SOME CORRELATES OF BLACK
CONSCIOUSNESS, INTERNAL-EXTERNAL
CONTROL, AND FAMILY IDEOLOGY
AMONG AFRO-AMERICAN
COLLEGE STUDENTS

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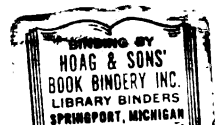
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ABSTRACT

SOME CORRELATES OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, INTERNAL-
EXTERNAL CONTROL, AND FAMILY IDEOLOGY AMONG
AFRO-AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

By

Arthur M. Ford

A number of scholars have conducted research on
Afro-Americans with the aim of delineating psychological
and behavioral characteristics peculiar to Afro-Americans
as a group. This has led many investigators to concep-
tualize Afro-Americans as a monolithic, homogeneous group
of people, and speak of a "Negro personality." The
failure to consider the heterogeneity of Afro-Americans
has been a hiatus in knowledge and understanding of intra-
group differences among Afro-Americans, a shortcoming that
was clearly manifest in the failure of behavioral scientists
to predict the "ghetto riots" of the 1960's and the cur-
rent trend in "black awareness."

The present study was predicated on the assumption
that there is diversity among Afro-Americans, as in any
large group of people, and that an adequate understanding
of Afro-Americans must take this heterogeneity into

account. The purpose of this reasearch was to investigate the relationships between black consciousness, internal-external control, and the extent to which one adheres to a traditional and/or conventional family ideology. Although the primary focus of the study was on Afro-Americans, the question was raised as to whether the relationships between these three variables would be unique to the "black experience," or attributable to socio-political forces extant within the larger society. Thus, data were gathered on a group of whites so as to allow for a more systematic analysis.

A sample of 78 Afro-American married couples living in University Married Housing were administered the following scales: Black Consciousness, Multi-Dimensional Internal-External Control, and Family Ideology. A control group of 50 randomly selected white married couples also living in University Married Housing were administered the above scales except that they responded to a New Left scale in place of the Black Consciousness scale. Biographic data were gathered on all subjects.

The items of the four scales were clustered into 29 subscales on the basis of statistical value ($p > .05$), homogeneity of content, and external parallelism. These subscales were then collapsed into seven superclusters, on the basis of parallelism, and correlated with each other.

The seven superclusters (high score) were: (1) Separation (movement away from white American social life); (2) Integration (movement toward white American social life); (3) Militant Left (restructuring of American institutions and values); (4) Conservative Right (preservation of American institutions and values); (5) Internal (attribution of rewards to one's own efforts and attributes); (6) Group Activism (nonviolent group action to combat racial discrimination); (7) Family Ideology (traditional and conventional modes of family relationships and interactions).

The results showed that the majority of Afro-American subjects endorsed a separatist (militant) ideology and rejected an integrationist (conservative) ideology. Subjects scoring high on Separation also scored high on external control. This finding contradicts the previous finding of Rotter that militant Afro-Americans tend to be internal. High scores on Separation were significantly related to high scores on Group Activism, but not to Family Ideology.
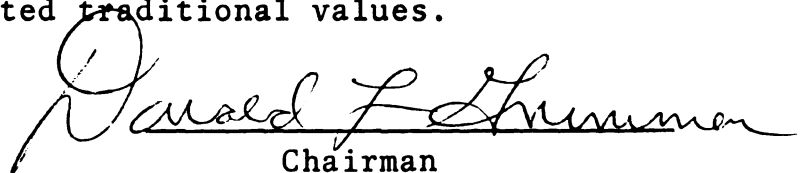
Subjects who were high on Integration were high on Family Ideology, indicating endorsement of traditional and conventional familial relationships. High scores on Integration were positively related to internal control and negatively related to Group Activism.

The pattern of attitudinal relationships among the white subjects was parallel to that of the Afro-American subjects, but the magnitude of the coefficients was significantly higher for whites.
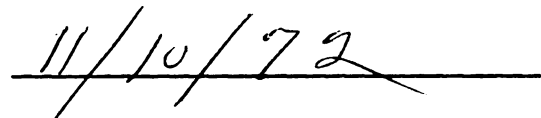
With cluster analysis the expanded internal-external scale broke into two superclusters, one based upon the original Rotter items and one based upon the Gurin items, that ask the subjects to select between alternatives of combating racial discrimination through organized group activism versus emphasizing individual ability and effort. The findings indicate that the internal-external dimension is more complex than the dimension tapped by the original Rotter scale.

With two exceptions, the interrelationships between the biographic variables and the superclusters were essentially insignificant. Subjects high on Separation tended to be younger than those who were high on Integration, and, whether Afro-American or white, subjects who were militant and who rejected traditional values attend church less frequently than do those subjects who were conservative and accepted traditional values.

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EXTERNAL CONTROL, AND FAMILY IDEOLOGY AMONG
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BY

Arthur M. Ford

A THESIS

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DEDICATION TO MY WIFE AND TWO SONS,

ANNE, JAY AND RODNEY

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Question of Conceptualization:
Homogeneity vs. Heterogenity

Racial and ethnic identifications are, along with
social class and social status, among the most important
social differences that influence behavior in American
society. For at this point in time, color and identity take
on a particularly crucial meaning in the American social sys-
tem. When one views the "problem of race" as a current
domestic concern in the United States, one must inevitably
face the fact that the peoples of this society are identi-
fied and related to as members of the white race or of a
nonwhite race. We have as yet neither reached that level of
human development and social interaction, nor realized that
"dream," where "the sons of former slaves and the sons of
former slave owners are able to sit down together at the
table of brotherhood."

Given that the American society has failed to de-
velop a social system consistent with her democratic ideals
of equality and brotherhood, it should not be surprising
that a number of scholars have given attention to this area

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of concern. Their observations, furthermore, have led them to conclude that "race," for all the deficiencies of that concept, plays a significant role in defining the social condition of individuals and, therefore, must be included among the significant variables influencing individual and collective behavior (Myrdal, 1944; Goldschmid, 1970; Wilcox, 1971).

These scholars have considered the possibility of different behavioral laws for whites and nonwhites, and their attempts to delineate the influence of race on behavior have essentially been cross-cultured and comparative studies on whites and Afro-Americans, the latter group typically being defined as people who possess varying and unspecified fractions of African ancestry (Dreger and Miller, 1960, 1968). One is led, however, to question the extent to which the comparative approach has penetrated the domain of Afro-American psychodynamics. Examination of these empirical studies reveals they have been conducted along a line of inquiry which suffers from two major, and rather basic, deficiencies.

In the first place, the literature is replete with the use of "Negro" as a construct, and such related constructs as "Negro personality," "Negro intelligence," and "Negro self-concept," all of which tend to be so global in character that they encourage both scholars and the general public to develop a conceptualization of Afro-Americans

as a homogeneous group. The second deficiency is that even
scholarly attempts to characterize Afro-Americans are subtly
influenced by steretotypic value conceptions which prizes
"white" and derogates "black" (Billingsley, 1969; Wilcox,
1971; Thomas and Sillen, 1972). Thus, characterizations of
"the Negro" tend to focus on what is abnormal in his life,
emphasizing inferiority, psychopathology, and social patho-
logy, all the while over-looking alternative interpretations
of the observations and data which are more sympathetic to
Afro-Americans as they struggle to adapt in a hostile and
oppressive social environment.

These two deficiencies, namely, the search for
homogeneity rather than heterogeneity and the emphasis on
pathology rather than health feed on each other and compound
the inadequacies in this approach to delineating the in-
fluence of race on behavior. The result of these omissions
of heterogeneity and health has been a rather obvious hiatus
in our knowledge and understanding of intra-group dynamics
and differences among Afro-Americans. Specifically, few
scholars have considered the possibility that various types
of character information might follow from different modes
of accommodation to the peculiar minority group and caste
status occupied by Afro-Americans in the social system of
the United States.

Thus, the thesis of the present study is that over
the course of time, the various experiences associated with

oppression, and attempts to cope with chronic and remediable social injustices, have served to consolidate a variety of elements and groups within the Afro-American communities. Reactions to an inferior social status tend to vary and, rather than the emergence of a monolithic, uniform reaction pattern, one may postulate the existence of a number of discernible attitudinal and behavioral patterns.

We shall begin developing this thesis by first examining the literature on "the Negro personality" to illustrate the deficiencies we have noted. We shall then outline the purpose and approach of the present study.

"The Negro Personality": Preliminary Observations

The use of the word personality in singular form, prefaced with the specifying and particularizing effect of the article "the," connotes a homogeneous entity or class of individuals. Perhaps the senior scholar in this area of personality research is Abram Kardiner who, along with Ovesey (1951), has presented a conceptualization of "the Negro personality" which has been accepted by subsequent scholars as a classic and, in many respects, definitive statement (Pettigrew, 1964a, 1964b; Karon, 1958). The major proposition offered by Kardiner is that "the Negro" bears inescapable "marks of oppression" owing to his heritage of slavery, and that these "marks" are perpetuated through the modern caste system in American society.

The analysis and subsequent conceptual scheme were based on interviews and interpolations from Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test protocols gathered from twenty-five adult subjects: Twelve psychiatric patients, eleven paid subjects, and two volunteers. It should be noted that one-half of the subjects had mothers who died during the subject's infancy. From the data collected on this sample the authors conclude that the "marks of oppression" are manifest in the "Negro's tendency" to adopt a compensatory identification with the white man, and to have a spiritual impoverishment coupled with a diminished emotional potential. As a result of the stigmata of his condition in the American social system, the authors argue, the Negro has no possible basis for the development of a positive and healthy self-esteem, but rather every cause and reason to develop self-hatred. Thus, in essence, the "marks in the Negro's basic personality" are manifest in a "conviction of unlovability," "diminution of affectivity," and "uncontrolled hostility." The authors take care to point out that this sample is a very small number from the standpoint of gathering vital or employment statistics, but it is a very large number from the standpoint of psychodynamic analysis.

One must readily acknowledge that the oppression and suffering emanating from slavery and an inferior social status is frequently reflected in unrealistic feelings of inferiority, in a sense of humiliation, and in constriction

of potentialities for self-development and self-actualization.
Moreover, in a society which extols all that is associated
with whiteness and disparages whatever is associated with
blackness, it is difficult to imagine that self-hatred could
be avoided completely. However, as characteristic of so
many scholars in this domain of research, Kardiner and
Ovesey in making these sweeping generalizations ignore the
individuality and range of reactions to stress, namely,
the heterogeneity of Afro-Americans. The small and ob-
viously esoteric sample of Afro-Americans from whom they
gathered data can hardly be considered representative of the
universe of Afro-Americans. The fundamental fallacy in this
conceptual scheme, therefore, lies in the absence from their
sample of Afro-Americans who tend to function in a socially
and psychologically healthy fashion. For one is certainly
inviting disputation if he makes the assumption that Afro-
Americans are a crushed and crippled people who lack the
potential and resourcefulness for enhancement of a positive
and healthy self-esteem and sense of self-respect. The
powerful thrust of the current "black liberation movement"
is testament to the fact that a subset of Afro-Americans
can generate sufficient creative and collective force to
ameliorate their plight in the American society. Thus, the
data obtained by this "psychodynamic analysis" and the con-
ceptual scheme advanced by Kardiner and Ovesey are too
fragmentary and incomplete for the deduction of any logical

generalizations about a personality structure common to Afro-Americans.

Despite these invalidating features, the Kardiner-Ovesey thesis that influenced behavioral scientists to the extent that they have "authenticated" this conceptualization, thereby perpetuating many misconceptions and much fallacious thought. This notion fathered by the Kardiner-Ovesey thesis that there is such an entity as "a Negro personality," and, moreover, that the "Negro wishes to be white," has led investigators to conduct research along two major perspectives.

The first main line of analysis proposes that although personality is a total entity, it can be broken down into components. Thus, given the assumption that Afro-Americans identify with whites and wish to be white, the component of personality that tends to be most significant is "self-hatred," due to being nonwhite and the impossibility of being white (Ausubel, 1954). In that he cannot be white, the Afro-American does the next best thing, namely, conforms to the white man's taste, adopts his beliefs and expectations, and hopes that by imitating him he will form a part of the white community and, at the same time, divorce himself from an undesirable nonwhite referent group. This line of analysis, sometimes referred to as "identification with the aggressor," also accounts for the volumes of research literature on inquiries into such areas as: Self-concept (Deutsch, 1965; Kvaraceus, 1965), self-esteem (Allensmith, 1954; Ausubel,

1954), skin-color (Brody, 1963; Butts, 1963), and identity (Schermerhorn, 1956; Derbyshire, 1966).

The second major array of analyses stemming from the assumption that there is a "flight from blackness toward the yearning to be white" centers around comparative studies (Dreger and Miller, 1960, 1968). The tendency here is to place an emphasis on the relations between whites and Afro-Americans rather than on the nature of life unique among Afro-American people. This orientation tends to be so ethnocentric and pervasive that it contributes to a "deviancy" explanation of any attitudinal or behavioral patterns manifest among Afro-Americans which differ from what is observed among whites. The logic employed in this type of analysis is that the white social world is more attractive than the social world of Afro-Americans, and that integration and assimilation offer avenues of enhancing one's self-esteem and sense of personal worth. It has been suggested that various institutional forms among Afro-Americans, such as the family and educational systems, have generally accepted and internalized the values, standards, and goals of the white world to such an extent that they attempt to socialize their children and students to function as one and part of that white world (Davis and Havighurst, 1947; Frazier, 1948; 1957). Thus, given the assumption of a social situation in which the non-white world has positive valence and the non-white world negative valence, it should not be surprising that we find volumes of research

addressed to questions concerned with segregation and de-segregation (Clark, 1956; Cook, 1957; Pettigrew, 1961).

In general, these scholars appear to have been insightful enough to recognize that the life styles of Afro-Americans have unique qualities owing to their African heritage, their exposure to a "peculiar" system of slavery, and the dehumanizing residuals of oppression and exploitation. However, manifest in these scholar's attempt to delineate the influence of race on behavior is a preoccupation with pathology and thus a tendency to display a selective focus on the negative aspects of Afro-Americans. This tendency is clearly manifest in their very selection of subjects, namely, low-income, problem-ridden, unstable individuals and groups, such as the "urban slum child," the "disadvantaged child," the "ghetto Negro family," and the "ghetto man" (Dreger and Miller, 1960, 1968; Billingsley, 1967; Etzkowitz and Schaflander, 1969; Caplan, 1970). It is not uncommon, moreover, to find many scholars who use interchangeably such concepts as "lower-class," "ghetto," "inner-city," "Negro community," and "black community." It should not be surprising, therefore, that even cursory exposure to this body of literature is sufficient to establish a "set" for conceptualizing Afro-Americans either in "negative" terms or in terms of undesirable attitudinal and behavioral patterns.

The failure to acknowledge the more intact and stable elements of the Afro-American communities has contributed

heavily to a deficit in understanding and prediction. Consider the studies which have been conducted to answer certain questions about racial identification and self-awareness in Afro-American children (Goodman, 1952; Clark and Clark, 1958). The trend in these studies has been to focus almost exclusively upon the approximately 70% who identify with whites and show a preference to be white, and to virtually exclude from analysis and consideration the 30% who identify with and prefer their own race. Those Afro-Americans who strongly identify with and prefer the white dominant group, some to the point of self-deprecation and disdaining their own innate characteristics, are well represented in the 70% who "yearn to be white." It is very possible, however, that it was out of the group of Afro-Americans who identify with and prefer their own race from which emerged the "Nouveau Noir," those Afro-Americans who endorse the belief that "black is beautiful and it is beautiful to be black."

To exclude from analysis and consideration such a viable segment of the Afro-American community is to perpetuate a basic fallacy in the concept of and the search for "a Negro personality." Cruse (1967) and Thomas and Sillers (1972) have proposed that this lack of knowledge and understanding of Afro-American people is clearly manifest in the failure of behavioral scientists to predict the current emphasis on "black identity" and "black pride" and,

moreover, the use of force and violence during the "ghetto riots" of the late 1960's.

Pettigrew (1964), in addressing the question of why so little is known about personality features of Afro-Americans, enumerates a disquieting list of past deterrents to a rounded scientific understanding of "the Negro Personality." The first deterrent, he states, has been that the scholars in the Afro-American domain of research have been hung up on century-long debates over racial superiority and inferiority. The result of this has been their tendency to concentrate on two main areas of study: (1) "Intellectual functioning," an area related to but not central to personality, and (2) "adjustment," a state of being which is defined in terms of tests standardized on white populations, thereby failing to relate to the complex, changing social environment to which Afro-Americans must "adjust." Thus, the fundamental deterrent here, Pettigrew argues, is that not only have the wrong questions been asked but the preponderance of previous research has been directed at narrow concerns and the conceptualizations have failed to summon any general theoretical relevance.

The second deterrent to proceeding to a more extensive understanding has been certain restraining features inherent in the methodology. With few exceptions the investigators have been white. It is highly probable that the "whiteness" of the examiner influences the way Afro-American

people respond and, thus, introduces a bias into the basic data. In addition, problems have arisen relative to the difficulty in controlling for a number of variables peculiar to Afro-American people as a group, namely, migration history, skin color, and differential experiences with the white world. For example, Canady (1943) has outlined several problems which stem from the basic error of equating the environment of Afro-American and white groups for comparative studies. His major argument is that the cultural and experiential differences are so great as to preclude the equating of the two environments.

The third and final deterrent presented by Pettigrew is the lack of a theoretical perspective which takes into consideration the unique history and the present socio-cultural position of Afro-Americans. He suggests that an "interaction-ist theory" would be most appropriate and conducive to under-standing Afro-American dynamics in that it would incorporate into the historical and socio-cultural forces which propel Afro-American people as a group, the legacies of several centuries of chattel slavery, segregation and discrimination, and the consequences of low occupational, educational, economic, political and social status.

Given these deterrents, scientists who seek to ex-plore the world of "Black folk" have inherent within their task the property of being caught up in the cross-currents of societal and cultural tensions. For the scientist,

particularly the social scientist, is at first a social be-
ing who shares in the larger preoccupations and sentiments
of his group, thereby being subject to the prejudices of his
culture, his class, and his generation. Seldom has a single
area of research become so intimately intertwined with such
a socially relevant subject.

To summarize the current status of social science
literature on Afro-Americans, previous investigators have
failed to give adequate attention to individual variability
and have failed to make the necessary distinctions among
Afro-Americans. Thus, knowledge and understanding about the
variety of personalities and character formations of Afro-
Americans as a people is wanting. For in that the differen-
tial approach was not employed in the study of Afro-American
people as a group, the analyses fail to give appropriate con-
sideration to intra-group dynamics. One is led, therefore,
to doubt both the validity and the utility of theorizing
which assumes a discrete, monolithic "Negro personality" or
"black-psyche."

Intra-Group Analysis: An Alternative

The premise from which the present thesis will unfold
holds that Afro-Americans are not a simple, homogeneous group
of people, but rather represent a complex, heterogeneous pop-
ulation. In contrast to the cross-cultural and comparative
paradigms, our approach shall be one in which we explore and
examine the intra-group variance, or heterogeneity, among

Afro-Americans. Hopefully this will add a dimension and per-
spective many scholars have long argued was necessary for
a full appreciation and understanding of the dynamics and
reality of life among Afro-Americans as a people (Canady,
1943; Jenkins, 1946; Williams, 1970).

In his classic and insightful treatise on the nature
of prejudice, Gordon Allport (1954) delineated several per-
secution-produced traits that individuals may develop who
have been victimized by their exposure as a "target" in an
oppressive and racist society. He points to a number of
possible defensive responses to oppression, and proposes that
the way an individual reacts will depend on his own peculiar
life-circumstances. Thus, just what defenses will develop
is largely an individual matter. However, beneath the
diversity of life-styles among Afro-Americans, Allport ar-
gues, each individual has consciously or unconsciously made
one of two basic defensive choices in orienting his life.

The first possible choice for an individual is to
accept his role as "target," and concede himself an oppressed
victim of racism. The individual who chooses this mode of
reaction typically withdraws into passivity and hides his
true feelings behind a facade of passive acquiescence. If
the master jokes, the slave laughs. If the master storms,
the slave quails. For the individual of this orientation
has repressed and suppressed the rage and hostility generated
from his "target" status. He may, moreover, be moved to the

point of denying his membership in the disparaged group,
manifest a tendency to identify with his oppressor, and de-
velop assimilationist strivings such that he may lose him-
self in the dominant group.

The second avenue open to a person victimized for
his membership in a disparaged group is to rebel against his
oppressor in an overly aggressive and, if need be, violent
manner. Here, the individual is militant, refuses to "take
it," and may very well join political and actionist organ-
izations pledged to improve his existing situation.

Thus, Allport furnishes us with a conceptual struc-
ture which allows for variability in character formation.
He has outlined two basic reactions Afro-Americans may de-
velop in response to oppression. The first is an introverted,
intrapunitive, and passive mode of reaction in which the
individual blames himself for his misfortune. The second is
an extrapunitive, aggressive mode of reaction in which the
individual blames the external world for his misfortune and
attacks the source of the difficulty. If the individual
reactions and orientations of Afro-Americans vary along a
dimension which ranges from apparently total acceptance of
their oppressed status to open rebellion, then Afro-Americans
most assuredly are a heterogeneous group of people.

Harry Edwards (1970), in presenting his observations
of the historical development of the Black Student Movement,
offers empirical data which serves to supplement Allport's

theoretical scheme. This graphic account of black college students documents the variability among Afro-American youth in terms of their striving and expressive behavior. For Edwards concentrates on the divergent potentialities of the students, and points out how the diversity in character and in ideology served as the primary dynamics of the movement. While there was virtually unanimous agreement as to the goals of the movement, namely, freedom, justice, and equality, Edwards reports there being several distinct and sometimes conflicting orientations in other significant areas. It is these individual differences among the students which per-suaded Edwards to develop several categories of "student types" from the qualitative and ethnographic data he gathered while lecturing and organizing black students on a number of predominantly white college and university campuses.

The typology he presents consists of five categories: "The radical activist," "the militant," "the revolutionary," "the anomic activist," and "the conforming Negro." The rationale for developing five distinct categories stems from the observation that in addition to being significant in both numbers and relevance to the movement, the members of each specific group shared a unique and salient set of attributes and dispositions. Edwards, therefore, provides us with an empirical set of data with which to augment Allport's contention that beneath the diversity of life-styles among Afro-American people, each individual has

consciously or unconsciously made a choice in orienting his life.

The "radical activist" typically comes from a middle-class Negro family, tends to be somewhat older academically and chronologically, and has a long history of activism in the "struggle for liberation." Over time, he has become experienced and efficient in the task of organizing and mobilizing people. He entered college by qualifying under the traditional, or "normal," standards for entry, but over the course of his undergraduate studies, his interests shifted from getting an academic degree to advancing Afro-American people's struggle for freedom and liberation. The radical activists are those students who initiated the use of "open confrontation" as a strategy on college campuses and agitated for, and eventually organized, what was to become the Black Student Unions. The fact that they themselves either occupy positions of authority and power in the student organizational hierarchy, or delegate these positions to others, suggests they are the true politicians within the student group. They are the ones responsible for conceiving and implementing the functions and activities of the organization. In addition to their peculiar political disposition, they have a tendency to be social reformers, and their political ideology is sufficiently flexible so that at times they are willing to compromise and bargain. While they may preach the rhetoric of "separation," inherent in their

ideology is the basic belief that although America may have her "hang-ups," she is worth saving.

The second student type, the "militant," is the most numerous of all student types. He is like the "radical activist" in that he, too, typically comes from a middle-class Negro family, but differs in that he is younger, both academically and chronologically, and lacks the practical experience in organizational matters. Most importantly, he lacks the cohesive philosophy of "the struggle" which the radical activists use to direct and guide their actions. Indeed, the "militant" has just recently been turned on to his "blackness" and, finding himself being organized and politicized by the radical activists, tends to pick up and employ all the current rhetoric of the movement. This is the individual who is most likely to wear African styles and a "fro" in an effort to bolster his ego, sustain a sense of identity, and exhibit his militancy.

Unlike the radical activist, the first priority and primary goal of the militant is to obtain a college degree. He has taken advantage of the more liberal college entrance standards and sees himself gradually carving out a stake in the American social system. Thus, he too develops a preference for reforming the American institutional structure rather than destroying it. Although he tends to give lip service to a "militant ideology," he is not predisposed to get involved in any type of militant action which may prove

to jeopardize his educational future, for he has among his most immediate aspirations the attainment of a high-paying job and a "big house."

The third group of students, the "revolutionaries," are as far left of the radical-activists and the militants as the latter two groups are to the left of the more moderate, traditional Negro leaders. Their socio-economic class origins and academic-chronological ages vary to the extent that they do not conform to any one salient, distinguishable pattern. Although the "revolutionary" is as likely to come from the lower classes as from the middle classes, and may or may not have entered college under more liberalized minority group entrance standards, he is the most well-read, the most adept at both reading and writing, and the most articulate of all five student types. He typically does well in school because he usually enrolls only in those courses which most interest him and appear to be "relevant" to his revolutionary aims. That he becomes a "professional student," making little progress toward fulfilling course requirements for graduation, is of little or no significance to him. For to his way of thinking, the value of a college degree is null. College is simply another component of the racist, oppressive society that one day will inevitably be destroyed. Like the radical-activist and the militant, the revolutionary places a high value on "black pride" and on cultural and historical ties with Africa. But he differs from these two groups in that

he sees no merit or rationale for reforming and saving the American society. Rather, he is dedicated to the proposition that the oppressive tendencies and racist policies are so deeply rooted and ingrained in the institutions of the American social system that the only solution open to Afro-Americans is total and irreversible destruction of those social institutions. His ideology also incorporates an internationalistic perspective. He sees America as not only domestically oppressive but as the major oppressive force that thwarts the peoples around the world in their effort to escape colonialism, exploitation, and racist white domination. The willingness of the revolutionary to accept premeditated and calculated violence as a legitimate tactic is the primary reason that he is seldom selected for positions of authority and power within the organizational hierarchy. His predisposition toward revolution and violence tends to push the less militant membership at too fast a pace and in too radical a direction.

Of all five student types presented by Edwards, the "anomic activist" is perhaps the most representative product of the "black experience" in America. He comes from the hard-core, inner-city community, usually from a single-parent, multiple-sibling family, has led an entire existence marked by anger and rage, and is now in a state of total rebellion against America and the role he has been forced to play in the American social system. Usually attending a college

near his home, and having taken advantage of the liberal admission policies and financial aid programs, he is among the youngest students, both academically and chronologically. Given the negative results of earlier educational experiences and a life style that has never emphasized steady perfor- mance over an extended period of time, he has given up hope and belief in his capacity to ever do well in school. He cannot entertain the idea of ever achieving a respectable status, a high-paying job, or a "big house." While his er- ratic educational performance subjects him to constant criti- cism and pressure to improve, he tends to rationalize his poor academic performance by the charge that education in America's colleges is irrelevant to the interests of black people. Indeed, his anger and rage are so unbounded and diffuse that he tends to perceive even "in-group" members negatively. Thus, he sees the radical-activist as too analy- tical and too concerned with planning and detail; the mili- tant as too bourgeois and hypocritical; the revolutionary as too hung up on words and ideology; and the conforming Negro as repugnant. His almost compulsive orientation to- ward action and rebellion leads the "anomic activist" to a state of confusion and frustration, for like the militant he too lacks a coherent philosophical ideology with which to guide and channel his energies. The anomic activist is, in essence, the epitome of the "rebel without a cause."

The final student type presented by Edwards is the "conforming Negro," who typically adheres to no philosophy or ideology other than that passed on to him by his parents and other traditional socializing agents of society. While he may closely approximate the values and attitudes of the traditional middle-class or bourgeois Negro, his family of origin is most likely to have existed on the fringe of the socio-economic boundaries that separate the upper-lower-classes from the lower-middle-classes. He has completed high school with fairly decent grades, has taken advantage of the liberalization of college admission standards and readily available financial aid, and has evolved the life style of an "individual achiever." His sole purpose for being in college is to get a degree and eventually obtain a high-paying job and a "big house," preferably in an all-white or sparsely integrated neighborhood.

Given his long-term goals, his predisposition toward conformity, and his need for achievement, he has such a vested interest in the maintenance of the established American institutional structure that he is threatened by the disruptive, activist orientation of the other four student groups. Indeed, he is critical of the latter groups and plays a passive role in the "struggle." This leads to accusations of conforming doggedly to the traditional "Negro-role," showing a lack of concern for the plight of the masses of Afro-American people, and ultimately to

ostracism by members of the other student groups. The ramifications of this expulsion are clearly manifest in his interpersonal relations in that they are limited primarily to whites or to other conforming Negroes.

These, then, are five types of orientations and dispositions which have been observed among Afro-American youth and which tend to corroborate the conceptualization of "possible response to oppression" set forth by Allport. The typology advanced by Edwards reflects the vicissitudes of the times, as well as the multifariousness of Afro-American people as a group, making apparent the heterogeneous nature of Afro-Americans as a group. For one does not see the manifestation of neither a discrete, monolithic cognitive structure nor a "Negro personality," namely, a personality or set of dispositions representative of the universe of Afro-American people.

CHAPTER II

OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY

The major proposition emerging from the above con-
siderations is that within the Afro-American community there
exists a variety of groups of persons, each of which is suf-
ficiently uniform in disposition to be rendered discernible.
The differentiated groups which Allport and Edwards offer
us were illustrative, exhibiting a spectrum of needs, desires,
and motivations. While these groups may certainly be "ideal-
types" and relatively general in nature, they do offer some
intra-group analysis which yields characteristics common to
specific subsets of Afro-Americans. As Edwards has pointed
out, over the course of the last decade, we have witnessed
a new phenomenon, namely, the emergence of a militant sub-
set from the Negro middle-class and from the previously in-
articulate and lethargic working and lower-classes. The
phenomenon, in essence, is the birth of a "black revolution,"
a movement which projects the battlecry of "liberation,"
and the adversary as the virulent white racism that threatens
to destroy Afro-Americans as a people.

Familiarity with the Afro-American community leads
one to the assumption that Afro-Americans of whatever

ideological persuasion will readily accept liberation, freedom, and equality as the goals of the contemporary struggle. Thus, the issue before us does not revolve around the goals of the movement, but rather around the strategies and tactics which the various subsets of Afro-Americans endorse and employ in an effort to reach their end. The preferential means for achieving their goals range from integration into the white American mainstream to a press for physical and cultural separation from white America. The question of concern therefore, is centered about whether an Afro-American chooses to move toward or move away from the American society.

With these considerations in mind, it became feasible and legitimate to conceptualize two rather distinguishable groups in terms of their movement toward or away from American social life and, furthermore, to examine the peculiar ideological and psychological characteristics associated with each group. Thus, the purpose of the present investigation was to examine the intragroup variance among Afro-Americans that stems from their attitudes toward integration and separation.

The underlying assumption of the study was that there are certain core attitudinal, or cognitive, structures which generate particular coping mechanisms and modes of dealing with events in one's environment. Consistent with the scheme developed by Allport, we advanced the proposition

that within the range of available alternatives each in-
dividual selectively chooses and organizes a set of beliefs
and expectations largely on the basis of his own peculiar
cognitive-motivational mode of functioning. The primary
task was to explore and examine "black consciousness" as an
index of the extent to which Afro-Americans are dispersed
along the integration-separation dimension. The term "black
consciousness" was used to refer to the various elements of
political and social ideology. To the extent that black
consciousness is a simple continuum, people will vary
by degrees from extreme integrationists to extreme separation-
ists.

In addition to the examination of black conscious-
ness, we will explore the relevance and relationship of two
other psycho-social constructs, namely, family ideology and
perception of internal versus external control of rewards
and reinforcement. Let us, at this point, take a closer
look at the constructs of black consciousness, internal-
external control, and family ideology, the three dimensions
along which we explore the variability among Afro-Americans.

Black Consciousness

In order to fully appreciate the concept of "black
consciousness," one must recognize that the Afro-American
people in this society are in the midst of an identity
crisis, the origin of which lies in the historical roots of

the myths and fantasies emanating from such social forces as "plantation culture," "slave society," and "racial etiquette." Having been involuntarily brought from Africa and placed within the context and ethos of these social forces, the emerging Afro-American was crowned with his identity of where he came from, who he was, what he was. In this milieu of ethnic dualism, where segregation was part of the "natural order" and survival was dependent on obedience, one could argue that the tendency to set these people of African origin and heritage off as a group would serve to awaken in them a racial consciousness, or a consciousness of kind. In the comprehensive doctrine of race and the elaborate symbolic matrix of whiteness and blackness employed by these social forces, however, blackness became symbolic of whatever was forbidden and horrifying in human nature, the equivalent of sin. Thus, to be black was to be ugly, dirty, lazy, stupid, beastly, and inferior; attributes which readily elicit a defense against perceiving in one's self as an object, and hardly conducive for the development of a group consciousness and sense of peoplehood.

Today, there are residuals of this systematic castration and debasement in the psyche of many Afro-American people. As noted above, however, there is a growing number of "militant blacks" who have "come up from below," have learned to accept themselves and their people, and who make explicit their desire to determine the nature and course of their

lives, no small accomplishment in a society oriented com-
pletely to the values and needs of the white populace. One
is immediately led to a state of curiosity, therefore, about
the nature of these Afro-Americans who have this newfound
self-acceptance and assertiveness so clearly manifest in the
new ideas they have about themselves, both as individuals
and as a people. That black is beautiful and that is beauti-
ful to be black. That they have an African ancestry and
heritage of which to be proud. Black heroes to be honored.
While certainly not characteristic of Afro-Americans as a
whole, these beliefs and expressions of "black pride" and
"black identity" are sufficiently persistent in a number of
Afro-Americans to be indicative of a very salient trend.

Henry Banks (1970), for example, explored this trend
of "racial awareness" by developing a "Black Consciousness
Scale," and employing it to investigate eighty-six high
school and junior college students. His primary interest
was in the attitudes Afro-Americans have in reference to the
institutions of the United States which affect the "black
movement." He was cognizant of the multi-dimensional nature
of racial awareness, and designed his investigation to ex-
plore possible differences in "black consciousness" among
students on the basis of class level, place of residence,
and enrollment in Black Studies courses and/or membership
in the Black Student Union.

The Likert-type scale employed was keyed such that the higher the score the higher the degree of black onscious-ness. Banks found that a significant number of his subjects endorsed a set of attitudes favorable to one's "blackness" and, in addition, antithetical to many of the basic American values. Enrollment in Black Studies courses and/or member-ship in the Black Student Union correlated significantly with degree of black consciousness and positive self-image. How-ever, class level, place of residence, age, and sex were un-related to black consciousness and a positive self-image.

The first objective of the present study, therefore, was to pursue the study of "black pride" and "racial aware-ness." For our purposes black consciousness was operationa-lized as the extent to which racial feelings and racial sen-timents are present in consciousness. Although membership in the aggregate of Afro-Americans represents a relatively "fixed affiliation," some members more so than others have in their immediate awareness "a sense of kinship and people-hood." This conceptualization of black consciousness en-compasses not so much the general attitudes characteristic of a certain subset of Afro-Americans, but more specifically those political and social attitudes which are in the focus of attention, the "fore-conscious" so to speak.

Internal vs. External Control

The Afro-American lives in a setting in which the values of liberal democracy form a system of beliefs and expectations which is presented as a legitimate and valid picture of the real world. In reality, however, the social system Afro-Americans experience is one in which rewards and reinforcements are essentially contingent upon skin color. Instead of sharing in the experiences attendant upon freedom and equality, their experiences tend to center around the inequities stemming from the well-documented institutionalized racism inherent in the American social system (Kerner, 1968; Knowles and Prewitt, 1969; Koval, 1970; Schwartz and Disch, 1970). Thus, the question which concerns us in this domain is whether Afro-Americans may be differentiated according to the degree to which they perceive that rewards and reinforcements follow from, or are contingent upon, their own behavior and attributes (internal control), as opposed to being controlled by forces outside of themselves, thereby occurring independently of their own actions (external control).

Gore and Rotter (1963) were interested in the conditions under which the initiation of social change and social action-taking behavior will take place, and sought to establish some predictive parameters of personality by utilizing the concept of internal vs external control of

reinforcement. This concept of internal-external control (IE) was developed originally be Rotter within his theory of social learning and refers to a dimension in which individuals are distributed according to the degree to which they attribute what happens to themselves to their own behaviors or characteristics versus the degree to which they attribute what happens to forces outside of their own control, e.g. fate, change and luck.

The authors then constructed a scale to asses the extent to which individuals differ in terms of whether they expect rewards in a large variety of situations to be the function of external forces or their own behavior and attributes. It was hypothesized that for people who are highly involved in a desire for social change, such as Afro-American people in the Afro-American society, social action-taking behavior can be predicted from a generalized attitude of internal versus external control of the locus of reinforcement.

The subjects of the Gore and Rotter study were sixty-two male and fifty-four female students enrolled at a predominantly Afro-American college in the South. It was found that the students who were most desirous of social change and willing to take part in a variety of civil rights demonstrations showed higher internal control scores than students who were less desirous for social change and unwilling to participate in demonstrations. Thus, the more militant students had a tendency to believe that rewards

and reinforcements are contingent upon their own actions and, moreover, that they could to some extent shape their own fate and destiny.

In their analyses of the characteristics and attitudes of riot participants and nonparticipants, also referred to as militant and nonmilitant respectively, Caplan and Paige (1968) utilized data gathered from surveys conducted in two major cities, Detroit and Newark, during the riot disorders of the summer of 1967. The survey data disclosed that the militants were distinguishable from nonmilitants by their strong feelings of racial pride and by their attribution of blame for not getting ahead in the social system to racial discrimination rather than to sources within themselves. This latter finding, the tendency to explain social economic, and political failure as being due to the system rather than to the individual is just the opposite of the finding presented by Gore and Rotter (1963). It is, however, consistent with an earlier finding by Marx (1967) that indicated militancy is positively related to a combination of positive self-image and greater awareness of the external constraints which keep one in a disadvantaged social position. In addition, Gurin et al. (1969) found a marked tendency for militancy among Afro-American students to be associated with the belief that they could not achieve personal goals because of external and social systematic constraints.

In general, we can see that the concept of internal-external control connotes the extent to which individuals

feel they can extract material and social benefits from the environment through their own efforts. In that it has been documented that racism in the American social system is so prevalent and pervasive that it has become institutionalized, it follows that rewards and reinforcement are to a great extent contingent upon the race of an individual. Given this inequity in their social system, we were led to suspect some variance among Afro-Americans relative to a militant pursuit of equality or a passive adaptation. Thus, the second objective of the present study was to ascertain whether the extent to which racial feelings and racial sentiments, namely, black consciousness, are systematically related to perceptions of the locus of rewards and reinforcement.

Family Ideology

There is an uniqueness about the precarious position Afro-Americans hold in the American society. For the oppression with which they are confronted emanates from within a social system founded on a tradition of democratic ideology. One interesting question, therefore, was to what extent are Afro-Americans sensitive to the concrete meaning of democracy? Does a person who thinks long and deeply about democracy in the economic and political spheres of life tend to be democratic in his social and personal sphere of life, a domain of his life in which he may assert some control?

The family is the only institution in society over which Afro-American people have even remote control and, thereby, provides us with a personal sphere of life and an avenue along which to obtain an estimate of their commitment to democratic policy. Therefore, this study attempted to assess, along an autocratic-democratic dimension, the ways in which authority and power are distributed among members of Afro-American families. This variable was then related to the other two major variables, namely, black consciousness and internal-external control.

Rationale for Inclusion of Whites in Study

Although the primary focus of the study was on the existence and character of heterogeneity in Afro-Americans, there was a secondary interest in the causal explanation of any relationships that may be found. In particular, the following question was raised: Do the relationships reflect some aspect of life which is unique to Afro-Americans and their "black experience?" Or do the relationships reflect a more general association between socio-political ideology and personal characteristics extant within the greater soceity? The general test of these questions was beyond the schpe of this study. There was, however, one obvious first test of such hypotheses, namely, ascertain whether the pattern of attitudinal relationships found among whites approximates the pattern found among Afro-Americans. If so, then there is strong perliminary evidence that these

relationships reflect the psychodynamics of attitudes and beliefs of the American society rather than the Afro-American community. Thus, the rationale for inclusion of whites in the study was that it would allow for a more systematic analysis of the influence of socio-political variance on the structuring of attitudes and beliefs.

In that the present study focused upon movement toward or away from the American social systems, one methodological problem in looking at these relationship among whites was that black consciousness is irrelevant for whites. What set of attitudes would play the same role for whites that black consciousness plays for Afro-Americans? It has been documented that white protest also reflects varied perspectives and strategies (Foster & Long, 1970). Thus, our strategy here was to assess whites for their attitudes and beliefs about achieving one's goals through either disruption and violence or democratic processes and traditionally legitimate channels.

Summary of Objectives

To summarize the objectives of the present study, analyses of black consciousness, internal-external control, and family ideology were specifically designed to further clarify the heterogeneous nature of Afro-Americans. The strategy was to explore the current trend in "black awareness," the perceptions of the locus of reward and reinforcement,

and, finally, the adherence to democratic policies in family life. The design of the study is such that it allowed us to factor out of a sample of Afro-Americans any subsets which tended to manifest homogeneity. The rationale for this approximation of group variability was that, given a range of alternatives, each individual selectively chooses and organizes a set of beliefs and expectations largely on the basis of his own peculiar needs, or cognitive-motivational modes of functioning. Moreover, it was assumed that these beliefs and expectations are so well conditioned and embedded in the character structure that they reflect organized and relatively stable patterns of thought.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This study was based on the premise that in any suf-
ficiently large aggregate of Afro-Americans, one will find a
variety of beliefs and attitudes and, moreover, that atti-
tudes will be related to one another. Our plan was to test
this assertion by sampling young Afro-Americans at a predom-
inantly white midwestern university. The specific attitudes
studied were questionnaire measures of black consciousness,
internal-external control, and family ideology.

Subjects

Since family ideology was one of the major variables
of interest and, moreover, that daily observations disclosed
a sizeable number of Afro-Americans living in University
married housing facilities, we decided to sample this Afro-
American married student population.

Because University administrative regulations dis-
allow entering race on student records, it was not known
who the Afro-American married students were, where they lived,
or even how many were in attendance at the university. The
sampling procedure, therefore, consisted of initially pro-
curing the names of Afro-American students from a confidential

list compiled by an Afro-American organization active on campus, the occurrence of a person's name on the list, however, in no way implying affiliation with the organization. These names were then checked against the student telephone directory, and the address of a student indicated whether he or she lived in the married housing facilities. Since this list was fragmentary and incomplete, additional names were gathered from a survey in which all known Afro-American students were asked to name any fellow students who were married and living on campus. Moreover, during the data collection session with each known married couple, the couple was asked, during the preliminary social exchange or the departing remarks, whether they knew of any other Afro-American couples in their building or area. The names offered by these subjects were recorded and later checked against the master list. Thus, the list of subjects increased as the data collection progressed, and an attempt was made to exhaust the total population of students who met the following criteria: Afro-American, married and living in University married housing.

The initial contact with each potential subject was by telephone. If he or she agreed to participate in the study, a meeting was arranged with the wife and husband together. Those who declined participation in the telephone session were seen in person in an effort to overcome their reluctance by indicating the value of the research. If they

continued to refuse participation after the visit, they were eliminated as potential subjects.

This procedure yielded seventy-eight couples who agreed to participate and three couples who declined because they were "pressed for time." Of the seventy-eight couples who agreed to participate, the participation of four couples necessitated a personal visit subsequent to the telephone session. The total number of subjects in the sample is thus 156, composed of seventy-eight males and seventy-eight females. Although we cannot be absolutely certain, we believe this subject pool closely approximates the total number of Afro-American married couples living in the married housing facilities on campus.

In addition to the Afro-American subjects, a control group of fifty married white couples was randomly selected from a white population living in University married housing. The names of white subjects were collected by means of going through the list of students compiled by Michigan State University and published in the Student Telephone Directory. The procedure consisted of selecting every fifteenth person who lived in married housing, whose name did not suggest a foreign student, and who had not been assigned to the sample of Afro-American subjects.

Given the abundance of potential white subjects, all the names gathered in the procedure outlined above were typed on individual 3 X 5 cards, shuffled, and the first

fifty couples chosen at random were selected as subjects.
They, too, were first contacted by telephone and an addition-
al personal visit was made if they indicated reluctance
to participate. This procedure was followed until fifty
couples had agreed to participate in the study. Nine
couples declined on the phone, but five of them conceded
after a personal visit. Thus, altogether there were
fifty males and fifty females for a total of one-hundred
white subjects.

Instruments

Demographic Questionnaire.--Brink and Harris
(1963), Tomlinson (1968), and Caplan (1970) have pre-
sented data which suggest certain kinds of background
information, such as region of socialization and educa-
tional and occupational background of parents, may be
useful in accounting for part of the variance between
militant and nonmilitant behavior. These findings led
us to include within our questionnaire a survey of the
major demographic variables, the rationale being that
these demographic data could be employed for cross-
classification to establish differential patterns of the
various subsets that may manifest themselves among the
three major variables (black consciousness, internal-
external control, and family ideology).

Black Consciousness Inventory.--This is a 80-
item five-point Likert-type questionnaire developed
by Henry Banks (1970). It attempts to operationalize

the definition of "black consciousness" advanced by Nathan Hare (1968), namely: "The state of being conscious of one's blackness vis-a-vis white racism. Awareness of, or awake to, membership in the black race and its struggle, including the state of being void of dreams of one day waking up white. The state of being 'together' on matters concerning the black man (p.44)."

There are parallel forms and the subject responds to each item on a five-point scale which ranges from strongly agree to strongly disagree. For a sample of Afro-American males and females ranging in age from fourteen to thirty-three years, Banks found a split-half reliability of .84.

A preliminary content analysis of the items revealed one dominant cluster that was "political" in nature, and two other rather weak clusters that appeared to tap "attitudes toward whites" and "peoplehood." Therefore, the latter two dimensions were augmented by adding parallel forms of ten items that promised to generate some variance.

Multi-Dimensional Internal-External Control Scale.-- This instrument is a 40-item, forced-choice questionnaire developed by Gurin et al. (1969) and designed to measure beliefs and expectations about the operation of personal and external forces of control. The scale is a modification of the Internal-External Scale developed by Rotter (1966). In developing this instrument, Gurin and his

colleageues eliminated six of the twenty-nine items in Rotter's Internal-External Scale, and added seventeen items of their own which attempted to tap one's belief about the operation of personal and external forces in the race situation in the United States. Thus, the rationale for employing the Gurin scale was that in addition to assessing the internal-external dimension as proposed by Rotter, it allowed us to examine race ideology along an internal-external dimension. For the purposes of the present study, however, those six omitted Rotter items were included for a total of forty-six items. Rotter found for a sample of college students the test-retest reliability for a one-month period to be .60. Reliability for the Gurin scale has not been published, but personal communication with Gurin revealed publication is forthcoming.

As mentioned above, this scale is a forced-choice test in which the respondent must decide to endorse either of two alternatives — one representing one end of a dimension, the other representing the opposite end. The dimension being used here, namely, internal versus external control of reinforcement, taps the extent to which people develop "generalized expectancies" that the world is controllable and subject to their influence, or come to believe their fates are determined mostly by chance or external powers. In addition, the scale taps

the extent to which the respondent perceives individual qualities or social system factors as the key determinants of one's fate.

Traditional Family Ideology.--This scale was developed by Levinson and Huffman (1955) in an effort to ascertain whether individuals are relatively consistent in their tendency to take a democratic or an autocratic stand on various issues related to family life. The scale is composed of forty five-point Likert-type items, thirty-four of which are regarded as autocratic in nature and six as democratic. Scoring is reversed for the democratic items. Thus, the range of scores is 40-200, with a high score indicating adherence to a traditional autocratic family ideology. Levinson and Huffman found a split-half reliability of .84. The scale correlates significantly with a number of other variables such as ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and, particularly, religious conventionalism. This suggests that an individual's family ideology may well overlap with his ideological views toward other social institutions.

In an effort to obtain a general conception of the ideology of the subject's family of origin, ten items were added which assessed the tendency of the subject's mother and father to take a democratic or autocratic stand on family affairs. These additional ten items were also presented in the first-person so as to get an assessment of how the subject compared with his parents

relative to specific family situations. This latter step, moreover, allowed us to be in a position to make an observation of change in family ideology across generations.

New Left Scale.--This scale was developed by Christie and his colleagues (1969) and attempts to measure agreement with the principles espoused by the New Left, mainly concerning discontent with the existing social order. The scale is included because it taps for the white subjects what the Black Consciousness Scale taps for the Afro-American subjects, namely, a general dimension of "discontent with the existing social order."

It consists of sixty-two items in Likert-scale format which vary from strongly disagree through no opinion to strongly agree. Items are worded in both pro-left and anti-left direction. For a population of 153 female and male students at a major university, Christie found the average item-test correlations for the twenty best items to be .54.

Procedure

Upon meeting with each married couple in their home, following some preliminary social exchange, the instruments described above were administered directly to the wife and husband. To prevent the wife and husband from influencing one another, they were instructed to neither discuss the questions nor compare answers

until both had completed the questionnaire. The data for each couple were collected during one two-hour session.

While data on biographic-demographic background, internal-external control, and family ideology were gathered from both Afro-American and white subjects, the Black Consciousness inventory was administered to the Afro-American subjects and the New Left Scale to the white subjects.

The data were gathered by the author with the assistance of five undergraduate students. The assistants had been trained in interviewing and directed to follow specific procedures. The subjects were divided among the aforementioned persons such that the investigator was of the same race as the subject.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND RESULTS

Preview of the Method of Analysis of Data

To ensure complete anonymity, the data on each individual subject were assigned on identification number prior to analysis. Subsequent to the assignment of identification numbers, we assessed the intragroup variability by examining the subject's responses on each of the four major scales, namely, black consciousness, internal-external control, family ideology, and new left. The first step in analyzing the responses consisted of a cluster analysis of the items making up each scale. These clusters were then correlated with one another.

The items were clustered by employing a program of cluster analysis developed by Hunter and Cohen (1969) and Hunter (1970). In clustering the items, stringent criteria were established so as to obtain the strongest and most salient relationships, or sets of attitudes among the subjects. Essentially, this reduced the set of data for study to the most prominent and conspicuous responses among the subjects.

The method of cluster analysis developed by Hunter and Cohen consisted of initially examining each scale so

as to ascertain whether it is homogeneous or heterogeneous in nature. If the scale is homogeneous, then the items which make up the scale should tend to cluster into one general factor. If the scale is heterogeneous, then we would expect the items which constitute the scale to cluster into subscales.

This initial analysis was accomplished by consideration of the statistical value of the correlations between items, the homogeneity of content for those items that tended to manifest positive intercorrelations, and, finally, the extent to which the correlated and homogeneous items had the same pattern of correlations with other items within the scale (parallelism).

Analysis of the data, therefore, was conducted in three stages. The first stage was an analysis of the total set of data, and consisted of assessing the degree of homogeneity among the subject's responses on each of the scales. The result of this initial step was a cluster analysis of the items making up each scale. The clusters were then used to form homogeneous and specific subscales.

With increased insight into the responses of the subjects gained by the cluster analysis, the second step in the analysis of data was to examine the relationships between the subscales. This was accomplished by examining the intercorrelations between the subscales. Of

particular interest were the intercorrelations between the subscales and the major demographic variables.

Finally, we wanted to consider the extent to which the data of the white subjects resemble those of the Afro-American subjects. Therefore, the New Left Scale was cluster analyzed. In addition, the clusters found within the Internal-External and Family Ideology scales for the Afro-American subjects were scored for the white subjects. This amounted to using the clusters generated by the Afro-American subjects as scales.

There was a total of 244 items for the Afro-American subjects, and for the purpose of analysis they were ordered as follows: Demographic = 1-32; Family Ideology = 33-93; Black Consciousness = 94-198; and Internal-External Control = 199-244. The white subjects responded to 201 items: Demographic = 1-32; Family Ideology = 33-93; New Left = 94-155; and Internal-External Control = 156-201.

The individual subscales generated from the cluster analysis of each major scale is presented in table form to show structure and content. In addition, the table shows the distribution of responses among the subjects and the correlations between the items which make up the subscale. Many of the correlation matrices have been computed with communalities and corrected for attenuation. In that error of measurement can lead to an

under-estimation of the correlation between variables, it
tends to obscure, or attenuate, the actual degree of re-
lationship. This reduction in correlation as a result of
error in measurement, namely, attenuation, can be "cor-
rected" by estimating how much effect measurement error
has on the correlation (Nunnaly, 1967). Essentially, it
is an estimate of how much the correlation would be if the
two variables in question were made perfectly reliable.
Thus, in correcting for attenuation, a given factor is
first estimated from the sum of the constituent items,
then the item-factor correlation matrix is generated in
its entirety. The specific technique employed in the cor-
rection applies a covariance formula to the correlation
matrix with communalities in the diagonal, and is imple-
mented in PACKAGE (Hunter & Cohen, 1969), the system of
correlation programs employed in the cluster analyses.
The correlations between items <u>are not</u> corrected for at-
tenuation, only the correlations between items and clus-
ters.

The diagonal entries of the item correlation ma-
trices are the communalities and can be interpreted as
the specific reliabilities of the item in the cluster to
which it belongs. These entries are estimates of the
percent of variance accounted for by the true score for
that cluster. The true score is the hypothetical score
one would obtain had there been an infinite number of
items in the cluster,

The results are presented such that, first, the subscales generated from the cluster analysis of each major scale are examined. Subsequent to this presentation, we move to examination of the intercorrelations among the distinct subscales.

Cluster Analysis of the Four Major Scales

The purpose of the following analyses was to ascertain the heterogeneity of the subjects in their responses on each scale. This section, therefore, is addressed to the analyses of the four global scales: Black Consciousness, Internal-External Control, Family Ideology, and New Left. We were particularly concerned with how the items of the scale in question break up into smaller subscales.

In determining the existence of subscales, or clusters of attitudes, recall that the criteria employed took into consideration the statistical value of the correlations between items, the homogeneity of content for those items which were statistically clustered, and the extent to which the items in a cluster had the same pattern of correlations with other items within the scale. To assess these criteria, the following are presented in table-form for each subscale:

    1. The items which constitute the subscale.

    2. The intercorrelations of the items making up the subscale.

3. The correlation of each item with the total scores of all the other subscales (corrected for attenuation).

Prior to examination of each individual scale, the subscales, means, standard deviations, Alpha coefficients of reliability, intercorrelations among the subscales, and distribution of responses are presented in the form of a table.

Black Consciousness

The 105-item Black Consciousness Scale broke into eight subscales which use 51 items. A total of 54 items did not belong to any cluster and were placed in a residual set. The subscales generated from analyses were:

1. Separation (Sep): Movement away from white American social life.

2. Militant Methods (MM): Willingness to fight for freedom by "any means necessary."

3. Preference for Own Race (P-own): Preference for being with Afro-Americans rather than with white Americans; accentuation of one's "blackness."

4. Assimilation (Assim): Preference for being American rather than Afro-American.

5. Integration (Intg): Movement toward white American social life.

6. Conservative Methods (CM): Rejection of "militant methods"; limiting the methods employed.

7. Negation of Distance Between Races (ND): "Black militants" are over-stating the degree of white racism.

8. Preference for Opposite Race (P-OPP): Desire to divest oneself of African heritage.

Presented in Table 1 are the subscales, and for each subscale, the number of items, mean, standard deviation, Alpha coefficient of reliability, and intercorrelations with other Black Consciousness subscales. It can be seen that the reliabilities for Separation (.86), Assimilation (.83), Negation of Distance (.79), and Militant Methods (.78) are quite high, and moderately high for the other four subscales. The lower reliabilities are not particularly alarming when one considers the smaller number of items in those four subscales. The standard deviations indicate considerable variance in the subjects' responses. In each case the mean shows that a majority of the subjects agree with the items which constitute the Separation, Militant Methods, and Preference for Own Race Subscales, while disagreeing with the items which constitute the other five subscales. This majority reaches an 85-15 split on the two clusters assessing preference for own race versus preference for opposite race, but is only slightly over 50-50 on the correlationally strongest subscales, namely, Separation and Assimilation-Integration.

The configuration of the correlation matrix suggests a continuum of the attitudes in terms of movement toward or away from American social life. Whereas Separation, Militant Methods, and Preference for Own Race are positively correlated with each other, they are negatively correlated with Assimilation, Integration, Conservative

Table 1. Number of items, means, standard deviations, alpha coefficients of reliability, and intercorrelations[a] among the Black Consciousness Subscales (Afro-American Subjects: N=155; $r_{.05}$ =.16).

Subscale	Number Of Items	Mean[b]	Standard Deviation	Reliability	Sep	Mm
Separation	9	2.23	.86	.86	100	61
Militant Methods	5	2.52	.99	.78	61	100
Preference for Own Race	5	3.27	.70	.68	46	41
Assimilation	7	1.61	.85	.83	-81	-57
Integration	7	1.32	.82	.72	-60	-48
Conservative Methods	6	1.07	.78	.76	-54	-63
Negation of Distance Between Races	8	.54	.50	.79	-53	-60
Preference for Opposite Race	4	.58	.61	.57	-34	-25

[a]These intercorrelations, and all those to follow, are expressed without decimal points for ease of reading. Thus, the numbers presented in the intercorrelation matrix are correlations multiplied by one hundred.

[b]The individual responses were averaged rather than summed on a scale ranging from 0 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree.

Intercorrelations						Intercorrelations Corrected for Attenuation							
P-Own	Assim	Intg	Cm	Nd	P-Opp	Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Intg	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
46	-81	-60	-54	-53	-34	--	73	60	-91	-76	-67	-64	-48
41	-57	-48	-63	-60	-25	73	--	55	-70	-63	-81	-76	-37
100	-40	-16	-28	-49	-30	60	55	--	-53	-23	-39	-67	-47
-40	100	71	60	56	43	-96	-70	-53	--	91	75	69	62
-16	71	100	63	47	42	-76	-63	-23	91	--	85	61	64
-28	60	63	100	59	47	-67	-81	-39	75	85	--	76	72
-49	56	47	59	100	48	-64	-76	-67	69	61	76	--	71
-30	43	42	47	48	100	-48	-37	-47	62	64	72	71	--

Methods, Negation of Distance between Races, and Preference for Opposite Race, the latter subscales being highly correlated with each other. This pattern of correlation was expected. It indicates the existence of varying strategies employed by Afro-Americans in reaching their goals of freedom and equality and, in addition, varying attitudes about one's African heritage and social interaction with whites. That is, the cluster correlation matrix is dominated by a single strong general factor, racial sentiment, which is consistent with the use of a single score for the Black Consciousness scale. On the other hand, even when corrected for attenuation, the correlations are not perfect, namely, all +1 or -1. Thus the general factor does not account for all the systematic variance in the clusters, i.e., there is a weak degree of multidimensionality to the subjects' attitudes in this area. In particular, the two "preference" clusters have only about 50 percent of their variance accounted for by the general factor.

Separation.--Presented in Table 2 are the items which constitute the Separation subscale, the intercorrelations between the items and the other Black Consciousness subscales, and the distribution of responses to each item. The magnitude of the intercorrelations among the items is quite high, and the items are consistent in their correlations with the other subscales.

Table 2.   Items which constitute the separation subscale,
            intercorrelations between the items and the
            other Black Consciousness subscales, and dis-
            tribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
142.	A neighborhood with only members of my race would be an ideal place to buy a house.
136.	After I complete my education and settle down on a job, I prefer to be offering my services to members of my race only.
163.	In the United States, freedom for my race can only be achieved through separation.
190.	If I were to attend a religious service, I would prefer one where all the members were of my race.
140.	I feel more comfortable seeking help in my studies and work from members of my own race rather than from a white person.
144.	Other things being equal, if I had a choice, I would avoid having a white neighbor.
138.	In general, I feel that the more contact people of my race have with whites, the more they will get to dislike whites.
186.	I encourage my children to avoid unnecessary contact with whites.
134.	I feel that members of my race should place more emphasis on being Afro-American than on being American.

Table 2. Continued.

Item No.	Intercorrelations																
	142	136	163	190	140	144	138	186	134	Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Int	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
142	59	60	58	45	44	48	47	43	42	77	50	30	-70	-62	-52	-40	-44
136	60	50	45	40	54	44	42	40	37	71	53	40	-65	-59	-53	-47	-36
163	58	45	48	49	33	39	43	46	41	69	63	35	-76	-67	-55	-40	-28
190	45	40	49	44	44	47	38	35	41	66	50	44	-68	-45	-44	-43	-40
140	44	54	33	44	40	45	41	33	33	63	41	44	-51	-35	-35	-47	-31
144	48	44	39	47	45	39	39	33	30	63	33	34	-59	-47	-35	-38	-33
138	47	42	43	38	41	39	38	38	33	62	60	39	-64	-43	-40	-45	-19
186	43	40	46	35	33	33	38	31	25	56	33	29	-57	-51	-44	-35	-16
134	42	37	41	41	33	30	33	25	29	53	42	52	-47	-30	-32	-37	-33

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
142	08	17	34	12	29
136	10	23	21	20	26
163	30	23	23	10	14
190	07	12	28	15	38
140	05	08	28	24	35
144	16	15	31	12	26
138	14	23	23	19	21
186	26	22	31	10	11
134	05	13	16	18	48

The content of these nine items is quite homo-
geneous in that it concerns the subject's approach toward
interaction with fellow members of his race and avoidance
of interaction with whites. Three of the items (163,
138, 186) speak of separation in general terms; five
(142, 136, 190, 140, 144) refer to specific areas of
personal contact such as one's neighborhood, work, and
religious service; and one item (134) refers to placing
more emphasis on being Afro-American than on being Ameri-
can. The number of subjects who agree with these items
varies from an average of 28 percent for the general
items, to an average of 49 percent to the specifically
personal items, and finally, to 66 percent who feel they
should emphasize being Afro-American. It is of interest
to note that it is the minority of subjects (23%) who
endorse an extreme separatist ideology such that they see
separation as the only means of achieving freedom and
encourage their children to avoid unnecessary contact with
whites.

Militant Methods.--Table 3 presented the five items
which make up the militant methods subscale. The intercor-
relations among these items are fairly high, the correlation
between items 99 and 107 being the weakest link. As a
group, however, they are a fairly parallel and tight set
of items.

The common element in this set of items is that the
items propose a militant approach toward gaining freedom.

Table 3. Items which constitute the militant methods subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other Black Consciousness subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
157.	Members of my race should buy weapons.
133.	We should fight for our freedom by any means necessary.
132.	The police are the white man's tool for keeping down my race.
107.	When assigned to "riot" duty in the so-called Negro ghettos, soldiers of my race should fight the police and the other white soldiers.
99.	We should organize in an effort to free ourselves from American society.

Intercorrelations

	157	133	132	107	99	Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Intg.	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
157	64	61	54	44	37	59	80	46	-53	-52	-71	-56	-33
133	61	53	52	37	35	39	73	39	-37	-39	-62	-55	-28
132	54	52	51	35	40	41	72	36	-37	-27	-43	-45	-28
107	44	37	35	26	22	50	51	22	-46	-45	-50	-40	-10
99	37	35	40	22	24	47	49	36	-54	-42	-38	-49	-21

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
157	04	09	25	26	36
133	05	13	16	12	54
132	05	12	21	17	45
107	28	19	26	14	13
99	13	15	20	16	36

Thus, these items recommend buying weapons, fighting by any means necessary, and organizing as a group. While item 132 pertains to an attitude toward police and, therefore, is not specifically a method, it is a very salient component inherent in a militant approach to change in that the police have been charged with maintaining the status quo. Over 60% of the subjects endorse each of the three items (157, 133, 132) which refer to confrontation in indirect terms. In response to item 107, however, only 27% of the subjects endorse the idea of direct confrontation with the police, while 47% reject this tactical maneuver. Item 99, dealing with organized efforts "to free ourselves from American society," also produces a diversity of responses, with over 25 percent in disagreement.

Preference for Own Race.--The five items which constitute this subscale are presented in Table 4. As a group, this set of items has moderate loadings and are nicely parallel. The great majority of subjects (75%) agree that Afro-Americans should accentuate their African heritage, preferring to be called black instead of Negro and viewing their "natural" hair as dignified. They feel they have little in common with whites, and express pride in congregating with members of their own race. Skin color is not a relevant issue in that they feel all Afro-Americans should identify with the "in-group," regardless of the variation of skin color.

Assimilation.--Table 5 presents the items which constitute this subscale. The intercorrelations among

Table 4. Items which constitute the preference for own race subscale,
intercorrelations between the items and the other Black
Consciousness Subscales, and distribution of responses to
each item.

Item No.	Item
106.	The "natural" hairstyle is dignified.
94.	If I was sitting at a table with some members of my race and some white people entered the room, I would be proud because I was sitting with members of my race.
128.	I have less in common with members of the white race than with members of my race.
111.	The very light members of my race should identify with the race and not "pass" for white.
96.	Call me Black instead of Negro.

	106	94	128	111	96	Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Intg.	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
106	37	32	33	25	40	38	32	61	-32	-13	-34	-41	-26
94	32	35	29	36	29	22	26	59	-15	08	-02	-22	-05
128	33	29	33	36	26	31	39	57	-30	-29	-27	-44	-43
111	25	36	36	24	12	23	17	49	-25	01	-07	-27	-17
96	40	29	26	12	23	50	37	48	-43	-29	-40	-48	-37

Intercorrelations

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
106	03	02	18	14	62
94	05	01	35	10	49
128	05	04	09	16	66
111	03	00	21	10	66
96	00	01	17	06	76

Table 5. Items which constitute the assimilation subscale, inter-
correlations between the items and the other Black Conscious-
ness subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
191.	I feel that, in general, the more contact people of my race have with whites, the more they will get to like whites.
185.	Other things being equal, if I had a choice, I would not avoid having a white neighbor.
153.	Members of my race should date whites.
187.	A neighborhood mixed with whites and Afro-Americans would be an ideal place for me to buy a house.
193.	After I complete my education and settle down on a job, I prefer to be offering my services to both whites and members of my race.
139.	If I were to attend a religious service, I would prefer one where some of the members were white.
195.	I feel that members of my race should place more emphasis on being American than on being Afro-American.

Intercorrelations

	191	185	153	187	193	139	195	Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Intg	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
191	49	46	54	42	42	44	38	-60	-49	-43	70	57	48	51	28
185	46	48	48	55	44	39	31	-70	-48	-34	69	59	47	42	29
153	54	48	46	43	36	40	37	-64	-54	-46	68	56	46	51	32
187	42	55	43	41	45	32	29	-67	-34	-16	64	68	46	31	29
193	42	44	36	45	41	43	35	-57	-40	-07	64	64	50	35	32
139	44	39	40	32	43	36	35	-51	-41	-41	64	58	47	44	62
195	38	31	37	29	35	35	27	-61	-46	-46	51	45	49	56	63

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
191	36	21	30	09	04
185	18	08	25	25	24
153	36	07	51	05	01
187	14	11	46	15	14
193	14	17	23	28	18
139	43	18	34	04	01.
195	47	23	23	16	05

the items are moderately high, and the items are parallel relative to their correlations with the other subscales.

The content of this subscale is homogeneous in that each item proposes increased contact with whites. Three of the items (193, 185, 187) concern relatively impersonal contact with whites. Here 46% of the subjects show a desire to offer their skills and energies to whites as well as Afro-Americans, 49% would not avoid having a white neighbor, and 29% feel that a mixed neighborhood would be an ideal place to buy a house. Three of the items (153, 139, 191) imply direct personal contact with whites. Thus, in their personal sphere of life, 43% feel Afro-Americans should not date whites, only 67% agreeing with inter-racial dating. Moreover, 61% prefer only Afro-American members in their church and only 5% prefer an integrated service. Fifty-seven percent feel that more contact with whites will breed dislike while 13% feel that more contact would lead to friendship. Finally, 70% of the subjects reject the idea of placing more emphasis on being American than on being Afro-American.

Integration.--Table 6 presents the items which this subscale. Although this subscale is highly correlated with the Assimilation subscale (r = .91), the inter-correlations among the items and the correlations of the items with the other subscales are not quite as high as those for the Assimilation subscale. However, the inter-correlations and degree of parallelism are sufficiently high to render this a very salient and intact group of attitudes.

Table 6. Items which constitute the integration subscale, inter-correlations between the items and the other Black Consciousness Subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
100.	In the United States, freedom for my race can only be achieved through integration.
143.	I encourage my children to develop social contacts with whites.
113.	Through education my race will be accepted into the mainstream of American society.
160.	Schools in our communities should be controlled by the school board.
179.	Integration for my race means equality.
115	What my race has to do is to gain individual acceptance into American society.
151.	I would like to live in a state where whites and members of my race live.

Intercorrelations

	100	143	113	160	179	115	151	Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Intg	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
100	47	43	43	37	32	28	22	-53	-45	-24	60	69	54	36	40
143	43	41	25	26	44	25	30	-49	-25	-15	62	64	40	32	34
113	43	25	32	38	20	29	21	-39	-52	-13	46	57	45	45	46
160	37	26	38	22	16	15	29	-41	-40	-13	52	47	55	32	42
179	32	44	20	16	22	27	20	-28	-24	-08	39	47	33	18	13
115	28	25	29	15	27	18	11	-28	-23	-02	31	42	42	32	39
151	22	30	21	29	20	11	17	-40	-24	-10	43	41	30	31	21

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
100	43	18	14	14	11
143	18	13	39	20	09
113	42	21	15	12	10
160	45	24	18	09	04
179	53	20	09	06	12
115	50	22	12	09	07
151	37	15	28	09	11

The content of this subscale is, in essence, the reciprocal of the Separation subscale. Thus, most of these items involve the relations between the races as groups. Since most subjects endorsed a separatist ideology, it is not surprising that most subjects reject an intergrationist ideology. Thus, 61% disagree with the idea that integration is a viable avenue to freedom, and 73% fail to see equality for Afro-Americans as an inherent quality of an integrated society. While more than one-half the subjects prefer living in an "all-black" society (151), about equal numbers agree and disagree with the idea of encouraging their children to develop social contacts with whites.

Conservative Methods.--The six items which make up this subscale are presented in Table 7. The items are highly correlated with one another, and perfectly parallel in their correlations with the other subscales.

The theme in the content of these items is the endorsement of nonmilitant, or conservative, approaches toward resolving the problems of Afro-Americans. Thus, the content of this subscale is essentially the reciprocal of the militant method subscale and, as one might expect, most subjects reject these approaches. Only a minority of the subjects subscribe to the idea of limiting their methods and believe that more civil rights legislation and scientific intervention will help the situation. The subjects are about equally divided as to whether they should cooperate in helping to keep law and order.

Table 7. Items which constitute the Conservative Methods Subscale,
intercorrelations between the items and the other Black
Consciousness Subscales, and distribution of responses to
each item.

Item No.	Item
183	Soldiers of my race should help the white soldiers and police keep law and order when called to "riot" duty in so-called negro ghettoes.
137	Social scientists have done a lot to resolve the problems of Afro-Americans.
174	We should limit the methods we use to get our freedom.
114	There is no need for my race to buy weapons.
173	My race is not kept down by the police.
108	More civil rights laws will help the situation in this country.

Intercorrelations

	183	137	174	114	173	108	Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Intg.	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
183	49	40	48	37	36	37	-58	-64	-26	64	74	70	53	39
137	40	46	30	31	53	38	-31	-37	-27	40	50	68	49	63
174	48	30	35	45	21	29	-34	-51	-16	33	45	59	41	32
114	37	31	45	30	30	19	-44	-60	-44	37	37	54	47	36
173	36	53	21	30	28	18	-39	-47	-26	40	39	53	48	42
108	37	38	29	19	18	21	-29	-26	-04	47	52	46	27	40

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
183	27	11	25	21	16
137	47	22	23	07	01
174	57	18	12	11	02
114	56	22	16	04	02
173	59	27	08	03	03
108	45	18	19	09	09

Negation of Distance Between Races.--Table 8 pre-
sents the eight items which constitute this subscale. The
items are highly correlated with one another, and quite
consistent in their correlations with the other subscales.

The key to the content of these items is the wish
to put aside, or at least reduce, the influence of race on
social interactions with whites. The great majority of
subjects disagree with this entire set of attitudes. Most
subjects believe that the majority of whites, both Northern
and Southern, dislike members of their race and feel that
black militants are not over-stating the degree of white
racism. These subjects, in addition, feel more comfortable
interacting with members of their own race and feel that
in most instances they have less in common with whites
than with fellow Afro-Americans.

Preference for Opposite Race.--Presented in Table
9 are the four items which constitute this subscale. The
items are highly correlated and perfectly parallel. The
common element in these items is the desire to divest one-
self of African heritage. Most subjects, consistent with
their separatist stance, disagree with the entire set of
attitudes. Thus, 87% of the subjects disagree with the
idea that European culture is better than African culture
and that Afro-Americans should not feel close to Africans.
Eighty-six percent of the subjects believe that members of
their race should select a mate from within the group

Table 8. Items which constitute the negation of distance between races
subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other
Black Consciousness subscales, and distribution of responses
to each item.

Item No.	Item
196	Only about one-fourth of Northern whites dislike members of my race.
197	Only about one-fourth of Southern whites dislike members of my race.
159	I put my country, America, before my race.
189	I feel more comfortable seeking help in my studies and work from a white person than from a member of my own race.
120	Black militants are over-stating the degree of white racism.
121	In the north, my race got along pretty well with whites until members of my race came from the south.
171	I have more in common with members of the white race than with a lot of members of my race.

Intercorrelations

	196	197	159	189	120	121	171	Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Intg	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
196	55	68	36	37	29	41	24	-50	-54	-34	48	49	55	74	43
197	68	41	33	27	26	31	26	-32	-38	-42	29	19	41	64	30
159	36	33	39	29	33	15	33	-34	-44	-46	41	39	40	55	52
189	37	27	29	28	26	27	28	-38	-33	-44	39	31	41	53	43
120	29	26	33	26	28	34	33	-35	-49	-33	41	33	50	53	52
121	41	31	15	27	34	24	25	-29	-33	-19	37	43	48	49	61
171	24	26	33	28	33	25	21	-20	-34	-37	26	30	31	46	37

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
196	48	25	25	02	00
197	63	25	11	01	00
159	73	12	11	02	02
189	59	17	20	02	02
120	72	17	06	04	01
121	80	09	09	01	01
171	72	15	08	03	02

Table 9. Items which constitute the preference for opposite race subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other Black Consciousness subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item

118 European culture is better than African culture.

116 My race should spread out when in public because gathering is like segregating ourselves.

149 We should not feel close to Africans.

145 A dark-skinned person should marry someone lighter than himself (herself) so their children will be lighter.

	118	116	149	145	Intercorrelations							
					Sep	Mm	P-Own	Assim	Intg.	Cm	Nd	P-Opp
118	36	33	34	17	-18	-15	-12	27	33	43	35	60
116	33	31	19	28	-42	-20	-19	41	51	37	37	55
149	34	19	21	17	-21	-14	-32	29	20	30	34	46
145	17	28	17	16	-16	-25	-32	27	25	34	37	39

	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
118	78	09	12	00	01
116	52	15	19	08	06
149	67	20	09	02	02
145	76	10	13	01	00

without being influenced by skin color. And sixty-seven percent
even feel that Afro-Americans should congregate in public places.

Internal-External Control

The 46-item Internal-External control Scale broke
into ten subscales, utilizing 33 items. A total of 13 items
were judged as not belonging to any cluster, thus being
assigned to a residual set. The most dramatic finding of the
cluster analysis of this scale was that not a single cluster
contained both items written by Rotter and items written by
Gurin. That is, the "internal-external" scale actually sub-
divides into two components: Six clusters were made up of
items from Rotter's internal-external scale and four clusters
emerged from the Gurin race ideology scale.

The six clusters formed from the Rotter items are
listed below. The title of each cluster is the topic dis-
cussed by the items which make up the cluster. The internal-
external dimension is determined by the stance taken toward
the topic, and the internal positions are always given the
higher numerical value for computational purposes.

1. Luck (LK).--The internal position is that luck
    has little or nothing to do with getting what
    one wants; ability and confidence are more
    important.

2. Grades (GS).--The internal position is that
    there is a direct relationship between how hard
    one works and the grades he or she receives.

3. <u>Friends (FS)</u>.--A high score (the internal position)
   indicates that people are lonely and without friends
   because they neither try to be friendly nor under-
   stand other people.

4. <u>Achievement (ACH)</u>.--The internal position is that
   to be successful, ability is more important than
   being in the right place at the right time.

5. <u>Politics (POL)</u>.--High scores indicate that people
   influence political action by determining who is
   placed in office, i.e. it is the people who are
   responsible for good government.

6. Breaks (BK).--The internal position is that people
   make their own breaks.

   Four of these clusters deal with specific aspects
of life than can either be governed by chance or by in-
dividual effort: Grades, friends, politics, and breaks.
The items in the other two clusters are stated in generali-
ties. In forming the cluster scores, the items were always
scored (or rescored if need be) so that the (a)-response
was low and meant "luck" and the (b)-response was high and
meant "individual effort." Thus, a numerically high score
on these clusters would be in Rotter's internal direction.

   The four clusters which emerged from Gurin's items
were:

7. <u>Initiative versus Discrimination (I-D)</u>.--The con-
   servative position (a low score) is that Afro-Americans

have to work harder, and that those who fail are
those who do not try hard enough.

8. <u>Individual Effort versus Group Effort (I-G)</u>.--
The militant position (a high score) is that
Afro-Americans must organize and apply social
action and constant pressure in order to elimi-
nate racial discrimination.

9. <u>Negotiation versus Protest (N-P)</u>.--The conserva-
tive position is that as means of eliminating
racial discrimination talking and understanding
are better than social action and protest.

10. <u>Optimism versus Pessimism (O-P)</u>.--The militant
position is that racial discrimination is here
to stay.

The important thing to note is that Gurin does not
always pose the same choice that Rotter posed. Only in
the first Gurin cluster is the choice directly related to
Rotter's internal-external dimension, i.e." failure is
my fault" versus "failure is because of discrimination."
In each of the remaining three clusters the choice is be-
tween conservative and militant political beliefs. In
forming cluster scores, the items were either scored or,
if necessary, rescored so that the (a)-response was low
and meant the conservative choice and the (b)-response
was high and meant the militant choice. Thus, a numeri-
cally high score on these clusters reflects a militant

ideology. The direction chosen reflects Rotter's original

finding that militants were more internal. Traditional

ideology holds that it is the conservative who believes

in individual responsibility and the militant who looks to

forces beyond his control. So if tradition prevails, then

the Gurin clusters scored with militant as being high

should correlate negatively with the Rotter clusters

scored with internal being high.

Table 10 presents the basic statistics for the

entire set of ten clusters formed from the internal-

external scale. The means for the six Rotter clusters

are all less than .50 which means that on each subscale

a majority selects the external position, but the standard

deviations are large and indicate that many subjects have

selected the internal position. On the four race ideo-

logy clusters (Gurin items), three of the four means are

very high, i.e. on three of four clusters the great major-

ity of subjects adopt the militant position. The excep-

tion (Negotiation versus Protest) is that most subjects

feel that negotiation is more effective than protest.

The standard deviations are smaller than for the Rotter

clusters, but are still substantial.

Reliabilities for Grades, Luck, Politics, and Op-

timism versus Pessimism are fairly high. The other sub-

scales have somewhat lower reliabilities. This reflects

differences in the number of items in each of the subscales.

Table 10. Number of items, means, standard deviations, alpha coeffi-
cients of reliability, and intercorrelations among the
Internal-External subscales (Afro-American subjects:
N = 155; $r_{.05}$ = .16).*

Subscale	Number of Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Reliability	LK	GS	FS
Luck	6	.49	.29	.69	100	100	20
Grades	2	.44	.44	.72	25	100	27
Friends	4	.50	.27	.50	20	27	100
Achievement	2	.38	.37	.32	44	42	30
Politics	4	.47	.33	.67	33	16	20
Breaks	2	.18	.28	.42	22	-01	11
Initiative vs. Discrimination	4	.78	.25	.56	-07	-11	-05
Individual Effort vs. Group Effort	3	.81	.26	.58	02	-01	-03
Negotiation vs. Protest	3	.13	.21	.33	04	01	07
Optimism vs. Pessimism	3	.71	.33	.60	00	-06	-14

*Before computing the scores and accompanying correlations, the
numerical value of all responses was reflected, if need be, so that the
internal response as keyed by Rotter always had a value of 1 and the
external response a value of zero. On the Gurin items added to the
Rotter I-E scale, the militant choice always had a value of 1, the non-
militant a value of zero.

Intercorrelations							Intercorrelations Corrected for Attenuation									
ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
44	33	22	-07	-02	04	00	--	35	33	88	49	40	-11	04	07	-01
42	16	-01	-11	-01	01	-06	35	--	45	81	22	-02	-17	-01	02	-10
30	20	11	-05	-03	07	-14	33	45	--	72	34	24	-09	-05	16	-25
100	29	25	-20	-11	-11	-06	88	81	72	--	59	62	-45	-24	-31	-12
29	100	09	-06	03	03	-25	49	22	34	59	--	15	-09	05	06	-39
25	08	100	-38	-15	-08	-08	40	-02	24	62	15	--	-74	-29	-22	-14
-20	-06	-38	100	43	33	33	11	-17	-09	-45	-09	-74	--	73	75	57
-11	03	-15	43	100	37	28	04	-01	-05	-24	05	-29	73	--	82	46
-11	03	-08	33	37	100	07	07	02	16	-31	06	-22	75	82	--	16
-06	-25	-08	33	28	07	100	-01	-10	-25	-12	-39	-14	57	46	16	--

Thus, if we take into consideration the size of the sub-
scales, then the reliabilities may be viewed as considerably
higher than their numerical values may suggest.

The correlations in Table 10 break clearly into
three sets. The correlations between race ideology clus-
ters (Gurin's) are uniformly very high; the correlations
between clusters from Rotter's items are moderately high;
and the correlations between the Gurin clusters and the
Rotter clusters are nearly all negative and are mostly of
rather meager magnitude. Thus, in contradiction to
Rotter's findings, militants tend to be external while
conservatives tend to be internal.

Another feature of Table 10 worth noting is the
small size of the correlations between the internal-
external clusters made up from the Rotter items. The
highest correlations between the four "specific aspect"
clusters was only .45 when corrected for attenuation. The
consistently large positive correlations all involved the
two clusters which contained the "general" items. Thus,
although Rotter's internal-external dimension does show
up as a general factor relating these clusters, the clusters
tend to group around the specificity of content. There is
evidence, therefore, that people may be inconsistent in
the extent to which they take an internal position. That
is, while some people may be internal in some areas of
their life, they are not necessarily internal in all
areas of their life.

Luck.--Presented in Table 11 are the six items which constitute this subscale. They are nicely correlated and parallel.

The most salient feature of this subscale is the subject's tendency to view luck as having little or nothing to do with getting what they want, and instead attribute achievement to one's own ability and confidence. While an overwhelming number of the subjects (80%) take the position that getting what they want has little or nothing to do with luck, many of the subjects (67%) are of the opinion that "accidental happenings" may occur and influence the things that happen to them.

Grades.--The items which make up this subscale are presented in Table 12. They are highly correlated and perfectly parallel.

The theme in this set of items is one which entails a quality of "unfairness." The focus is on academic per-formance, and the view is that there is no direct relation-ship between hard work and grades. Thus, slightly over one-half the subjects (52%) do not understand how grades are distributed and, moreover, a majority of the subjects (60%) are of the opinion that the distribution of grades is not conducted in an equitable fashion.

Friends.--Presented in Table 13 are the four items which constitute this subscale. While the items are moder-ately correlated, they are quite parallel and homogeneous in content.

Table 11. Items which constitute the Luck subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other internal-external subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.*

Item No.		Item
214	a.	Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
	b.	Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.
223	a.	Many times I feel that I have little influences over the things that happen to me.
	b.	It is impossible for me to believe that change or luck plays an important role in my life.
213	a.	In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
	b.	Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
226	a.	What happens to me is my own doing.
	b.	Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
216	a.	Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
	b.	There really is no such thing as "luck."
211	a.	When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
	b.	It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

	214	223	213	226	216	211	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
							Intercorrelations
214	39	42	31	35	29	17	62	24	24	68	27	31	-22	-10	-09	-07
223	42	33	26	33	22	24	58	24	05	27	23	07	-13	00	04	-01
213	31	26	32	31	29	27	57	20	12	52	18	29	-04	-04	02	03
226	35	33	31	30	16	26	55	25	23	45	33	32	00	00	-09	-15
216	29	22	29	16	16	14	40	05	15	44	08	24	03	12	19	18
211	17	24	27	26	14	16	39	12	25	36	43	00	00	12	17	01

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
214	34	66
223	53	47
213	80	20
226	55	45
216	67	33
211	64	36

*Items reflected so internal = high; see footnote on Table 10.

Table 12. Items which constitute the grades subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other internal-external subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.*

Item No.	Item
221. a.	Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
b.	There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
208. a.	In the case of the well-prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
b.	Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.

						Intercorrelations						
	221	208	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
221.	59	57	29	76	39	58	13	-01	-13	06	07	-14
208.	57	59	25	76	29	65	21	-02	-12	-07	-03	-04

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
221.	52	48
208.	40	60

*Items reflected so that internal = high; see footnote on Table 10.

The theme of the cluster is how much one's friendship depends upon one's own efforts to make friends. A large majority of the subjects (85%) manifest a sense of pessimism in that they are of the opinion that regardless of how hard a person tries, his worth as an individual is not likely to be recognized. However, 71% of the subjects entertain the view that people are lonely because they neither try to be friendly nor understand how to get along with people.

Table 13. Items which constitute the friends subscale, intercorrela-
tions between the items and the other internal-external
subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.*

Item No.	Item

218. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

202. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unre-cognized no matter how hard he tries.

224. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

205. a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

	218	202	224	205	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
					Intercorrelations									
218.		27	17	25	25	12	25	52	34	09	10	-08	-15	-02	-08
202.		17	21	24	19	16	17	45	47	24	10	06	05	12	-12
224.		25	24	19	10	17	09	43	26	14	09	-07	-05	16	-25
205.		25	19	10	15	15	28	38	21	14	14	-06	06	03	01

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
218.	56	44
202.	15	85
224.	77	23
205.	36	64

*Items reflected so internal = high; see footnote on Table 10.

Achievement.--The two items which make up this sub-
scale are presented in Table 14. They are moderately
correlated and perfectly parallel.

The theme of this cluster is that in becoming
successful, ability is not as important as being in the
right place at the right time. Sixty percent of the subjects
see this fortuitousness in terms of getting a good job, and
64% see it in terms of attaining positions of leadership.

Politics.--Presented in Table 15 are the four
items which constitute this subscale. The items are
nicely correlated and parallel.

The content refers to the distribution of politi-
cal power and the quality of government. The subjects
are divided evenly in their views on the control of govern-
ment. While approximately one-half the subjects are of
the opinion that they are victims of forces they can
neither understand nor control, the other half are of the
opinion that if the people take an active part in politi-
cal and social affairs, they will be in a position to con-
trol events and eventually wipe out political corruption.
The overwhelming majority of subjects (75%), however,
entertains the view that although the government is run
by a few people in power, in the long run the people are
responsible for the quality of government.

Table 14. Items which constitute the achievement subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other internal-external subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.*

Item No.	Item
209.	a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it.
	b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
229.	a. Leadership positions tend to go to capable people who deserve being chosen.
	b. It's hard to know why some people get leadership positions and others don't; ability doesn't seem to be the important factor.

Intercorrelations

	209	229	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
209.	24	19	41	30	26	46	28	30	-18	-15	-07	-12
229.	19	24	40	45	40	46	27	28	-23	-08	-21	01

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
209.	40	60
229.	36	64

*Items reflected so internal = high; see footnote on Table 10.

Table 15. Items which constitute the politics subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other internal-external subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.*

Item No.		Item
220.	a.	With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
	b.	It is difficult for people to have much control over things politicians do in office.
210.	a.	The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
	b.	This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
215.	a.	As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
	b.	By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
227.	a.	Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
	b.	In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

Intercorrelations

	220	210	215	227	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
220.	47	48	33	32	23	16	30	32	69	24	06	-05	11	-32
221.	48	40	37	22	33	16	18	46	63	07	-11	16	-02	-20
215.	33	37	32	29	34	04	18	25	57	02	-07	12	05	-32
227.	32	22	29	20	23	17	14	35	45	02	-09	-10	-01	-06

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
220.	49	51
210.	25	75
215.	59	41
227.	27	73

*Items reflected so internal = high; see footnote on Table 10.

Table 16. Items which constitute the breaks subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other internal-external subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.*

Item No.	Item
228.	a. People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way.
	b. Some people just don't use the breaks that come their way. If they don't do well, it's their own fault.
230.	a. Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead.
	b. People will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it.

			Intercorrelations									
	228	230	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
228.	31	26	12	-01	12	46	17	54	-42	-18	-27	-15
230.	26	31	30	-01	13	21	-01	54	-38	-13	04	-01

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
228.	91	09
230.	73	27

*Items reflected so internal = high; see footnote on Table 10.

Breaks.--The two items which make up this subscale are presented in Table 16. They are moderately correlated and perfectly parallel.

The theme of these items addresses the ingredients of getting ahead in life. The vast majority of subjects (91%) are of the opinion that people who fail to do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just do not come their way. While 27% think that knowing the right people has

nothing to do with getting ahead, 73% are of the view that knowing the right people is crucial in deciding whether a person will succeed in getting ahead. It should not be surprising that the items in this cluster are well correlated with the achievement subscale.

Initiative vs. Discrimination.--Presented in Table 17 are the four items which make up this subscale. They are moderately correlated and perfectly parallel.

The theme of this set of items is racial discrimination between Afro-Americans and whites. While 77% of the subjects are of the view that if an Afro-American and a white both qualify for a job, the white person will invariably get the job, 94% of the subjects are of the opinion that, whereas qualified Afro-Americans cannot get a good job, qualified whites have no trouble. Moreover, 87% are of the opinion that racial discrimination is so prevalent that regardless of how well qualified and "proper" an Afro-American may be, he will still meet serious discrimination. Finally, 55% of the subjects are of the opinion that many Afro-Americans are well trained but do not get the opportunities, and 45% feel that Afro-Americans are not prepared to make use of opportunities that do come their way.

Individual Effort vs. Group Effort.--The three items which constitute this subscale are presented in Table 18. They are highly correlated and perfectly parallel.

Table 17. Items which constitute the initiative versus discrimination subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other internal-external subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.*

Item No.	Item
239. a.	Many Negroes have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better.
b.	When two qualified people, one Negro and one white, are considered for the same job, the Negro won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.
233. a.	It's lack of skill and abilities that keeps many Negroes from getting a job. It's not just because they're Negro. When a Negro is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.
b.	Many qualified Negroes can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.
236. a.	Many Negroes who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to whites.
b.	Negroes may not have the same opportunities as whites, but many Negroes haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.
241. a.	The attempt to "fit-in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Negroes. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're Negro.
b.	The problem for many Negroes is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Negro who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.

Intercorrelations

	239	233	236	241	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
239.	39	29	33	24	-24	-12	-01	-62	-22	-40	63	30	39	29
233.	29	25	24	21	04	-18	01	04	02	-36	50	39	44	30
236.	33	24	23	15	-04	02	-07	-08	03	-48	48	37	25	21
241.	24	21	15	15	01	-06	-10	-24	00	-22	38	40	41	33

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
239.	23	77
233.	06	94
236.	55	45
241.	87	13

*Items reflected so militant = high; see footnote on Table 10.

Table 18. Items which constitute the individual effort versus group
effort subscale, intercorrelations between the items and
the other internal-external subscales, and distribution
of responses to each item.*

Item No.	Item
234. a.	The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual Negro to make sure he gets the best training possible for what he wants to do.
b.	Only if Negroes pull together in civil rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.
235. a.	The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.
b.	The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Negro to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified white person.
242. a.	Discrimination affects all Negroes. The only way to handle it is for Negroes to organize together and demand rights for all Negroes.
b.	Discrimination may affect all Negroes but the best way to handle it is for each individual Negro to act like any other American-to work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.

Intercorrelations

	234	235	242	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
234.	62	46	31	-06	-01	-12	-21	-10	-18	44	81	47	26
235.	46	31	17	09	00	05	-07	05	-09	32	54	47	27
242.	31	17	14	04	00	-02	-13	14	-22	49	36	46	27

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
234.	27	73
235.	77	23
242.	93	07

*Items reflected so militant = high; see footnote on Table 10.

The majority of subjects (75%) feel that Afro-Americans must pull together in civil rights groups and apply pressure and social action in order to overcome discrimination, and 25% feel the best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual Afro-American to get good training and be more qualified than the most qualified white person. While 7% endorse the idea that each individual Afro-American should act like any other American and mind his own business, 93% of the subjects reject this view.

Negotiation vs. Protest.--Presented in Table 19 are the three items which constitute this subscale. The items are quite parallel and homogeneous in content.

Most subjects (83%) believe that there are few situations of racial discrimination that could not be handled by negotiation. Thus, if Afro-Americans and whites tried talking and understanding, the problem of racial discrimination would be resolved. While 83% feel Afro-Americans would be better off if there were fewer demonstrations, 17% are of the opinion that the only way to gain civil rights is by constant protest and pressure.

Optimism vs. Pessimism.--The three items which make up this subscale are found in Table 20. They are well correlated, nicely parallel, and quite homogeneous in content.

Table 19. Items which constitute the negotiation versus protest sub-
scale, intercorrelations between the items and the other
internal-external subscales, and distribution of responses
to each item.*

Item No.	Item

238. a. Depending on bi-racial committees is just a dodge. Talking
and understanding without constant protest and pressure will
never solve problems of discrimination.
b. Talking and understanding as opposed to protest and pressure
is the best way to solve racial discrimination.

240. a. Organized action is one approach to handling discrimination,
but there are probably very few situations that couldn't be
handled better by Negro leaders talking to white leaders.
b. Most discriminatory situations simply can't be handled with-
out organized pressure and group action.

237. a. Negroes would be better off and the cause of civil rights ad-
vanced if there were fewer demonstrations.
b. The only way Negroes will gain their civil rights is by con-
stant protest and pressure.

Intercorrelations

	238	240	237	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
238.		17	17	13	07	12	03	-03	04	-26	20	26	41	11
240.	17		17	13	00	-02	11	-26	00	-13	52	45	41	18
237.	13	13		12	02	-07	05	-06	03	14	14	23	33	-12

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
238.	05	95
240.	83	17
237.	83	17

*Items reflected so militant = high; see footnote on Table 10.

Table 20. Items which constitute the optimism versus pessimism sub-
scale, intercorrelations between the items and the other
internal-external subscales, and distribution of responses
to each item.*

Item No.	Item

232. a. The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with
enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial
discrimination.
b. We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part
of human nature.

231. a. Racial discrimination is here to stay.
b. People may be prejudiced but it's possible for American
society to completely rid itself of open discrimination.

243. a. The so-called "white backlash" shows once again that whites
are so opposed to Negroes getting their rights that it's prac-
tically impossible to end discrimination in America.
b. The so-called "white backlash" has been exaggerated. Certainly
enough whites support the goals of the Negro's cause for
Americans to see considerable progress in wiping out discrimi-
nation.

	Intercorrelations												
	232	231	243	LK	GS	FS	ACH	POL	BK	ID	IG	NP	OP
232.	49	42	32	04	-04	-10	-04	-23	09	14	28	-06	70
231.	42	35	25	08	-09	-12	-04	-18	-01	26	24	20	59
243.	32	25	22	-13	-04	-22	-22	-26	-33	59	29	15	46

	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)	
	Endorse-A	Endorse-B
232.	22	78
231.	51	49
243.	85	15

*Items reflected so militant = high; see footnote on Table 10.

Seventy-eight percent of the subjects believe that discrimination is part of human nature and, therefore, we will never be completely free of it, and 85% believe that whites are so opposed to equal rights it is practically impossible to resolve the problem of racial discrimination. Only 49% believe open discrimination will be eliminated.

Family Ideology

The 62-item Family Ideology Scale broke into eight subscales which used 32 items. The remaining 30 items were placed in a residual set. The subscales generated from analyses were:

1. Autocratic Child-Rearing Practices (ACR): Parent is authoritarian and allows no room for individualism.

2. Sexual Morality (SM): Preservation of traditional moral conduct in sexual matters.

3. Traditional Female Role (TFR): Belief in traditional and conventional roles for females.

4. Denial of Verbal Expression (DVE): Children denied verbal expression of opinions which differ from those of parent.

5. Divorce (DIV): Cause of divorce attributed to failure of spouses to try hard.

6. Male Dominance (MD): Acknowledgment of male as head of household.

7. <u>Democratic Parent (DP)</u>: Subject's parent is perceived as democratic figure; all family members take part in decision-making process.

8. <u>Democratic Self (DS)</u>: Subject perceives self as democratic figure; all family members take part in decision-making process and are allowed to take issue with household rules and regulations.

Presented in Table 21 are the subscales and, for each subscale, the number of items, mean, standard deviation, Alpha coefficients of reliability, and intercorrelations with other Family Ideology subscales. The means are quite large for Democratic Self (3.33) and Male Dominance (2.97), and moderately large for Denial of Verbal Expression (2.12) and Democratic Parent (2.10) indicating that a majority of the subjects agree with the content of these subscales. The means for the remaining subscales are rather low, indicating that most subjects disagree with the content of those subscales. The variances are somewhat low and suggest that the tendencies on the part of most subjects to disagree or agree are fairly consistent. The reliabilities are fairly high considering the number of items in the subscales.

Inspection of the correlation matrix discloses that the Family Ideology Scale manifests a "rank 1" or single common factor pattern. Thus, while autocratic

Table 21. Number of items, means, standard deviations, alpha coefficients of reliability, and inter-correlations among the Family Ideology Subscales (Afro-American subjects: N = 155; $r_{.05}$ = .16).*

Subscale	Number of Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Reliability	ACR	SM
Autocratic Child-rearing	4	1.57	.42	.63	100	50
Sexual Morality	6	.92	.42	.68	50	100
Traditional Female Role	5	1.01	.44	.67	48	41
Denial of Verbal Expression	2	2.12	.67	.74	27	22
Divorce	3	1.87	.53	.69	25	22
Male Dominance	3	2.97	.52	.68	13	06
Democratic Parent	4	2.10	.49	.69	18	14
Democratic Self**	5	3.33	.38	.62	-16	-08

*The statistics on this table are based on a scale from 0 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree; the individual responses were averaged rather than summed.

**High scores on all Family Ideology scales except Democratic Self tend to reflect a traditional and/or conservative ideology; high scores on the Democratic Self subscale, however, reflect a subject's endorsement of a liberal position on parent-child and other familial interactions. This accounts for the negative correlations of this subscale as compared to mainly positive correlations on other subscales.

Intercorrelations						Intercorrelations Corrected for Attenuation							
TFR	DVE	DIV	MD	DP	DS	ACR	SM	TFR	DVE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
48	27	25	13	18	-16	--	76	74	39	37	19	26	-26
41	22	22	06	14	-08	76	--	60	31	32	09	20	-13
100	29	24	26	01	-26	74	60	--	40	34	38	02	-40
29	100	13	01	07	-22	39	31	40	--	18	02	10	-33
24	13	100	13	-06	-03	37	32	34	18	--	18	-08	-04
26	01	13	100	-13	-09	19	09	38	02	18	--	-19	-14
01	07	-06	-13	100	22	26	20	02	10	-08	-19	--	33
-26	-22	-03	-09	22	100	-26	-13	-40	-33	-04	-14	33	--

Child-Rearing, Sexual Morality, and Traditional Female Role correlate highly with each other, there is a gradual decrease in value for Denial of Verbal Expression, Divorce, Male Dominance and Democratic Parent, until we finally find negative coefficients for Democratic Self.

Autocratic Child-Rearing Practices.--Table 22 presents the items which constitute this subscale. The inter-item correlations are moderately high, the items are almost perfectly parallel, and the content of the items is quite homogeneous. High scores on this subscale view parent-child relationships as autocratic in nature. Most of the subjects (65%), however, disagree with this approach to child-rearing. Thus, it is not their preferred approach to child-rearing to have the child obey immediately, not having to be told twice, and, moreover, to conform to the ideas of the parent. Instead, the subjects take the position that the parent ought to allow for individualism on the part of the developing child. In spite of these non-autocratic attitudes, 48% of the subjects agree with the idea that "mother knows best."

Sexual Morality.--Table 23 presents the six items which constitute this subscale. The intercorrelations among the items are moderately high, and the items are perfectly parallel.

The most salient theme running through the content of these items has to do with preserving the traditional

Table 22. Items which constitute the Autocratic Child-
Rearing Subscale, intercorrelations between the
items and the other Family Ideology Subscales,
and distribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
80.	It helps the child in the long run if he is made to conform to his parent's ideas.
66.	There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
61.	A well-raised child is one who does not have to be told twice to do something.
47.	The saying, "Mother knoew best," still has more than a grain of truth.

Item No.	80	66	61	47	ACR	SM	TFR	DVE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
80	35	35	33	28	59	45	59	31	29	05	08	-32
66	35	32	26	31	56	52	45	27	24	10	33	-02
61	33	26	28	28	53	37	37	18	11	16	14	-21
47	28	31	28	27	52	33	22	10	18	13	01	00

The header for the above table reads "Intercorrelations" spanning the data columns.

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
80	42	31	14	12	01
66	25	25	18	15	17
61	37	28	12	19	04
47	07	19	26	33	15

Table 23. Items which constitute the Sexual Morality Sub-
scale, intercorrelations between the items and
the other Family Ideology Subscales, and distri-
bution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
58.	There is a lot of evidence such as the Kinsey Report which shows we have to crack down harder on young people to save our moral standards.
67.	One of the worst problems in our society today is "free love," because it mars the true value of sex relations.
75.	Petting is something a nice girl would not want to do.
64.	A man can scarcely maintain respect for his fiancee if they have sexual relations before they are married.
68.	The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.

Item No.	58	67	75	64	68	ACR	SM	TFR	DVE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
58	38	46	35	18	28	49	61	38	30	22	-01	10	-16
67	46	37	24	31	26	30	61	22	23	06	00	17	-01
75	35	24	34	43	21	46	59	45	-04	22	-03	06	-14
64	18	31	43	21	17	19	46	28	08	15	19	09	-06
68	28	26	21	17	18	40	43	34	17	15	12	13	-06

Intercorrelations

Item No.	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
58	50	26	15	07	02
67	33	24	23	10	10
75	61	20	14	02	03
64	67	17	08	03	05
68	56	13	17	06	08

Distribution of Responses to Items (%)

moral conduct of our society relative to sexual matters.
Specifically, there is a need to crack down on young people
because they are given to "free love," petting, and pre-
marital sexual relations. Most subjects fail to see such
a need, and disagree with all six items. They tend to
take a much more liberal stance, particularly when it comes
to petting and pre-marital sexual relations.

Traditional Female Role.--Presented in Table 24
are the five items which make up this subscale. The items
have moderately high intercorrelations and are perfectly
parallel.

The content of these items is quite homogeneous,
and centers about the more traditional and conventional
roles females have been led to play in this society. The
items depict women as being more emotional than intellec-
tual, thereby making it rather unnatural for them to be
in positions of authority over men, pursuing professional
careers, and voting independently. Rather, women are
better off staying at home and, moreover, obeying the
husband. Thus, this set of items points to many of the
specific issues raised by the current women's liberation
movement. Most subjects apparently endorse, or are sympa-
thetic to, the women's liberation movement, for they
strongly disagree with this traditional and conventional
female role.

Table 24. Items which constitute the Traditional Female
Role Subscale, intercorrelations between the
items and the other Family Ideology Subscales,
and distribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
73.	It goes against nature to place women in positions of authority over men.
82.	Women think less clearly than men and are more emotional.
46.	Women who want to remove the word obey from the marriage service do not understand what it means to be a wife.
81.	Almost any woman is better off in the home than in a job or profession.
74.	A wife does better to vote the way her husband does, because he probably knows more about such things.

Item No.	73	82	46	81	74	ACR	SM	TFR	DVE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
73	40	33	44	23	32	40	47	64	31	13	18	04	-14
82	33	37	38	32	25	28	15	61	22	18	28	-02	-36
46	44	38	36	27	18	36	25	60	21	27	27	-09	-08
81	23	32	27	21	21	58	38	45	14	25	25	17	-20
74	32	25	18	21	18	38	38	42	20	10	05	-05	-30

Item No.	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
73	50	19	16	07	08
82	44	20	13	18	05
46	33	14	32	14	07
81	52	28	12	05	03
74	71	18	05	03	03

Denial of Verbal Expression.--Table 25 presents the
items which make up the Denial of Verbal Expression subscale.
These items are highly correlated, perfectly parallel, and
perfectly homogeneous in content. Endorsement of these
items indicate that if parents want to maintain the respect
of their children, they must deny them verbal expression of
differences in opinion. Implicit in this set of items is
the notion that the parents "know best." Thus, this cluster
has a specifically authoritarian flavor. Many of the sub-
jects (52%) agree with the idea that children should not be
allowed to "talk back" to their parents; they are somewhat
divided on the question of whether a child will lose
respect for the parent if he "talks back." Forty-seven
percent are of the opinion that the child will not lose
respect, and 37% feel they will lose respect.

Divorce.--Table 26 presents the items which make
up this subscale, the items being nicely correlated and
parallel. Although each item deals with attitude toward
divorce, each item refers to a different person, namely,
mother, father, and self. While 44% of the mothers and
39% of the fathers disagree with the idea that people who
get divorced usually did not try hard enough, 75% of the
subjects disagree with this idea. The positive correla-
tions indicate that if the mother and father are sympathetic
about the causes of divorce, the subject himself is more

Table 25. Items which constitute the Denial of Verbal Expression subscale, intercorrelations between the items and the other Family Ideology subscales, and distribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
41.	I feel that children should not be allowed to "talk-back" to their parents.
54.	If a child is allowed to talk back to his parents, he will lose respect for them.

Item. No.	Intercorrelations									
	41	54	ACR	SM	TFR	DVE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
41	61	58	28	22	30	77	17	03	06	-31
54	58	61	32	26	31	77	10	00	09	-19

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
41	01	11	36	27	25
54	23	24	16	23	14

Table 26.   Items which constitute the Divorce subscale,
             intercorrelations between the items and the
             other Family Ideology subscales, and distribu-
             tion of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
85.	My mother was of the opinion that people who get divorced usually did not try hard enough to make the marriage work.
92.	My father was of the opinion that people who get divorced usually did not try hard enough to make the marriage work.
38.	I feel that people who get divorced usually did not try hard enough to make the marriage work.

Item No.	Intercorrelations										
	85	92	38	ACR	SM	TFR	VE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
85	58	47	46	20	23	18	12	77	03	-04	-02
92	47	37	34	28	19	18	08	60	07	-02	02
38	46	34	36	25	21	31	15	59	26	-09	-09

Item. No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
85	28	16	26	16	14
92	18	21	34	14	13
38	64	11	14	05	06

likely to be sympathetic. The subjects, moreover, tend to be influenced only slightly more by the mother than by the father.

Male Dominance.--Table 27 presents the items which make up this subscale. The items are well correlated with one another and are perfectly parallel.

These items ask whether the man should be the head of the household. Again we observe some transfer across generations and the influence of the mother. While 70% of the mothers agree with the idea that the man should be head of the household, 91% of the subjects endorse this idea.

Democratic Parent.--The items which constitute this subscale are found in Table 28. They correlate well with one another, and the correlations of each item with the other subscales are quite consistent.

There is a democratic theme running through the content of all the items which refers back to the subject's family of origin. Endorsement of these items means the family in which the subject was reared tended to be democratic, while disagreement with the items means the subject comes from a nondemocratic family. Thus, by endorsement of these items, 51% of the subjects reveal an exposure to a familial atmosphere and social system which was basically democratic. Children were allowed to voice their opinions, and mother and father shared in financial transactions. An interesting observation is that some of the subjects were

Table 27. Items which constitute the Male Dominance sub-
scale, intercorrelations between the items and
the other Family Ideology subscales, and dis-
tribution of responses to each item.

Item. No.	Item

36. I feel that the man should be the head of the house-
hold.

49. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and
large the husband ought to have the main say-so in
family matters.

91. My mother thought the man should be the head of the
household.

Item No.	Intercorrelations										
	36	49	91	ACR	SM	TFR	DVE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
36	50	48	39	07	02	18	00	11	71	-14	03
49	48	46	37	12	-05	30	07	08	68	-29	-30
91	39	37	31	18	20	25	-03	17	55	06	-01

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
36	01	03	05	23	68
49	13	14	10	26	37
91	07	06	17	29	41

Table 28. Items which constitute the Democratic Parent
subscale, intercorrelations between the items
and the other Family Ideology subscales, and
distribution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
83.	When situations concerning the entire family arose, my parents would allow all the members to participate in the decisions.
89.	My parents would take their children's opinion into account whenever a decision was made that directly concerned them.
84.	When it came to matters of money, my mother's opinion carried as much, or more, weight as my father's opinion.
93.	My parents would generally allow their children to gripe about certain household rules and regulations.

Item No.	Intercorrelations											
	83	89	84	93	ACR	SM	TFR	VE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
83	62	57	38	36	30	18	-02	08	03	-17	79	28
89	57	48	32	31	25	13	02	07	-10	-01	69	13
84	38	32	23	22	09	15	09	06	00	-12	48	23
93	36	31	22	21	00	02	-05	03	-13	-16	46	17

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
83	31	20	08	25	16
89	19	16	10	31	24
84	15	14	15	23	33
93	27	12	09	35	17

allowed to voice their opinions, but their opinions were
not taken into account when the final decision was made.
In addition, a significant proportion of the subjects
(39%) report having fairly nondemocratic families of
origin.

Democratic Self.--The items which form this sub-
scale are found in Table 29. The intercorrelations are
moderately high and the items are quite parallel.

Endorsement of these items means the subject views
himself or herself as applying various democratic principles
in the household. A great majority of the subjects (82%)
take a democratic posture. Thus, there is strong endorse-
ment that all members of the household, including the
children, should participate in the decision-making pro-
cess, that the opinion of the wife should carry as much
weight as that of the husband, and that members of the
family, particularly the children, should be allowed to
take issue with certain household rules and regulations.
An average of only 7% of the subjects disagree with these
views.

New Left.--In forming clusters of this scale the
criterion shifted such that instead of the scale being
clustered in its own right, clusters were formed which
approximated the militant and conservative clusters of
the Afro-American subjects. Thus, the 62-item New Left
Scale is represented by three subscales which used 17 items.

Table 29. Items which constitute the Democratic Self* sub-
scale, intercorrelations between the items and
the other Family Ideology subscales, and distri-
bution of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
33.	When situations concerning the entire family arise, I feel all the members should be allowed to partici- pate in the decision.
37.	When it comes to matters of money, I feel that the opinion of the wife should carry as much weight as the opinion of the husband.
35.	My children's opinions are taken into account whenever a decision is made that directly concerns them.
34.	I generally allow my children to gripe about certain household rules and regulations.
40.	On days in which I have little or no work to do, I usually spend the time with my family.

Item No.	33	37	35	34	40	ACR	SM	TFR	DVE	DIV	MD	DP	DS
33	31	39	19	20	28	-07	00	-17	-11	05	-06	24	55
37	39	28	20	16	27	10	10	-15	00	02	-24	22	53
35	19	20	23	39	18	-04	-10	-07	-13	04	20	10	48
34	20	16	39	21	18	-37	-27	-36	-43	-09	-08	14	46
40	28	27	18	18	20	-25	-06	-24	-14	-13	-17	13	45

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
33	01	03	04	24	68
37	03	04	05	23	65
35	03	04	14	20	59
34	08	06	25	26	35
40	01	01	10	24	64

*High scores on all Family Ideology scales except
Democratic Self tend to reflect a traditional and/or con-
servative ideology; high scores on the Democratic Self sub-
scales, however, reflect a subject's endorsement of a
liberal position on parent-child and other familial inter-
actions. This accounts for the negative correlations of
this subscale as compared to mainly positive correlations on
other subscales.

A total of 44 items were placed in a residual set. The
three subscales generated from analysis were:

1. <u>Militant Left (ML)</u>: A need for restructuring
   of the basic institutions; bureaucracy is
   detrimental to living a spontaneous life.

2. <u>Moderate Middle (MM)</u>: Compromise is essential.

3. <u>Conservative Right (CR)</u>: Rejection of violence
   and disruption; before change comes about one
   must exhaust all legitimate channels.

Presented in Table 30 are the subscales and, for
each subscale, the number of items, mean, standard devia-
tion, Alpha coefficient of reliability, and intercorrelation
among the subscales. There is substantial variance around
the subjects' responses, and the means indicate that the
majority of subjects tend to cluster around the moderate
middle stance. It can be seen that the reliabilities for
Militant Left and Conservative Right have the same high
value, the Moderate Middle having a fewer number of items
and thus a reliability that is somewhat lower than that
of the other two clusters. Inspection of the correla-
tions suggest that the New Left Scale is somewhat hetero-
geneous in nature. While Moderate Middle and Conservative
Right are positively correlated with each other, they are
negatively correlated with Militant Left.

<u>Militant Left</u>.--The seven items which constitute
this subscale are found in Table 31. The items are highly

Table 30. Number of items, means, standard deviations, alpha coefficients of reliability, and intercorrelations among the New Left subscales (white subjects: N = 100; $r_{.05}$ = .20).*

Subscale	Number of Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Reliability	Intercorrelation			Intercorrelation Corrected for Attenuation		
					ML	MM	CR	ML	MM	CR
Militant Left	7	1.53	.85	.82	100	-50	-57	--	-67	-69
Moderate Middle	4	2.59	.77	.67	-50	100	47	-67	--	63
Conservative Right	6	1.98	.87	.81	-57	47	100	-69	63	--

*The statistics on this table are based on a scale from 0 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree; the individual responses were averaged rather than summed.

Table 31. Items which constitute the Militant Left sub-
scale, intercorrelations between the items and
the other New Left subscales, and distribution
of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
139.	A mass revolutionary party should be created.
118.	The United States needs a complete restructuring of its basic institutions.
115.	"The Establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives; we can never be free until we are rid of it.
140.	Disruption is preferable to dialogue for changing our society.
117.	You can never achieve freedom within the framework of contemporary American society.
138.	The structure of our society is such that self-alienation is inevitable.
148.	The bureaucracy of American society makes it impossible to live and work spontaneously.

Item No.	Intercorrelations									
	139	118	115	140	117	138	148	ML	MM	CR
139	51	46	46	56	45	35	36	72	-57	-51
118	46	49	44	36	46	51	36	70	-39	-51
115	46	44	44	44	44	34	35	66	-39	-59
140	56	36	44	41	29	37	38	64	-30	-36
117	45	46	44	29	34	30	29	58	-57	-37
138	35	51	34	37	30	33	31	57	-36	-38
148	36	36	35	38	29	31	28	53	-35	-33

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
139	37	28	20	10	05
118	13	27	11	29	20
115	32	37	15	14	02
140	50	26	15	06	03
117	28	36	17	14	05
138	12	31	27	20	10
148	13	24	12	36	15

correlated, perfectly parallel, and fairly homogeneous in content.

The theme of this set of items is revolution. The "Establishment" is perceived as unfairly controlling one's life to such an extent that one cannot live and work spontaneously. The items state that freedom from these feelings of alienation cannot be achieved within the current framework of the society; that one has no alternative but to develop a mass revolutionary party and generate disruption sufficient enough to restructure completely the basic institutions of the society.

Moderate Middle.--Table 32 presents the four items which make up this subscale. The items are nicely correlated and, except for item 127, perfectly parallel. While item 127 is consistent with the other items, relative to a moderate ideology, it introduces a racial factor which may account for its failure to be consistent with the other items relative to correlation with the other subscales.

The theme inherent in this set of items has to do with a plea for compromise, a theme that is readily accepted by most of the subjects. The American society is pictured as a representative democracy which allows for modification of institutions so that they can incorporate blacks on an equal basis and, in general, respond to the needs of the people. Disruption and revolution are rejected as appropriate means to bring about change. The traditional

Table 32. Items which constitute the Moderate Middle sub-
scale, intercorrelations between the items and
the other New Left subscales, and distribution
of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
108.	Compromise is essential for progress.
127.	It is possible to modify our institutions so that the blacks can be incorporated on an equal basis into our contemporary society.
119.	The courts are a useful vehicle for responsible change.
103.	Representative democracy can respond effectively to the needs of the people.

Item No.	Intercorrelations						
	108	127	119	103	ML	MM	CR
108	48	37	40	37	-47	69	45
127	37	37	34	34	-17	61	19
119	40	34	28	21	-50	53	45
103	37	34	21	25	-41	50	39

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
108	03	07	10	48	32
127	04	11	14	41	30
119	06	23	23	41	07
103	03	27	11	41	18

American vehicles responsible for change, namely the
judicial system and the legislative, are seen as respon-
sible and effective by 51% of the subjects, while 29%
disagree with this position.

Conservative Right.--Presented in Table 33 are the
items which constitute this subscale. They are highly cor-
related with one another and quite consistent in their
correlations with the other subscales.

In this set of items, the American society is
pictured as a fair society, and the existence of long-
standing norms demonstrate their value in maintaining
this fairness within the society. It is a society, more-
over, in which people who work hard tend to reap the full
benefits of the society. Most subjects tend to disagree
with these notions. While they may see a need for change,
they are rather conservative in their approach. Thus,
violence and disruption are not justified, for there are
legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted
before one contemplates disruptive tactics.

Synthesis of the Data: Main Findings

With the completion of cluster analyses of the
four global scales, a more detailed and sophisticated look
at the characteristics of the data is now possible. In the
previous section we examined the subjects' responses and
attitudes along variables of differing content, and

Table 33. Items which constitute the Conservative Right
subscale, intercorrelations between the items
and the other New Left subscales, and distribu-
tion of responses to each item.

Item No.	Item
144.	The very existence of our long-standing social norms demonstrate their value.
105.	If people worked hard at their jobs, they would reap the full benefits of our society.
104.	Although our society has to be changed, violence is not a justified means.
101.	Police should not hesitate to use force to maintain order.
98.	There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption.
121.	The right to private property is sacred.

Item No.	Intercorrelations								
	144	105	104	101	98	121	ML	MM	CR
144	56	58	48	46	41	38	-41	41	75
105	58	49	35	58	30	38	-41	14	70
104	48	35	43	36	53	36	-49	60	66
101	46	58	36	38	23	35	-42	39	62
98	41	30	53	23	32	38	-56	57	62
121	38	38	36	35	38	32	-39	28	56

Item No.	Distribution of Responses to Items (%)				
	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree
144	27	35	14	20	04
105	40	29	13	15	03
104	04	16	10	30	40
101	36	34	09	15	06
98	01	09	09	36	45
121	17	24	15	23	21

generated 29 clusters from the four different scales:

Black Consciousness (8), Internal-External Control (10),

Family Ideology (8), and New Left (3). In the present

section we give attention to the main findings by

examining the relationships within the total set of 29

clusters. First the correlations between the 29 clusters

defined in the previous section are presented and dis-

cussed as a group; we then establish that these 29

clusters can be collapsed into five global variables,

or "superclusters;" subsequent to discussion of the

superclusters, we address ourselves to the relationships

between the superclusters and the biographic-demographic

data.

Formation of the Superclusters

Presented in Table 34 are the intercorrelations

of the Black Consciousness and New Left subscales with

the Internal-External and Family Ideology subscales.

Looking down the first three columns it can be seen that

Separation, Militant Methods, and Preference for Own Race

are almost perfectly parallel and therefore can be col-

lapsed with little loss of meaning into one supercluster

making for easier interpretation. All three of these

subscales have low negative correlations with four of the

Rotter internal-external subscales (LK, GS, ACH, POL),

moderately high negative correlations with the remaining

Table 34. Intercorrelations of the Black Consciousness and New Left subscales with the Internal-External and Family Ideology subscales.

Sub-scales	Black Consciousness[a]								New Left[b]		
	Sep.	MM	P-Own	Assim	Intg.	CM	ND	P-OPP	ML	MM	CR
Rotter											
LK	-06	-18	-11	04	-03	-02	13	-04	-59	54	47
GS	-12	-18	-00	10	22	26	04	-09	-60	18	75
FS	-30	-36	-44	39	42	41	29	15	-45	47	67
ACH	-17	-36	02	21	33	57	36	22	-72	39	70
POL	-12	-03	-20	11	05	13	08	-01	-45	44	44
BK	-35	-32	-34	38	34	23	55	19	-68	53	72
Gurin											
ID	58	51	31	-45	-45	-63	-74	-49	58	-35	-66
IG	42	20	24	-42	-39	-36	-33	-40	44	-33	-64
NP	36	50	17	-46	-52	-82	-47	-31	54	-51	-63
OP	67	48	38	-62	-63	-49	-49	-46	11	-45	-06
Family Ideology											
ACR	-04	-21	12	24	38	43	26	49	-33	33	84
SM	-25	-38	-06	43	53	65	34	56	-31	36	81
TFR	02	-06	-02	17	20	38	23	51	-38	33	76
DVE	-22	-16	02	21	42	33	11	24	-35	43	68
DIV	-12	-06	07	22	20	24	-02	19	-09	11	34
MD	10	10	21	-02	00	10	03	-11	-29	28	60
DP	02	06	-07	06	14	03	10	31	-01	37	13
DS*	24*	09*	15*	-20*	-20*	-34*	-15*	-34*	28*	12*	-27*

[a]Afro-American subjects: N = 155; $r_{.05}$ = .16.

[b]White subjects: N = 100; $r_{.05}$ = .20

*High scores on all Family Ideology scales except Democratic Self tend to reflect a traditional and/or conservative ideology; high scores on the Democratic Self subscale, however, reflect a subject's endorsement of a liberal position on parent-child and other familial interactions. This accounts for the reversal of pattern in the correlations of this subscale as compared to the other Family Ideology subscales.

two Rotter subscales (FS, BK), substantial positive cor-
relations with all four of the subscales that make up the
Gurin racial ideology group, and, finally, either zero
order or negative correlations with the Family Ideology
subscales.

The subscales in the next five columns in Table 34--
Assimilation, Integration, Conservative Methods, Negation
of Distance Between the Races, and Preference for Opposite
Race--also behave in a parallel fashion and can be formed
into a supercluster, thus again simplifying interpretation
of the data. Running down these columns one finds zero
order and moderately low positive correlations with the
Rotter Internal-External subscales, moderately high nega-
tive correlations with the Gurin racial ideology subscales,
and zero order or mostly low positive correlations with
the Family Ideology subscales.

The data for the white subjects on the New Left
subscales is found in the last three columns in Table 34,
and may also be combined into two superclusters. The
Militant Left subscale remains as one supercluster, while
the pattern of correlations for the Moderate Middle and
Conservative Right are so parallel that they can be com-
bined into a supercluster.

Looking at the rows in Table 34, considerable
justification is found for combining the data into three
superclusters: the Rotter Internal-External subscales;

the Gurin Race Ideology subscales, and the Family Ideology subscales. With only an occasional exception, the subscales forming each of these three superclusters show strongly parallel patterns of relationship with the subscales that form the superclusters for the Black Consciousness and New Left scales. One apparent exception to this parallelism is the last row--Democratic Self--where the sign of the correlations are the reverse of the other Family Ideology correlations. However, high score values on the Family Ideology subscales save Democratic Self all reflect traditional and/or conservative attitudes, while just the opposite is true for Democratic Self, which accounts for the apparent lack of parallelism in the Family Ideology subscales. Thus, the signs of the correlations for the Democratic Self subscale were reflected in the data on the superclusters which follow.

A few of the subscales--such as Luck in the Rotter group and Male Dominance and Democratic Parent in the Family Ideology supercluster--are essentially uncorrelated with the Black Consciousness subscales, and they could have been dropped with little loss of meaning. These scales, however, were retained because of their more sizeable correlations with the New Left subscales.

Let us now move to examination of the relationships between the superclusters.

Relationships between the
Superclusters

The mans, standard deviations, reliabilities and
correlations (both actual and corrected for attenuation)
are found in Table 35 for both the Afro-American and white
subjects. Although the meanings of the superclusters must
be derived from the items in the subscales, listed below
for convenience are the names and general descriptions of
the superclusters. The discussion that follows will employ
the correlations as corrected for attenuation, although
one may use the raw correlations to arrive at identical
conclusions.

1. Separation.--High scores indicate endorsement
of a willingness to move away from white American social
life, to employ militant methods in dealing with racial
discrimination, and to prefer being with Afro-Americans
rather than with whites; low scores mean rejection of
these views.

2. Integration.--High scores indicate a willing-
ness to move toward white American social life by means
of assimilation and integration, employment of conserva-
tive methods in dealing with racial discrimination, and
a preference for interacting with whites; low scores
indicate rejection of these views.

3. Militant Left.--High scores mean endorsement
of the view that there is a need to restructure the basic

Table 35. Means, standard deviations, alpha coefficients of reliability, and inter-correlations among the superclusters for Afro-American and white subjects.*

Afro-American Subjects (N = 155; $r_{.05}$ = .16)

Super-cluster	Mean	Standard Deviation	Reli-ability	Intercorrelations					Intercorrelations corrected for Attenuation				
				Sep.	Intg.	Int.	Gp-Ac	FI	Sep.	Intg.	Int.	Gp-Ac	FI
Separation	2.58	.72	.89	100	-77	-23	42	-09	--	-85	-29	50	-11
Integration	1.08	.59	.92	-77	100	22	-50	39	-85	--	29	-61	46
Internal	.43	.20	.77	-23	22	100	-11	10	-29	29	--	-14	14
Group Activism	.82	.19	.70	42	-50	-11	100	-30	50	-61	-14	--	-41
Family Ideology	1.71	.50	.80	-09	39	10	-30	100	-11	46	14	-41	--

White Subjects (N = 100; $r_{.05}$ = .20)

Supercluster	Mean	Standard Deviation	Reli-ability	Intercorrelations					Intercorrelations corrected for Attenuation				
				Left	Right	Int.	Mil.	FI	Left	Right	Int.	Mil.	FI
Militant Left	1.53	.83	.82	100	-56	-51	48	-30	--	-69	-67	56	-35
Conservative Right	1.98	.87	.81	-56	100	53	-58	70	-69	--	69	-69	83
Internal	.49	.21	.82	-51	53	100	-51	42	-67	69	--	-65	54
Group Activism	.62	.31	.84	48	-58	-51	100	-55	56	-69	-65	--	-65
Family Ideology	1.55	.55	.86	-30	70	42	-55	100	-35	83	54	-65	--

*The Internal supercluster is on a scale from 0 = external to 1 = internal, the militant supercluster is on a scale from 0 = conservative to 1 = militant; the remaining superclusters are on a scale from 0 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree, with 2.0 being the neutral position.

institutions of the American society, and that change cannot
take place within the current framework of the society, thus
making mass revolution and disruption necessary; low scores
indicate rejection of these views.

4. Conservative Right.--High scores indicate endorse-
ment of the view that the social institutions of the American
society are of value and that one must exhaust all legiti-
mate channels before change takes place; low scores mean
rejection of these views.

5. Internal.--High scores mean endorsement of an
internal posture such that one perceives rewards and rein-
forcements as being contingent upon one's own efforts and
attributes; low scores indicate attribution of rewards and
reinforcements to external forces such as luck and fate.

6. Group Activism.--High scores indicate a non-
violent type activism to cope with racial discrimination,
especially discrimination in employment, versus an indi-
vidual effort based upon training and skill acquisition
which by themselves may be futile. An element of cynicism
about ending racial discrimination in contemporary American
society is also reflected in high scores.

7. Family Ideology.--High scores mean endorsement
of a traditional and/or conservative family ideology in
terms of parent-child relations, the role of the female
in the household, and sexual conduct; low scores imply a
more liberal family ideology. To some extent high scores

on this supercluster reflect endorsement of autocratic child-rearing practices, but autocratically oriented subscales tend to contribute less variance to the supercluster score than do subscales emphasizing conservatism and tradition.

We begin by examining how the subjects scoring high on the Separation supercluster score on the other four superclusters. First, as a group, the Afro-American subjects agreed with items comprising the Separation scale (mean of 2.58 with 2.0 being the neutral position on a 5-point scale, and a standard deviation of only .72). Subjects who score high on Separation score low on Integration ($r = -.85$) which is hardly surprising. It is surprising, however, to find that being high on Separation is moderately, but significantly, correlated with being external on the Rotter internal-external items, for this finding contradicts the previous finding of Rotter that Afro-Americans engaging in organized action against discrimination were more internal than those who refrained from such activity. Being high on Separation correlates .50 with a preference for Group Activism. This finding makes considerable sense, for many of the items in the Separation cluster suggest that black pride and cohesiveness are needed not only to maintain self-respect and dignity, but also to combat the harmful effects of white racism.

Finally, Separation is unrelated (r = -.11, non-significant) to the conservative, traditional, and somewhat autocratic attitudes revealed through high scores on the Family Ideology cluster. It should be noted, however, that as a group the subjects score considerably above the mean on Separatism and slightly below the mean on Family Ideology. Thus, many subjects with separatist leanings tend to reject the tradition and conservatism of the Family Ideology items.

A look at the Integration scale shows that as a group the subjects score quite low (mean 1.08, σ.59), and that Integration behaves as an almost exact mirror image of the Separation scale with one exception, namely, Family Ideology. Thus, a high Integration means a moderate but significant tendency to be Internal and to be low on Group Activism. However, it must be said that high Integration does not suggest a rejection of Group Activism, because in the absolute sense the subjects as a group score very low on Integration and very high on Group Activism. Practically none of the subjects scores below the neutral point on the Group Activism cluster (mean = .82, σ = .19).

The one exception to the mirror image finding for Separation and Integration is that Integration correlates .46 with the Family Ideology cluster whereas Separation was uncorrelated with Family Ideology (r = -.11, nonsignificant). Thus, subjects high on Integration tend to

endorse more traditional and conservative, even autocratic views, about family relationships, while persons high on Separation may or may not hold such views about family interactions.

The near obverse parallelism of Separation and Integration suggests that these two scales could be combined to form two ends of a unidimensional scale ranging from a distrust of, and a desire for, separation from whites (plus a desire for black pride and solidarity) to a desire for integration of Afro-Americans into white society. The justification for keeping these two super-clusters separated is that they behave differently in relation to Family Ideology.

Turning to the white subjects, we find that Militant Left correlates with the other four clusters very much like Separatism and Conservative Right correlates very much like Integration, except that the correlations with the other clusters are considerably higher for the whites than the Afro-American subjects. Briefly, high militant Left scores correlate negatively with Conservative Right and Internal, positively with Group Activism, and negatively with Family Ideology; and the pattern for Conservative Right is just the reverse. Other than the magnitude of the correlations, the most outstanding difference between the Afro-American and the white ideology scales is that Militant Left has a moderate (-.35) and

significant negative correlation with Family Ideology, whereas the corresponding correlation for Afro-Americans (-.11) between Separation and Family Ideology is small and statistically insignificant, although also negative. Further, the positive correlation between Conservative Right and Family Ideology is much higher for whites (r = .83) than for Afro-Americans (r = .46).

It should be noted that while combining Separation and Integration into one bi-polar scale was not justified because of their nonparallel relationship to Family Ideology, the Militant Left and Conservative Right clusters for whites do behave as polar opposites in relation to all clusters, and so could be combined into one scale.

We previously noted that for Afro-Americans Separation had a negative correlation (-.29) with Rotter's Internal dimension, and that this finding is inconsistant with previous research reported by Rotter. Our data for whites reveal an even stronger tendency for high Militant Left to be associated with being more external than internal (r = -.67), with, as for Afro-Americans on Integration, just the reverse relationship holding for Conservative Right (r = .69).

Both Afro-Americans and white subjects high on Group Activism tend to be low on Internal (r = -.14, non-significant, for Afro-Americans and r = -.65 for whites).

In our data there is a tendency for persons who are suffi-
ciently dissatisfied with the American social system's
stance on discrimination so as to advocate organized
activism, to also believe their fate is determined by
luck or chance rather than being under their own control,
and this is especially true for whites. In one sense
this finding is paradoxical, since the very insistence of
the subjects upon the importance of organized activism
suggests they do believe they can influence their fate,
provided they organize and act in concert. Their endorse-
ment of external rather than internal items on the Rotter
scale suggests that as individuals they feel governed by
external forces. Also, if we consider the items which
make up the subclusters on the Internal scale, we find
if given the choice between two explanations for failure,
they tend to be more motivated to attribute responsibility
to the systematic constraining forces of racial discrimi-
nation inherent within the social system rather than to
acknowledge their own potential for controlling their fate.

Finally, we find for both Afro-Americans and whites
a positive correlation between Internal and Family Ideo-
logy (Afro-Americans .14, nonsignificant; whites .54).
That is, the more one adopts the internal orientation on
the Rotter items, the more one favors traditional and/or
conservative approaches to family interactions. This sug-
gests, although to a lesser extent than does the

relationship noted above between Group Activism and Internal, that the internal orientation is closely bound up with traditional modes of thought and action, but that this is much more the case for whites than for Afro-Americans.

Relationships between the Superclusters and Thirteen Major Biographic-Demographic Variables

Intercorrelations between the superclusters and thirteen major biographic-demographic variables are presented in Table 36. Inspection of this table discloses several very salient trends. While the Afro-American subjects' attitudes toward integration are positively related to age, their attitudes toward separation are negatively related to age. The relationships are the reverse for frequency of attending religious services, namely, positive for separation and negative for integration, meaning that separatists tend not to attend church. This trend in church attendance holds equally well for the conservative and militant white subjects.

With the exception of age and the frequency with which one attends religious service, the intercorrelations of the superclusters and the major biographic-demographic variables are all about zero. This suggests that the biographic-demographic variables have practically no

Table 36. Intercorrelations between the superclusters and thirteen major biographic-demographic variables.

Biographic-Demographic Variable	Afro-American Subjects[a]					White Subjects[b]				
	Sep	Intg.	Ing.	Gp-Ac.	Fam. Id.	Left	Right	Int.	Gp-Ac.	Fam. Id.
Sex	-01	03	18	-09	16	-01	-05	-03	-01	05
Age	-42	25	20	-23	06	03	-01	04	26	03
Pop. of Hometown	15	-03	-11	08	-10	05	-16	-02	19	-18
Geo. Loc. of Hometown	-03	14	02	01	08	10	02	-08	11	17
Father's Ed.	-01	-01	00	-03	-11	18	-19	-24	23	-29
Father's Occ.	11	-04	04	-07	03	-13	16	17	-13	28
Mother's Ed.	-08	04	-01	-06	-12	03	-15	-14	16	-27
Mother's Occ.	03	-07	05	-01	05	-10	18	16	-18	12
Family of Origin Income	-01	-06	04	05	-14	13	-22	-16	13	-31
No. of years married	-31	13	08	-19	-01	07	-16	-07	36	-15
No. of children	-11	-05	-09	-05	-22	-15	09	15	08	12
Religious Preference	03	-02	-12	-11	06	-05	14	06	05	18
Frequency attend religious ser.	32	-24	-24	19	-26	44	-46	-46	38	-47

[a] N = 155; r.05 = .16. [b] N = 100; r.05 = .20.

influence or predictive power on the attitudes tapped in the superclusters. Thus, in this sample of college students, integrationists, separationists, liberal whites, and conservative whites are as likely to be male as female, or to come from a small southern town or a large northern city. However, if we consider mother and father's level of education, occupations, and income as indices of socioeconomic status, we find that white subjects are slightly more influenced by socio-economic status than are Afro-Americans, for socio-economic status tends to vary significantly with Family Ideology.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

A number of scholars have conducted research on
Afro-Americans with the aim of delineating psychological
and behavioral characteristics peculiar to Afro-Americans
as a group. This has led many investigators to concep-
tualize Afro-Americans as a monolithic, homogeneous group
of people, and speak of a "Negro personality." The failure
to consider the heterogeneity of Afro-Americans has been
a hiatus in knowledge and understanding of intra-group
differences among Afro-Americans.

The research strategy of looking for diversity
among Afro-Americans has proved valid in the present study.
For a striking feature of our findings is that no mono-
lithic, homogeneous set of dispositions (comparable, for
example, with the concept of the "Negro personality")
emerged from the data that can characterize Afro-American
subjects as a group. A primary finding was that their
reactions to minority group status, and the discriminatory
treatment inherent within it, vary such that some subjects
are in favor of integrating and assimilating themselves
into the white dominant group, while other subjects favor

physical and social separation. These tendencies toward integration and separation suggest intra-group variance among the Afro-American subjects in terms of their choice to either move toward or move away from the source of oppression. The findings are, therefore, essentially consistent with Allport's contention that beneath the diversity of defensive maneuvers and life-styles among an oppressed group of people, there exists two rather basic defensive choices in orienting one's life.

Not only do the subjects vary in their stance on Separation and Integration, but the data also showed considerable variance among Afro-Americans in their responses on the Internal, the Group Activism, and the Family Ideology superclusters. Thus, again the data emphasize heterogeneity, not homogeneity.

On the Separation and Integration superclusters, however, the data do disclose that the majority of Afro-American subjects endorse a separatist ideology, and only a minority endorse an integrationist ideology. While still insisting upon the fallacy of ignoring the diversity inherent within the data, it is proper in one sense to speak of a general trend among Afro-Americans to emphasize separatism and racial identity. In fact, an important finding of this study is the very low mean score and standard deviation on the Integration supercluster (mean = 1.08 on a 0-4 scale; SD = .59). As a group the

Afro-American subjects reject the intergrationist approach.
In evaluating this finding, it is well to remember that
the subjects of this study are not "ghetto blacks" but
are college students well on their way to "making it"
in the American society.

When one considers the population from which these
data were drawn, namely Afro-Americans who were married,
about one-half of whom had children, and attending a pre-
dominantly white university, one finds upward social mo-
bility and racial identification operating simultaneously.
The issue of ethnic identification is, of course, currently
a controversial topic within the Afro-American community,
and Afro-Americans aspiring to middle class status fre-
quently are accused of being "bourgeois" and "carbon
copies" of whites. The Afro-American with social mobility
aspirations, moreover, is often described as patronizing
white middle-class attitudes and values. Yet, the present
study sampled Afro-Americans who are socially mobile in-
dividuals and who maintain group reference values, such
as the "natural hair" style, pride in their "blackness,"
and the belief that even the very light skinned Afro-
Americans should identify with the race. Thus, our sam-
ple fails to manifest the classic characteristics of the
"black bourgeoisie," namely, strong desires to associate
with whites, internalized negative attitudes toward fellow
Afro-Americans, and relatively weak ethnic identification
(Frazier,1957).

While the present data do not offer insight into the motivations for adopting a separatist ideology they do inform us that the majority of subjects place more emphasis on being Afro-American than on being American, feel more comfortable interacting with members of their own race than with whites, and prefer to have neighborhoods and religious services separate from whites. It is also characteristic of the separatists to entertain a sense of pride and appreciation for their African heritage and tend to accentuate their blackness by preferring to be called black rather than Negro. This set of findings, therefore, corroborates earlier observations of a current trend in "black pride and black awareness" (Edwards, 1970; Banks, 1970).

In addition, the subjects with separatist leanings reject integration and assimilation as approaches to the resolution of problems inherent within their minority group status, but rather endorse a "militant" attitude of working "outside the system." While their methods and strategies manifest a willingness to organize and buy weapons, only a small number of these separatists endorse the idea of violence and direct confrontation with the police.

The subjects who prefer to assimilate and integrate themselves into the dominant white group emphasize being American more than Afro-American, endorse interracial

dating, value working and living with whites, and prefer religious service where some of the members are white. These subjects, of course, being Afro-Americans are constantly confronted with the burden and stress of being nonwhite in a society dominated by whites, and they experience frequent disappointments in their social, economic, and political activities. Their strategy for dealing with such inequities is essentially a conservative, nonmilitant approach that operates "within the system." Thus, they tend to endorse the Protestant Ethic of hard work, and believe that more civil rights legislation and good education and training would enhance their status as Afro-Americans in American society.

The subjects high on Integration, therefore, believe they can best help themselves in the American social-political system by emphasizing training, effort, and additional civil rights legislation. Thus, implicit within this posture is a blaming of the individual for failure to succeed in life, for given training and opportunities, the rewards are presumably contingent upon one's own efforts and actions. So perhaps it is not surprising that they score in the internal directions on the Rotter internal-external items, since these items emphasize the importance of individual effort. But before discussing the specifics of the interrelationships between given clusters, let us examine the overall pattern of relationships between the superclusters.

Afro-American subjects high on Separation have a
modest but significant tendency to be external on the
Rotter items, to favor group activist methods of combating
racial discrimination, and to be neither traditional nor
liberal in their responses to the Family Ideology items.
Subjects high on Integration show just the reverse pattern,
except that on the Family Ideology items these subjects
prefer the traditional, conservative, and even somewhat
autocratic relationships between husband and wife and be-
tween parents and children. These are interesting findings
given that the Afro-American family so frequently is char-
acterized as matri-centered, with the male figure absent
or having only peripheral spousal and parental role
(Frazier, 1939; Clark, 1965; Billingsley, 1965, 1968,
1969; Moynihan, 1965).

Substituting the Militant Left and Conservative
Right superclusters for the white subjects, we find the
same pattern of interrelationships between the clusters.
The only differences between the Afro-American and white
subjects are: (1) unlike the high separatist Afro-
Americans, the high Militant Left white subjects tend to
reject the traditional, conservative style of family in-
teraction; and (2) the correlations between clusters
are considerably higher for the white than the Afro-
American subjects.

This overall pattern of interrelationships suggests
that a general disposition to respond in a traditional or
a liberal way influences the subjects' responses on all of
the scales. That is, the traditional values of this so-
ciety would encourage: (1) integrationist attitudes for
the Afro-Americans and a conservative political and social
ideology for the whites; (2) the internal response em-
phasizing individual effort and responsibility on the
Rotter internal-external scale; (3) a rejection of organ-
ized group protest and confrontation on the Gurin items;
and (4) on the Family Ideology items a preference for the
traditional female role and traditional sexual morality,
combined with the attitude in child-rearing that parents
know best. And conversely, subjects, whether Afro-
American or white, who reject these traditional values
tend to do so on all of the scales, the only exception
being that as a group Afro-Americans who are separatists
neither reject nor endorse the traditional beliefs about
family interactions. In this sense separatist Afro-
Americans are more heterogeneous in personality make-up
than their white militant-left counterparts. If one
views the separatist ideology as being left and, thus,
comparable to a new-left ideology among whites, and
conversely, an integrationist ideology as being right and
comparable to a conservative-right ideology, then the

findings on the Afro-American subjects may be attributed to the "black experience" and, in addition, to something more extant within the general society. For the data drawn from white subjects were parallel to those of the Afro-American subjects; and one is led to suspect that the relationships found among Afro-Americans reflect a general relationship between socio-political beliefs and ideologies rather than resulting from the "black experience" per se.

Why the correlations between the superclusters should be so much higher for whites than for Afro-Americans is not entirely clear. Part of this difference is a statistical artifact in that the larger the variance in a sample of subjects, the larger the correlations between variables will be, all other factors being equal. Since the variances on the Militant Left and the Conservative Right for white subjects are considerably larger than the corresponding variances for Afro-American subjects on Separation and Integration, especially for the Integration-Conservative Right clusters, we should expect larger correlations between these and the remaining superclusters. The variances are also somewhat larger for whites than Afro-Americans on the Group Activism and Family Ideology clusters, though not on the Internal cluster. While the larger variances for whites undoubtedly account for part of their larger correlations between clusters, other factors may be

operating as well. This is clearly true when we examine the correlations between Internal and Family Ideology where the variances are almost identical, yet the correlation is .14 (nonsignificant) for Afro-Americans and .54 for whites. Thus, whites who are more internal than external on the Rotter dimension are very apt to hold traditional attitudes about family interactions, but the same cannot be said for the Afro-American subjects. So once again we see a personality dimension where Afro-Americans as a group show more diversity than whites. Another way of interpreting these and the other different magnitudes in the correlations between superclusters is to suggest that Afro-Americans as a group are less likely than whites to be influenced by the general response set suggested earlier of accepting or rejecting the traditional values of American society.

This interpretation of Afro-American-white differences does not hold for their responses on the Black Consciousness and the New Left scales, for here the negative correlations between Separation-Integration are higher for Afro-Americans than the corresponding negative correlations between Militant Left - Conservative Right for whites. Afro-Americans who agree with Separation items almost invariably reject Integration items and vice versa ($f = -.85$) while whites are less extreme in this respect ($r = -.69$). Examination of the means on these

scales also reveals that Afro-Americans as a group are much more definite in their acceptance or rejection of the items, whereas comparatively, the white subjects are more nearly neutral in their responses, i.e., the means on Separation and Integration for Afro-Americans are nearer to the extremes of the five-point scale of agreement-disagreement than is true for whites on the Militant Left and Conservative Right clusters. This finding makes sense, of course, when we stop to consider that items of the Black Consciousness scale are closely related to the central life experiences of the Afro-American subjects, whereas the items of the New Left scale deal with situations that are probably more remote from everyday life for many of the white subjects. To this aspect of the discussion, we must add that it is hazardous to compare the differing magnitudes of correlations and the differing means, since in fact the Black Consciousness and New Left are different scales, even though they share common themes in many re-spects. In retrospect, it would have improved the design of the study if the Afro-Americans also responded to the items on the New Left scale.

Why in our sample of Afro-Americans do those in-dividuals who endorse a separatist ideology tend to attri-bute rewards and reinforcing events to external forces such as chance, luck, and fate (r = .29). This finding is in direct contradiction to an earlier finding by

Rotter that Afro-Americans engaging in social action-
taking <u>behavior</u> are internals - i.e., believe that re-
wards and reinforcing events are contingent upon their
own efforts and attributes. The present findings are,
however, consistent with earlier findings by Marx (1967)
and Gurin (1969). These investigators believe that the
militant is more external than the nonmilitant because
he has a broader, more liberated world outlook and a greater
sensitivity to the way in which social forces shape human
behavior, including his own. That is, the militant sees
more clearly than the nonmilitant how external forces in-
fluence his behavior and impedes his ability to achieve
personal goals. Thus, given a background of status frus-
tration and economic deprivation, the militant believes
that he cannot reach personal goals because of external
or social, or systemic constraints.

In accounting for why the present findings are
inconsistent with those of Rotter, one must consider that
Rotter related an attitude (internal-external) to behavior
(actual involvement in civil rights demonstrations), while
the present study related one set of attitudes (internal-
external) to another set of attitudes (separatism-integra-
tion). Thus, our findings would be consistent with
Rotter's findings only to the extent that attitudes of
black consciousness are equivalent to actual militant be-
havior.

Another major finding is, of course, the dichotomization of the Internal-External control scale into the Rotter items, which center about an individual effort-luck component, and the Gurin items, which focus upon individual effort versus organized group action to combat discrimination components. In that measure of internal-external control have been used to explore the contingencies between act and effect, it is essentially an expectancy variable (Gore & Rotter, 1963; Ramsford, 1968; Caplan & Paige, 1968). Rotter (1966) proposed that the potential for any behavior to occur in a given situation is a function of the person's expectancy that the given behavior will secure the available reinforcement, plus the value of that available reinforcement for the person. Gurin, on the other hand, emphasizes those achievements resulting from collective efforts of Afro-Americans, as well as achievement through individual performance and mobility.

Thus, the distinction between the Rotter and Gurin items may be viewed as the Rotter items focusing on traditional forms of achievement through individual performance and the Gurin items focusing on achievement through collective performance. The Rotter items refer explicitly to the respondent's own life situation and those which seem to tap beliefs about what causes success or failure for people generally. The Gurin items tap

specific beliefs about the role of internal and external
forces in the race situation. The direct reference to
race in these questions, moreover, is likely to have en-
couraged their clustering together when they were analyzed
in the total pool of items.

More concretely, the Gurin scale of the Group
Activism cluster gives the subject a choice between en-
dorsing organized group activism to combat racial dis-
crimination versus the alternative of agreeing with a
Rotter-like internal item that "blames" the individual
for not being sufficiently motivated, or sufficiently
skilled, or such like to overcome the effects of racial
discrimination. Perhaps this choice poses no special
problem for the subject who is external in the original
Rotter sense: he has experienced the adverse effects of
discrimination and this experience, plus his tendency
to see the events in his life as resulting from fate or
circumstances, makes the group activist's choice fairly
clear and automatic. Of course, how much he actually
devotes himself to group activism is a quite different
question that the data of this study cannot answer.

On the other hand, the choices posed by the Gurin
items place the internal subject (in the Rotter meaning)
in a quite different and more difficult situation. From
his internal orientation, he values individual effort
and sees the potential rewards that can go with training

and skill; but to select this alternative means he must

forego blaming and combating the system that, in fact,

discriminates against him and undermines his individual

efforts for self-improvement. In short, this subject

must choose between self-blame and system-blame, and as

a total group it comes as little surprise that the Afro-

American subjects score very high on Group Activism

(mean = .82; SD = .19). This dilemma posed for the

internal but not the external subjects may account for the

small negative but nonsignificant correlation between

Group Activism and Internal. It is also interesting to

speculate whether or not Afro-Americans high on both

Internal and Group Activism are the vigorous activists

in their actual behavior.

Finally, it is of interest to note that, with two

exceptions, the interrelationships between the biographic-

demographic variables and the superclusters were essential-

ly insignificant. Subjects high on Separation tend to be

younger than those who are high on Integration, and,

whether Afro-American or white, subjects who are militant

and who reject the traditional values tend to attend

church less frequently than do those subjects who are

conservative and accept traditional values. These find-

ings, of course, are consistent with earlier interpreta-

tion that there seems to be a response set for all of

our subjects to respond to in terms of acceptance or rejection of the traditional values of American society.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

A number of scholars have conducted research on Afro-Americans with the aim of delineating psychological and behavioral characteristics peculiar to Afro-Americans as a group. This has led many investigators to conceptualize Afro-Americans as a monolithic, homogeneous group of people, and speak of a "Negro personality." The failure to consider the heterogeneity of Afro-Americans has been a hiatus in knowledge and understanding of intra-group differences among Afro-Americans, a shortcoming that was clearly manifest in the failure of behavioral scientists to predict the "ghetto riots" of the 1960's and the current trend in "black awareness."

The present study was predicated on the assumption that there is diversity among Afro-Americans, as in any large group of people, and that an adequate understanding of Afro-Americans must take this heterogeneity into account. The purpose of this research was to investigate the relationships between black consciousness, internal-external control, and the extent to which one adheres to a traditional and/or conventional family

ideology. Although the primary focus of the study was on

Afro-Americans, the question was raised as to whether the

the relationships between these three variables would be

unique to the "black experience," or attributable to socio-

political forces extant within the larger society. Thus,

data were gathered on a group of whites so as to allow for

a more systematic analysis.

A sample of 78 Afro-American married couples

living in University Married Housing were administered the

following scales: Black Consciousness, Multi-Dimensional

Internal-External Control, and Family Ideology. A

control group of 50 randomly selected white married

couples also living in University Married Housing were

administered the above scales except that they responded

to a New Left scale in place of the Black Consciousness

scale. Biographic data were gathered on all subjects.

The items of the four scales were clustered into

29 subscales on the basis of statistical value (p > .05),

homogeneity of content, and internal parallelism. These

subscales were then collapsed into seven superclusters,

on the basis of parallelism, and correlated with each

other.

The seven superclusters (high score) were: (1)

Separation (movement away from white American social life);

(2) Integration (movement toward white American social

life); (3) Militant Left (restructuring of American

institutions and values); (4) <u>Conservative Right</u> (preservation of American institutions and values); (5) <u>Internal</u> (attribution of rewards to one's own efforts and attributes); (6) <u>Group Activism</u> (nonviolent group action to combat racial discrimination); (7) <u>Family Ideology</u> (traditional and conventional modes of family relationships and interactions).

The results showed that the majority of Afro-American subjects endorsed a separatist (militant) ideology and rejected an integrationist (conservative) ideology. Subjects scoring high on Separation also scored high on external control. This finding contradicts the previous finding of Rotter that militant Afro-Americans tend to be internal. High scores on Separation were significantly related to high scores on Group Activism, but not to Family Ideology.

Subjects who were high on Integration were high on Family Ideology, indicating endorsement of traditional and conventional familial relationships. High scores on Integration were positively related to internal control and negatively related to Group Activism.

The pattern of attitudinal relationships among the white subjects were parallel to that of the Afro-American subjects, but the magnitude of the coefficients was significantly higher for whites.

. With cluster analysis the expanded internal-external scale broke into two superclusters, one based upon the original Rotter items and one based upon the Gurin items, that ask the subjects to select between alternatives of combatting racial discrimination through organized group activism versus emphasizing individual ability and effort. The findings indicate that the internal-external dimension is more complex than the dimension topped by the original Rotter scale.

With two exceptions, the interrelationships between the biographic variables and the superclusters were essentially insignificant. Subjects high on Separation tended to be younger than those who were high on Integration, and, whether Afro-American or white, subjects who were militant and who rejected traditional values attend church less frequently than those subjects who were conservative and accepted traditional values.

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APPENDIX

The Questionnaire as Presented to Subjects

Let us begin by getting some general information about you. Please darken in one of the five choices on the answer sheet for each of the following items.

Demographic Information: Administered to all subjects.

1. Sex

    1. Female   2. Male

2. Age

    1. 18-20   2. 21-25
    3. 26-30   4. 31-39
    5. 40-Over

3. Current Class Level

    1. Freshman-Sophomore
    2. Junior-Senior
    3. Graduate
    4. Staff
    5. Unaffiliated with M.S.U.

4. Grade Point Average

    1. 2.00 or Below
    2. 2.1-2.4
    3. 2.5-2.9
    4. 3.0-3.4
    5. 3.5-4.0

5. Approximate population of the community in which you grew up (Hometown).

    1. 25,000 or less
    2. 25,000-50,000
    3. 50,000-100,000
    4. 100,000-500,000
    5. 500,000-1,000,000 or more

6. Geographical location of hometown.

    1. Northeast (Me., Vt., NH, RI, Mass., NY, Pa., NJ, Ct.)
    2. South (Va., W.Va.,Del., Md., NC, SC, Tn., Ky., Ga., Fla., Ala., Miss., La., Ark., Tex., Oka., Wash., D.C.)
    3. North Central (N.Dak., S.Dak., Minn., Ia., Ind., Ohio, Wis., Mi., Neb., Kan., Mo., Ill.)
    4. West (N. Mex., Az., Colo., Utah, Cal., Ore., Wash., Wyo., Id., Mont., Nev.)
    5. Other

7. Number of brothers and sisters.

   1. None   2. One 3. Two
   4. Three 5. Four or more

8. Number of sisters

   1. None   2. One 3. Two
   4. Three 5. Four or more

9. Number of brothers

   1. None   2. One 3. Two
   4. Three 5. Four or more

10. Your birth position

   1. First 2. Second
   3. Third 4. Fourth
   5. Fifth or later

11. Had your father lived away from your house- hold before you were 15 years old?

   1. Yes   2. No

12. If yes, approximately how long a period of time was he absent? (Omit if father was never absent).

   1. One year or less
   2. Two years
   3. Three years
   4. Four years or more
   5. Never present

13. Main reason for absence of father.

   1. Work   2. Deceased
   3. Divorce-Separation
   4. Illness 5. Other

14. Had your mother lived away from your house- hold before you were 15 years old?

   1. Yes   2. No

15. If yes, approximately how long a period of time was she absent? (Omit if mother was never absent).

   1. One year or less
   2. Two years
   3. Three years
   4. Four years or more
   5. Never present

16. Main reason for absence of mother.

   1. Work   2. Deceased
   3. Divorce-Separation
   4. Illness 5. Other

17. Had you lived away from your parents before you were 15 years old?

   1. Yes   2. No

18. If yes, approximately how long a period of time were you away?

   1. One year or less
   2. Two years
   3. Three years
   4. Four years or more
   5. Never lived with parents

19. Geographical location of father's hometown (See question #6)

1. Northeast   2. South
3. North Central
4. West   5. Other

20. Geographical location of mother's hometown (See question #6)

1. Northeast   2. South
3. North Central
4. West   5. Other

21. Father's level of education.

1. Grade School
2. High School: Started but did not complete
3. High School: Completed
4. College: Started but did not complete.
5. College: Completed

22. Mother's level of education.

1. Grade School
2. High School: Started but did not complete.
3. High School: Completed
4. College: Started but did not complete.
5. College: Completed

23. Occupation of father

1. Professional-Managerial
2. Clerical-Sales
3. Skilled trades
4. Semi-skilled or unskilled
5. Proprietor of small business

24. Occupation of mother (If mother is full-time housewife, then omit this question).

1. Professional-Managerial
2. Clerical-Sales
3. Skilled-trades
4. Semi-skilled or unskilled
5. Proprietor of small business

25. If mother was not full-time housewife, what was her work schedule?

1. Full-time   2. Part-time

26. What was the approximate family income when you were in grade school? Express this in terms of today's economy.

1. $4,000 or less
2. $4,000-$7,000
3. $7,000-$10,000
4. $10,000-$15,000
5. $15,000 and over

27. How many years have you   1. One or less
    been married?   2. One-Three   3. Four-Six
                             4. Seven-Eight
                             5. Nine and over

28. How many children   1. None   2. One
    do you have?   3. Two   4. Three
                            5. Four or more

29. Number of daughters   1. None   2. One
                            3. Two   4. Three
                            5. Four or more

30. Number of sons   1. None   2. One
                            3. Two   4. Three
                            5. Four or more

31. Your religious prefer-   1. Protestant   2. Catholic
    ence (If you have no   3. Jewish
    religious preference   4. Black Muslim
    omit this question).   5. Other

32. How often do you   1. Once a week or more
    attend religious   2. Once to twice a month
    services?   3. Two to three times a
                                year
                            4. Rarely   5. Never

Now, let us look at some of your attitudes toward
family life. Some statements on family life, about which
people have differing opinions, are presented on the
following pages. You are to express your personal
opinion about each statement according to the extent to
which you agree to disagree with it. Use the following
categories.

(0) Strongly Disagree
(1) Mildly Disagree
(2) Neither Agree nor Disagree
(3) Mildly Agree
(4) Strongly Agree

Indicate which category you think most closely represents your opinion by filling in the appropriate space on your answer sheet. Respond to each statement independently and do the items in the order presented. Remember that there are no right and wrong answers. We are interested only in your personal opinion. It is very important that all questions be answered. Many of the statements will seem alike but all are necessary to allow for slight differences of opinion.

Family Ideology: Administered to all subjects

33. When situations concerning the entire family arise, I feel all the members should be allowed to participate in the decisions.

34. I generally allow my children to gripe about certain household rules and regulations.

35. My children's opinions are taken into account whenever a decision is made that directly concerns them.

36. I feel that the man should be the head of the household.

37. When it comes to matters of money, I feel that the opinion of the wife should carry as much weight as the opinion of the husband.

38. I feel that people who get divorced usually do not try hard enough to make the marriage work.

39. I believe that I might have been a happier, more productive person if I were born into another family.

40. On days in which I have little or no work to do, I usually spend the time with my family.

41. I feel that children should not be allowed to "talk-back" to their parents.

42. I go to special pains to accept my children's friends
    even though I do not always approve of them.

43. It is a reflection on a husband's manhood if his
    wife works.

44. It doesn't seem quite right for a man to be a
    visionary; dreaming should be left to women.

45. It is important to teach the child as early as pos-
    sible the manners and morals of his society.

46. Women who want to remove the word obey from the mar-
    riage service doesn't understand what it means to
    be a wife.

47. The saying "Mother knows best" still has more than
    a grain of truth.

48. A lot of the sex problems of married couples arise
    because their parents have been too strict with
    them about sex.

49. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by
    and large the husband ought to have the main say-
    so in family matters.

50. A marriage should not be made unless the couple
    plans to have children.

51. Women can be too bright for their own good.

52. It isn't healthy for a child to like to be alone,
    and he should be discouraged from playing by him-
    self.

53. It is only natural and right for each person to
    think that his family is better than any other.

54. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his
    parents, or else he will lose respect for them.

55. Women have as much right as men to sow wild oats.

56. If children are told much about sex, they are like-
    ly to go too far in experimenting with it.

57. In choosing a husband, a woman will do well to put
    ambition at the top of her list of desirable
    qualities.

58. There is a lot of evidence such as the Kinsey Report which shows we have to crack down harder on younger people to save our moral standards.

59. The most important qualities of a real man are strength of will and determined ambition.

60. Even today women live under unfair restrictions that ought to be done away with.

61. A well-raised child is one who doesn't have to be told twice to do something.

62. A teenager should be allowed to decide most things for himself.

63. A child who is unusual in any way should be encouraged to be more like other children.

64. A man can scarcely maintain respect for his fiancee if they have sexual relations before they are married.

65. In making family decisions, parents ought to take the opinions of children into account.

66. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

67. One of the worst problems in our society today is "free love," because it mars the true value of sex relations.

68. The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.

69. A man who doesn't provide well for his family ought to consider himself pretty much a failure as husband and father.

70. It's a pretty feeble sort of man who can't get ahead in the world.

71. Whatever some educators may say, "Spare the rod and spoil the child" still holds, even in these modern times.

72. The family is a sacred institution, divinely ordained.

73. It goes against nature to place women in positions of authority over men.

74. A wife does better to vote the way her husband does, because he probably knows more about such things.

75. Petting is something a nice girl wouldn't want to do.

76. A woman whose children are messy or rowdy has failed in her duties as a mother.

77. Faithfulness is the worse fault a husband could have.

78. It is a woman's job more than a man's to uphold our moral code, especially in sexual matters.

79. Women should take an active interest in politics and community problems as well as in their families.

80. It helps the child in the long run if he is made to conform to his parents' ideas.

81. Almost any woman is better off in the home than in a job or profession.

82. Women think less clearly than men and are more emotional.

83. When situations concerning the entire family arose, my parents would allow all the members to participate in the decision.

84. When it came to matters of money, my mother's opinion carried as much, or more, weight as my father's opinion.

85. My mother was of the opinion that people who get divorced did not really try hard enough to make the marriage work.

86. My parents would generally accept my friends even though they did not always approve of them.

87. My father thought the man should be the head of the household.

88. My father would usually spend his days off work with the family.

89. My parents would take their children's opinions into account whenever a decision was made that directly concerned them.

90. My father was of the opinion that a child should not be allowed to "talk back" to his parents.

91. My mother thought the man should be the head of the household.

92. My father was of the opinion that people who get divorced did not really try hard enough to make the marriage work.

93. My parents would generally allow their children to gripe about certain household rules and regulations.

We now move to some statements on the way one views himself and his social relations. The statements presented on the following pages are such that people have differing opinions about them. You are to express your personal opinion about each statement according to the extent to which you agree or disagree with it. Use the following categories:

(0) Strongly Disagree
(1) Mildy Disagree
(2) Neither Agree nor Disagree
(3) Mildy Agree
(4) Strongly Agree

Indicate which category you think most closely represents your opinion in the appropriate space on your answer sheet. Respond to each statement independently and do the items in the order presented. Remember that there are no right and wrong answers. We are interested only in your personal opinion. It is very important that all questions be answered. Many of the statements will seem alike but all are necessary to allow for slight differences of opinion.

Black Consciousness: Administered to Afro-American Subjects

94. If I was sitting at a table with some members of my race and some white people entered the room, I would be proud because I was sitting with members of my race.

95. Situations, involving people of my race which are called "riots" would be called the same if involving whites.

96. Call me Black, instead of Negro.

97. White people did not like Muhammad Ali because they did not like the idea of a member of my race saying he was the greatest and proving it.

98. A bank owned and operated by members of my race would be a good place to deposit my savings.

99. We should organize in an effort to free ourselves from American Society.

100. In the United States, freedom for my race can only be achieved through integration.

101. My race would continue to eat without the white man.

102. The Christian idea of heaven and hell has slowed down my race's fight for freedom.

103. For my race, equality and integration are not the same thing.

104. When you are talking to white people, you try to avoid the race issue.

105. Whites try to divide our community by saying some of us are middle class.

106. The "natural" hairstyle is dignified.

107. When assigned to "riot" duty in the so-called Negro ghettoes, soldiers of my race should fight the police and the other white soldiers.

108. More Civil Rights Laws will help the situation in this country.

109. If I was an Olympic athlete, I would serve my country with dignity and honor by keeping our racial problems at home.

110. Thin lips and narrow noses look better than thick lips and wide noses.

111. The very light members of my race should identify with the race and not "pass" for white.

112. Young members of my race are too impatient for their civil rights.

113. Through education my race will be accepted into the mainstream of American Society.

114. There is <u>no</u> need for my race to buy guns.

115. What my race has to do is to gain individual acceptance into American Society.

116. My race should spread out when in public because gathering is like segregating selves.

117. The Black Panthers and the Black Muslims are working for different things.

118. European Culture is better than African Culture.

119. Our community should have the rights to run its schools.

120. Black militants are over-stating the degree of white racism.

121. In the North my race got along pretty well with white until members of my race came from the South.

122. There is a pattern being used by the police department to wipe out the leadership of the Black Panther Party.

123. In the language of white America, the color black stands for evil and dirty things.

124. Colored, Black, and Negro terms have the same meaning.

125. Parents should try to make their children unaware of their race.

126. White people are smarter than people of my race.

127. I have been the object of discrimination or white racism in some form or fashion.

128. I have less in common with members of the white race than with members of my race.

129. White people will give us our rights, when they see we are good Americans because we have jobs and behave ourselves.

130. Capitalism, as an economic system, is an enemy of my race.

131. I am tired of hearing about Black Power.

132. The police are the white man's tool for keeping down my race.

133. We should fight for freedom by any means necessary.

134. I feel that members of my race should place more emphasis on being Afro-American than on being American.

135. In the long run, a member of my race who gets a job in a "lily-white" corporation does more for the people of his race than the member who is politically organizing his community.

136. After I complete my education and settle down on a job, I prefer to be offering my services to members of my race only.

137. Social scientists have done a lot to resolve the problems of Afro-American people.

138. In general, I feel that the more contact people of my race have with whites, the more they will get to dislike whites.

139. If I were to attend a religious service, I would prefer one where some of the members were white.

140. I feel more comfortable seeking help in my studies and work from a member of my own race than from a white person.

141. Even though some aspects of American history do not pertain directly to Afro-Americans, they should still be taught to Afro-American children.

142. A neighborhood with only members of my race would be an ideal place for me to buy a house.

143. I encourage my children to develop social contacts with whites.

144. Other things being equal, if I had a choice, I would avoid having a white neighbor.

145. A dark-skinned person should marry someone lighter than himself (herself) so their children will be lighter.

146. I would rather be called Negro than black.

147. Although this society stresses individual competition, members of my race should try to help each other.

148. Wearing a "natural" hairstyle is shameful.

149. We should <u>not</u> feel close to Africans.

150. Whites do not use the term Negro Middle Class to divide our communities.

151. I would not like to live in a state where only members of my race lived.

152. Thick lips and wide noses look better than thin lips and narrow noses.

153. Members of my race should date whites.

154. I wish I was white.

155. A member of my race, who says he is the greatest and proves it, like Muhammad Ali, is <u>not</u> liked by white people.

156. With an education, my race still won't be accepted into the mainstream of American Society.

157. Members of my race need to buy weapons.

158. If whites rebelled like members of my race, it would <u>not</u> be called a "riot."

159. I put my country (America) before my race.

160. Schools in our community should be controlled by the school board.

161. You do not try to avoid racial issues when talking to whites.

162. The terms Black, Colored, and Negro have different meanings.

163. In the United States freedom for my race can only be achieved through separation.

164. My race's fight for freedom has been helped by the Christian idea of heaven and hell.

165. Dark skin color has nothing to do with meanness.

166. As an Olympic athlete, I would not serve my country with dignity and honor by keeping our racial problems at home.

167. Capitalism is not an enemy of my race.

168. The police department is not trying to eliminate the leadership of the Black Panther Party.

169. White racism is as widespread as black militants claim it is.

170. White people will not give members of my race their rights because they (members of my race) go to their jobs, work hard, and behave themselves.

171. I have more in common with members of the white race than with members of my race.

172. When I am talking about racial problems with members of my race and a white person comes near, I do not change the subject.

173. My race is not kept down by the police.

174. We should limit the methods we use to get our freedom.

175. The Black Muslims and the Black Panthers are working for the same things.

176. People of my race are as smart as white people.

177. The color black stands for good and pure things in the language of white America.

178. In this country we do not need any more Civil Rights Laws.

179. Integration for my race means equality.

180. I would like to hear more about Black Power.

181. My race should try to gain group acceptance into American Society.

182. My race would starve without the white man.

183. Soldiers of my race should help the white soldiers keep law and order when called to "riot" duty in so-called Negro ghettoes.

184. Parents should make their children aware of their race.

185. Other things being equal, if I had a choice, I would not avoid having a white neighbor.

186. I encourage my children to avoid unnecessary social contacts with whites.

187. A neighborhood mixed with whites and Afro-Americans would be an ideal place for me to buy a house.

188. Anything in American history that does not pertain directly to Afro-Americans should not be taught to Afro-American children.

189. I feel more comfortable seeking help in my studies and work from a white person than from a member of my own race.

190. If I were to attend a religious service, I would prefer one where all the members are of my race.

191. I feel that, in general, the more contact people of my race have with whites, the more they will get to like whites.

192. Social scientists have done more harm than good for the people of my race.

193. After I complete my education and settle down on a job, I prefer to be offering services to both whites and members of my race.

194. A member of my race who politically organizes his community, in the long run, does more for his people than the member who gets a job in a "lily-white" corporation.

195. I feel that members of my race should place more emphasis on being American than on being Afro-American.

196. The number of Northern whites who dislike members of my race is: (1) Almost None   (2) About 1/4   (3) About 1/2   (4) About 3/4   (5) Almost all

197. The number of Southern whites who dislike members of my race is: (1) Almost None (2) About 1/4 (3) About 1/2 (4) About 3/4 (5) Almost all

198. The number of my friends who dislike whites is: (1) Almost None (2) About 1/4 (3) About 1/2 (4) About 3/4 (5) Almost all

New Left: Administered to white subjects.

94. The solutions for contemporary problems lie in striking at their roots, no matter how much destruction might occur.

95. A commitment to action is more socially relevant than a commitment to any specific philosophy.

96. One's personal life can be kept separate from one's political life.

97. Competition encourages excellence.

98. There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption.

99. Society needs some legally based authority in order to prevent chaos.

100. Groups with a formal structure tend to stifle creativity among their members.

101. Police should not hesitate to use force to maintain order.

102. Real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society.

103. Representative democracy can respond effectively to the needs of the people.

104. Although our society has to be changed, violence is not a justified means.

105. If people worked hard at their jobs, they would reap the full benefits of our society.

106. The distinction between public and private life is unnecessary.

107. Provocation of the police should only be a by-product, not a goal, of mass action.

108. Compromise is essential for progress.

109. We must strive for the democratization of decision-making bodies withi n the existing government.

110. A group without a clear-cut pattern of leadership cannot function effectively.

111. Commitment to a meaningful career is a very important part of a man's life.

112. A liberal society is more conductive to revolutionary change than is a fascistic one.

113. Although men are intrinsically good, they have developed institutions which force them to act in opposition to their basic nature.

114. Freedom of expression should be denied to racist and neo-fascistic movements.

115. "The Establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives; we can never be free until we are rid of it.

116. Authorities must be put in an intolerable position so they will be forced to respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy.

117. You can never achieve freedom within the framework of contemporary American society.

118. The United States needs a complete restructuring of its basic institutions.

119. The courts are a useful vehicle for responsible change.

120 A social scientist should not separate his political responsibilities from his professional role.

121. The right to private property is sacred.

122. No one should be punished for violating a law which he feels is immoral.

123. Extensive reform in society only serves to perpetuate the evils; it will never solve problems.

124. You learn more from ten minutes in a political protest than ten hours of research in a library.

125. You should always be candid with your friends even though you may hurt their feelings.

126. If the structure of our society becomes nonrepressive, people will be happy.

127. It is possible to modify our institutions so that the blacks can be incorporated on an equal basis into our contemporary society.

128. Anyone who violates the law for reasons of conscience should be willing to accept the legal consequences.

129. It is more important that people be involved in the present rather than concerned with the past or the future.

130. Being put in positions of leadership brings out the best in men.

131. Educational institutions should espouse political doctrines.

132. A minority must never be allowed to impose its will on the majority.

133. Abrupt reforms in society usually lead to such a severe backlash that they will be self-defeating.

134. Change in our society should be based primarily on popular elections.

135. While man has great potential for good, society brings out primarily the worst in him.

136. The political structure of the Soviet Union is more like that of the United States than that of Red China.

137. The only way to combat violence is to use violent means.

138. The structure of our society is such that self-alienation is inevitable.

139. A mass revolutionary party should be created.

140. Disruption is preferable to dialogue for changing our society.

141. Marriage unfairly restricts one's personal freedom.

142. People should not do research which can be used in ways which are contrary to the social good.

143. Traditions serve a useful social function by providing stability and continuity.

144. The very existence of our long-standing social norms demonstrates their value.

145. Even though institutions have worked well in the past, they must be destroyed if they are not effective now.

146. Sexual behavior should be bound by mutual feelings, not by formal and legal ties.

147. A problem with most older people is that they have learned to accept society as it is, not as it should be.

148. The bureaucracy of American society makes it impossible to live and work spontaneously.

149. Radicals of the left are as much a threat to the rights of the individual as are the radicals of the right.

150. The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than printing presses.

151. An individual can find his true identity only by detaching himself from formal ideologies.

152. Spontaneity is often an excuse for irresponsibility.

153. The processes of rebuilding society are of less immediate importance than the processes of destroying it.

154. Voting must be a pragmatic rather than moral decision.

155. Political factions cannot cooperate with each other without sacrificing their integrity.

Finally, on the following pages you are to indicate your opinion by endorsing one of the two statements presented. If you endorse "a", darken in number "0" on your answer sheet. If you endorse "b", darken in number "1."

Internal-External Control: Administered to all Subjects*

199.   a.   Children get into trouble because their
(156)   parents punish them too much.
       b.   The trouble with most children nowadays
            is that their parents are too easy with
            them.

200.   a.   Many of the unhappy things in people's
(157)   lives are partly due to bad luck.
       b.   People's misfortunes result from the mis-
            takes they make.

201.   a.   One of the major reasons why we have wars
(158)   is because people don't take enough in-
            terest in politics.
       b.   There will always be wars, no matter how
            hard people try to prevent them.

202.   a.   In the long run people get the respect they
(159)   deserve in this world.
       b.   Unfortunately, an individual's worth often
            passes unrecognized no matter how hard he
            tries.

203.   a.   The idea that teachers are unfair to stu-
(160)   dents is nonsense.
       b.   Most students don't realize the extent to
            which their grades are influenced by ac-
            cidental happenings.

204.   a.   Without the right breaks one cannot be an
(161)   effective leader.
       b.   Capable people who fail to become leaders
            have not taken advantage of their oppor-
            tunities.

205.   a.   No matter how hard you try some people
(162)   just don't like you.
       b.   People who can't get others to like
            them don't understand how to get along
            with others.

206.   a.   Heredity plays the major role in deter-
(163)   mining one's personality.
       b.   It is one's experiences in life which
            determine what they're like.

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*The number outside the parenthesis is the item
number for Afro-American subjects, and the number inside
the parenthesis is the item number for the white subjects.

207
(164)
a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

208.
(165)
a. In the case of the well-prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.

209.
(166)
a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

210.
(167)
a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little buy can do about it.

211.
(168)
a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

212.
(169)
a. There are certain people who are just no good.
b. There is some good in everybody.

213.
(170)
a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

214.
(171)
a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

215.
(172)
a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

216.   a. Most people don't realize the extent to which
(173)   their lives are controlled by accidental
             happenings.
       b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

217.   a. One should always be willing to admit mis-
(174)   takes.
       b. It is usually best to cover up one's mis-
             takes.

218.   a. It is hard to know whether or not a person
(175)   really likes you.
       b. How many friends you have depends upon how
             nice a person you are.

219.   a. In the long run the bad things that happen
(176)   to us are balanced by the good ones.
       b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack
             of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all
             three.

220.   a. With enough effort we can wipe out politi-
(177)   cal corruption.
       b. It is difficult for people to have much
             control over things politicians do in
             office.

221.   a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers
(178)   arrive at the grades they give.
       b. There is a direct connection between how
             hard I study and the grades I get.

222.   a. A good leader expects people to decide for
(179)   themselves what they should do.
       b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody
             what their jobs are.

223.   a. Many times I feel that I have little in-
(180)   fluence over the things that happen to me.
       b. It is impossible for me to believe that
             chance or luck plays an important role
             in my life.

224.   a. People are lonely because they don't try
(181)   to be friendly.
       b. There's not much use in trying too hard
             to please people, if they like you, they
             like you.

225.   a. There is too much emphasis on athletics
(182)   in high school.
       b. Team sports are an excellent way to
             build character.

226.   a.   What happens to me is my own doing.
(183) b.   Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough
            control over the direction my life is
            taking.

227.   a.   Most of the time I can't understand why
(184)   politicians behave the way they do.
       b.   In the long run the people are responsi-
            ble for bad government on a national as
            well as on a local level.

228.   a.   Knowing the right people is important in
(185)   deciding whether a person will get ahead.
       b.   People will get ahead in life if they have
            the goods and do a good job; knowing the
            right people has nothing to do with it.

229.   a.   Leadership positions tend to go to capable
(186)   people who deserve being chosen.
       b.   It's hard to know why some people get
            leadership positions and others don't;
            ability doesn't seem to be the important
            factor.

230.   a.   People who don't do well in life often
(187)   work hard, but the breaks just don't come
            their way.
       b.   Some people just don't use the breaks
            that come their way. If they don't do
            well, it's their own fault.

231.   a.   Racial discrimination is here to stay.
(188) b.   People may be prejudiced but it's possible
            for American society to completely rid
            itself of open discrimination.

232.   a.   The racial situation in America may be
(189)   very complex, but with enough money
            and effort, it is possible to get rid
            of racial discrimination.
       b.   We'll never completely get rid of dis-
            crimination. It's part of human nature.

233.   a.   It's lack of skill and abilities that
(190)   keeps many Negroes from getting a job.
            It's not just because they're Negro.
            When a Negro is trained to do something,
            he is able to get a job.
       b.   Many qualified Negroes can't get a good
            job. White people with the same skills
            wouldn't have any trouble.

234.   a.   The best way to handle problems of dis-
(191)   crimination is for each individual Negro
            to make sure he gets the best training
            possible for what he wants to do.
       b.   Only if Negroes pull together in civil
            rights groups and activities can anything
            really be done about discrimination.

235.   a.   The best way to overcome discrimination
(192)   is through pressure and social action.
       b.   The best way to overcome discrimination
            is for each individual Negro to be even
            better trained and more qualified than
            the most qualified white person.

236.   a.   Many Negroes who don't do well in life
(193)   do have good training, but the opportuni-
            ties just always go to whites.
       b.   Negroes may not have the same opportuni-
            ties as whites, but many Negroes haven't
            prepared themselves enough to make use
            of the opportunities that come their way.

237.   a.   Negroes would be better off and the cause
(194)   of civil rights advanced if there were
            fewer demonstrations.
       b.   The only way Negroes will gain their civil
            rights is by constant protest and pressure.

238.   a.   Depending on bi-racial committees is just
(195)   a dodge. Talking and understanding with-
            out constant protest and pressure will never
            solve problems of discrimination.
       b.   Talking and understanding as opposed to
            protest and pressure is the best way to
            solve racial discrimination.

239.   a.   Many Negroes have only themselves to blame
(196)   for not doing better in life. If they
            tried harder, they'd do better.
       b.   When two qualified people, one Negro and
            one white, are considered for the same job,
            the Negro won't get the job no matter how
            hard he tries.

240.   a.   Organized action is one approach to hand-
(197)   ling discrimination, but there are pro-
            bably very few situations that couldn't
            be handled better by Negro leaders talk-
            ing to white leaders.
       b.   Most discriminatory situations simply
            can't be handled without organized pres-
            sure and group action.

241. a. The attempt to "fit-in" and do what's
(198)   proper hasn't paid off for Negroes. It
         doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll
         still meet serious discrimination if you're
         Negro.
     b. The problem for many Negroes is that they
        aren't really acceptable by American
        standards. Any Negro who is educated and
        does what is considered proper will be
        accepted and get ahead.

242. a. Discrimination affects all Negroes. The
(199)   only way to handle it is for Negroes to
         organize together and demand rights for
         all Negroes.
     b. Discrimination may affect all Negroes
        but the best way to handle it is for each
        individual Negro to act like any other
        American--to work hard, get a good educa-
        tion, and mind his own business.

243. a. The so-called "white backlash" shows once
(200)   again that whites are so opposed to Negroes
         getting their rights that its practically
         impossible to end discrimination in America.
     b. The so-called "white backlash" has been
        exaggerated. Certainly enough whites sup-
        port the goals of the Negroes cause for
        Americans to see considerable progress in
        wiping out discrimination.

244. a. If a Negro only tries hard enough he can
(201)   get ahead despite opposition from whites.
     b. It's true that a Negro can get ahead by
        hard work, but every Negro will sometime
        face discrimination or opposition that
        can't be solved by individual effort alone.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.