on language cues. One of the best known studies, conducted by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1960), looked at the ratings French Canadian and English Canadian college students made when they were presented with tapes of French and English speakers who had read the same passage in two languages. The students were asked to rate the speakers based on a variety of traits, including leadership, sense of humor, and self-confidence, and were unaware that they were hearing the same speaker in two languages. Both French and English Canadian students rated speakers using the French guise less favorably, dis-

playing a more positive attitude toward the speakers using the English guise. These results were interpreted as evidence that English Canadians were viewed more favorably. As a result of this research, it can be concluded that "matched guise" speech samples elicit in the listener certain attitudes which are associated with the speaker's language group.

Additional language attitude research was conducted by Buck (1968), in which a group of college students were asked to evaluate tapes of both white and black New York speech samples representing both standard and nonstandard English. Responses displayed a preference for the standard dialect; and the one black speaker of standard dialect was judged to be white by 24 of the 26 subjects.

Giles (1971) conducted a study in Britain, where several speakers of various British dialects were asked to evaluate tapes of both their own dialect and others. Results support other findings that listeners judge speakers of standard dialects to be more competent and intelligent than speakers of nonstandard dialects.

This research again and again supports assessments that people prefer standard dialects. One significant implication of these studies is that teachers are also making these judgments. Children tend to become what their teachers and other adults expect them to become; thus, a teacher who forms a negative language attitude towards a

student who speaks a nonstandard dialect may seriously affect that student's self-confidence and ability to succeed (Hudson 1980; Edwards 1982; Piche', Michlin, Rubin and Sullivan 1977; Seligman, Tucker and Lambert 1972; Williams 1976), and may cause immeasurable damage when the child regards his own variety of English to be inadequate (Hewett 1971). Furthermore, evidence indicates that biased teacher expectations are very often made based on the speech of the child (Piche', Michlin, Rubin and Sullivan 1977). John Edwards (1982) stresses that there is need for concern when teachers' expectations and evaluations of a student are inaccurate. "The importance is obvious - such views may unfairly hinder children in their school life and beyond" (p. 28).

Since the publication of Rosenthal and Jacobson's Pygmalion in the Classroom (1968), concern for the possibility that teachers' expectations for a child could influence that child's ability to succeed in the classroom has grown. A number of studies has provided evidence that teachers do form expectations for a student's performance (Brophy and Good 1970; Dusek and O'Connell 1973; O'Connell, Dusek and Wheeler 1974; Rist 1970); and the way a teacher treats a student often depends on their expectations for that student's performance (Good and Brophy 1972; Rothbart, Dalfen and Barrett 1971). One implication is that a child's performance could actually be improved if the

teacher were to think better of the child's abilities (Staines 1958; Yunker 1970).

Several studies in which teachers were asked to rate tapes of children with various dialects have been conducted, and results indicate that teachers display negative attitudes towards speakers of black dialects (Guskin 1970; Perkins 1971). Furthermore, additional projects have found that prospective teachers as well devalue the speech of black lower-class speakers, suggesting that the stereotyping exists before the teacher comes to the classroom (Hewett 1971).

Although research has shown that nonstandard forms of a language are not inferior to standard forms, many teachers continue to have negative impressions about children who speak nonstandard dialects. One of the most significant examples involving teachers' attitudes toward a non-standard dialect was the case of Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board. The case was initiated when the children of King Elementary were improperly being labeled "slow," "educationally retarded," or "learning disabled," and placed in speech pathology classes for speaking various forms of Black English Vernacular (Smitherman 1981).

A number of studies indicate that teachers perceive speakers of a nonstandard dialect to be less adequate than standard English speakers (Naremore 1971; Whitehead and

Miller 1972; Williams, Whitehead and Miller 1971), and that teachers will often respond to the way a child says something rather than to what is said (Granger, Mathews, Quay and Verner 1977). Furthermore, it has been found that both black and white teachers are in general agreement about the speech of children, rating black children on the average lower than white children (Edwards 1982; Williams 1976). Although children who speak nonstandard dialects often have no difficulty comprehending standard English (Hall and Turner 1974; Quay 1975), their use of nonstandard dialects often leads teachers to negatively evaluate the children based on their speech, which may indirectly impede their academic success (Granger, Mathews, Quay and Verner 1977).

This evidence not only supports beliefs that teachers can influence the ability of their students to succeed, but also indicates that teachers are making negative evaluations of students based on the students' language. Because of the importance that teachers play in the lives of their students, this study will concentrate on the language attitudes of teachers and prospective teachers towards black and white speakers. As indicated earlier, several studies have already established that these negative language attitudes could potentially harm students' self-perception and ability to succeed (Edwards 1982; Williams 1976). This study will pinpoint whether or not specific characteristics

of teachers and prospective teachers make a difference in their evaluations of students' speech. Does the age, race, or geographical background of the subject make a difference in responses? Are there certain characteristics that make subjects more sensitive in their attitudes? Do those teachers and prospective teachers that have had classes in multicultural education respond differently? Moreover, the study will determine the extent to which the research instrument used influences attitudes by examining four different instruments. If this research can establish that negative language attitudes towards speakers of nonstandard dialects are prevalent, both among our current and future teachers, and that their attitudes are not artifacts of either respondent characteristics or features of the research instrument, then it will be apparent that more research is necessary to determine how to avoid these attitudes in the future.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

As indicated in chapter one, several studies have established that teachers often have negative language attitudes towards students who speak a nonstandard dialect (Edwards 1982; Williams 1976). These studies have looked at the responses of teachers in order to establish that language attitudes exist, but they have not examined sub-groups in the population of teachers to see if there is a connection between teachers' backgrounds and their language attitudes. This study goes beyond the subjects' responses considered as a whole and attempts to identify whether or not certain characteristics influence language attitudes. Specifically, I am interested in whether the age, race, sex, and geographical background of the subject make a difference in language attitude responses.

Various techniques have been used to measure the language attitudes of teachers. In addition to considering the characteristics and backgrounds of the subjects, this study will also attempt to determine whether or not the test instrument used to record language attitude responses makes a difference in results.

These two factors are the focus of this study. Be-

cause it has already been established that language attitudes exist, it is not necessary simply to reestablish this information. Although this research may support previous findings, the results should also provide additional information either linking certain characteristics and background information to language attitude responses, or establishing that these characteristics make no difference to language attitudes.

Language Samples

The speech samples used in this study were obtained from interviews conducted with a group of 13-year-old junior high children. Careful care was taken to interview students with similar educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. All students were interviewed under the same conditions, and in order to obtain speech samples that would be similar to the language used by the children at school, students were interviewed during school and in particular classrooms they were familiar with. The students were asked similar questions ranging from what they did in school to what types of games they played at home in an effort to obtain samples of the sort of informal speech that the children were likely to use in classroom settings with teachers. Formal speech samples, such as those obtained from students reading prepared

manuscripts, were avoided in order to obtain language samples that would be similar to what the children would use with teachers.

Twelve of the speakers were chosen for research purposes: 3 white males (WM), 3 black males (BM), 3 white females (WF), and 3 black females (BF). The order of the speakers was randomly selected, and speech samples of approximately 15 seconds each were recorded for this study.

Subjects

The subjects used in this study comprised two different groups. The first group consisted of 132 former or current teachers who were enrolled in graduate education courses at Texas A&M University. The second group included 244 education majors at Texas A&M University who lacked teaching experience, but planned on a career in teaching. Research for this project began during the second summer session term for 1988, continued during the fall semester of 1988, and concluded with the spring 1989 semester. All surveys were conducted in classrooms on the A&M campus with the instructors' permission and were done under similar conditions.

First, each subject filled out a respondent information questionnaire (Figure 1), indicating personal

Figure 1: Respondent Information Questionnaire.

Fill in the blank, or check the appropriate box:

1. Age: 19 and under ☐, 20-29 ☐, 30-39 ☐, 40-49 ☐,
50-59 ☐, 60 and over ☐.
2. Race: _____.
3. Sex: Male ☐, Female ☐.
4. Major: Education ☐, Other ☐.
5. What was the approximate population of the city/town
you've spent most of your life in? 14,999 and under ☐,
15,000-100,000 ☐, 100,000 and over ☐.
6. Have you taken a multiethnic/multicultural course(s)?
No ☐, Yes ☐.
7. If so, how many hours? 3 hours ☐, 6 hours ☐,
more than 6 hours ☐.

background data (e.g., age, race, sex, and geographical background), as well as completed coursework in multicultural education. Comparisons of respondents were based on the following subject characteristics: respondents who are ages 0-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60 and over; respondents who are black, white, and hispanic; respondents who grew up in populations of 0-14,999, 15,000-100,000, and 100,000 and over; respondents who are male and female; and respondents who have had multicultural education courses versus ones who have not. This information was used to determine whether or not specific characteristics affect language attitude responses.

Once the subjects completed this questionnaire, they were then told that they would be listening to 12 speakers, and were asked to respond to the one questionnaire selected from the four instruments used in this study (see below). With each survey, it was made clear that the subjects understood the instructions before the tape was played. Each respondent had ample time to respond to each speaker before the next speaker was played.

Questionnaires

As mentioned earlier, four different instruments were used to record language attitude responses. This was done to determine whether or not the instrument used

affects the response of the subject. The first instrument was a semantic differential scale that was used by Underwood (1974), hereafter referred to as Underwood's scale (Figure 2). Subjects using this questionnaire were asked to respond to speakers based on 12 different adjective pairs using a 7 point scale, 1 reflecting the low end of the scale and 7 reflecting the highest possible score. The first set of adjectives, designed to elicit responses to the speech of the speaker, were bad-good, sloppy-careful, ugly-pretty, harsh-smooth, awkward-graceful, and tense-relaxed. The second set of adjectives, designed to rate the speaker as a person, were dumb-smart, poor-rich, unfriendly-friendly, agressive-passive, lazy-energetic, and rude-polite. This instrument was chosen in an effort to record responses to a wide variety of ratings.

The second questionnaire was developed by Stevenson (1987) and was based on Osgood's bipolar adjective pairs reflecting value, potency, and activity (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1952). This instrument (Figure 3), hereafter referred to as Stevenson's scale, asked subjects to respond to 3 sets of adjective pairs based once again on a 7 point scale, 1 being the lowest and 7 reflecting the highest possible score. The 3 sets of adjectives were bad-good, dull-sharp, and weak-strong.

The third questionnaire (Figure 4) was based on Labov's occupational suitability scale (Labov 1972).

Figure 3: Stevenson's Scale.

Responses Towards Speakers

My impressions of this person's speech:

	Very (1)	Quite (2)	Slightly (3)	Neutral (4)	Slightly (5)	Quite (6)	Very (7)	
A. Bad	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	Good
B. Dull	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	Sharp
C. Weak	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	Strong

Figure 4: Labov's Scale.

Responses Towards Speakers

Based on my impressions of this person's speech, I find the following occupation most suitable:

	Television Personality	Politician	Teacher	Cashier	Factory Worker
1.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
2.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
3.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
4.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
5.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
6.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
7.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
8.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
9.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
10.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
11.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
12.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Hereafter referred to as Labov's scale, subjects were asked to choose the occupation they projected would be the most suitable for the speaker. The occupational choices were a television personality, a politician, a teacher, a cashier, and a factory worker. These occupations differ from the original ones Labov used during his studies, but were provided in order to allow subjects choices of occupations despite the sex of the speaker. For example, receptionist and secretary were deleted because they have historically been occupations associated with women.

The fourth instrument (Figure 5) was a combination of the Stevenson scale and Labov's occupational suitability scale. Subjects were asked to respond to 3 sets of adjective pairs used in the Stevenson scale, and were asked to choose one of the occupations based on Labov's scale that they found most suitable for each speaker.

All responses to both the Underwood and Stevenson scales were averaged to obtain results. Responses for each questionnaire were recorded and classified under the various groups. For example, one response may fall under the categories of experienced teacher, 30-39 year old, female, geographic background of more than 100,000, with 3 hours of multicultural education, and white. After all responses were recorded, all scores were averaged to obtain the results discussed in Chapter Three.

Figure 5: The Stevenson/Labov Scale.

My impressions of this person's speech:

	Very	Quite	Slightly	Neutral	Slightly	Quite	Very
A. Bad	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ Good
B. Dull	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ Sharp
C. Weak	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ Strong
Occupational Suitability: _____							

Scores for the Labov scale were done on a percentage basis. The responses were again categorized, and the percentages were figured out by dividing the number of responses for a specific occupation into the number of responses for that particular group.

In the next chapter, the results of the research will be discussed in detail. Each characteristic will be looked at individually, as well as each instrument used to record responses.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The results of this study, as discussed in Chapter Two, will be used to answer a number of questions about the relationship between negative language attitudes of teachers and prospective teachers and specific characteristics of those teachers. Furthermore, the question of whether or not the instrument used to record these negative language attitudes makes a difference in responses will also be answered. For purposes of discussion, the results of each of the instruments will be dealt with individually.

Underwood's Scale

Subjects responding to this questionnaire consisted of 32 experienced teachers between the ages of 23 and 61 who were taking graduate courses at Texas A&M University during the summer of 1988.

All Respondents

Because all of the respondents to this questionnaire are experienced teachers, this discussion will focus on the

average of all results. This group of subjects gave white females the highest rating with an average score of 4.8. White males were next with a 4.1 average, followed closely by black males who had an average of 4.0. Black females were rated lowest with a 3.7 average.

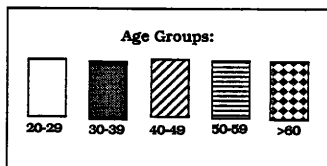
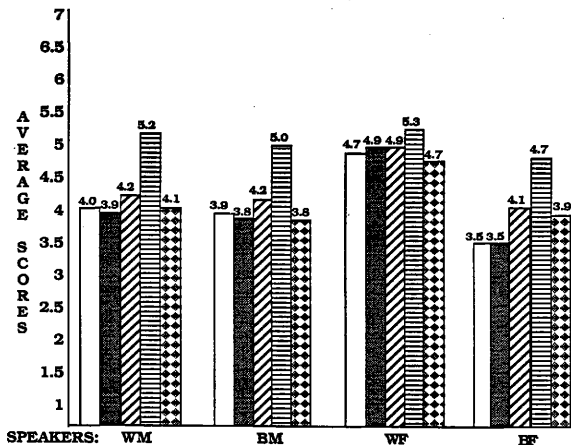
Age of Respondents

Respondents were divided into 5 age groups for purposes of comparison: 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60-69. Although there were some differences between ratings by each age group, there were no statistically significant differences. Furthermore, the rankings of the speakers were the same as other respondent groups (Figure 6). White females were rated highest with an average of 4.7 from the 20-29 age group, 4.9 from both the 30-39 and 40-49 year olds, 5.3 from the 50-59 age group, and a 4.7 from the over 60 age group.

White males were rated second highest with an average score of 4.0 from the 20-29 year olds, 3.9 from the 30-39 age group, 4.2 from those 40-49, 5.2 from the 50-59 year olds, and 4.1 from the over 60 age group.

Following close behind in scoring were black males. The 20-29 age group gave them an average rating of 3.9. They were given a 3.8 from the 30-39 year olds, a 4.2 from the 40-49 year olds, a 5.0 from those 50-59, and a 3.8 from

Figure 6: Comparison of responses from 5 different age groups to Underwood's scale.



the over 60 age group.

Black females were ranked last with an average score of 3.5 from both the 20-29 and 30-39 age groups, a 4.1 from those 40-49, a 4.7 from the 50-59 year olds, and a 3.9 from those over 60.

In addition to each age group ranking the speakers in the same order, the 50-59 age group consistently gave the highest scores to all groups of speakers. However, it must be noted that there were only two respondents from the 50-59 age group, whereas the other groups were more evenly represented.

Sex of Respondents

All respondents to Underwood's questionnaire are female; hence, the results are the same as those under the category of "All Respondents."

Geographic Background of Respondents

Respondents were divided into three different groups who grew up in similarly populated areas: 15,000 and under, 15,000-100,000, and more than 100,000. As has been the case thus far, there were no statistically significant differences among scores, and speakers were ranked in the same order, with white females receiving the highest scores

(Figure 7). From the population group of less than 15,000, white females were given a score of 5.1. The 15,000-100,000 group gave them an average score of 4.6. The group with more than 100,000 gave a score of 5.0.

White males followed with an average of 4.1 from the under 15,000 group, a 4.0 from the 15,000-100,000 group, and a 5.0 from the group with more than 100,000.

Following close behind were black males with an average score of 4.0 from the less than 15,000 population group, a 3.9 from the 15,000-100,000 group, and a 4.0 from the more than 100,000 population group.

Black females again finished last with an average of 3.6 from both the group with less than 15,000 and with 15,000-100,000. The greater than 100,000 group gave them a score of 3.9.

In addition to the differences in scores not being statistically significant, there were no patterns in responses to the groups of speakers from the 3 different population groups.

Ethnic Background of Respondents

Respondents to this questionnaire constituted two ethnic groups: white and black. Again, no statistically significant differences were found among scores and the ranking of the speakers followed suit (Figure 8). White

Figure 7: Comparison of responses from groups with 3 different population backgrounds to Underwood's scale.

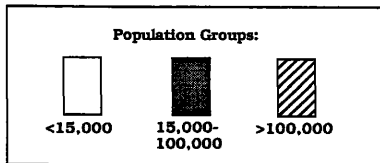
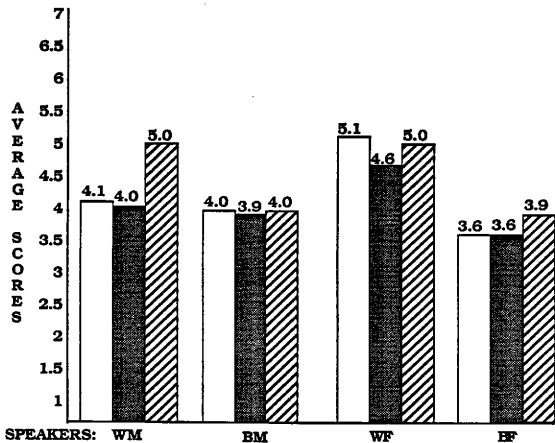
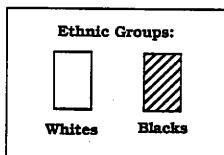
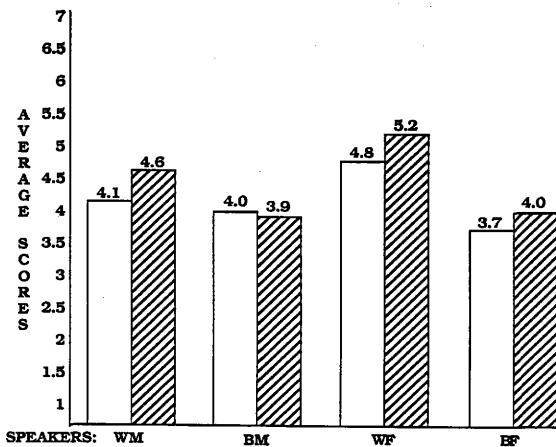


Figure 8: Comparison of responses from 2 different ethnic groups to Underwood's scale.



females were given the highest scores with a 4.8 from white respondents and a 5.2 from blacks. White males followed with a 4.1 from whites and a 4.6 from blacks. Close behind were black males with a 4.0 from white respondents and a 3.9 from blacks. Black females were again ranked last with a 3.7 from whites, but were given a tenth-of-a-point more than black males by black respondents. One interesting fact is that black respondents gave highest ratings to white speakers, and the scores given by black respondents to white speakers were higher than the scores given to white speakers by white respondents.

Stevenson's Scale

Subjects responding to this questionnaire consisted of 26 Texas A&M students majoring in education, all between the ages of 20 and 39, who were taking undergraduate education courses at A&M during the summer of 1988.

All Respondents

Because all of the respondents to this questionnaire are prospective teachers without teaching experience, this discussion will focus on the average of all results. As was the case with responses to Underwood's scale, speakers were ranked in the same order with white females receiving

the highest score of 5.5. White males were next with a 4.6, followed by black males with a score of 4.0, and black females with a 3.2 average.

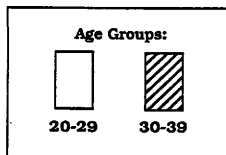
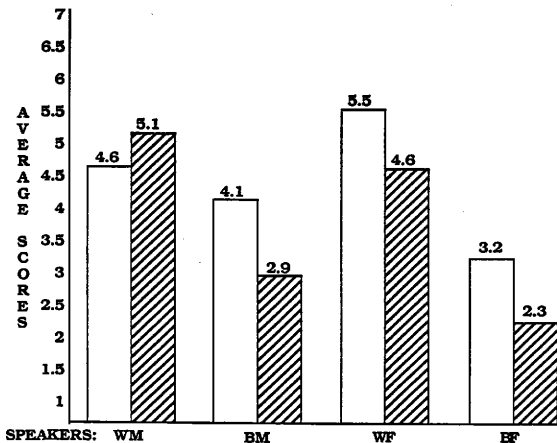
Age of Respondents

Respondents were divided into 2 age groups for purposes of discussion: 20-29 and 30-39. There were some differences in ratings between the two groups, but the differences were not statistically significant (Figure 9). Again, the rankings of the speakers were the same with white females receiving the highest scores of 5.5 from the 20-29 year olds and a 4.6 from the 30-39 age group. White males were next with a 4.6 from those 20-29 and a 5.1 from the 30-39 year olds. Black males followed with an average score of 4.1 from those 20-29, and a 2.9 from the 30-39 age group. Black females were last with a 3.2 from the 20-29 year olds and a 2.3 from those 30-39. With the exception of the score given to white males, there was a tendency for the 30-39 year olds to give lower ratings, but this occurred consistently with each group.

Sex of Respondents

All respondents to Stevenson's scale are female;

Figure 9: Comparison of responses from 2 different age groups to Stevenson's scale.

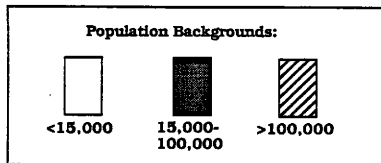
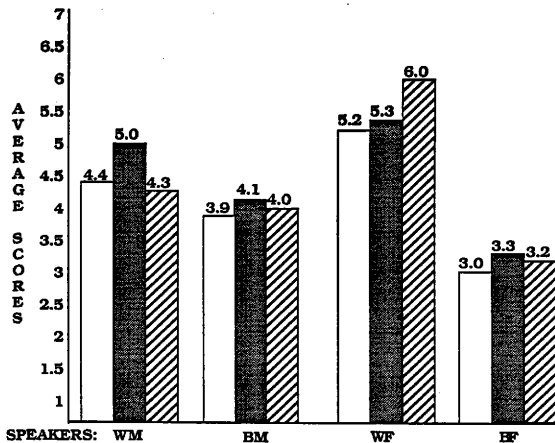


hence, the results are the same as those found under the category of "All Respondents."

Geographic Background of Respondents

Respondents were divided into 3 different groups who grew up in similar populated areas: less than 15,000, 15,000-100,000, and greater than 100,000. Again, no statistically significant differences were found among the scores and the rankings of the speakers followed the same order (Figure 10). White females were ranked highest with an average of 5.2 from the less than 15,000 group, a 5.3 from the 15,000-100,000 population group, and a 6.0 from the group with a population of more than 100,000. White males followed with a 4.4 from the less than 15,000 group, a 5.0 from the 15,000-100,000 group, and a 4.3 from the greater than 100,000 population group. Black males were next with a 3.0 score from the less than 15,000 group, a 4.1 from the 15,000-100,000 group, and a 4.0 from the greater than 100,000 population group. Again, black females finished last with a 3.0 from the less than 15,000 group, a 3.3 from the 15,000-100,000 group, and a 3.2 from the population group with more than 100,000. No patterns developed in the responses of the 3 groups.

Figure 10: Comparison of responses from 3 different population backgrounds to Stevenson's scale.



Ethnic Background of Respondents

All respondents to Stevenson's scale are white; hence, the results are the same as those discussed under the category of "All Respondents."

Labov's Scale

Subjects responding to this questionnaire consisted of 48 education majors at Texas A&M, all between the ages of 20 and 29, who were taking education courses at A&M during the summer of 1988.

All Respondents

Because all of the respondents to this questionnaire are prospective teachers, this discussion will focus on the results of all subjects' responses. No numerical value was assigned to the occupational choices of television personality (TV), politician (P), teacher (T), cashier (C), and factory worker (FW); however, it is obvious that certain occupations are more prestigious than others. White females were assigned the position of teacher most often (61%), followed by television personality (21%), politician (10%), cashier (4%), and factory worker (4%) (Table 1). These results correspond with other

Table 1: Comparison of responses to all speakers: percentages.

		OCCUPATIONS				
S P E A K E R S		TV	P	T	C	FW
	WM	4		4	29	63
	BM	4	6	6	38	46
	WF	21	10	61	4	4
	BF	21	23	8	29	19

Note: Results of Table 1 are based on responses from prospective teachers to Labov's Occupational Suitability Scale and are determined on a percentage basis.

TV = Television Personality

P = Politician

T = Teacher

C = Cashier

FW = Factory Worker

instruments; however, the results for white males show the largest percentages falling under the less prestigious categories. The occupation of factory worker was chosen most often for white males (63%), followed by cashier (29%), television personality (4%), and teacher (4%). Most responses for black males also fell under the less prestigious categories, but they also received higher percentages for the more prestigious occupations than white males did. Black males were given the occupation of factory worker most often (46%), followed by cashier (38%), television personality (4%), politician (6%), and teacher (6%). Although black females were ranked lowest with other instruments, they scored higher than both white and black males in terms of prestigious occupations. The occupation of cashier was chosen most often for black females (29%); however, television personality (21%) and politician (23%) were also chosen often. The position of factory worker was chosen 19% of the time, followed by teacher (8%).

Age of Respondents

All respondents to Labov's scale are between the ages of 20 and 29; hence, the results are the same as those indicated under the category "All Respondents."

Sex of Respondents

All respondents to Labov's scale are female; hence, the results are the same as those indicated under the category "All Respondents."

Geographic Background of Respondents

Respondents were divided into 3 different groups who grew up in similarly populated areas: less than 15,000, 15,000-100,000, and greater than 100,000. White males scored somewhat better in terms of percentages of prestigious occupations chosen by subjects (Table 2:1). Respondents from areas with less than 15,000 people chose cashier for white males 37% of the time; however, both television personality and factory worker were chosen 21% of the time. The position of politician followed (13%), with the occupation of teacher getting 8% of the votes. Those respondents from areas with 15,000-100,000 people chose television personality (22%) and cashier (22%) most often, followed by teacher (11%), factory worker (11%), and politician (4%). White males received somewhat better scores from the greater than 100,000 group. Politician was chosen most often (33%), followed by television personality (20%), cashier (20%), factory worker (20%), and teacher

Table 2:1: Comparison of responses to white males: percentages.
(Note 1)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
<15,000	21	13	8	37	21
15,000 - 100,000	22	4	11	22	11
>100,000	20	33	7	20	20

NOTE: Results of Tables 2:1 - 2:4 are based on responses from 3 groups with different population backgrounds to Labov's Occupational Suitability Scale and are determined on a percentage basis.

Table 2:2: Comparison of responses to black males: percentages.
(Note 1)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
<15,000		8	8	29	55
15,000-100,000				44	56
>100,000	13	7	7	46	27

Table 2:3: Comparison of responses to white females: percentages.
(Note 1)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
<15,000	25	13	58	4	
15,000-100,000	22	67	11		
>100,000	27		60		13

Table 2:4: Comparison of responses to black females: percentages.
(Note 1)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
<15,000	4			33	63
15,000-100,000				22	78
>100,000	7		13	27	53

(7%). Although choices varied between television personality, politician, cashier, and factory worker, the position of teacher was consistently chosen less often than other occupations.

Black males were again given the less prestigious occupations most often, and did not score better than white males among all three population groups responding (Table 2:2). The less than 15,000 group chose factory worker most often for black males (55%), followed by cashier (29%), politician (8%), and teacher (8%). The 15,000-100,000 population group also chose factory worker most often (56%), followed by cashier (44%). Cashier was the most common choice for the greater than 100,000 group (46%), followed by factory worker (27%), television personality (13%), politician (7%), and teacher (7%).

With the exception of one group of respondents, teacher was the obvious choice for white females (Table 2:3). The less than 15,000 group chose teacher most often (58%), followed by television personality (25%), politician (13%), and cashier (4%). The 15,000-100,000 group responded differently, choosing politician most often (67%), followed by television personality (22%), and teacher (11%). The greater than 100,000 population group agreed with the norm, choosing teacher most often (60%), with politician following (27%), and factory worker (13%).

Results for white females show overwhelming choices for the more prestigious occupations.

Although black females received some choices for the more prestigious occupations, the majority of respondents chose the less prestigious positions (Table 2:4). The less than 15,000 group chose factory worker most often (63%), followed by cashier (33%), and television personality (4%). The 15,000-100,000 group overwhelmingly chose factory worker (78%), followed by cashier (22%). Factory worker was also the most obvious choice made by the greater than 100,000 population group (53%), with cashier (27%), teacher (13%), and television personality (7%) following.

Ethnic Background of Respondents

All respondents to Labov's questionnaire are white; hence, the results are the same as those under the category "All Respondents."

Stevenson/Labov Scale

One of the questions this study set out to answer was whether or not the instrument responded to makes a difference in responses. Overall, no significant differences were found among the first two instruments used. There were, however, some differences found in responses to

Labov's scale. If results were looked at in terms of which group of speakers received the most prestigious occupational choices overall, white females would score highest, consistently being given the position of teacher. White and black males would follow, with a wide variety of occupational choices, from both the higher and lesser prestigious occupations, assigned to the two male groups. Black females would finish last with more choices for the lesser prestigious occupations. One implication of these results, however, is that when people respond to an occupational suitability scale, they are making judgments about gender suitability. For example, women were assigned the position of teacher most often, indicating a trend for respondents to place women in a position predominantly held by women. Male speakers were assigned a wider variety of choices, and were assigned less often the position of teacher. Results of this scale show more than just attitudes towards ethnic groups. They show attitudes towards gender suitability.

Because of the overall results from the first 3 instruments show no significant variation in responses, the bulk of this study focuses on the fourth instrument used: the Stevenson/Labov scale. Subjects responding to this questionnaire consisted of 100 experienced teachers and 170 prospective teachers. The overall result is this: While there were some differences among groups of respondents,

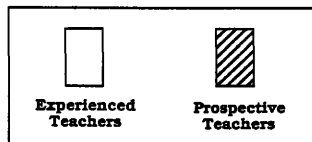
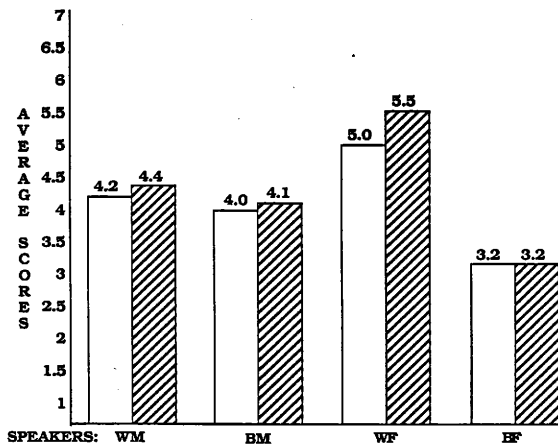
the differences were not statistically significant.

For purposes of discussion, the results of the first part of the questionnaire, the Stevenson scale, will be dealt with first, followed by the results of the second part of the questionnaire, Labov's scale. It is important to note that while results for both Stevenson's and Labov's scale have already been discussed, this instrument combines the two into one questionnaire whose results constitute the bulk of this study.

Teaching Experience of Respondent

One of the first questions looked at in terms of responses to this questionnaire was whether teaching experience made a difference in responses. Of the 100 experienced teachers and the 170 prospective teachers responding to this questionnaire, there were no statistically significant differences in results. The responses to the Stevenson scale will be looked at first. On the whole, inexperienced teachers rated all speakers slightly higher than experienced teachers (Figure 11). White females were given the highest rating, receiving an average of 5.0 from experienced teachers and 5.5 from prospective teachers. White males were ranked second, with a 4.2 rating from experienced teachers and a 4.4 from prospective teachers. Black males followed with a 4.0 rating from experienced

Figure 11: Comparison of responses from teachers and prospective teachers to Stevenson's scale.



teachers and a 4.1 from prospective teachers. Black females were ranked lowest with a 3.2 from both groups of respondents. As mentioned earlier, the differences in responses between the two groups is not statistically significant; but, with the exception of the same score given to black females, the prospective teachers rated speakers higher than the experienced teachers.

The results of Labov's scale were again determined on a percentage basis. Again, numerical values were not assigned to the occupations; however, some of the occupations are obviously more prestigious than others. The majority of choices from experienced teachers for white males fell under the more prestigious occupations, with politician receiving the most votes (29%), followed closely by television personality (25%), cashier (18%), factory worker (17%), and teacher (11%) (Table 3:1). Prospective teachers also responded most often to the more prestigious occupations, with teacher receiving the most votes (25%), followed by politician (23%), factory worker (23%), television personality (19%), and cashier (10%).

Although black males received choices across the board, the majority of responses fell under the less prestigious occupations. Experienced teachers chose factory worker most often for black males (44%), followed by cashier (31%), teacher (9%), television personality (8%), and politician (8%) (Table 3:2). Prospective

Table 3:1: Comparison of responses to white males: percentages.
(Note 2)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Experienced Teachers	25	29	11	18	17
Prospective Teachers	19	23	25	10	23

NOTE: Results of Tables 3:1 - 3:4 are based on responses from experienced and prospective teachers to Labov's Occupational Suitability Scale and are determined on a percentage basis.

Table 3:2: Comparison of responses to black males: percentages.
(Note 2)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Experienced Teachers	8	8	9	31	44
Prospective Teachers	1	2	28	12	57

Table 3:3: Comparison of responses to white females: percentages.
(Note 2)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Experienced Teachers	17	17	51	11	4
Prospective Teachers	16	25	55	3	1

Table 3:4: Comparison of responses to black females: percentages.
(Note 2)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Experienced Teachers	5	4	15	29	47
Prospective Teachers		1	4	18	77

teachers also chose the position of factory worker most often (57%), followed by teacher (28%), cashier (12%), politician (2%), and television personality (1%).

Teacher was clearly the occupational choice for white females, with experienced teachers assigning it 51% of the time and prospective teachers 55% (Table 3:3). Experienced teachers assigned television personality 17% of the time, followed by politician (17%), cashier (11%), and factory worker (4%). Prospective teachers agreed on the whole, choosing politician 25% of the time, followed by television personality (16%), cashier (3%), and factory worker (1%). Although white females were assigned the occupation of teacher most often, they were clearly given the most prestigious occupations.

Black females were assigned the less prestigious occupations overall (Table 3:4). Experienced teachers gave them the position of factory worker most often (47%), with cashier following (29%). The occupation of teacher was chosen 15% of the time, followed by television personality (5%), and politician (4%). Prospective teachers also chose factory worker as the position for black females (77%), followed by cashier (18%), teacher (4%), and politician (1%).

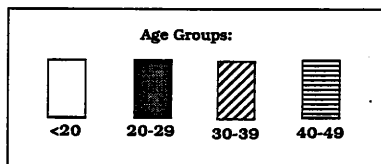
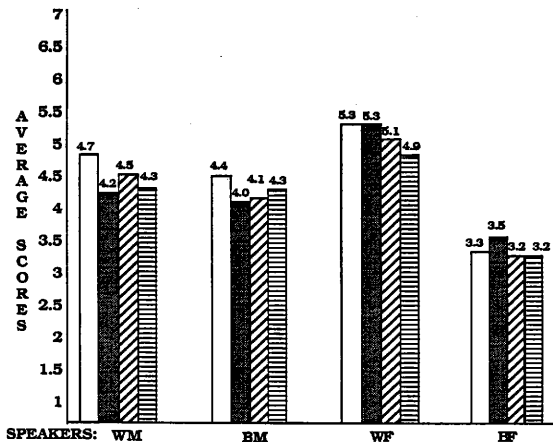
Although the results for the Labov scale are not as clear cut as those for Stevenson's scale, there is nevertheless a definite pattern emerging from both scales.

White females were ranked highest overall with the Stevenson scale; and, although they received more choices for teacher with the Labov scale, while the positions of television personality and politician were given most often to both white and black males, white females were still assigned more often the prestigious positions, whereas white males and black males also recieved a large percentage of less prestigious positions. Black females clearly received the most choices for the lower prestigious occupations.

Age of Respondents

Respondents were divided into 4 groups for purposes of discussion: 20 and under, 20-29, 30-39, and 40-49. The largest group of responses came from the 20-29 age group which had 214 subjects. There were 25 respondents from the under 20 age group, 21 from the 30-39 age group, and 10 from those 40-49. Although there were some differences in responses from each age group, the differences were not statistically significant (Figure 12). As has been the case thus far, white females were again given the highest ratings from all 4 age groups. The under 20 group and the 20-29 year olds both rated them 5.3, while the 30-39 age group followed with a 5.1 average, and the 40-49 year olds

Figure 12: Comparison of responses from 4 different age groups to Stevenson's scale.



with a 4.9 rating. White males were rated second highest with a 4.7 from the under 20 group, a 4.2 from those 20-29, a 4.5 from the 30-39 age group, and a 4.3 from the 40-49 year olds. Black males followed closely behind with a 4.4 from those under 20, a 4.0 from the 20-29 age group, a 4.1 from the 30-39 year olds, and a 4.3 from those 40-49. Black females were again ranked last with a 3.3 rating from the under 20 age group, 3.5 from those 20-29, and a 3.2 from both the 30-39 and 40-49 age groups. There were no clear trends in ratings that differentiated the 2 groups.

While white males still received choices for prestigious occupations, a large number of responses were for the less prestigious positions (Table 4:1). The under 20 age group assigned the occupation of cashier most often (35%), followed by factory worker (29%), television personality (15%), politician (12%), and teacher (9%). The 20-29 year olds agreed somewhat, choosing most often the position of cashier (26%), followed by factory worker (25%), politician (19%), television personality (18%), and teacher (12%). The 30-39 age group chose politician most often (29%), followed by factory worker (24%), cashier (19%), television personality (16%), and teacher (12%). Those 40-49 chose both politician and cashier 27% of the time, followed by factory worker (23%), television personality (16%), and teacher (7%).

Table 4:1: Comparison of responses to white males: percentages.
(Note 3)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
< 20	15	12	9	35	29
20 - 29	18	19	12	26	25
30 - 39	16	29	12	19	24
40 - 49	16	27	7	27	23

NOTE: Results of Tables 4:1 - 4:4 are based on responses from four different age groups to Labov's Occupational Suitability Scale and are determined on a percentage basis.

Table 4:2: Comparison of responses to black males: percentages.
(Note 3)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
< 20	10	7	13	29	41
20 - 29	10	8	14	29	39
30 - 39	8	11	17	29	35
40 - 49	3	10	7	50	30

Table 4:3: Comparison of responses to white females: percentages.
(Note 3)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
< 20	26	21	24	28	1
20 - 29	21	21	47	9	2
30 - 39	20	10	43	23	4
40 - 49	13	23	57	7	

Table 4:4: Comparison of responses to black females: percentages.
(Note 3)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
< 20	12	13	3	20	52
20 - 29	12	11	9	24	44
30 - 39	5	5	14	38	38
40 - 49	10	7	13	23	47

Black males received some choices for more prestigious positions, but were assigned most often the occupations with less prestige (Table 4:2). The under 20 age group chose factory worker most often for black males (41%), followed by cashier (29%), teacher (13%), television personality (10%), and politician (7%). The 20-29 age group provided similar results, assigning most often the positions of factory worker (39%), cashier (29%), teacher (14%), television personality (10%), and politician (8%). The 30-39 year olds also chose the occupation of factory worker most often (35%), followed by cashier (29%), teacher (17%), politician (11%), and television personality (8%). Cashier was the most common choice made by those 40-49 (50%), with factory worker following (30%), politician (10%), teacher (7%), and television personality (3%).

For the most part, white females were again assigned the position of teacher most often, with the exception of the under 20 year olds (Table 4:3). They chose cashier most often (28%), followed by television personality (26%), teacher (24%), politician (21%), and factory worker (1%). The 20-29 age group clearly chose the position of teacher (47%), with television personality (21%), politician (21%), cashier (9%), and factory worker (2%) following. Those 30-39 also chose teacher most often (43%), with the occupation of cashier (23%), television personality (20%), politician (10%), and factory worker (4%) following.

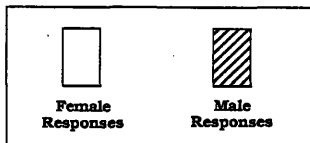
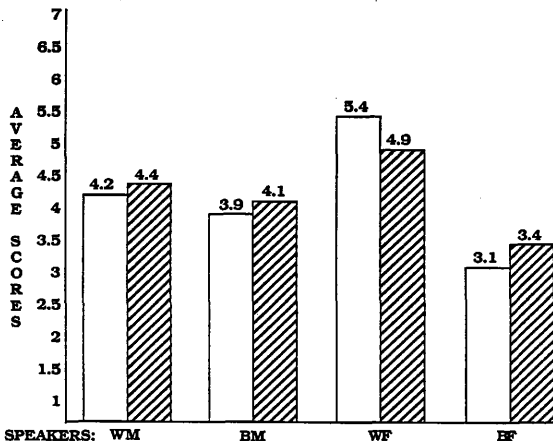
The 40-49 age group clearly chose teacher for white females (57%), with the positions of politician (23%), television personality (13%), and cashier (7%) following.

Factory worker was the choice for black females (Table 4:4). The under 20 age group chose factory worker 52% of the time, followed by cashier (20%), politician (13%), television personality (12%), and teacher (3%). Those 20-29 also assigned most often the position of factory worker (44%), with cashier (24%), television personality (12%), politician (11%), and teacher (9%) following. The 30-39 year olds chose the occupations of cashier (38%) and factory worker (38%) most often, followed by teacher (14%), television personality (5%), and politician (5%). Again, the choice of factory worker was most popular for black females, with the 40-49 year olds choosing it 47% of the time, followed by cashier (23%), teacher (13%), television personality (10%), and politician (7%).

Sex of Respondents

One difference among the responses of females and males came with the ratings of females and males (Figure 13). While the 242 female respondents gave white females an average rating of 5.4, the 28 male respondents rated them lower with a 4.9 average. White males were ranked lower than white females in scores given by males

Figure 13: Comparison of responses from females and males to Stevenson's scale.



(4.4), but males still gave a higher score to white males than females did (4.2). Black males received the lower rating from females (3.9), and a slightly higher rating from males (4.1). Black females were given the lowest ratings with a 3.1 from females and a 3.4 from males. Male respondents rated male speakers higher than female respondents did, but they also rated black females higher than female respondents did. Female subjects gave the lowest scores to white males, black males, and black females, while rating white females higher than male respondents did. While there were differences in responses, the differences were not statistically significant.

White males were assigned prestigious occupations most often by both females and males (Table 5:1). The position of politician was chosen most often by females (25%), followed by teacher (23%), television personality (21%), factory worker (18%), and cashier (13%). Male respondents chose the occupation of politician most often for white males (36%), with television personality (18%), teacher (18%), factory worker (15%), and cashier (13%) following.

The less prestigious occupations were chosen most often for black males overall (Table 5:2). Female respondents chose factory worker 52% of the time, followed by teacher (22%), cashier (18), television personality (4%), and politician (4%). Male respondents chose cashier most often (41%), with factory worker (39%), teacher (12%),

Table 5:1: Comparison of responses to white males: percentages.
(Note 4)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Females	21	25	23	13	18
Males	18	36	18	13	15

NOTE: Results of Tables 5:1 - 5:4 are based on responses from females and males to Labov's Occupational Suitability Scale and are determined on a percentage basis.

Table 5:2: Comparison of responses to black males: percentages.
(Note 4)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Females	4	4	22	18	52
Males	3	5	12	41	39

Table 5:3: Comparison of responses to white females: percentages.
(Note 4)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Females	16	21	55	6	2
Males	20	25	55		

Table 5:4: Comparison of responses to black females: percentages.
(Note 4)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Females	2	2	9	19	68
Males			14	43	43

politician (5%), and television personality (3%) following.

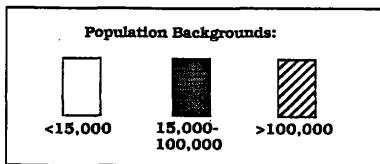
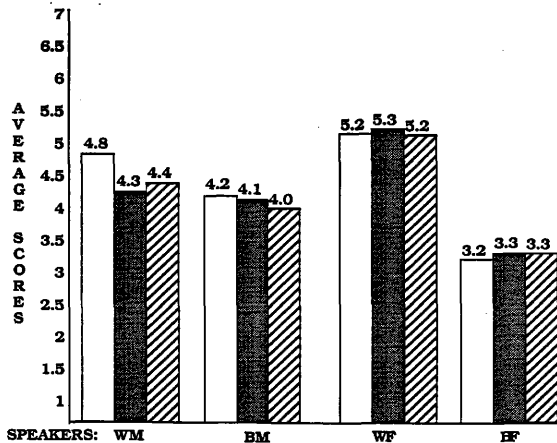
Teacher was again the clear occupation chosen for white females (Table 5:3). Female respondents chose the position of teacher 55% of the time, followed by politician (21%), television personality (16%), cashier (6%), and factory worker (2%). Male respondents also chose the position of teacher 55% of the time, with politician (25%) and television personality (20%) following.

Black females were assigned overwhelmingly the position of factory worker (Table 5:4). Female respondents chose this position 68% of the time, followed by cashier (19%), teacher (9%), television personality (2%), and politician (2%). Male respondents chose factory worker 43% of the time, as well as cashier (43%). The position of teacher was chosen for black females 14% of the time.

Geographic Background of Respondents

Following suit with other groupings of respondents, no statistically significant differences between responses from groups who grew up in different sized communities were found (Figure 14). The 70 respondents who were from geographical backgrounds of less than 15,000 people rated white females highest with an average of 5.2. White males followed with a 4.8 average, black males received a 4.2, and black females were given an average of 3.2. The 122

Figure 14: Comparison of responses from groups with 3 different population backgrounds to Stevenson's scale.



respondents from population areas of 15,000-100,000 people followed the same order, giving white females the highest score of 5.3, followed by white males with a 4.3, black males with a 4.1, and black females with a 3.3 average. The final group, represented by 78 respondents with population backgrounds of less than 100,000, also followed the same pattern, giving a 5.2 to white females, a 4.4 to white males, a 4.0 to black males, and a 3.3 to black females.

Responses to Labov's scale followed previous patterns. White males were given choices among both prestigious and less prestigious occupations (Table 6:1). Cashier was chosen most often by the less than 15,000 group (24%), followed by television personality (22%), factory worker (21%), politician (19%), and teacher (14%). The 15,000-100,000 group chose factory worker 27% of the time, followed by cashier (25%), politician (23%), television personality (16%), and teacher (9%). The greater than 100,000 group chose cashier most often (25%), with television personality (24%), factory worker (24%), politician (15%), and teacher (12%) following.

Black males were given the less prestigious occupations most often (Table 6:2). The less than 15,000 group chose factory worker 41% of the time, followed by cashier (27%), teacher (16%), television personality (9%), and politician (7%). The 15,000-100,000 population group also chose factory worker most often (42%), followed by cashier

Table 6:1: Comparison of responses to white males: percentages.
(Note 5)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
< 15,000	22	19	14	24	21
15,000 - 100,000	16	23	9	25	27
> 100,000	24	15	12	25	24

NOTE: Results of Tables 6:1 - 6:4 are based on responses from 3 groups with different population backgrounds to Labov's Occupational Suitability Scale and are determined on a percentage basis.

Table 6:2: Comparison of responses to black males: percentages.
(Note 5)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
< 15,000	9	7	16	27	41
15,000 - 100,000	9	7	11	31	42
> 100,000	9	7	15	30	39

Table 6:3: Comparison of responses to white females: percentages.
(Note 5)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
< 15,000	21	21	50	7	1
15,000 - 100,000	20	19	51	8	2
> 100,000	20	21	49	8	2

Table 6:4: Comparison of responses to black females: percentages.
(Note 5)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
< 15,000	11	11	9	28	41
15,000 - 100,000	12	10	7	27	44
> 100,000	2	10	15	29	44

(31%), teacher (11%), television personality (9%), and politician (7%).

The position of teacher for white females was again the overwhelming choice made by all respondent groups (Table 6:3). The less than 15,000 group chose teacher 50% of the time, followed by television personality (21%), politician (21%), cashier (7%), and factory worker (1%). The 15,000-100,000 group chose the position of teacher 51% of the time, with television personality (20%), politician (19%), cashier (8%), and factory worker (2%) following. The less than 100,000 group chose the occupation of teacher most often as well (49%), followed by politician (21%), television personality (20%), cashier (8%), and factory worker (2%).

Factory worker was once again the overwhelming choice for black females. The less than 15,000 group chose factory worker 41% of the time, followed by cashier (28%), television personality (11%), politician (11%), and teacher (9%). The 15,000-100,000 group chose factory worker most often (44%), with cashier (27%), television personality (12%), politician (10%), and teacher (7%) following. The over 100,000 group also chose factory worker 44% of the time, followed by cashier (29%), teacher (15%), politician (10%), and television personality (2%). (Table 6:4).

Multicultural Education Background of Respondents

As has been the case with all responses, there were no statistically significant differences among responses from subjects who had and had not taken multicultural education courses (Figure 15). The 142 respondents who had not taken a multicultural education course rated white females highest with a 5.5 average, followed by white males with a 4.3 average, black males with a 4.0, and black females with a 3.3. Of all respondents, 66 had taken 3 hours of multicultural education and they also rated white females highest with a 5.1 average, followed by white males with a 4.6, black males with a 4.3, and black females with a 3.6 average. There were 34 respondents who had taken 6 hours of multicultural education courses, and they, too, rated white females highest with a 5.3 average, followed by white males with a 4.5 average, and black males and black females with equal scores of 3.9. The 28 respondents who had taken more than 6 hours of multicultural education courses also rated white females highest with a 5.2 average, followed by white males with a 4.4, black males with a 3.7, and black females with a 2.9.

Responses to Labov's scale found males receiving consistent choices of prestigious occupations (Table 7:1). Those respondents with no hours of multicultural education chose politician most often for white males (53%), followed

Figure 15: Comparison of responses to Stevenson's scale from teachers and prospective teachers who have and have not taken multicultural education courses.

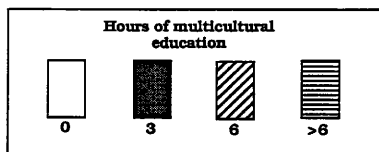
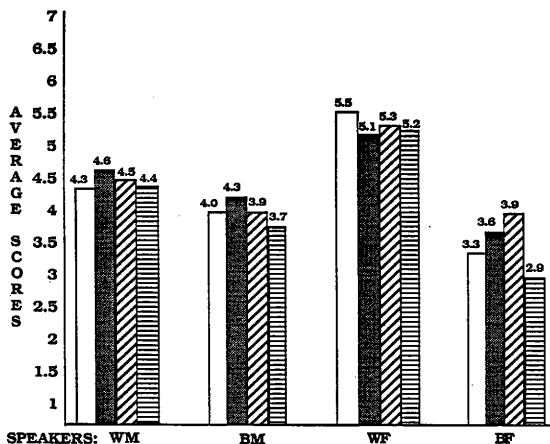


Table 7:1: Comparison of responses to white males: percentages.
(Note 6)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
0 hours	12	53	33	1	1
3 hours	25	48	15	10	2
6 hours	15	55	16	7	7
> 6 hours	16	30	15	20	19

NOTE: Results of Tables 7:1 - 7:4 are based on responses from subjects with and without multicultural education backgrounds to Labov's Occupational Suitability Scale and are determined on a percentage basis.

Table 7:2: Comparison of responses to black males: percentages.
(Note 6)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
0 hours	3	25	28	14	30
3 hours	7	23	8	27	35
6 hours		7	25	40	28
> 6 hours	11	9	18	26	36

Table 7:3: Comparison of responses to white females: percentages.
(Note 6)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
0 hours	11	27	61	1	
3 hours	18	23	54	4	1
6 hours	17	19	58	5	1
> 6 hours	20	25	36	13	6

Table 7:4: Comparison of responses to black females: percentages.
(Note 6)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
0 hours		24	29	11	36
3 hours	1	3	11	44	41
6 hours	1	1	12	62	24
> 6 hours	8	7	12	37	36

by teacher (33%), television personality (12%), cashier (1%), and factory worker (1%). Respondents with 3 hours of multicultural course work also chose politician most often (48%), followed by television personality (25%), teacher (15%), cashier (10%), and factory worker (2%). Politician was also the choice for white males by those with 6 hours of multicultural education (55%), with teacher (16%), television personality (15%), cashier (7%), and factory worker (7%) following. Those respondents with more than 6 hours of multicultural education also chose politician most often for white males (30%), followed by cashier (20%), factory worker (19%), television personality (16%), and teacher (15%).

Those with no hours of multicultural education chose the occupation of factory worker most often for black males (30%), followed by teacher (28%), politician (25%), cashier (14%), and television personality (3%) (Table 7:2).

Factory worker was also chosen most often for black males by those with 3 hours of multicultural course work (35%), with cashier (27%), politician (23%), teacher (8%), and television personality (7%) following. Those with 6 hours of course work in multicultural education chose cashier most often (40%), with factory worker (28%), teacher (25%), and politician (7%) following. The group with more than 6 hours of multicultural education assigned the occupation of factory worker most often to black males (36%), followed by

cashier (26%), teacher (18%), television personality (11%), and politician (9%).

White females again received the occupation of teacher most often (Table 7:3). Those with no hours of course work chose teacher 61% of the time, followed by politician (27%), television personality (11%), and cashier (1%). The group with 3 hours also chose the occupation of teacher most often (54%), with politician (23%), television personality (18%), cashier (4%), and factory worker (1%). Those with 6 hours chose teacher 58% of the time for white females, followed by politician (19%), television personality (17%), cashier (5%), and factory worker (1%). The group with more than 6 hours of multicultural education courses chose teacher 36% of the time, with politician (25%), television personality (20%), cashier (13%), and factory worker (6%) following.

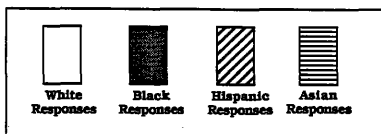
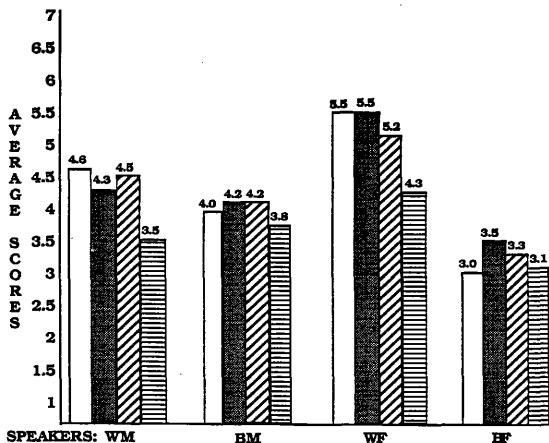
Black females received a variety of choices from the group of respondents with no multicultural education background (Table 7:4). Factory worker was chosen most often (36%), followed by teacher (29%), politician (24%), and cashier (11%). Those with 3 hours chose cashier most often (44%), with factory worker (41%), teacher (11%), politician (3%), and television personality (1%) following. The group with 6 hours of course work in multicultural education chose cashier most often (62%), followed by factory worker (24%), teacher (12%), television personality (1%),

and politician (1%). Those with more than 6 hours also chose cashier most often (37%), with factory worker (36%), teacher (12%), television personality (8%), and politician (7%) following.

Ethnic Background of Respondents

Of the four ethnic groups surveyed (Figure 16), the only major difference came with Asian responses. Of the 232 white responses, white females rated highest with a 5.5 average, followed by white males with a 4.6, black males with a 4.0, and black females with a 3.0. There were 6 black responses and they, too, followed the dominant pattern, giving white females the highest rating of 5.5, followed by white males with a 4.3, black males with a 4.2, and black females with a 3.5 average. The 24 hispanic responses were similar, rating white females first with a 5.2 average. White males came next with a 4.5, black males followed with a 4.3, and black females with an average of 3.3. The difference in ratings, although not statistically significant, came with the 8 Asian responses. White females were still rated highest, but with a lower rating of 4.3. The difference came with the ratings of the 2 male groups. Black males were rated second behind white females with an average of 3.8 and white males followed with a 3.5 average. Black females once again were rated last with

Figure 16: Responses from 4 different ethnic groups to Stevenson's scale.



an average of 3.1.

Responses to Labov's scale found various responses to white males (Table 8:1). Whites chose the occupation of politician most often for white males (25%), followed by factory worker (22%), teacher (21%), television personality (20%), and cashier (12%). Blacks also chose the occupation of politician most often for white males (67%), followed by teacher (28%), and television personality (5%). Hispanics chose television personality most often (29%), with politician (27%), cashier (18%), teacher (13%), and factory worker (13%) following. Asians differed somewhat in their responses, choosing factory worker 40% of the time, cashier 25%, television personality 13%, teacher 13%, and politician 9% of the time.

Less prestigious occupations were again the most frequent choice for black males (Table 8:2). Whites chose factory worker 55% of the time for black males, followed by teacher (22%), cashier (17%), television personality (3%), and politician (3%). Blacks chose the position of cashier most often for black males (54%), with factory worker following (46%). Hispanics chose factory worker 39% of the time, with cashier (21%), television personality (16%), teacher (14%), and politician (10%) following. Asian respondents also chose factory worker most often (38%), followed by cashier (29%), teacher (16%), politician (13%), and television personality (4%).

Table 8:1: Comparison of responses to white males: percentages.
(Note 7)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Whites	20	25	21	12	22
Blacks	5	67	28		
Hispanics	29	27	13	18	13
Asians	13	9	13	25	40

NOTE: Results of Tables 8:1 - 8:4 are based on responses from four different ethnic groups to Labov's Occupational Suitability Scale and are determined on a percentage basis.

Table 8:2: Comparison of responses to black males: percentages.
(Note 7)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Whites	3	3	22	17	55
Blacks				54	46
Hispanics	16	10	14	21	39
Asians	4	13	16	29	38

Table 8:3: Comparison of responses to white females: percentages.
(Note 7)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Whites	17	23	54	5	1
Blacks	15	18	54	13	
Hispanics	15	18	46	15	6
Asians	13	29	34	16	8

Table 8:4: Comparison of responses to black females: percentages.
(Note 7)

	TV	P	T	C	FW
Whites	2	2	8	21	67
Blacks		2	14	28	56
Hispanics	4	5	13	30	48
Asians			13	34	53

Teacher was again the overwhelming choice for white females (Table 8:3). White respondents chose teacher 54% of the time for white females, followed by politician (23%), television personality (17%), cashier (5%), and factory worker (1%). Blacks also chose teacher 54% of the time, with politician (18%), television personality (15%), and cashier (13%) following. Hispanics chose teacher for white females 46% of the time, followed by politician (18%), television personality (15%), cashier (15%), and factory worker (6%). Asians also chose teacher most often (34%), with politician (29%), cashier (16%), television personality (13%), and factory worker (8%) following.

Factory worker was the obvious choice by all 4 ethnic groups for black females (Table 8:4). Factory worker was chosen 67% of the time by white respondents, with cashier (21%), teacher (8%), television personality (2%), and politician (2%) following. Black respondents chose factory worker most often as well (56%), followed by cashier (28%), teacher (14%), and politician (2%). Hispanics chose factory worker as well (48%), with cashier (30%), teacher (13%), politician (5%), and television personality (4%) following. Asians also chose factory worker (53%), with cashier (34%), and teacher (13%) following.

Discussion of Results

While results of all of the instruments are similar, responses to Labov's scale display the most diversity. Nonetheless, it is clear that despite the instrument used, white females received the most favorable responses. They ranked highest with both the Underwood and Stevenson scales; and even though the position of teacher was chosen most often in response to Labov's scale, white females were assigned the most prestigious occupations overall. White males consistently ranked second, with black males following closely behind, and both groups of speakers were assigned a wide variety of occupational choices. While the positions of television personality and politician were often chosen for both groups, the occupations of cashier and factory worker were also often the choice. Hence, although both white males and black males were often given prestigious positions, white females were still given the most consistent ratings in terms of prestigious occupations. Black females clearly ranked last among favorability with subjects, receiving the lowest ratings among the Underwood and Stevenson scales, and the least prestigious positions with the Labov scale. Discussions of what was expected before this study was conducted and what was eventually concluded will be discussed in the next chapter. Furthermore, the implications that can be made as a result

of this study's findings will also be looked at.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary of Results

Before this project was undertaken, there were a number of questions that helped organize the way the research was conducted. As discussed in earlier chapters, the questions of whether specific subject characteristics and the instrument responded to make a difference in responses to speakers were the focus of this project. For purposes of discussion and summarizing, the specific characteristics focused on in the research will be looked at individually, concluding with a comparison of results between instruments.

Teaching Experience of Respondents

There was no hypothesis as to which group would respond more favorably. I thought that perhaps the prospective teachers may be more sensitive to nonstandard dialects, but only because of the belief that the younger subjects would respond more favorably. In summary, the results support, albeit slightly, a tendency for prospec-

tive teachers to rate speakers higher than experienced teachers did. In any case, the differences were not statistically significant; hence, it can be concluded, based on this sample of teachers and prospective teachers, that experience does not affect the responses of subjects to nonstandard dialects.

As far as the difference between responses to the 4 instruments go, results indicate that the questionnaire used does not make a difference in response. Ratings of speakers were consistent among all instruments, with white females receiving the most favorable response, followed by white males, black males, and black females.

Age of Respondents

As just indicated, the hypothesis here was that the younger subjects would respond more favorably to speakers of nonstandard dialects. Based on results, it can be concluded that the age of the subject does not make a difference in responses. No set pattern was established, and the differences between results were not statistically significant; and, once again, the instrument responded to did not affect the responses to speakers.

Sex of Respondents

There was no hypothesis for this section as well, and results indicate that there are no statistically significant differences in responses between female and male subjects. One interesting note is that female respondents do tend to rate white females slightly higher than male respondents do. Along the same lines, male respondents tend to rate male speakers higher than female respondents do. A trend cannot be established, however, because female subjects, for the most part, rated black females lower than male respondents did. Once again, the instrument used did not make a difference in responses.

Geographic Background of Respondents

The hypothesis here was that those subjects who lived in more heavily populated areas would be more sensitive to speakers of nonstandard dialects. The belief was that the more exposed the subjects were to variation in dialects, the more accepting they would be of the speaker of the dialect. Results proved that the population of the area in which the subject grew up did not make a difference in responses. White females were still rated highest, followed by white males, black males, and black females; furthermore, the differences in scores given these speakers

by the 3 population groups were not statistically significant. Again, the instrument responded to did not effect results.

Multicultural Education Background of Respondents

The obvious hypothesis here is that the more hours of multicultural education taken by the subject, the more sensitive he or she would be to speakers of nonstandard dialects. The hypothesis was proven false. The differences in results between those subjects with no hours of multicultural education, 3 hours, 6 hours, and greater than 6 hours were not statistically significant. White females continued to receive the highest scores, with white males, black males, and black females following. Furthermore, in terms of the Labov scale, white females continued to receive the more prestigious positions, while black females were assigned the less prestigious occupations. The results indicate that classes in multicultural education are not affecting the attitude of teachers and prospective teachers towards speakers of nonstandard dialects. In fact, one interesting result is that the group of subjects with more than 6 hours of multicultural course work often gave lower ratings to speakers of nonstandard dialects.

Ethnic Background of Respondents

The hypothesis here was that minority subjects would respond more sensitively towards speakers of nonstandard dialects. The results show no statistically significant differences between scores from all 4 ethnic groups. The one interesting result is that the Asian respondents gave lower scores to all speakers than other groups did. Furthermore, for the first and only time in this study, black males were given higher ratings than white males; the Asians were the only group to do this.

Implications

The most obvious implication that can be made as a result of this study is that negative language attitudes are not limited to certain groups of people. The problem exists across the board without regard to experience, age, sex, geographic background, or ethnic identity. I think this says something about the magnitude of this problem. As other studies have already proven, the problem exists. This study supports other research, but now it is clear that the problem is widespread and is not limited to certain "kinds" of people.

Possibly the most important finding is that those subjects with multicultural education backgrounds responded in the same way to speakers of nonstandard dialects as other groups of subjects did. These courses are designed to teach both our teachers and prospective teachers about other cultures. Perhaps the emphasis is not on the language of other cultures; but the results of this study, although limited to the Texas A&M University campus, seem to indicate a need to reevaluate what these courses are teaching.

There are some limitations to this study which need to be discussed. First of all, a number of characteristics of respondents were looked at and the results compared. However, a study of this size could not control the number of respondents falling into each category. For example, most respondents fell into the 20-29 age group, making the other age groups smaller in comparison. Furthermore, and perhaps the most important limitation, is that the number of black subjects was very limited. All research was conducted in education classes on the Texas A&M University campus and the number of white subjects far outnumbered other groups of respondents, particularly black respondents. Because this research focuses on black and white speakers, the limitation of black respondents possibly adversely affected the results of this study.

What still needs to be done?

Clearly more research needs to be done concerning negative language attitudes of teachers and prospective teachers towards speakers of nonstandard dialects. Although this study confirms that negative language attitudes exist, and that the characteristics of respondents do not make a difference in results, the question of how to control these attitudes still needs to be answered. What can our universities do to help our future teachers become more sensitive towards speakers of nonstandard dialects? What do we do about teachers who are already running our educational systems? How can we change or at least improve courses that teach multicultural education? This study has answered a number of questions, but it has opened the door for more questions that need to be dealt with.

As is often pointed out, our children are our future. As discussed in the first chapter, teachers are able to affect their students' self-confidence and ability to succeed; hence, our students are often only as successful as their teachers think they can be. Until we find a feasible way to alter the language attitudes our teachers are displaying towards speakers of nonstandard dialects, our children will be forced to deal with these attitudes in the classroom. As the Ann Arbor incident shows us, these

attitudes can often be very dangerous. It is of vital importance that our schools provide an equal education for all students; this cannot be done until our teachers are capable of doing so.

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