

SELF-CONCEPTIONS IN BLACK MALE  
AND FEMALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

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## ABSTRACT

### SELF-CONCEPTIONS IN BLACK MALE AND FEMALE

### COLLEGE STUDENTS

By

Pamela Rochelle Jackson

The present study was designed to explore self-conceptions in middle class, upwardly-mobile black college students with a focus on sex differences. The study was stimulated by an overriding preoccupation with the following themes in the social science literature: black self- and group-disparagement; inferiority and negative adaptive modes (in comparison with white "standards" of optimal functioning); weak ethnic identification in middle class blacks; and the general problem-centered, "plight of blacks," orientation.

In response to the above, the intention of the present study was to cover a full range of self-conceptions in blacks. "Self-conceptions" includes 47 dependent variables taken from three instruments of varied focus. The "Who Am I?" Test (WAI) is a spontaneous, open-ended response technique, flexible enough to allow the responses themselves to generate the important dimensions of self conception, and was felt to be the most appropriate instrument for an exploratory study of self-conceptions in blacks. Two other instruments were used:

the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI), based on sound, psychologically integrated functioning, to assess self conceptions in terms of behaviors and values related to self-actualization; and the Interpersonal Check List (ICL), for a measurement of how subjects conceived of their interpersonal styles.

The hypothesis that there were significant sex differences on the 47 measures of self-conception was tested with three multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) performed on the variables for each instrument, followed by post-hoc univariate tests where appropriate. For further exploration of the use of WAI categories for self-description, a repeated measures analysis of variance was performed on WAI data only.

Scores obtained from 37 males and 64 females yielded no statistically significant sex differences for any of the specific variables included in the WAI or POI. However, a borderline sex difference was found in the multivariate analysis of variance performed on WAI variables. The WAI variables with heuristic value as sex differentiators in future studies ( $P < .06$ ) are the following: Athletic Activities; Personal Striving; Positive Self-Evaluation; Negative Feelings, and Artistic Activities. Although not statistically significant, males had higher frequencies of usage on all of the latter, except Negative Feelings, on which females were higher.

Statistically significant sex differences were found on ICL variables: males were higher on the Narcissistic-Competitive style and females were higher on the Docile-Dependent style and the summary score "Lov." Both males and females were high on "Dom." The results were discussed in view of their contrast with the widespread notion of the subdominant black male and the assertive, dominant black female.

The analysis of WAI categories included the following results: personal self-descriptions (including thoughts, feelings, behavior, and self-evaluation) and black identity references were used more than the group of categories in the broad areas, Ascribed Characteristics, Roles and Memberships, Abstract Identifications, and Activities and Interests. Positive Self-Evaluation and Positive Feelings (grouped) were used more than the eight other personal description categories.

The discussion included consideration of the following: why so few subjects volunteered; experimenter race effects; and why no sex differences were found on specific WAI and POI variables. Discussion specific to the WAI self-descriptive data included the following: black identity references; the use of personal description and self-evaluation categories; and suggestions for the future use of the WAI method for exploring self-conceptions in blacks. The last section of discussion interpreted issues related to positive black identity, not covered directly heretofore, but considered necessary to understanding the phenomenon.

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COLLEGE STUDENTS

By

Pamela Rochelle Jackson

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*to our black mothers  
and the rest  
in the membership . . .*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To the reader: The meaning of my work extends for me through your time and interest. Thank you. I had hoped to do and write something that would be acknowledged.

As I am mostly put off by long research books, I did not expect the page expansion, 99! So I decided to indicate for you those pages (28) which are most important and meaningful for me--either from the discoveries in the data or from stating what I needed and wanted to say.

Thus, the "nitty": pages 1-3, 6-7, 19-23, 30, 53-54, 58-61, 63, 66-68, and 73-81.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

### The Problem

The present research was designed to explore the self-conceptions of black male and female college students. From an examination of theoretical and empirical efforts in the areas of self-concept and personality in blacks, several factors emerged that contributed to the scope and focus of the present study.

The influences of a history of oppression and unequal opportunity on black identity have generally been acknowledged in an abundance of anecdotal writings. But there has been very little systematic or integrated exploration of various personal and behavioral aspects of identity and even less of the latter on carefully defined populations of blacks.

There has been much concern with and effort expended on making comparisons of blacks and whites on personality, behavioral, and particularly, intellectual variables, with blacks typically described on the negative pole of the comparison continuum. One senses the following underlying premises in most black-white comparison studies: data on whites has been presented as necessary standard or norm criterion data in comparing blacks and whites; and empirical investigation of

personality in blacks has largely been limited to aspects illustrative of black-white differences. The implication, therefore, has been that only racially discriminable aspects of black personality or self-conception (that is, "deviations" in blacks from modal majority norms) are worthy of investigation.

What has emerged from studies of personality and identity in blacks has been a negatively described "marked" or "scarred" personality, singularly assumed to be "the Negro." Even when social class has been taken into account, the personality descriptions have shown an overriding preoccupation with black inferiority and self-hatred to the relative absence of examining ethnically adaptive and positive dimensions. The results, therefore, have not in any meaningful, integrated way, approached who blacks are, but have promoted grossly distorted and usually negative caricatures. Further limitations of the existing research and theory in the area will be noted below.

The point to be made is that with very little validating empirical data, there has been no limit on past and current "authorities" on who blacks are, what blacks need and want and why, where blacks have been and where they are going. Since the impact of the black consciousness movement in the middle 1960's, embarrassed black and white social scientists have scrambled hurriedly and often carelessly to provide after-the-fact explanations of the black

socio-psychological experience. The result is much descriptive detail and explanation with little empirical base, and stated with varying degrees of assurance.

Certainly much of the responsibility for bringing some empirical order to bear on the oversights, overgeneralizations and misunderstandings about black personality and identity belongs to black social scientists, particularly psychologists. And investigation in this area is especially stimulating and pressing in light of the current evolution in the personal meaning of black selfhood.

To date, socio-psychological research in the area of concern has shown more emphasis on group identity and behavior dynamics than personal identity or self-conceptions. To that end, the present study was stimulated by a curiosity: what would happen if a specified group of blacks were asked to write responses to the relatively unstructured stimulus, "Who am I?" such that the data generated by the question would delineate important dimensions of self-conception in blacks? The question was exciting enough to pursue with exploratory research on black college students with the aim of broadly examining self-description and sex differences in self-conceptions.

### Review of the Literature

In a very comprehensive, recent review of the literature on self-identity in blacks, Proshansky and Newton (1968) reached the following aptly stated conclusion:

While there has been considerable genuine concern about Negro identity, there has been little actual research on Negro identity. The research findings can only be described as incomplete, fragmentary, and at times contradictory (p. 180).

Few empirical studies have been done that are directly related to broad measurement of self-conceptions or identity, but there have been studies in the following areas: racial identification and evaluation in young children; delineation of "the Negro personality" of adults; and measurement of very limited aspects of identity. From many of these studies have followed generalizations concerning self-conceptions in blacks that are relevant to the present research.

#### Racial Identification and Evaluation Studies: Generalizations and Significance of Findings

A series of studies have explored racial identification and evaluation in young children using a variety of measurement techniques, such as doll play, picture tests, playmate selection, and drawings, and have reached similar conclusions.



The ability to make racial distinctions increases from roughly age three in black and white children (Clark & Clark, 1947; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Morland, 1958; and Stevenson & Stevenson, 1960) until all children can make them at about six or seven years old. However, real conceptual understanding of racial categories rather than a spurious conception through verbal fluency seems to develop around eight or nine years of age (Goodman, 1952).

The following are among the findings regarding racial evaluation: a majority of black and white children chose to play with a white doll in preference to a black doll (Clark & Clark, 1947; Radke & Trager, 1950; Goodman, 1952; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; and Morland, 1962). A greater proportion of blacks preferred to play with children of other races, whereas white children preferred playmates of their own race (Morland, 1962). And a majority of seven year old black children chose a white doll as the one that looked nice and was a nice color and the Negro doll as the one that looked bad (Clark & Clark, 1947).

The Clarks (1947) concluded that black children were reluctant to identify themselves as black: 33-52% of their three to five year olds "misidentified" with the white doll when asked, "Give me the doll that looks like you." However, when five to seven year old subjects were given a highly concrete task, such as coloring human figures, there was far less evidence of misidentification (Clark, 1950); and

recently, no evidence of misidentification resulted when eight to ten year olds were given a coloring task (Ogletree, 1969).

Furthermore, when the Clarks' studies were replicated with the addition of a "mulatto" doll to the traditional dark brown and white dolls, there was little misidentification and comparable results for black and white children (Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1968).

At least two recent studies, using close replication of the Clark and Clark (1947) procedures, have found contrary results and evidence of positive self-evaluation and black racial identification and preference in black children. Hraba and Grant (1970) found virtually no misidentification in three to eight year old blacks, and found that black children preferred the black doll at all ages (with the preference increasing with age).

Complementing and extending the above, Harris and Braun (1971) found the following in seven and eight year old middle and lower class black children: the majority preferred the black puppet; those with more black preference choices also had higher self-concept scores; and there were no significant differences between males and females or between middle and lower class children in black preference choices.

As the above results were obtained with near replication of the Clark and Clark (1947) procedure, they most probably reflect a change in the phenomenon of black identification and self-evaluation, as manifested in a socio-cultural milieu of positive ethnic awareness

and pride that is vastly different from 30 years ago, and especially so in the past five years.

The historical importance of the pre-1965 studies of racial identification and evaluation is that they were interpreted as confirmation of self-hatred or negative self-identity in blacks, as though such feelings and self-conceptions begin and end with one's awareness and culturally learned evaluation of his skin color.

Pettigrew (1964b) pointed out, however, that not all theorists have assumed that blacks must necessarily develop self-hatred in response to racist pressures and learned negative evaluations of who they are. Both Milner (1953) and the Ausubels (1958) noted that individual variations in reaction to racist pressures are determined largely by early socialization experiences. They suggested that the negative effects of being a member of a stigmatized racial group are lessened if a foundation of intrinsic self-worth and adequacy is established in young children.

In addition, there are theorists who argue that unless provoked prematurely, psychosocial identity is not feasible before the beginning of adolescence (Erikson, 1964; Guardo, 1968), and that one is not fully aware of the social devaluation attached to the "role of Negro" until early adolescence (Milner, 1953; Pettigrew, 1964b). These positions place further limits on the meaning of the early studies of racial identification and evaluation.

"The Negro Personality"

Kardiner and Ovesey's (1951) study of 25 black men and women, using psychodynamic interview analysis, Rorschach, and TAT data, is probably the classic of those attempting to delineate "the Negro personality." In addition to the small number of people used, it should be noted that nearly half of them were patients in psychotherapy, both of which aspects severely limit the generalizability of the findings.

Kardiner and Ovesey's aim was to give a psychodynamic explanation of sources of conflict and defects in adaptation. They acknowledge their report's incompleteness as to effective modes of adaptation and the happier aspects of the lives of their subjects. However, it is done in a manner that suggests that understanding the negative aspects is the important endeavor of the clinician-researcher.

Regarding a distinctive personality for "the Negro," Kardiner and Ovesey state the following:

Is there such a thing as a basic personality for the Negro? This work proves decidedly that there is. Though he lives in American culture, the Negro lives under special conditions which give this personality a distinctive configuration (p. 310).

Not only is "the Negro" ascribed a distinct personality, but in a manner characteristic of social science literature on blacks, he appears to be irretrievable and indelibly crushed:

The marks of his previous status were still upon him--socially, psychologically, and emotionally. And from these

he has never since freed himself (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951, p. 384).

The implication is that he never will, even though it is acknowledged that "the defects in adaptations are not of mysterious or racial origin, but owe their existence entirely to the arduous emotional conditions under which the Negro in America is obliged to live" (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951, p. 338).

The major features of "the Negro personality" which these investigators found to be consistently evident were the following: fear of relatedness through verbal communication of feelings; paucity of meaningful dialogue; suspicion; mistrust; the denial mechanism; the problem of control of aggression; and the tendency to reduce provocative situations to something simpler or entirely different, all of which features were seen as maneuvers to avoid directly confronting reality.

In addition to their general description of "the Negro personality," Kardiner and Ovesey stated some specific and differentiating characteristics of lower versus middle and upper class blacks. What follows is their description of middle and upper class blacks.

Middle class as well as lower class blacks were described as having a fear of looking too deeply into anything. Although middle class blacks were observed as having a better "affectivity potential," they were described as having a formal and structured approach to feelings (trying to express the "right" feelings for each situation).

Relatedly, they were described as so overly controlled that they appeared unspontaneous and cramped.

Furthermore, Kardiner and Ovesey felt that middle class blacks had greater intrapsychic conflict than lower class blacks over the following: finding appropriate compensations for lowered self-esteem; the disposition of aggression; an uncompromising acceptance of white ideals; and success phobia. Success phobia was explained as guilt accompanying success and upward mobility, on the assumption that upward mobility and success were felt to be a betrayal of and aggressive act against other blacks.

Status striving and material concern were stated to be the chief conflict areas for middle class blacks (see also Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, 1957). They were noted as setting their ideals too high, which greatly augmented their self-hate, and made them more vulnerable to depressed self-esteem than lower class blacks (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951).

Karon (1958) in his book, The Negro Personality, investigated the personality of blacks who differed in the extent to which caste sanctions (i.e., institutionalized social pressures) were enforced against them. Differential effects of caste sanctions were assumed to be operative in the comparing of northern vs. southern blacks, and northern whites vs. southern blacks. The main and most consistent finding, in samples of comparable age and education, was that denial

of various manifestations of aggression was the personality characteristic most reflective of caste sanctions and thus related to the most serious emotional problems of blacks.

Vontress (1963, 1966) posits the following dominant characteristics of "the Negro personality": feelings of worthlessness and inferiority, and most significantly, self-hatred because the Negro must turn aggressive feelings toward his oppressor onto himself. This position on self-hatred has been voiced by many in the mental health care professions: namely, self-hatred is viewed as rage turned against the self rather than shame in being black and a desire to be white (Poussaint, 1967a). Significant, however, is that self-hatred is seen by Vontress as simply a reflection of whites' hatred for blacks: through unconscious identification with their oppressors, blacks have acquired anti-black sentiments as a cultural attribute (Vontress, 1971).

Poussaint (1967a) postulated that the core of blacks' psychological and sociological difficulties is a constellation of aggression and rage, rather than self-hatred (see also Grier & Cobbs, Black Rage, 1968), and non-assertiveness which is learned as an adaptive survival mechanism. He feels that blacks have suffered heavy psychic costs due to repressed and suppressed rage. Sometimes the rage is denied completely and compensated for with a happy-go-lucky attitude, flippancy, or "being cool."

The rage can also be controlled through the following: suppressing it and substituting docility and compliance; identifying or empathizing with someone objectively similar but free to directly express rage at the oppressor (e.g., Mohammed Ali); expressing it indirectly through psychosomatic symptoms or more self-destructively through alcoholism, drug addictions, excessive gambling, and the tendency to distrust and hate blacks more than oppressive whites; substituting a chronic resentment ("chip on the shoulder") which always has the potential to explode; channeling the rage into competitive sports, dance, and music, or into identifying with and striving to be like the oppressor (Poussaint, 1967a,b).

Maliver (1965), in a pre-1963 study of 160 black male students at northern and southern colleges did not find support for the theory of identification with the aggressor. Broad personality differences based on the theory could not be predicted on the basis of degree of anti-black bias (very carefully measured) in the subjects.

### Recent Studies of Black Identity

Parker and Kleiner (1964) did one of very few studies attempting to study the relationship between strength of ethnic identification and both socio-economic status and status mobility. They found that consistently positive identification increased as SES went down, and that as individuals moved up from their parents' status level



(upwardly-mobile), they showed significantly less strong ethnic identification and significantly more ambivalence and weak identification patterns.

A very basic and serious flaw with the Parker and Kleiner study was their method of assessing ethnic identification. The measurement was largely based on using the subjects' responses to the phenomenon of blacks "passing" for white as a major indicator of strength of identification. The latter is very untenable for several reasons: the principle reasons for "passing" are more concerned with achieving advantages made impossible by discrimination and segregation and less with giving up one's racial identity (as seemingly assumed by Parker and Kleiner); also, only a very small fraction of those who "pass" give up their black identity completely and permanently (Pettigrew, 1964a).

Moreover, the assumption that sanctioning "passing" is a reflection of weak ethnic identity and self-hatred is a very white-biased, myopic appreciation of the phenomenon. What the interpretation overlooks is that "passing," although it may involve self-disparagement for many, is also a way for blacks to actively aggress against the oppressor. (Note that this example cogently points to the necessity for black psychologists to study facets of black identity and life style, because of their clearer perspective for interpreting what motivates specific black behaviors).

Derbyshire and Brody (1964a, b, c) and Derbyshire (1966) completed a series of identity studies on an upwardly-mobile sample of black college students in urban Baltimore. Using the Frenkel-Brunswik Authoritarian Personality E-scale, they concluded in one study (1964a) that blacks have rejected "Negro folk stereotypes" and as such, no longer see themselves in a subjugated role.

Social distance as an aspect of identity was studied in the same student sample, and responses to the Bogardus Social Distance Scale were interpreted as willingness to relate (that is, degree of closeness) to people of varying ethnic, national, and religious backgrounds (Derbyshire & Brody, 1964c). The following major results were obtained: the subjects unequivocally identified themselves as "American Negroes"; they saw all groups other than "Negro" as being significantly different from themselves; highly divergent cultures evoked lower social distance responses if the populations were seen as negroid rather than non-negroid; non-negroid American minorities as well as non-minority Americans elicited high social distance scores.

Derbyshire (1966), in a study relating social distance with semantic distance, concluded that identity in blacks was unstable and permeated by ambiguity and ambivalence. However, the semantic scales that were assumed indicative of identity confusion (because they were uncorrelated with social distance) are obviously similar to traditional "Negro" stereotypes: dark-light, humble-proud, intelligent-unintelligent, passive-active, slow-fast, and weak-strong.

Derbyshire and Brody have made the most recent attempt at a **systematic** investigation of identity in blacks; however, their focus **has** been on rather oblique, group-related identity factors. Moreover, **their** data was gathered in 1964: black awareness was becoming an **important** dimension of self-definition, and there was a strong, pivotal **thrust** for black group solidarity. Both of these factors have made a **major** experiential impact on the identity feelings of most black people.

Dizard (1970) formulated an exploratory summary index of **positive** attachment to black identity from questions included in interviews **on** attitudes and experiences conducted in 1967. He obtained data from **a large** sample (N = 1160) of black, Berkeley, California residents aged **16 years** and older. However, the atypical geographic location of the **sample** somewhat limits the generalizability of the findings.

Forty-three percent of the sample scored high in "attachment to **black** identity." Regarding the social stratification of those who gave **high** attachment responses, the following results were obtained: youth-**fulness** was a far more important contributor to high attachment than **education**; however, the more highly educated were also more likely to **indicate** "high attachment to black identity" (see also Noel, 1964), and **high** attachment responses were found for a substantial number of "re-**sponsible** adults" (by virtue of age and education).

Similar degrees of attachment were found in such diverse strata **as** black professionals and unskilled black laborers, which differs from

Noel's (1964) finding that upper class subjects (as measured by education and occupation) were significantly stronger black group identifiers and less likely to disparage the group than lower class subjects.

The latter finding of Dizard suggested that a sense of group identity currently links a broad spectrum of the black community, although the linkage is not uniform across all occupational groups.

#### Sex Differences in Personality and Self-Conceptions Among Blacks

To date there has been no direct study of sex differences in black identity or self-conceptions. Negative characterizations of the male-female relationship have been advanced in abundance, however.

Most frequently, black men and women are viewed as mutually distrustful and contemptuous (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951; Grier & Cobbs, 1968). The central refrain of the vast majority of studies, with their interpretations grounded in traditional white middle class sex role theory, is as follows: black women play a dominant role and black men are submissive and suffer constant threats to their masculinity which activate a variety of compensatory behaviors (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951; Woronoff, 1962; Clark, 1965; Vontress, 1966; Poussaint, 1967a, b; Grier & Cobbs, 1968), including an exaggeration of the more obvious external signs of masculinity (Clark, 1965; Vontress, 1971).

The disparaging and shortsighted theme of the matriarchal **black female** (see LaRue, 1970; Grier & Cobbs, 1968) has dominated the **literature** concerning personality and identity in blacks and the black **male-female** relationship, especially since the publication of the so-called "Moynihan Report" (Moynihan, 1965). The power of the black **female** and her dominant role in the family are generally seen to follow **from** her relatively greater economic value in society (Clark, 1965; **Tenhouten**, 1970; Mack, 1971), and the compensatory supportive and **protective** strengths she exercises in the frequent absence of the black **husband-father**.

The Moynihan Report has been carefully and incisively **criticized** (Hyman & Reed, 1969; Tenhouten, 1970; and Mack, 1971). Moynihan's **thesis** of "black matriarchy" can be criticized on several dimensions. **It is** unclear whether the construct "black matriarchy" refers to **conjugal** or parental role reversal. Statistical deviancy, in terms of the **higher** frequency of father absence in black families, and based on **sociodemographic** data, was used by Moynihan to infer a "tangle of **pathology**" in black families without the empirical support of studies of **family** dynamics. A critical examination of the empirical indicators **used** by Moynihan as evidence of family instability and pathology gives **no** evidence (not even directional support) for the premise of black **male** emasculation and subdominance (Hyman & Reed, 1969; Tenhouten, 1970).

From an extensive empirical study of conjugal and parental power in a large sample of lower and upper class black and white families, Tenhouten (1970) found that (1) in the conjugal role, black husbands were not weaker than white husbands, nor black wives more powerful than white wives, and (2) in the parental role, black fathers were not less powerful than white fathers, but black mothers tended to be more powerful than white mothers. Lower class black husbands were not found to be powerless in either the conjugal or parental roles.

Mack (1971) did a very imaginative study of power relations in carefully matched groups of black and white, middle and working class couples. Behavioral measures were included in the study. It was found that blacks and whites did not differ in perception and uses of power in marriage and that class differences far outweighed race in determining power relations within marriage.

Relatedly, a study by Geismar & Gerhart (1968) found social class a more powerful influence than ethnicity in studying the family functioning (patterns of child socialization, economic functioning, personal and social deviancy, etc.) of young black, white, and Puerto Rican families.

The relevance of the above to the present study is that explorations of the "black matriarchy" thesis (or, black female dominance and male subdominance), and failure to find support for it, comprise the major empirical efforts even tangentially related to sex differences

in black personality. However, the studies in the area have examined married couples only and have not studied specific populations of blacks for an examination of how men and women conceive of themselves.

A final note is that in Wylie's (1961) review of studies of sex differences in self-concept, marked inconsistencies were found, and she concluded that, "Resolution of possible contradictory results in this area awaits further research" (p. 147).

#### Black Identity and Personality: Restricted Focus of Past Research

The most complete literature on self-image and identity conflicts in blacks has been of the "plight of the Negro," descriptive and anecdotal vintage, with very little substantiating empirical data. Also there has been much speculation but little investigation, until recently, of the personality dynamics underlying black protest as related to historically delineated phases of the movement.

Lastly, the research and theory on personality and identity in blacks has been overwhelmingly problem-centered, tending to view differences from white middle class norms as problems. As stated by Proshansky & Newton (1968): "The reader is sometimes left with the image of an entire race of psychologically crippled people, reduced to a level of minimal functioning and a state of precarious mental health" (p. 212). The latter is very strongly reflected in the work

of Kardiner and Ovesey cited above. Positive coping resources and positive elements of personal and group identity have tended, depending on the investigator, to be ignored, overlooked, de-emphasized, or misunderstood.

Gullattee's (1969) review brings her to this conclusion:

"Whites have for some reason failed to accept the fact that Negroes can see themselves in a positive light" (p. 127). She adds that signs of positive and proud identity, when acknowledged, have often been seen as having resulted from interracial contact (see Hraba & Grant, 1970), upward mobility, or the emergence of African nations (see Friedman, 1969).

The issue we are discussing has also been very eloquently addressed by Erikson (1966):

An yet, is "the Negro" not often all too summarily and all too exclusively discussed in such a way that his negative identity is defined only in terms of his defensive adjustments to the dominant white majority? Do we (and can we) know enough about the relationship of positive and negative elements within the Negro personality and within the Negro community? This alone would reveal how negative is negative and how positive, positive (p. 155, italics his).

It is only recently that black scholars have begun to direct attention to positive and adaptive features of black identity. Theoretical and empirical efforts are being made to explore and communicate the full range of actions about and reactions to being black by blacks. And included among the latter is the present study.



The Current Thrust in Positive Black  
Identity: A Socio-Cultural Perspective

In an examination of blacks' attempts to free themselves of racist oppression during their entire stay in America, Gethers (1970) suggests that the movement has passed through the following four inter-related stages of development: the struggle for freedom from physical enslavement between the early 1600's and 1865; the struggle for civil and political equality, beginning before emancipation and continued into the 20th century; the struggle for socio-economic equality, which began immediately following the Civil War, reached a high point in the 1960's, and has yet to be fully realized; and the struggle for ethnic selfhood, sporadically introduced throughout the history of blacks in America, but raised to a new level by the Black Power revolt of the middle 1960's.

The evolving of new self-identities has been referred to as the first basis and final result of social revolutions (Pfautz, 1963); and Erikson (1966) refers to blacks' rewriting their own identity as the psychological core of revolution.

Although the Black Power philosophy was a major thrust in highlighting the need for a revolution in self-identity, the Civil Rights era planted important seeds for it. Martin Luther King, Jr. cogently makes the point in one of his speeches that the real significance of the gains of the period was that "black people straightened their backs

up." In the same vein, the beginning of the Civil Rights era has often been dated at 1955: Mrs. Rosa Parks revamped her personal identity by disengaging herself from the role of passively accepting, second class human, to say that no, she was not going to the back of the bus.

The irony of the latter assertive mode of self-affirmation is that the Civil Rights movement adopted a passive resistance and non-violent base of operations. The reason for the latter, according to Poussaint (1967b), was that since even minor aggression toward whites was severely and inequitably punished in the South, the Civil Rights movement would have been unacceptable to whites without its adoption of passive resistance strategies.

During the same period, black writers, notably James Baldwin (Jones, 1966), began to redefine the so-called "Negro problem" as basically a white problem. The redefinition had the impact of initiating greater self-respect for many, and unleashed deliberations that began to loosen the psychological power of oppressive indoctrination.

The current thrust in positive black identity arose largely in response to the tenets of the Black Power philosophy. Whereas the early Civil Rights era assumed that the role of blacks was to induce whites to remove legal and de facto barriers to equality through producing the consciences of whites, the current era has changed the tactical pursuit of the same ends through the following: greater self-reliance, taking the initiative, and developing solidarity bonds for

internal cohesion and acting in concert. It is reasonable to assume that black self-conceptions have consequently moved toward enhanced feelings of potency and self-esteem (Dizard, 1970; Pinderhughes, 1969).

That the contemporary black protest movement is creating a much more positive setting for identity and personality formation in black children is being investigated empirically, as noted above. If one conceptualizes the genesis and development of self as Mead (1934) theorized, then the structure of self-identity is largely shaped and controlled through one's adoption of the norms, attitudes, and values of the "generalized other" (community) toward him. Poussaint and Atkinson (1968) suggest that a black child's self-image will be impaired to the extent that the "generalized other" remains racist.

The same notion is expressed by Franz Fanon (1952) as follows:

When the Negro makes contact with the white world, a certain sensitizing action takes place. If his psychic structure is weak, one observes a collapse of the ego. The black man stops behaving as an actional person. The goal of his behavior will be The Other (in the guise of the white man), for The Other alone can give him worth. That is on the ethical level: self-esteem (p. 154, *italics his*).

The assertive facilitators of positive black selfhood and pride are increasingly becoming the most significant, influential "generalized other" in the socio-cultural milieu of many young blacks. A consequence is that intrinsic feelings of self-worth and self-affirmation are becoming deeply rooted through the early socialization experiences of blacks.



Description of the Population: Black Students

The only systematic, in-depth description and characterization of black students to date is that of Edwards (1970). His findings on black students are based on qualitative and ethnographic data gathered via informal conversation, between 1966 and 1969, from 378 black students on over 60 predominantly white college and university campuses.

Edwards' position is that the children of Frazier's middle class blacks (Frazier, 1957), largely because of that class's "obsession" with academic degrees for maintaining social and economic status, make up the overwhelming majority of black college students. (Of significance here is that Glenn (1963), from a review of 16 prestige stratification studies on blacks, found formal education to be the most important basis of prestige among blacks.)

Edwards further states that the same bourgeoisie offsprings were the primary initiators of the black student movement, mainly because they had been largely insulated from the more tangible effects of oppression and could not tolerate the idea of negative changes in their social and economic status.

From Edwards' findings, it will be assumed that the sample of black college students in the present study is largely middle class until or unless this assumption needs to be qualified in accordance with the demographic data gathered on the subjects.



Self-Conceptions: A Conceptual Framework

The raw or core experiencing of self as being (self as subject) has thus far not been the direct object of empirical investigation and can be referred to as self-identity. In the present study, we are concerned with conceptions of the self (self as object), which are the ways one cognitively interprets and communicates his actions, feelings, sensory inputs, etc. (Guardo, 1968; Gergen, 1971).

The definition of self which follows from the above and will be used in the present study is the following by Gordon (1968):

The self is not a thing; it is a complex process of continuing interpretive activity--simultaneously the person's located subjective stream of consciousness (both reflexive and non-reflexive, including perceiving, thinking, planning, evaluating, choosing, etc.) and the resultant accruing structure of self-conceptions. (the special system of self-referential meanings available to this active consciousness (Gordon, 1968, p. 116, italics his).

The plural notion of a system of self-conceptions moves away from the simplistic assumption of "the self-concept" toward a description of multiple conceptions.

"Self-conceptions," as used in the present study, encompasses categorized responses to the question "Who Am I?" as well as dimensions of personality dealing with personal orientation and interpersonal behavior as conceived by the respondent.

### Description of the Instruments

#### The Questionnaire on Background Information

The Questionnaire on Background Information (QBI) is a 21-item instrument for assessing socio-economic status and other demographic and socialization variables (see Appendix I). Nine items are specific to areas frequently used in previous research to estimate socio-economic status. The areas are as follow: the level of education, educational degrees, and occupation of each parent; the approximate family income; the respondent's estimate of the socio-economic status of the family; and the amount of parental encouragement to go to college.

The questionnaire was designed in order to get more complete, specific information on the population being studied than the general description of black students as middle class.

#### The "Who Am I?" Test

The major assessment of self-conceptions was done through the use of the "Who Am I?" Test (WAI) developed by Gordon (1968), and based on a procedure given initial empirical attention by Bugental and Zelen (1950), Kuhn and McPartland (1954), and Kuhn (1960).

The WAI consists of giving respondents a sheet of paper with fifteen numbered blanks for their responses to the stimulus, "Who Am



I?" typed at the top of the page. The test is a spontaneous response technique which, because it is relatively unstructured and open-ended, has some qualities of a projective test (Bugental & Zelen, 1950; Gordon, 1968). Several considerations influenced the choice of the WAI as the most appropriate instrument for the assessment of self-conceptions in the present study. It was felt that the major instrument should stimulate open-ended, codable responses that would themselves generate the important dimensions of self-conceptions. Such an instrument, it was reasoned, would be most maximally free of middle-class white scoring and interpretation bias.

A comprehensive assessment of self-conceptions must include both social and personal identity descriptions. The spontaneous response technique of the WAI allows both category descriptions (self-conceptions in terms of social roles, memberships, activities, etc.) and attribute descriptions (self-conceptions in terms of personal characteristics and traits differing in idiosyncratic importance, typical interpersonal style, self-evaluation, and perceived impression of self on others) to be expressed in any order the respondent sees fit.

The evaluative component of self-conceptions, which can be used as a measure of self-esteem, can also be assessed from responses to the WAI. As measured using the WAI stimulus, self-esteem is not of fixed or global significance, since evaluative significance is only rated on particular items. However, a summary estimate may be used for group comparison purposes.

For the present study, subjects were asked the following question, which was typed on the back of the WAI sheet: "Please comment on how complete, accurate, and/or meaningful you consider the above answers that you have made to the question, 'Who Am I?'" The purpose of the question was to descriptively assess both the respondents' interpretation of their task and how well they felt themselves to be portrayed by their responses.

The specific 37 categories for scoring the WAI in the present study are a revised and expanded version of Gordon's (1968) formulation (see Appendix II). Examination of Appendix II will illustrate the broad range and completeness of the scoring categories for overall description of self-conceptions. The specific categories are grouped under broad category areas for easier reference.

#### The Interpersonal Check List

The Interpersonal Check List (ICL), developed by LaForge and Suczek (1955), Leary (1957), and other members of the Kaiser Foundation, is based upon a basic model of interpersonal behavior represented as a circumplex having 16 behaviorally defined segments and two orthogonally positioned bipolar dimensions: Dominance-submission (Dom) and Love-hate (Lov). One-hundred-twenty-eight adjectives or phrases comprise the instrument. Both qualitative behavioral variations and behavior strength or intensity are represented in terms of segment location

within the circle and distance from the center of the circle. The 16 behaviorally defined segments are combined into labelled pairs. Thus the circumplex has eight dual-labelled categories, or interpersonal styles, the first word of which gives the milder form of the behavior indicated (see Appendix III).

#### The Personal Orientation Inventory

The Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) was created by Shostrom (1968) to measure values and behavior assumed important to the development of self-actualization. It consists of 150 two-choice comparative behavior and value judgment items. The items are scored twice: the first scoring is of two basic scales, of importance in interpersonal interaction and personal development, called Inner-directed Support (127 items) and Time Competence (23 items); and the second scoring is of 10 subscales measuring facets of self-actualization in the interpersonal sphere. See Appendix IV for definitions of the subscales.

#### Dependent Variables

Of the 37 available WAI categories, it was decided that 10 categories could be eliminated from the analysis of results because both the means and standard deviations of their frequency of usage were too low (below .5) to demonstrate sex differences.

The dependent variables, therefore, include the following: 27 WAI categories; eight ICL octant scores, and 12 POI subscale scores for a total of 47.

### Summary of Objectives and Hypothesis

The self-conceptions of black college students were measured with three instruments: the "Who Am I?" Test (WAI); the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI); and the Interpersonal Check List (ICL). Each instrument has a particular advantage and different aim. The WAI is a spontaneous, open-ended response technique which allows conception of both personal and social self as related to categorical or attributive self-descriptions. The POI explores self-conceptions in terms of behavior and values related to self-actualization, and as such, is concerned with positive psychological integration rather than psychopathology. The ICL, with its theoretical underpinnings in interpersonal personality theory, offers a measurement of self-conceptions in terms of various interpersonal styles.

The abundance of and variety in the data afforded a fruitful base for a descriptive and exploratory study of self-conceptions and an examination of sex differences in self-conceptions. The specific hypothesis tested was the following: there are significant sex differences on the 47 measures of self-conception. Further descriptive

exploration of self-conceptions involved more detailed examination of WAI responses.

## II. METHOD

### Subjects

Fifteen black males and 43 black females from an Introductory Psychology class volunteered as subjects for "personality research." The data from volunteer white subjects will be analyzed and reported later as part of a study on race and sex differences in self-conceptions.

An additional 32 males and 30 females volunteered in response to the following advertisement placed in the student newspaper and on bulletin boards:

Volunteers needed for research in black personality. Must be single, between 18 and 21 years old, and born in the U.S. Will be paid \$3.00 for 2 hours of participation (Time and place).

The advertisement appeared four times but was changed after the first appearance to a request for volunteers "for research on black male personality," and the name of the experimenter was added.

Nineteen subjects had to be excluded from the analysis for procedural errors, such as incorrectly marked answer sheets, or otherwise failing to follow instructions. The final sample, therefore, consisted of 37 men and 64 women. The descriptive data on these subjects that follows was obtained from their responses to the Questionnaire on Background Information (QBI) administered.

The mean age of men was 19.1 years and that of women, 18.5 years. As to educational level, 72% of the men were either freshmen or sophomores, whereas 92% of the women were either of the same. Seventy-nine percent of the men and 72% of the women estimated their family's socio-economic status in the range of upper-lower to lower middle.

That the subjects are an upwardly-mobile group is supported by the data: 85% of the men and 92% of the women reported that they were encouraged "some" or "quite a bit" to go to college by either or both parents. Additionally, at the time of testing, the subjects had exceeded the educational level achieved by approximately 80% of their parents. Formal education is conceived by blacks as an important element in social mobility (Parker & Kleiner, 1964) and was noted above as the most important basis of prestige among blacks (Glenn, 1963).

#### Procedure

The subjects were tested in a large classroom in 1-1/2 to 2 hour sessions. The sizes of the groups tested varied in accordance with the convenience of pre-arranged testing times.

In an attempt to balance out the effects of race of the experimenter on subjects' responses, the black experimenter was joined by a (confederate) white experimenter and they alternated in both giving

specific instructions for and distributing and collecting test materials.

It was intended that the experimenters appear equally in charge.

### General Instructions

The following general instructions were given to subjects after they had been seated for testing:

As stated previously, in order to participate in this experiment, you must be single, between 18 and 21 years old, and born in continental United States. Anyone who does not meet these requirements should leave now. (Pause)

The research you have agreed to participate in will take about 1-1/2 hours during which time you will take four personality tests and then answer a questionnaire. Confidentiality will be maintained throughout the experiment as only your student number and sex will be used as identifying information. Please try to deal with the test materials as truthfully as possible.

### Specific Instructions

The specific test instructions and order of administration were as follow:

#### The "Who Am I?" Test (WAI)

The subjects were given a sheet of paper with fifteen numbered blanks and instructed verbally as follows:

Please write fifteen different answers to the question "Who am I?" in the blanks, answering as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. Don't worry



about "logic" or "importance." Are there any questions? You may begin.

(After 15 minutes elapsed) After you have written fifteen answers, write your student number on the bottom of the page, return to your answers, and rank order them in terms of their importance to you, assigning rank order "1" to the most important item. Write the rank number to the left of the answer number. Then turn your paper over and answer the question on the back.

### The Interpersonal Check List (ICL)

A test booklet and an IBM answer sheet were issued to each subject and they were asked to disregard the printed instructions on the booklet. The following instructions were read:

You will be successively given four answer sheets for this test in order to describe four different people in the following order: (Experimenter printed on the black-board) "Myself," "My Mother," "My Father," and "My Potential Mate." First write your student number and sex on each answer sheet, and then print the name of the person to be described at the top of the sheet. Now open your test booklet and glance at the items. Notice that you have a True-False answer sheet. You are to mark "true" for those numbered words or phrases that are descriptive of the person printed on the top of the sheet and "false" for those items which are not descriptive. Are there any questions?

Work quickly and don't be concerned about apparent contradictions or duplications in your different descriptions. When you have finished with a description, hold your answer sheet up. It will be collected and you will be given another for the next description. You may begin.

For the present study, only the data on "Myself" is analyzed and reported.

### The Personal Orientation Inventory (POI)

The following instructions were given to the subjects after they had been given a test booklet and answer sheet:

Please write your student number on the answer sheet in the space provided for your name, fill in the appropriate box for sex, then read the instructions printed on the test booklet. (Pause) Are there any questions? You may begin.

The Questionnaire on Background  
Information (QBI)

The self-explanatory QBI (titled, "Questionnaire") and an IBM answer sheet were given to subjects, and they were instructed to write only their student number and sex on the answer sheet.

The subjects were instructed to sign out before leaving, and the sign-out sheet included the following: student number, sex, race, age, and educational level.

Coding and Reliability for the  
"Who Am I?" Test (WAI)

As noted above, the categories used for scoring the WAI were an expanded version of Gordon's (1968) formulation. The major work of expanding Gordon's system involved the creation of four categories for measuring responses in the area of black identity. Gordon's one race reference category, "Racial and National Heritage," was too broad to illustrate the variety, meaning, and importance of the many ethnic references made.

The four black identity categories were generated by initially analyzing all ethnic references and combining them into narrowly defined categories. The categories thus formed were gradually regrouped and reduced in number, in an attempt to achieve parsimony and retain meaning, until the final four categories evolved (see Appendix II).

Each of the 15 responses made to the question "Who Am I?" can be multiple coded. Any given category, then, had the possibility of being scored up to 15 times over the total protocol for each respondent.

Three raters were trained to score the WAI. Each rater spent six to eight total hours scoring 45 WAI protocols which were divided into three groups of 15 each. After each group of 15 was individually scored, the raters came together to discuss differences and problems in conceptualizing category meanings. The category definitions were refined during 22 hours of discussion and strong agreement among raters was attained. It was decided that every rater would score all of the WAI protocols. The final codings consisted of only those on which at least two of the three raters agreed. Thus a very conservative means of final scoring was used to insure higher reliability of the categories.

### III. RESULTS

#### Procedure for the Analysis of Results

Three one-way multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA), testing for sex differences, were performed on the variables from each of the three instruments. As this is an exploratory study, a liberal significance level of  $P < .10$  was set for support of the sex difference hypothesis for each MANOVA. Where significant sex differences were found, univariate analyses of variance were performed in order to determine which variables were most critical in separating sexes. For the latter analyses, the significance level for each MANOVA,  $P < .10$ , was partitioned according to the number of variables included.

In addition, an analysis of variance for repeated measures was performed on the WAI data only, in order to more fully explore the use of WAI categories for self-description. A significance level of .05 was set for support of a Groups effect, Categories effect, Groups X Categories interaction, and for post-hoc comparisons of category frequencies of usage, given a significant Categories effect.

Descriptive analyses of the WAI data accompany the above. A graph is presented to illustrate the mean importance ranks assigned by the subjects to the 15 entry points for WAI responses. The graph is

useful for examining whether or not the most and least important self-conceptions tended to be written at specifiable segments over the 15 points of entry.

Additionally, the subjects' responses to the question typed on back of the WAI test protocol were examined. The question was: "Please comment on how complete, accurate, and/or meaningful you consider the above answers that you have made to the question, 'Who am I?'"

Responses to the question were summarized in terms of what, if any, reservations were expressed regarding the completeness, accuracy, and meaningfulness of the self-descriptions. The intent here was to follow Gordon's suggestion of checking whether the respondent "'recognizes' himself as accurately depicted" (Gordon, 1968, p. 117), in order to assess how well written self-descriptions approximated subjects' actual self-conceptions.

#### Sex Differences on Self-Conception Variables

Appendix V contains the means, standard deviations, and pooled means and standard deviations for each of the 47 dependent variables.

For the MANOVA performed on the POI variables, significant results were not obtained ( $F = .73$ ,  $df = 12, 88$ ,  $P < .72$ ), so the hypothesis of sex differences across the measures was not supported.

Significant sex differences were obtained on the MANOVA for the ICL variables:  $F = 2.42$ ,  $df = 8, 92$ ,  $P < .02$ . Since the multivariate hypothesis was supported, post-hoc univariate tests on the eight variables were performed with the significance level set at  $P < .0125$  for each of the eight tests. Table 1 shows the results of the analyses.

TABLE 1.--Summary of Univariate Analyses of Variance for Eight ICL Octant Scales.

Variable	Between MS	Within MS	F
Managerial-Autocratic	12.06	7.93	1.52
Competitive-Narcissistic	52.72	4.89	10.78*
Aggressive-Sadistic	12.48	6.60	1.89
Rebellious-Distrustful	.74	7.80	.10
Self-Effacing-Masochistic	18.16	9.08	2.00
Docile-Dependent	51.60	7.05	7.32*
Cooperative-Overconventional	8.88	8.86	1.00
Responsible-Hypernormal	28.83	9.12	3.16

df Between = 1, df Within = 99.

\* $P < .0125$

Significant sex differences were found for two ICL octant variables: Competitive-Narcissistic and Docile-Dependent. Thus these variables were clearly differentiating the sexes, with males scoring higher

on the Competitive-Narcissistic scale, and females scoring higher on the Docile-Dependent scale. The latter results are not consistent with the usual description of black females as dominating over submissive black males and will be discussed further below.

The ICL can be scored a number of different ways. Since the MANOVA performed on the ICL octant variables yielded significant sex effects, it was decided to determine whether parsimony could be achieved and the interpretability of the above post-hoc univariate results enhanced by using the bi-polar method ("Love-hate" and "Dominance-submission") of scoring the ICL. The .05 significance level was set for the MANOVA performed on the "Dom" and "Lov" scales, and significant sex differences were obtained:  $F = 8.15$ ,  $df = 2, 98$ ,  $P < .0006$ . The significance level was partitioned to  $P < .025$  for each of the two post-hoc univariate tests. Table 2 shows the results of the analyses.

Table 2.--Summary of Univariate Analyses of Variance for ICL "Lov" and "Dom" Scales.

Variable	Between MS	Within MS	F
Dom	3.31	1.03	3.21
Lov	20.95	1.97	10.62*

df Between = 1, df Within = 99

\* $p < .025$

Significant sex differences were thus found for "Lov," and females scored higher on the scale than males.

For the MANOVA performed on the WAI variables, significant sex differences were obtained ( $F = 1.50$ ,  $df = 27, 73$ ,  $P < .09$ ). Since borderline significant results for sex differences were found for the multivariate test, post-hoc univariate tests were performed. With the partitioned significance level set at  $P < .0037$  for each univariate test, the hypothesis of significant sex differences was not supported for any of the 27 tests. Table 3 is a summary of the analyses.

Thus, sex differences were found on the MANOVA for the WAI variables, but no significant sex differences were obtained on the variables considered individually. From these results, and because the WAI is in the early stages of development as an instrument for empirical investigation, it is useful to examine Table 3 in terms of which variables are most effective in separating the sexes for the sample investigated.

The variables have been ordered in Table 3 according to the probability level of results for sex differences, such that the variables that are strongest in separating sexes appear nearest the top of the list.

Using the above approach, the top third of the list, or, the first nine variables ( $P < .22$ ) have heuristic value for future research on sex differences. The top five variables, with  $P < .06$ , are



TABLE 3.--Summary of Univariate Analyses of Variance for 27 WAI Categories

Variable	Between MS	Within MS	F	P*
Athletic Activities	1.56	.24	6.45	.0127
Personal Striving	5.79	.93	6.21	.0144
Positive Self-Evaluation	33.53	6.18	5.43	.0219
Negative Feelings	7.29	1.72	4.24	.0421
Artistic Activities	1.84	.48	3.81	.0539
Other Activities & Interests	.61	.30	2.03	.1569
Kinship & Relationship Roles	2.71	1.49	1.82	.1800
Black Solidarity & Activism	1.44	.91	1.59	.2104
Occupational Role	.47	.30	1.53	.2190
References & Reactions to Oppression	.44	.40	1.09	.2990
Negative Self-Evaluation	.68	.63	1.08	.3019
Uncodable Responses	.39	.37	1.05	.3073
Black Awareness	.34	.33	1.05	.3080
Abstract Category Membership	.68	.83	.82	.3677
Positive Feelings	1.81	2.44	.74	.3908
Intellectual Concerns	.26	.36	.72	.3990
Possessions, Resources	.09	.48	.18	.6723
Black Group Membership	.18	.84	.21	.6494
Student Role	.13	.99	.14	.7138
Territoriality, Citizenship	.05	.40	.13	.7185
Interpersonal Thoughts & Behavior	.66	5.12	.13	.7205
Existential, Individuating	.04	.43	.10	.7575
Sex	.30	4.23	.07	.7920
Personal Thoughts & Behavior	.25	3.32	.07	.7849
Ideologies & Beliefs	.07	1.74	.04	.8430
Age	.00	.68	.01	.9369
Body Image, Physical Self	.00	.43	.00	.9776

df Between = 1, df Within = 99

\*None of the variables significant at  $P < .0037$

especially promising as sex differentiators: Athletic Activities ( $P < .02$ ); Personal Striving ( $P < .02$ ); Positive Self-Evaluation ( $P < .03$ ); Negative Feelings ( $P < .05$ ); and Artistic Activities ( $P < .06$ ). The directions for the sex difference results on the variables above were as follows: males had higher mean frequency of usage scores for Athletic Activities, Personal Striving, Positive Self-Evaluation, and Artistic Activities; and females used the Negative Feelings category more frequently.

#### Analysis of the "Who Am I?" (WAI) Categories

For the analysis of variance for repeated measures performed on the WAI data, the results in Table 4 were obtained with the significance level set at  $P < .05$ .

The Categories effect and Groups X Categories interaction (the latter tested above by the MANOVA for the WAI) were both significant, whereas the Groups effect was not significant.

Because the above test for a Categories effect was significant, the Scheffé method for post-hoc comparisons of category pooled means (Hays, 1963, pp. 483-487) was used to find sources of the Categories difference. In examining the following results from the Scheffé tests, Figure 1 will be useful. Figure 1 shows (by decreasing order of the

TABLE 4.--Summary of Analysis of Variance for Repeated Measures for WAI Categories

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F
Groups	2.30	1	2.30	.28
Residual	8.01	99	8.09	
Categories	2.03	26	7.81	5.68*
Groups X Categories	5.92	26	2.28	1.66*
Residual	3.54	2574	1.38	
Total	21.80	2726		

\*P < .05

pooled means) the mean frequency of usage of the WAI categories for males and females.

The simple pairwise comparison of each mean with every other showed that no one category was used significantly more frequently than every other category. The four most frequently used categories (see Figure 1) were each used more than at least 78% of the other categories, with the first two (Positive Self-Evaluation and Interpersonal Thoughts and Behavior) used more than 93% of the other categories.

Because there are many WAI categories, it was decided to group them for meaningful further comparisons. It was found that, when grouped together, the six highest frequency categories (see Figure 1) were used significantly more than any of the other singly considered

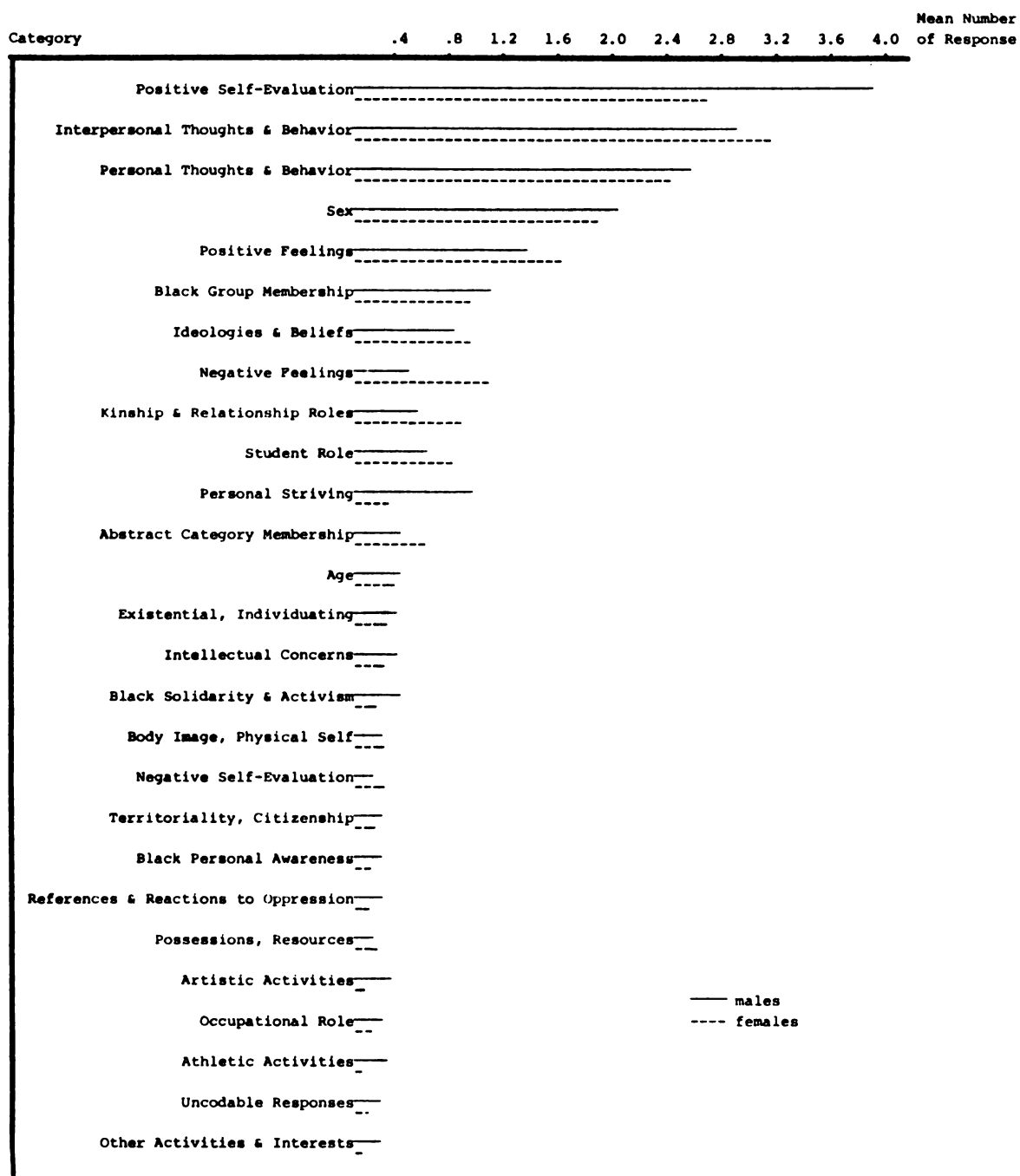


Fig. 1.--Mean Frequency of Usage Scores for "Who Am I?" Categories.

categories. Examination of the six highest frequency categories shows that the group includes four of the most personal self-description categories (Positive Self-Evaluation, Interpersonal Thoughts and Behavior, Personal Thoughts and Behavior, and Positive Feelings) and two categories for measuring ascribed characteristics (Sex and Black Group Identity).

Additional comparison tests were made in order to examine the use of categories for personal self-conceptions more carefully. It was found that, taken as a group, the use of the 14 categories included in the broad areas, Black Identity, Personal Description, and Personal Feelings and Self-Evaluations, were used significantly more than the group of 12 categories included in the broad areas, Ascribed Characteristics, Roles and Memberships, Abstract Identifications, and Activities and Interests. (See Appendix II for the categories included within the broad areas named).

From an examination of the 10 categories in the Personal Description and Personal Feelings and Self-Evaluations areas, it was found that the use of the two categories, Positive Self-Evaluation and Positive Feelings (grouped), was significantly greater than the use of the remaining eight (grouped) categories.

Finally, within the area, Personal Feelings and Self-Evaluations, it was found that the categories, Positive Feelings and Positive Self-Evaluation (grouped), were used significantly more than Negative Feelings and Negative Self-Evaluation (grouped).

### Descriptive Results

Examination of Figure 2 shows that for both males and females, the most important responses were given first. The curves are quite similar for both groups, and illustrate that the assigned importance of the responses decreased fairly consistently until the middle entry responses (numbers "8" and "9"), after which there was much more inconsistency, but a tendency for the last response to be slightly more important than the middle responses.

In response to the question typed on the back of the WAI (see above), roughly 60% of the subjects were moderate to highly positive in their appraisal of their self-descriptions and expressed no explicit reservations in terms of the accuracy, meaningfulness, or completeness of their responses.

For the subjects who had reservations after reflecting on their self-descriptions, more than twice as many were concerned with the lack of completeness of their responses than with either accuracy or meaningfulness.

Completeness concerns mainly involved the following two areas: many subjects felt that their answers did not capture their wholeness--that they were "much more" than the few important or simplified aspects listed; and several subjects expressed explicit doubt regarding knowing who they really were, felt that they were constantly in search of self,

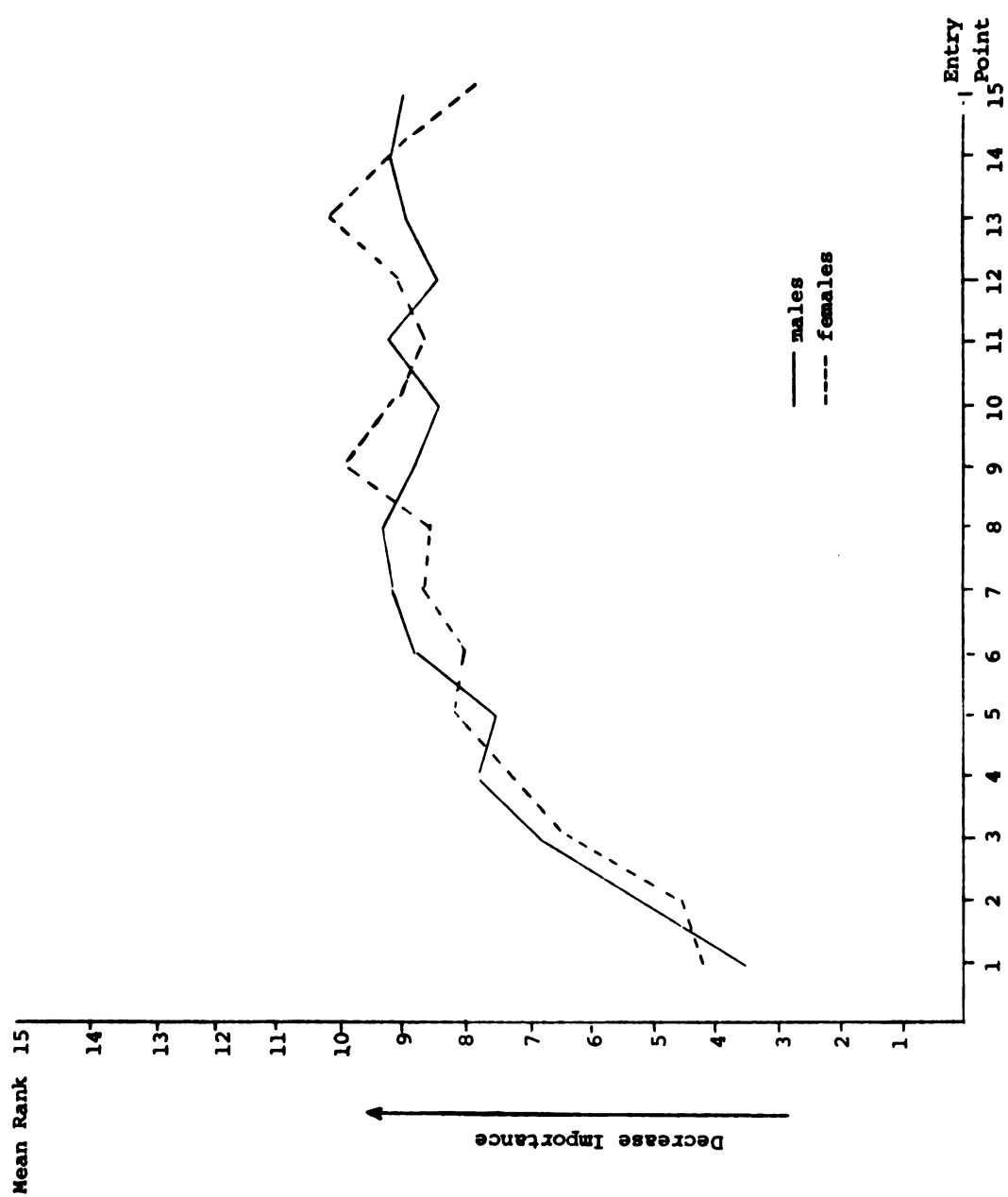


Fig. 2.--Mean Rank of Importance Assigned to Fifteen Entry Points for "Who Am I?" Responses.

and that their self-conceptions, therefore, were in a state of flux and not consistent over time.

The most frequently expressed concern regarding the accuracy of responses was that it was difficult to not bias the self-descriptions in the asset or positive self-evaluation direction. A few subjects commented that several self-descriptions were of ways that they either tried to be or would like to be.

As to the meaningfulness of their responses, most subjects felt that their descriptions were very meaningful to themselves; but many expressed doubt that they would be meaningful to anyone else.

Again, it should be recalled that reservations about their written self-conceptions were expressed by roughly 40% of the sample, and usually involved only one of the three areas designated above (completeness, accuracy, or meaningfulness). Thus, for many, obtained self-conceptions closely approximated actual conceptions. Several of the above-mentioned comments of subjects will be discussed below, as well as other uses made of the space provided for reflection on written self-conceptions.



#### IV. DISCUSSION

The present study had as its aim the study of self-conceptions in black college students with a focus on sex differences. It was designed to be an exploratory effort at portraying self-conceptions and identity in a specific population of blacks, rather than a defensive debunking of the many misconceptions and misunderstandings in the related literature.

To facilitate the above, three instruments were chosen that measure widely varied aspects of self-conception. The hypothesis of sex differences was tested on the 47 dependent variables; then a more in-depth examination was made of the "Who Am I?" (WAI) categories used for self-descriptions.

The discussion will proceed as follows. First, we will examine why there were so few volunteers for the present study and will briefly look at the possible effects of the race of the experimenter on the subjects' responses. Then the results for sex differences on self-conception variables will be discussed in two parts: the first part will be concerned with "Who Am I?" (WAI) and Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) variables followed by suggested reasons for the failure to find sex differences on the specific variables assessed by the

two tests; and the second part will be a discussion of the sex differences obtained on variables assessed by the Interpersonal Check List (ICL).

The discussion will continue with a five-part focus on WAI data for a more complete descriptive picture of the self-description data obtained. The latter results will help realize the exploratory intent of the present study, highlight the most and least important facets of the self-descriptions given, and end with suggestions for the future use of the WAI method for exploring self-conceptions in blacks.

The concluding discussion section will consider several aspects central to a more complete understanding of positive black identity. An interpretive and speculative approach is taken toward the areas considered; and, when applicable, data from the present study is used for illustration.

The overall intent of the discussion is to descriptively and broadly explore the data obtained on self-conceptions and identity in blacks. In part, the intent reflects the state of the literature in the area: there are no known published studies on blacks with content and purpose similar to the present study. However, available findings that bear on the data collected in an apparently useful, albeit minimal or indirect way, have been included when appropriate to the discussion.

### Why So Few Subjects?

One concern of the present study is why, given active recruitment of subjects and a monetary incentive offered (see "Subjects"), there were so few volunteers. One impression was that many people appeared to react to the request with disinterest: being a research subject was just not something they wanted to do. A stronger impression was that black students are quite wary of the intentions of experimenters and the goals of research on blacks. Furthermore, those with specific concerns or complaints were not willing to make them known directly to the experimenter. Thus, the reluctance to be discussed below is not specific to the present study, but is offered as possible explanation for the general reluctance of blacks, particularly black students, to participate in social science research.

First, there is very little known research that has proved beneficial to blacks. The vast majority of studies has had a negative focus on what is deficient or lacking in blacks. In general, social science literature has supported an ideology of black inferiority, and its traditional concentration gives some validation to a point made by Erikson (1966), Poussaint (1967b) and numerous others: the oppressor has had a vested interest in the negative identity of blacks, since his feelings of superiority and wholeness

thrive on projecting his unconscious negative identity (which projections have become the negative identity elements or evil prototypes that play a large role in the socialization of blacks).

Secondly, the most widely known, large-scale research projects that have concluded with strong recommendations for action to facilitate the socio-psychological betterment of blacks have been largely ignored. Consider the numerous Presidential commissions set up to make very extensive investigations of the causes of violence, riots, etc. The many recommendations for action usually resulting from the investigations are largely ignored. Thus it is a very public fact of our social history that the performance of research is often used to forestall and eventually sidestep necessary action.

Thirdly, it is worth noting that the recent research effort of focusing on strengths, and positive adaptive modes and facets of black life styles, initiated and carried out largely by black researchers, is only in the incipient stages of development, such that a strong impact from the research has yet to be felt.

The three reasons suggested above (and probably differentially operative) seem plausible explanations for the reluctance of black students to participate in the present study. In addition, it is expected that recruitment of black subjects for research will remain difficult (and should be expected to be): blacks will probably stay wary of exploitation and will concentrate on achieving personal and collective

advantages for a long time; and, again, participation in social-psychological research has not been, and does not seem likely to be, pointedly demonstrated to be an advantage.

### Experimenter Race Effects

The extent to which the presence of a black experimenter or the request for volunteers for a study of black personality influenced the frequency and variety of black identity references to be discussed, or any of the other measures of self-conception in the present study, is not known. It is not certain that the myriad possible effects of experimenter's race on subject's responses could be balanced out by the presence of the black experimenter and a (supposed) white experimenter, which procedure was followed in the present study.

Sattler (1970) did a review of studies on racial experimenter effects. He noted that although the area of personality has only been sparsely investigated, an overall direction is emerging from the findings: in general, black subjects perform more adequately and are less inhibited with black experimenters than white experimenters. In addition, the variable of experimenter's race tends to be more potent with more personal material.

Self-conceptions are "personal material," and it may be that the subjects in the present experiment felt less inhibited by the

presence of a black experimenter. But there is no way to assess how much influence the black experimenter had on the subjects' freedom of response--especially in relation to black identity references--as opposed to a more general, present-day inclination in blacks to "tell it like it is" (as found by accident in the Maliver (1965) study to be cited below).

#### Sex Differences in Self-Conceptions

##### Results from "Who Am I?" (WAI) and Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) Variables

For the present study, none of the particular self-conceptions measured by the POI or WAI reached the necessary level of significance to differentiate the sexes. The POI manual stresses its use as a tool to provide guidelines for growth in counseling and psychotherapy; and for the present study, at least, it was not at all functional in demonstrating sex differences for the facets of self-actualization measured.

Although the specific self-conceptions measured by the WAI did not differentiate the sexes (univariate tests), there was a borderline overall sex difference for the MANOVA performed on all of the WAI categories. Thus it is suggested that for future exploration of sex differences using this instrument, several of the variables used in the

present scoring system be eliminated for clearer results. Table 3 shows the probability of sex differences for all of the WAI variables and illustrates that sex differences were practically negligible for such variables as the following: Body Image, Physical Self; Age; Ideology and Beliefs; Personal Thoughts and Behavior; Sex; Existential, Individuating; and Interpersonal Thoughts and Behavior.

The variables with heuristic value for future exploration of sex differences are the following for which the probabilities of the sex difference obtained were  $P < .06$ : Athletic Activities; Personal Striving; Positive Self-Evaluation; Negative Feelings; and Artistic Activities. Females had a higher frequency of usage of Negative Feelings in their self-descriptions; and males had higher frequencies of usage for each of the other four variables.

It thus appears that males tended to describe themselves more in terms of their competencies, adequacies, skills, and specific activities (Positive Self-Evaluation, Athletic and Artistic Activities) and more in terms of a future perspective of wanting to succeed, being determined or ambitious, hoping to "make it," etc. (Personal Striving) than females. And females used more negative feelings in their self-descriptions (as to a lesser differential extent, they tended to use more Negative Self-Evaluation and Positive Feelings than males).

Although the above findings are not statistically significant and only suggestive of sex differences, the direction of the

differences is in accord with traditional sex role theory: whereas males generally define themselves more in terms of personal assertiveness, skills, and competencies, females tend to have a more personal, feeling-oriented or introspective focus on self.

That there were no clear sex differences found on specific POI and WAI variables is rather curious and needs some exploration.

A recent bibliography prepared for the POI (Shostrom, 1971) shows that sex differences has not been an issue of research concern, and that no data is available on the use of the POI with blacks. In the POI manual, Shostrom (1968) cites two studies using college freshmen subjects, in which sex differences were found on only a few of the POI variables; however, even though statistically significant, the numerical differences found for the variables were noted to be too small to reflect interpretable differences.

The theory concerning the need for self-actualization, on which the POI is based, points out that the need is on the higher, growth end of the needs hierarchy (Maslow, 1962). It is reasonable to assume from the theory, the findings of the present study, and norms reported by Shostrom (1968) for college students, that the values and behaviors related to the self-actualizing need are far removed from those reflecting sex differences, and are, therefore, not differentially important to males and females. That is, one might expect sex differences and sex role typing to be much more operative in the values and



behaviors reflective of needs more basic in the needs hierarchy, such as safety and belongingness needs.

As regards the findings for the WAI, the first thing that should be noted is that sex was the most frequently used ascribed characteristic for self-description: it was used an average of twice per subject, and there was little difference in the frequency of sex mention for males and females. The importance of frequent sex mention becomes clear in view of the fact that categories used more often than sex were those for which there are many thousands of available words for self-description compared to the fewer possible for sex references.

Although not examined statistically, sex was frequently mentioned among the first (and, therefore, most important) responses (see Figure 2). Thus, sex was found to be a salient and apparently important aspect of self-conception. What is not clear from the results is the way in which sex is a salient or important aspect of self-conceptions. That is, the WAI did not elicit responses specifically describing what it means to be a male or female.

The data obtained illustrated, as mentioned above, that the sex differences in self-conception closest to statistical significance were in line with a loose conceptualization of traditional sex roles. And it is possible, but not at all clear, that many subjects identifying their sex intended and assumed that the reader would fill in certain traditional sex role meanings for sex mention.

It seems safe to conclude that, although some specific sex differences were suggested from WAI results and sex mention was certainly a salient self-perception (and apparently an important one), the question, "Who am I?" is too broad to elicit sex specific self-conceptions and the meaning of the sex references obtained. Rather, "Who am I?" seems to draw responses from a concentration on "me the person" after an early established sex identity.

Thus it appears that in order to explore the meaning of sex differences in self-conception, a more structured, sex specific question would be more appropriate, such as the following: "What is important to me about being a woman (man)?" ; "What do I like and dislike about being a woman (man)?" ; or, "What does it mean to me to be a woman (man)?" Further it is expected that the use of sex specific questions and other more focused questions (e.g., "Where am I going and why?" or "What is important to me?") would stimulate personally richer, more meaningful data.

Many subjects frequently used one-word adjectives in their self-descriptions as will be discussed further below. It may be that such responses seemed personally satisfactory; or they may have been an "easy out" for responding to the vague and difficult question, "Who am I?" A question with slightly more structured focus, such as those mentioned above, would seemingly not encourage one word descriptions as adequate responses (e.g., concerned, lovable), but rather, more

descriptive explanation and specific personal meanings. It should also be kept in mind that the age of the subjects (mean age, 19 years), suggestive of a life stage of maximal ambivalence, uncertainty, and transition in self-definition for many, may have discouraged their elaborating on many responses.

For the present, though, we can conclude that in response to the broad, vague, "Who am I?" and questions assessing values and behaviors relevant to self-actualization, the black males and females tested were much more similar than different.

#### Results of Interpersonal Check List (ICL) Variables

Statistically significant sex differences were found for specific variables assessing interpersonal self-conceptions as measured by the ICL. Males described themselves as more Competitive-Narcissistic than females, and females described themselves as more Docile-Dependent than males.

It should be noted that the descriptive terms listed in the octants of the interpersonal circumplex (see Appendix III) are ordered from milder (toward the center) to more extreme (outer rim) behavioral manifestations of the relevant interpersonal style. For all of the octants, the mean scores for males and females were in the moderate range--that is, between 6.4 to 9.5 out of a total possible score of 16.

These means should be kept in mind in examining the behaviors that correspond to the octants to be discussed.

An examination of the more moderate behaviors measured by the Competitive-Narcissistic style, on which males were higher, offers some support to the directional finding mentioned above--that males tended to use more Positive Self-Evaluation in their self-descriptions. Some of the behaviors comprising the Competitive-Narcissistic style are the following: independence; self-confidence; self-reliance and assertiveness; pride; and self-satisfaction. That females described themselves as more Docile-Dependent indicates that, to a greater extent than males, they conceive of themselves as follows: wanting to be led; respectful of authority; anxious to be approved of; and eager to please.

From the above results, one might expect males to be higher in "Dom" and females to be higher on "Lov," using the bipolar method of scoring the ICL. (The bipolar scoring method preserves the overall tendencies of the interpersonal circle by differentially weighting several octant scores for the resultant "Lov" and "Dom" scores).

It was found that females scored significantly higher on "Lov," indicating that they conceive of themselves as generally more warm, friendly, and cooperative than males. A higher "Lov" score for females is related to the findings above and confirms the results of studies by McDonald and Gynther (1965) and McDonald (1968) using

segregated black and white subjects. McDonald and Gynther (1965) and McDonald (1968) also found a higher "Dom" score for men than women.

In the present study, males had a higher "Dom" score than females, but the difference was not significant. The fact is that both male and female scores were on the dominant half of the Dominance-Submission axis; thus both scores were in the direction of assertive, controlling, and self-confident behaviors, as opposed to behaviors more indicative of submissive interpersonal styles. This finding is important since it indicates that both males and females see themselves as dominant, and thus does not support the notion, popular in social science literature, of a generally subdominant, demasculinized black male and a contrarily assertive and dominant black female.

There are no studies of black college students with which the above results can be compared. However, the finding that black women did not conceive of themselves as more dominant and saw themselves as more docile and dependent than black men seems to extend findings of recent studies using very different samples. In comparison with white husbands, lower and middle class black husbands have not been found to be less powerful in either their conjugal or parental role (Tenhouten, 1970; Mack, 1971). Thus, data is accumulating to dispell the notion of the subdominant, demasculinized black male that has been loosely applied to black men regardless of marital or socio-economic status.

The discussion of results will continue with a more in-depth examination of self-conception data obtained from WAI responses as regards the following: the use of consensual responses; black identity references; the use of personal description and self-evaluation categories; the generality of WAI responses; and suggestions for the future use of the WAI method for exploring self-conceptions in blacks.

### Self-Conceptions from "Who Am I?" (WAI) Responses

#### The Use of Consensual Responses

Very few studies investigating self-conceptions with the WAI have been published. One concern of early studies was the differential use of consensual and subconsensual self-descriptive responses (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; Kuhn, 1960). Consensual responses are those involving groups or classes whose conditions of membership and limits are matters of common knowledge (e.g., man, Democrat, Protestant). Subconsensual responses are personal traits or attributes involving more idiosyncratic meaning, requiring interpretations by the respondent for precision (e.g., considerate, inferior, happy).

Kuhn and McPartland (1954) found that subjects made consensual descriptions first and tended to exhaust them before any subconsensual responses were made. They also found that the number of consensual

and subconsensual responses varied widely from 0-20 (with 20 total WAI responses requested).

For the present study, it is not known statistically whether consensual or subconsensual responses tended to be made first. It is known that subjects tended to feel that their first responses were most important (see Figure 2); and, inspection of the WAI protocols showed that very frequently, the first few responses involved mention of sex and black group membership.

Several categories measuring consensual self-conceptions were eliminated from the analysis for the present study due to very low or zero frequency of usage: Religious Categorization; Political Affiliation; Social Status; Membership in an Actual Interacting Group; and Name. The consensual category, Occupational Role, was not eliminated, but also had very low frequency of usage. The most frequently used consensual self-descriptions, by decreasing order of frequency of usage, were the following: Sex, Black Group Membership, Kinship and Relationship Roles, Student Role, and Age.

In summary, it appears that for the subjects tested, few consensual types of self-references other than the latter mentioned, were considered important for social anchorage in responding to "Who am I?" And in general, the more personal rather than group-social dimensions were by far the major focus of self-descriptions for the sample tested. These findings appear to agree with preliminary summaries reported by

Gordon (1968); however, comparison is difficult because his results were not statistically analyzed and most of the subjects were part of "available pilot groups" rather than representative samples.

#### Black Identity References

That the subjects in the present study frequently mentioned race among their first responses supports an early finding of Bugental and Zelen (1950). They found that 17-20 year-old minority group subjects (which minority group was not indicated) consistently mentioned race when asked for only three answers to the question, "Who Are You?"

Maliver (1965) studied the relationship of anti-black bias in black college students to some personality characteristics. He then rated the projective materials for the presence or absence of positive or negative attitudes expressed toward blacks and whites, after unexpectedly finding many spontaneous, obvious and direct racial statements. His "incidental" findings are relevant to the present study. It was discovered that, compared to subjects high in anti-black bias, subjects low in such bias showed greater freedom to express any racial comment, made significantly more anti-white remarks, and made significantly more pro-black remarks.

Maliver's unexpected findings for low anti-black subjects and the present study lend empirical support to Grier and Cobbs (1968)



and Poussaint (1967b) in their conjecture that blacks are more and more freeing themselves of the psychological burden of suppressed rage by venting pent-up emotions, such that a new assertiveness is replacing the former survival tact of passivity.

In evolving the categories for black identity references in the present study, it was found necessary to have not only categories for Group Membership, Personal Awareness, and Black Solidarity and Activism, but also a category for References and Reactions to Oppression. The latter category, as well as the Black Solidarity and Activism category, contained many angry responses indicative of venting rage predominantly at institutionalized racism.

In addition to the necessity of at least the above four categories for coding black identity references, many subjects, in responding to the question asking them to reflect on the accuracy, meaningfulness, and completeness of their WAI responses, used the opportunity to elaborate on their identity as blacks. The elaborations--especially significant since they were initiated voluntarily and not specifically requested--highlighted and emphasized the centrality of being black to their definition of who they were. The following examples illustrate the point and make the significance of black identity references for the majority of the subjects abundantly clear:

I believe my answers to be all meaningful and relevant to me. I am first and foremost black.

I feel that all blacks should know who they are and be able to stand up and be proud to describe themselves to anyone. Whites are constantly trying to tell blacks who they are, but how can they? They don't have a black mind. Only those who are black can truly describe who they are and what they feel.

I think they (the responses) are complete and meaningful because they tell the story of my life as a black person. . . . They reveal the role I expect to play in society as a black person and they reveal how I expect to be treated by society.

I consider myself black because as time has passed, I've had more to be proud of being black.

The Use of Personal Description,  
and Personal Feelings and  
Self-Evaluations Categories

In the analysis of WAI self-conception categories reported above, it was found that the categories included in the broad areas of Personal Descriptions, Personal Feelings and Self-Evaluations, and Black Identity were used more frequently than those in the areas of Roles and Memberships, Ascribed Characteristics, and Abstract Identifications. This finding, however, is somewhat biased: the high frequency of usage of two categories, Personal Thoughts and Behavior and Interpersonal Thoughts and Behavior, partly reflect the fact that there are thousands of words that can be used to describe the self in these two areas; whereas the domain of descriptive terms for most of the other categories is much more limited.

Also, it was frequently found that Positive Self-Evaluation was coded in conjunction with the two categories mentioned above, particularly--which will be understood on examination of the most frequently chosen one word self-descriptions to follow--and with several other WAI categories.

To get a clearer picture of self-conceptions included in the two categories mentioned above, the responses so coded were roughly content analyzed. The following are the most frequently scored one word adjective self-descriptions, listed from most to least frequently used: sensitive; intelligent (or thinking); confused (or lost); loving (or lover); concerned or caring (about others); understanding; considerate; kind; honest; and lovable. It should also be mentioned that the description of self as "unique" or "individual" (coded, Existential, Individuating) was second only to "sensitive" and "intelligent (or thinking)" in frequency of usage.

Two other important findings related to category frequency of usage will be explored: Positive Self-Evaluation and Positive Feelings (grouped) were used more than the other eight categories (grouped) in the Personal Description and Personal Feelings and Self-Evaluations areas; and Positive Self-Evaluation and Positive Feelings (grouped) were used significantly more than Negative Self-Evaluation and Negative Feelings (grouped).

As mentioned above, several subjects commented on the back of their WAI that they felt their responses were biased in the positive direction, were ways that they liked to think of themselves, or ways that they tried to be. Their comments are reflected in the fact that Positive Self-Evaluation was the most frequent self-descriptive response.

That "There exists a force on the person in the direction of higher self-evaluation," is a postulate proposed by Sherwood (1970, p. 51) in his attempt to develop a formal self-identity theory. Sherwood concluded from his review of self-identity studies that a large body of empirical data, showing that people consistently tend to over-evaluate themselves, can be better understood by his postulate that higher self-evaluation is a goal for people.

A "derivation" in Sherwood's self-identity theory is the following: "The more a performance is threatening to high self-evaluation, the stronger the force against assigning oneself the corresponding attribute" (Sherwood, 1970, p. 59). The latter seems to account for the low frequency of Negative Self-Evaluation responses found in the present study.

Also, in preliminary summaries of the use of the WAI with various populations, Gordon (1968) concluded that self-esteem seems to be highest in college students.

It is likely that the greater use of positive than negative feelings found in the present study corresponds to the above. That is, describing one's self in terms of likes, loves, etc. (see Appendix II for examples of Positive Feelings responses) would seem much more compatible with, and therefore, more likely in a context highlighted by positive self-evaluations.

In summary, then, the more frequent self-descriptions via Personal Thoughts and Behavior, Interpersonal Thoughts and Behavior, and Positive Self-Evaluation in part reflect the fact that there were so many possible words (or conjunctive codings) for the self-references in the areas. Also, many of the responses coded in personal description categories were simple one word, apparently trite adjectives rather than personally meaningful self-conceptions. That many positive self-evaluations were found has been suggested as a consistent and predictable tendency in a recent self-identity theory proposed by Sherwood (1970). However, what has not been measured in the present study and should be noted is that the frequent use of positive self-evaluations very likely also reflects enhanced ethnic selfhood in blacks as manifested in more potency (feelings of effectiveness, competence, etc.) in self-conceptions and behavior.

### The Generality of WAI Responses

An issue of importance regarding the use of the WAI method of exploring self-conceptions is the generality of self-conception responses obtained. Generality can be viewed as the strength of a self-attribute in terms of the following: how characteristic and stable it is; the number of sub-identities with which it exists; and the degree to which it determines other attributes (Sherwood, 1970).

Some reflections of subjects are useful in considering the above. As mentioned previously, several commented that they felt their answers could not be considered consistent, because they felt themselves constantly changing. Although several subjects commented that they had tried to list more "day after day" aspects or "consistent attitudes and characteristics," there were many more subjects who felt that they answered, "Who am I?" with answers that "came to my mind the quickest" or were "just off the top of my mind."

Of course the latter does not conclusively argue against the generality of the responses, but the comments of subjects do suggest that experiences immediately preceding the test situation or the testing situation itself are likely to be quite salient for WAI responses.

A more straightforward discernment of the generality of WAI responses in future studies would be to have subjects rate their responses on a scale with terms that define the extreme aspects of generality to be explored.

Future Use of the "Who Am I?"  
Method for Exploring  
Self-Conceptions in Blacks

In testing subjects for the present study, it was noted that they were much more positively responsive to taking the WAI than the other measures of self-conceptions. This is encouraging as it was hoped that the freedom of response method would stimulate involvement.

However, in reading and re-reading the data from WAI protocols, the major impression was that a lot of the self-expression seemed dry, and especially "flattened" by the use of single adjectives or simple phrases for self-descriptions. Frequently it appeared that an underlying intensity and exuberance for a self-description was relegated to an underlining, change in the style or size of handwriting, the use of exclamation points, and overstatements to convey conviction or personal involvement.

As stated several times above, the question on the back of the WAI was often used for elaborations and fuller statements on descriptions made on the more structured side. Without the structure of numbered answers, the subjects often seemed more personally reflective and freer to express themselves. Thus it is felt that a freer WAI format would elicit fuller, more personal involvement in the responses.

The procedure that seems especially more appropriate for blacks would be to give the same WAI instructions, but have subjects

individually talk into a tape recorder. This suggestion is based on the premise that verbal communication of self is a much more "at home" mode of self-expression for many blacks than is written self-description. It seems more congruent with the life style of many blacks to "rap" (talk one's personal convictions) about self with the freedom to accompany the spoken word with comfortable and natural gestures.

A few of the written self-conceptions carried a strong ethnic flavor reminiscent of "rapping," such as the following: "a jive person when necessary"; "gentle persuader"; "tired of . . . (meaning, usually, "angry at . . ."); "a together person," "part of my nigger." Such responses are replete with personal meanings; but it is felt that requiring written answers for the most part stifled more natural modes of self-expression for many subjects.

Further, it is assumed that the requirement of verbal responses would greatly reduce or eliminate the frequent use of trite, one word adjective for personal description or description of self in an interpersonal context, such as the following: understanding; considerate; sensitive; loving; and concerned.

The expectation is that data so gathered would be far richer in communication of intensity of feelings, style, and ethnic flavor, and that the gain in "realness" would far more than compensate the loss of objectivity.



The discussion of the results from the present study is formally concluded. The last section of discussion is an attempt to briefly examine and interpret aspects of evolving positive ethnic identity in blacks not focused on directly in the introduction to, or data gathered for, the present study, but considered important for a more complete understanding of the phenomenon. When appropriate, data from the present study will be used to illustrate the aspects discussed.

### Positive Black Identity

#### A Consequence of the Change in Middle Class Black Identity

The demographic data gathered on subjects from their responses to the Questionnaire on Background Information (QBI) and summarized above (see "Subjects") supported the assumption that the subjects were largely middle class and upwardly-mobile. It is thus important to briefly note the generalizations from the literature on these segments of the black community in view of the above findings and other recent studies, in order to focus on a main consequence of the change in positive identity.

The traditional assumptions made about middle class and upwardly-mobile blacks have been that they have lacked a positive

sense of ethnic identity, have felt hatred toward themselves (Frazier, 1957; Hare, 1965), and have had quite unstable and insecure identity feelings largely because of their role uncertainty and only partial acceptance by white reference groups, referred to as "non-interactive, positive, emulative (and) normative" white reference groups by Derbyshire and Brody (1964, p. 9).

The evidence intended to specifically demonstrate the lack of positive identification has been limited and weak (e.g., the Parker & Kleiner, 1964 study cited above). More recent evidence of positive ethnic identity for middle class and upwardly-mobile blacks is more convincing (Noel, 1964; Dizard, 1970; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Harris & Braun, 1971; Kronus, 1971) and finds an abundance of support in the present study, as has been shown above. Perhaps many or most middle class and upwardly-mobile blacks were never really as weak in their ethnic identification as implied by social science literature, or there has been a change in the phenomenon, or (probably) both.

Of the traditional position taken regarding identity in these blacks, the most reasonable argument (without concluding weak ethnic identity) is that the white social world was at one time a more significant values reference group. From the evidence available on self-conceptions and identity in blacks today, we can assume that the socio-cultural emphasis on black awareness and pride (see above) has, to some extent, enveloped all segments of the total black community

and significantly influenced the positive ethnic identity feelings of blacks. A reasonable consequent assumption is that the main reference group for all blacks is becoming the black peer, on whatever social level.

Given the above, feelings of self-worth, acceptance, stability, and emotional security are becoming more coincident with blacks' personally coming to terms with those values, attitudes, and behaviors defined as important by and for black people.

The psychological redemption of the above positive change involves increased freedom, for many blacks, from gaining and measuring an excessive amount of self-esteem in terms of achieving "super-exceptional Negro" status, or, dedicating themselves to becoming ". . . walking refutations of negative racial stereotypes" (Clark, 1965, p. 58). That is, the redemption involves a realization that personal freedom begins with and is inseparable from a base of self-acceptance and self-regard: "I am . . . and I like it," instead of "I am not . . . ."

#### Positive Personal and Group Identity in Blacks

In general, psychologists examining identity in blacks before, roughly, 1968, failed to realize that a whole and inclusive identity for blacks could have positive ethnic awareness and pride as its base.

Erikson (1966) speculated that a "nucleus for total realignment" for wider identity and greater self-certainty in blacks might have such basically non-personal bases as technical skills development, identification with Africa, middle class status, and pro-social action. And similarly, Pettigrew (1964a) apparently reasoned that the end of self-hatred for blacks would come as a result of equal social status, as though positive personal identity for blacks was in the hands of power-controlling, anti-black oppressors.

The reality is that blacks took the initial steps for liberating their dignity and positive sense of self into their own hands. Thus, rather than the above, it is more likely that blacks are presently and will increasingly witness the following: positive changes in their self-image are a potent causative agent for effecting equal civil and human rights.

It is being suggested that, although whites can only obtain an objective appreciation of the meaning of evolving positive selfhood in blacks, their respect and admiration (and probably fear) of blacks has increased as blacks' self-awareness, -respect, and belief in their dignity has increased. Concurrently, it is being suggested that, given a base of potent and intrinsic self-worth (increasingly being socialized in young black children), there will be ever more severe limits placed on blacks' tolerance of half-human status, gradualism, and deception as perpetuated by institutionalized anti-blackness.

From the surge in positive ethnic selfhood in blacks since the late 1960's, there has been a heightened, solid realization of the meaning of ethnicity as a sense of peoplehood or collective group identity (Gordon, 1964; Dizard, 1970).

The growing diffusion of collective black identity or increasing group consciousness has been noted as manifested dramatically in the revolts of college students. Their demands for open college admission are an example of more emphasis on collective black mobility: race progress is being defined more in terms of collective rather than individual achievement (Dizard, 1970).

Basic to the above is the sentiment that until there is freedom for all blacks, there can be no freedom for one, because white America perceives only the black masses, not the individual; and its perception is realized via oppression of blacks as a group (Poussaint, 1967b; Wolfe, 1969).

It has been argued, therefore, that blacks believing that they succeed or fail solely on the basis of their individual efforts and merit have been sustaining ". . . a delusion in the face of a contradicting reality" (Poussaint, 1967b, p. 37). It follows that a community orientation and group assertiveness would be the most realistic and efficacious means of overcoming barriers to blacks as a group.

At least one author (Margolis, 1971) has very clearly presented the complex pressures that confront blacks, and particularly,

middle class, upwardly-mobile black students and professionals, as a consequence of the above. On the one hand, there is peer pressure and "conscience pressure" to actively and committedly support ideologically diverse group efforts demanding loyalty in the name of one's personal realization of his blackness, or, in the name of the black movement itself. On the other hand, the maintaining of one's personal values and convictions, immediate and long-term personal interests, etc., may be done at the expense of being accused of not being "black enough" and "copping-out" on the above.

Given the plausibility of the need for a potent group solidarity thrust against the oppression of blacks and for the socio-psychological betterment of blacks, the question arises to what extent it means a devaluation of one's need for and appreciation of his sense of individual self-worth, uniqueness, and self-actualization.

Many approach the above by presenting the alternatives as all-or-none--one is either for self or for blacks--as though personal and group enhancement are mutually exclusive. From several subjects' comments on WAI self-descriptions, however, there is some data that speaks against the latter absolutism. It was found that many subjects who used the comment section for elaborating on their feelings about being black also expressed an equal appreciation of their uniqueness and individuality, as is cogently illustrated by the following examples:

I consider being an individual very important. In order to make it in the world, one must be oneself and follow his or her own mind. Being a beautiful black woman is quite obvious to the eye.

Somewhat accurate (her responses). However, there is more to me, the essence of me. I could go on indefinitely describing "Who as I," because I am infinity, being as I am Black and woman, too. No elaboration necessary.

My answers are very complete and meaningful to me. For I am black, talented, poor, with a great determination to be someone great and unique in the world we live in.

Perhaps being an individual, black, and loved by someone are the most important to me.

To answer who one is requires not spontaneous thinking but thought through, maybe, each day. I think to answer, "Who am I," the answer must be "Your own person," because in a way that is or should be who everyone is--their own person. That is who I am. In being my own person I am a Black man, my hope is for a together Black people. For me a together Black woman.

The intention for presenting the above was to make prominent a major perplexity inherent in realizing one's blackness, and not to suggest that there is a static resolution or stance equally comfortable for all blacks. It is a quandary in self definition, and the personal intensity with which it is experienced varies: some have a need for an absolute, dogmatized position; and others have more tolerance for vascillation and irresolution.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Sex:
  1. M
  2. F
2. Race
  1. Black
  2. White
  3. Other
3. Your religious preference
  1. Protestant
  2. Catholic
  3. Black Muslim
  4. Other
  5. No preference
4. Geographic location of community in which you grew up:
  1. Northeast
  2. North Central
  3. South
  4. Southwest
  5. West
5. Was either of your parents living away from the household before you were 15?
  1. Yes
  2. No
6. (If applicable) Which parent was not living in the household before you were 15?
  1. Mother
  2. Father
7. (If applicable) If either parent was not living in the household before you were 15, give the main reason for his or her absence:
  1. Work
  2. Deceased
  3. Divorce-Separation
  4. Illness
  5. Other
8. (If applicable) What was your approximate age when your parents were separated (for whatever reason)?
  1. 0-3
  2. 3-6
  3. 6-9
  4. 9-12
  5. 12-15
9. Had you lived away from your parents before you were 15?
  1. Yes
  2. No
10. If yes (#9), approximately how long a period were you away?
  1. 1 year or less
  2. 2 years
  3. 3 years
  4. 4 years or more
  5. Never lived with parents
11. Father's level of education:
  1. Junior high or less
  2. High school or less
  3. 2 years of college or less
  4. Between 2 and 4 years of college
  5. 4 years of college or more
12. Father's educational degree
  1. None
  2. High school diploma
  3. B.A. or B.S. or equivalent
  4. M.A. or M.S. or equivalent
  5. Ph.D.



13. Occupation of father:
  1. Professional-managerial
  2. Clerical-sales or small business proprietor
  3. Skilled trades
  4. Semiskilled trades
  5. Unskilled
14. Was your mother a full-time housewife?
  1. Yes
  2. No
15. If your mother was not a full-time housewife, what was her work schedule?
  1. Full-time
  2. Part-time
16. Mother's level of education:
  1. Junior high school or less
  2. High school or less
  3. 2 yrs. of college or less
  4. Between 2 & 4 years of college
  5. 4 yrs. of college or more
17. Mother's educational degrees:
  1. None
  2. High school diploma
  3. B.A. or B.S. or equivalent
  4. M.A. or M.S. or equivalent
  5. Ph.D.
18. Occupation of mother:
  1. Professional-Managerial
  2. Clerical-sales or Small business proprietor
  3. Skilled trades
  4. Semi-skilled trades
  5. Unskilled
19. What was the approximate family income when you were living at home?
  1. \$4000 or less
  2. \$4000 - \$7000
  3. \$7000 - \$10,000
  4. \$10,000 - \$15,000
  5. \$15,000 or over
20. What would you estimate as your family's socio-economic status based on the family income, and the occupations and educational levels of your parents?
  1. Upper class
  2. Upper-middle class
  3. Lower-middle class
  4. Upper-lower class
  5. Lower-lower class
21. In your opinion, how much did either or both of your parents encourage you to go to college?
  1. None
  2. Very little
  3. Some
  4. Quite a bit
  5. Too much

## APPENDIX II

### CODING CATEGORIES FOR THE "WHO AM I?" TEST\*

#### A. Ascribed Characteristics

1. Sex: man, woman, son, sister, clear name, etc.
2. Age: 18 years old, young, teenager, adult, etc.

#### B. Roles and Memberships

3. Kinship and Relationship Roles: son, mother, sister, child, aunt, second of four children, engaged, John's woman, Sue's boyfriend, part of my man, etc. (often also coded as sex references).
4. Occupational Role: specific occupation, employed, working part-time, hoping to become a doctor, social security number, etc.
5. Student Role: student, freshman, student at MSU, "546973" (student number references), getting bad grades, taking four courses, etc.
6. Territoriality, Citizenship: East Lansing resident, living on Ann St., Californian, American (current citizenship, not "heritage"), living in Shaw Hall, etc.

#### C. Abstract Identifications

7. Existential, Individuating: me, individual, myself, unique, undefinable, etc. (generally the denial of categories).
8. Abstract Category Membership: person, human, existing being, voter, speck in the cosmos, "Gemini," etc.

\*Adapted from Gordon (1968), pp. 124-131.

9. Ideologies and Beliefs: liberal, conservative, Christian, very religious, humanist, Marxist, realist, idealist, against the war in Viet Nam, pacifist, victim of a racist society, prejudiced, etc.

#### D. Activities and Interests

10. Artistic Activities: musician, dancer, painter, poet, singer, cello player, etc. (participation indicated).
11. Athletic Activities: dancer, jogger, football player, hiker, good swimmer, etc. (participation indicated).
12. Other Activities and Interests: stamp collector, moviegoer, one who dates a lot, etc.

#### E. Black Identity

13. Group Membership: black, black male (or man), black female (or woman, or girl), black American, Afro-American, Negro, nigger, member of the black race (population or community), name of a specific black group, name of a noted black figure (e.g., John Shaft), etc.
14. Personal Awareness: black and proud (or beautiful or aware), black-minded, conscious of blackness, free, liberated, etc.
15. Group Solidarity and Activism: lover of blacks, for my people, believe in togetherness among blacks, believe it's nation time, part of the struggle (or fight) for freedom (or equality) concerned about the welfare of blacks, revolutionary, militant (or semi-militant), etc.
16. References and Reactions to Oppressions: angry at (or prejudiced toward) whites, oppressed, black in a white institution (or racist society), forced to live with whites, part of a minority group so society says, tired of this racist society (or government), trying to beat whitey at his own game, violent, inhabitant of America, etc.

#### F. Personal Descriptions

17. Intellectual Concerns: intelligent, intellectual, thinker, poor speller, interested in understanding modern theatre, getting an education, having difficulty with math, etc.

18. Possessions, Resources: poor, car owner, like to dress well, like nice things, hoping for a secure future, never have enough money, etc.
19. Body Image, Physical Self: good-looking, pretty, handsome, beautiful legs, ugly teeth, strong, tall, 6'1", too thin, blonde, healthy, 112 lbs., energetic, etc.
20. Personal Striving: trying to get ahead, wanting to be a better friend, determined to succeed, ambitious, hardworking, self-starter, hoping to make it, wanting to be "for real," looking for a secure relationship, looking for freedom, etc.
21. Personal Thoughts and Behavior: relaxed, curious, mature, resourceful, spoiled, self-actualized, sloppy, weird, opinionated, dreamer, capable, responsible, worrier, concerned, aware, creative, sensitive, etc.
22. Interpersonal Thoughts and Behavior: easy going, shy, nice, concerned (or care) about others, reserved, mild-tempered, evil, lovable, lover, loving, understanding, friendly, considerate, warm, honest, misfit, outgoing, feel inferior, selfish, loyal, good friend, compassionate, listener, modest, etc.
23. Uncodable Responses: superman, fire that burns continuously, famous militant leader, flower, shell on the beach, etc.

G. Personal Feelings and Self-Evaluations

24. Positive Feelings: like, happy, proud, full of joy, alive, love, in love, get pleasure from, hope, person with some beautiful friends, etc.
25. Negative Feelings: hate, sad, depressed, moody, lonely, angry, tense, anxious, afraid, lost, victim, frustrated, jealous, etc.
26. Positive Self-Evaluation: good at many things, good listener, sensitive to others, beautiful person, creative, talented, very aware, skillful, intelligent, popular, respected, well-liked, well thought of, loved, self-respecting, good, honest, reliable, trustworthy, responsible, etc. (clear indication of feelings of pride, personal effectiveness, adequacy, or competence).

27. Negative Self-Evaluation: always making mistakes, usually blowing it, feel inferior to my sister, never do anything right, ugly person, bad, evil, a sinner, etc. (clear indication of feelings of personal ineffectiveness, inadequacy, or incompetence).
- H. Categories eliminated due to both low response frequency and variability.
1. Name: James Jones, Jane, etc.
  2. Religious Categorization: Catholic, Protestant, Methodist, Jewish, etc. (not just "Christian," "atheist," etc., must be definite religious group).
  3. Political Affiliation: Democrat, Independent, other clear party (not "liberal," "conservative," etc.).
  4. Social Status: from a poor or well-off family (or elite neighborhood), middle class, of an old-line family, etc.
  5. Membership in an Actual Interacting Group: on the football team, in the Black Caucus, in a fraternity, member of a certain family, etc.
  6. Retracted, Nullified, or Uncertain Responses: "I hate flattery but I love to hear it" (responses that suggest ambivalence, reservation, and uncertainty).
  7. Explicit Confusion or Uncertainty in Response to "Who Am I?": I don't know who I am, I sometimes wonder, don't ask me, etc.
  8. Negative Responses: I am not dishonest, etc. (Responses beginning, "I am not," are scored "negative" in conjunction with appropriate categories described above).
  9. Situational References: tired, hungry, bored, filling out this questionnaire, none of your business, going out tonight, late for dinner, etc.

INTERPERSONAL CHECK LIST  
ILLUSTRATING THE CLASSIFICATION OF INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIORS



5. Feeling Reactivity (Fr). A high score measures sensitivity to one's own needs and feelings. A low score shows insensitivity to one's own needs and feelings.
6. Spontaneity (S). A high score measures the ability to express feelings in spontaneous action. A low score indicates that one is fearful of expressing feelings behaviorally.
7. Self-Regard (Sr). A high score measures the ability to like one's self because of one's strength as a person. A low score indicates low self worth.
8. Self-Acceptance (Sa). A high score measures acceptance of one's self in spite of one's weaknesses or deficiencies. A low score indicates inability to accept one's weaknesses. It is more difficult to achieve self-acceptance than self-regard. Self-actualization requires both.
9. Nature of Man, Constructive (Nc). A high score means that one sees man as essentially good. He can resolve the goodness-evil, masculine-feminine, selfishness-unselfishness and spirituality-sensuality dichotomies in the nature of man. A high score, therefore, measures the self-actualizing ability to be synergic in understanding of human nature. A low score means that one sees man as essentially evil or bad and is not synergistic.
10. Synergy (Sy). A high score is a measure of the ability to see opposites of life as meaningfully related. A low score means that one sees opposites of life as antagonistic. When one is synergistic one sees that work and play are not different, that lust and love, selfishness and selflessness, and other dichotomies are not really opposites at all.
11. Acceptance or Aggression (A). A high score measures the ability to accept anger or aggression within one's self as natural. A low score means that one denies having such feelings.
12. Capacity for Intimate Contact (C). A high score measures the person's ability to develop meaningful, contactful, relationships with other human beings. A low score means one has difficulty with warm interpersonal relationships. Making contact may be defined as the ability to develop and maintain an "I-Thou" relationship in the here and now and the ability to meaningfully touch another human being.

APPENDIX V

TABLES OF MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, POOLED  
MEANS, AND POOLED STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR  
SELF-CONCEPTION VARIABLES



TABLE 1.--Means, Standard Deviations, Pooled Means, and Pooled Standard Deviations for WAI Categories.

Variable	Males (N=37)		Females (N=64)		Pooled Means	Pooled Standard Deviations
	Means	St. Dev.'s	Means	St. Dev.'s		
Sex	2.08	2.39	1.97	1.84	2.01	2.06
Age	.51	1.04	.50	.67	.50	.82
Kinship and Relationship Roles	.68	1.19	1.02	1.28	.89	1.22
Occupational Role	.30	.66	.16	.48	.21	.55
Student Role	.78	.95	.86	1.02	.83	1.00
Territoriality, Citizenship	.30	.74	.25	.56	.27	.63
Existential, Individuating	.43	.60	.39	.68	.41	.65
Abstract Category Membership	.49	.69	.66	1.01	.59	.91
Ideologies and Beliefs	.95	1.13	1.00	1.41	.98	1.32
Artistic Activities	.40	1.07	.12	.33	.23	.70
Athletic Activities	.35	.68	.09	.34	.19	.49
Other Activities and Interests	.27	.77	.11	.36	.17	.55
Group Membership	1.05	.91	1.14	.92	1.11	.92
Personal Awareness	.32	.63	.20	.54	.25	.57
Group Solidarity and Activism	.51	1.10	.27	.86	.36	.95
References and Reactions to Oppression	.32	.71	.19	.59	.24	.64
Intellectual Concerns	.43	.69	.33	.54	.37	.60
Possessions, Resources	.19	.46	.25	.80	.23	.69
Body Image, Physical Self	.32	.67	.33	.64	.33	.65
Personal Striving	.92	1.34	.42	.66	.60	.97
Personal Thoughts and Behavior	2.54	1.89	2.44	1.78	2.48	1.82
Interpersonal Thoughts and Behavior	2.97	2.17	3.14	2.32	3.08	2.26
Uncodable Responses	.27	.65	.14	.59	.19	.61
Positive Feelings	1.38	1.59	1.66	1.54	1.55	1.56
Negative Feelings	.57	.76	1.12	1.54	.92	1.31
Positive Self-Evaluation	3.95	2.73	2.75	2.34	3.19	2.49
Negative Self-Evaluation	.19	.57	.36	.90	.30	.79

TABLE 2.--Means, Standard Deviations, Pooled Means, and Pooled Standard Deviations for ICL Octant Scales and "Lov" and "Dom" Scales.

Variables	Males (N=37)		Females (N=64)		Pooled Means	Pooled Standard Deviations
	Means	St. Dev.'s	Means	St. Dev.'s		
Managerial-Autocratic	8.81	3.13	8.09	2.62	8.34	2.82
Competitive-Narcissistic	8.70	2.46	7.20	2.06	7.75	2.21
Aggressive-Sadistic	8.73	2.87	8.00	2.38	8.27	2.57
Rebellious-Distrustful	7.16	3.12	6.98	2.58	7.05	2.79
Self-Effacing-Masochistic	6.43	2.82	7.31	3.12	6.99	3.01
Docile-Dependent	6.60	3.00	8.08	2.43	7.54	2.65
Cooperative-Overconventional	7.84	3.35	8.45	2.74	8.23	2.98
Responsible-Hypernormal	8.30	3.14	9.41	2.95	9.00	3.02
Dominance	2.27	3.19	1.08	3.22	1.52	3.21
Love	-.68	4.76	2.31	4.25	1.21	4.44

TABLE 3.--Means, Standard Deviations, Pooled Means, and Pooled Standard Deviations for POI Subscales.

Variable	Males (N=37)		Females (N=64)		Pooled Means	Pooled Standard Deviations
	Means	St. Dev.'s	Means	St. Dev.'s		
Time Ratio	.42	.34	.50	.48	.47	.44
Support Ratio	.49	.17	.54	.22	.52	.21
Self-Actualizing Values	18.24	4.24	18.41	2.93	18.35	3.46
Existentiality	21.00	5.16	20.19	3.91	20.48	4.41
Feeling Reactivity	15.49	3.70	15.94	2.93	15.77	3.23
Spontaneity	11.84	3.30	11.48	2.53	11.61	2.83
Self-Regard	12.19	3.18	11.83	2.65	11.96	2.85
Self-Acceptance	15.00	3.66	15.09	3.07	15.06	3.30
Nature of Man, Constructive	9.30	2.70	9.58	2.27	9.48	2.44
Synergy	6.08	1.71	6.22	1.37	6.17	1.50
Acceptance of Aggression	16.32	3.68	16.73	3.03	16.58	3.28
Capacity for Intimate Contact	19.24	4.35	18.52	3.40	18.78	3.77

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