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IN BLACK ADOLESCENTS.

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CONSTRUCT VALIDATION OF A MEASURE OF ALIENATION
IN BLACK ADOLESCENTS

by

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INTRODUCTION

In an extremely advanced society where scientific research, knowledge and the acquisition of complex skills have heavily contributed to man's mastery over his environment, many individuals remain discontent. Modern man has mechanized and immunized his social system against most of the biological and physical hazards that permeate his daily life. Collectively, individuals have labored feverishly and diligently to arrest the mundane and simplistic dangers of yesteryear, the effort being centuries old. The ceaseless attempt to provide an even more comfortable and efficient life-style for the society does exist for some; however, millions remain disenfranchised. These, to whom the society extends the rhetoric, yet withdraws the fruit, are denied the opportunity for full and meaningful participation in the society. These individuals, superficially deemed members of the social order through some spurious but highly cognitive notion of what a society is, represent the alienated dregs of a nation.

Alienation: A Hypothetical Construct

As a construct, alienation has its generic origins in the Latin word meaning separation (Polk, 1968). With the advent of student dissent, rebellion and opposition to the educational system, contemporary scholars have become increasingly concerned with the critical variables involved in the alienation

paradigm. Despite increased empirical investigation in this area, the alienation concept remains confused in its operational definitions and methodological approach.

Rhetorical concern about the concept of alienation dates back to Hegel, who wrote the "mind being at war with itself" (Barakat, 1966). Powerlessness was viewed as the opposite of freedom and the question of whether man has control over his own creations and tools was the central inquiry. Marx (1904) borrowed this concept from Hegel and applied it to the alienation of workers from the means of production. The Marxian notion was that the worker is alienated to the extent that the prerogative and means of decision are expropriated by the ruling entrepreneurs. Weber's extension of the Marxian analysis of alienation proceeded beyond the industrial trend. Weber saw this separation as a universal phenomenon.

Freud's (1962) consideration of the antagonism between the individual and society and Durkheim's (1951) notions of the relationships between social disorganization and suicide all attest to the diversity of the alienation concept. Many scholars (C. Wright Mills, 1953; Adorno et al., 1950; Merton, 1957; Fromm, 1955) have given a great deal of time and study to the alienation concept. However, Seeman (1959) has written a document considered a classic in this area. Addressing himself to the task of definition and operationalization of the alienation concept, he proposes five different kinds of alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-

estrangement.

Powerlessness, the first variant of the alienation theme, was defined as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of outcomes or reinforcement he seeks. This conception is similar to Rotter's (1966) notions of internal-external control.

Meaninglessness, which is Seeman's second distinguishable and independent type of alienation, is defined as the period when an individual is unclear as to what he might believe -- when an individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision making are not met. Operationally, the concept of meaninglessness is characterized by a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes can be made.

Normlessness, the third conceptualization of the alienation paradigm, is said to result from a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals. Here again, Durkheim's notions of social disorganization and anomie are theoretically applicable. Thus, states of normlessness must be characterized as situations in which social norms regulating individual conduct have broken down or are not longer effective as rules of behavior.

Isolation, the fourth style of alienation incorporated individuals who assign low reward to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in a given society. Nettler (1957) has characterized this as an "apartness from society". This style

of isolation is frequently imposed upon intellectuals who detach themselves from popular cultural standards.

Self-estrangement, the last of the alienation variations, is defined by Seeman as the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards. Translated, it appears to refer to the inability of the individual to find self-rewarding or self-consummatory activities that engage him.

One of the empirical inconsistencies that Seeman views as an asset, is his focus upon the individual's expectations about a state of affairs rather than the Marxian nature that concerns judgement about a state of affairs and elimination of individual freedom and control. Seeman essentially sees no difference in these conceptual approaches. Argument, however, will be reserved for later consideration. One glaring limitation of the Seeman approach is that alienation is viewed as a cognitive condition of the individual without relating to the social and normative structure into which the individual interacts. Thus, alienation is only assessed from a psychological level without any reference to antecedent sources, or consequential behavior. It would seem theoretically misleading to attempt definition and operationalization of concepts that are void of the effects of the total environmental exchange. There also exists a lack of distinction between sources of alienation, alienation proper and behavioral consequences of alienation (Barakat, 1966).

Scott (1963) has suggested that the social sources of alienation be investigated. Borrowing from Smelser's (1963) definition of social components of behavior as being values, norms, roles and facilities, Scott feels that alienation can arise from any or all of these sources. Lack of commitment to values, of conformity to norms, of responsibility and control of facilities have great potential for serving as sources of alienation.

Empirical investigations dealing with Black people and feelings of alienation have been sparse. Implicit in this, however, is the hypocrisy and circularity regarding white attitudes about Black people. That social science would brazenly ignore alienation as it relates to Black Americans, would seem ethically irresponsible. However, the systematic exclusion of the Afro-American from educational, economic, and social mobility in American life is excessively documented. Verbal patronage has been the only vehicle of recognition that has been afforded Blacks both in the studies of white racism and studies of feelings of alienation. This author was able to find few studies that previously dealt with studies of white racism and Black alienation.

Contemporary scholars and researchers have a tendency to view feelings of high alienation as indicative of emotional unbalance (Keniston, 1968), as leading to anomie (Merton, 1957), and as a threat to the good of the general society. Explicitly,

high negative valence is generally attached to high feelings of alienation, and high positive valence to low feelings of alienation. It is the author's contention that exactly the reverse attitude is true.

The alienation and confrontation that besieges individuals and organizations should be viewed from another perspective. High alienation should be a more potent source for producing social change and reform than low alienation, and this should be characterized as a positive process.

White racism and Black alienation represent an incongruous circle. For Black people racism, which involves a blockage of access to the dominant norms, values, roles and facilities produces an alienated Black man. The alienated individual thus revolutionizes his thoughts and rejects the values of the dominant society because he is excluded. Attempting to gain acceptance into the dominant system via change and reform, he is received with much resistance and is categorically relegated to the ranks of the disruptive.

Perceived as emotionally unstable, his alienation thus serves as prime evidence that he is "dangerous" to the society. In a word, oppression provides the cultural racism which in turn produces the alienation: this alienation, then, produces efforts at change and reform which in turn are threatening to

the dominant group inasmuch as they are perceived as leading to social instability.

Feelings of Black alienation in the high school environment are currently much more salient and recognizable than in previous years. Data on Black adolescents are sparse, thereby compounding and confounding creative methodological approaches to the study of Black adolescents, Black alienation, and all of their concomitant concerns. New exploratory data about Black people are seriously needed if efforts to induce change and reform into education and eventually the larger society are to be useful and significant. If education in general, and the inner city schools in particular, are to survive, and if the schools intend to progressively provide a higher quality of education and learning, empiricists must first amass some knowledge of what the nature of the problem is. In this, clarification and measurement of the critical variables are imperative.

Two Varieties of Alienation

Empirical research designed to explicate critical parameters of relevance regarding Black adolescents as they operate from their own environment is limited. In the era of student rebellion and with the emergence of the hippie cult, a great deal of research has been directed primarily towards one segment of the population, e.g., the white, middle-class, university student who is a member of both of these groups. This form of

alienation could be viewed as an attitudinal alienation. Typically, these young adults feel estranged from the educational system, its values, and the values of society at large. They normally either fight the establishment vituperatively or they withdraw from it. Re-entry into the society at large, however, may often be predicted only upon verbalizing establishment ideas, values and goals, and getting a hair cut. The implication being that the separation is rarely a complete and final one.

A contrasting form of alienation that also exists in the society is that of imposed or forced alienation. This alienation does not emerge because of ideological principles. It is present as a reaction to exclusion from the dominant society. The educational system is an intrinsic part of this. Re-entry as compared with white students, is not available simply because the reasons for the feelings of alienation are different. The first type, concerning white students, may be based upon humanistic, philosophical principles; the second is a more severe academic, economic and emotional exclusion from the society. It would seem then, that the characteristic patterns that develop within these two types of alienation would be different. It is imperative that we know who is alienated, why he is alienated, how this may facilitate or inhibit academic and social learning as well as how these feelings are transformed into behavior.

The assumption that may be only implicitly understood, is that the effects of white fear and Black oppression produce white racism and concomitant feelings of alienation in Black people, respectively. This assumption needs to be made explicit in part through the operational definition and measurement of the construct of alienation.

In the social sciences, the most common usage of the construct alienation is generally employed to convey a cognitive-perceptual description of a more basic, highly internalized feeling of dissatisfaction. This concretized dissatisfaction, is alleged to be, more or less related to, or is more or less the direct result of and is running concomitantly with a social-personal deprivation, which the individual is hypothesized to be constantly experiencing. As the feelings, attitudes, and emotions are translated into overt manifestations, these specific behaviors, due to the obvious behavioral complexities that are little understood, become increasingly difficult to identify and categorize. The most basic difficulty that currently impedes a more crystallized discernment of this phenomenon, appears to stem from the inherently deficient knowledge base from which most social scientists proceed based upon their personal emersion in the dominant white culture. The inability to explicate the divergent sources of variance that occur within and between different ethnic groups, due to cultural, economic, educational and political disparities, is certainly

germane to the confusion that currently shrouds alienation research.

Clarification and extension of the alienation paradigm is needed if it is to incorporate the range and intensity of the phenomenon as experienced in the Black community. Careful and meaningful delineation of the structure, function, participation and behavior of alienated Black individuals and groups could provide a meaningful and significant addition to knowledge in this area as well as in the broader area of social change.

THE PROBLEM

The present study is part of a broader research program at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. Using an interaction conceptualization of adaptation, Kelly (1966, 1968) has proposed coping preferences for exploration as a determinant of the process of social adaptation. The process of social adaptation is viewed as a process specific to each social setting and dependent upon the interaction of the individual's coping preference and the structural characteristics of the environment.

Attempting to operate within a holistic person-environmental context, the multi-method approach, must of necessity identify personality and situational variables that jointly define and determine the variables relevant to the coping process. If the interactional model of adaptation is to be useful in understanding, explaining and predicting behavior, McClintock and Rice (1970) set the major task of the study as one to seek and identify relevant personality and situational variables. Then to proceed to observe, measure, evaluate and provide a taxonomy for the resulting process of adaptation that consists of coping behaviors over an extended period of time and across a variety of situations. Preferences for exploration of the social environment have been considered an important personality variable in determining the adaptation process.

The research program conducted by Kelly and his associates attempts to provide an opportunity to define the relationship of person-environment interaction in the high school. Using the natural environment as an observational base, this research program hopes to generate conceptions for preventive interventions for such varied environments. The projected direction of the empirical study focuses upon the utility of multiple methods for assessing person-environment interactions in contrasting structures, while the projected goal is to provide some tentative ideas for an ecological conception of social environments.

The over-all design of the study is to "locate" high and low explorers in the eighth year of school and to follow them through their high school careers. They are tested and interviewed at regular intervals over the period starting at grade 9 and ending with high school graduation. The sample of subjects include two inner-city schools whose racial composition is predominantly Afro-American, and two suburban high schools whose racial composition is essentially white. The population is composed only of males.

Thus, the Kelly research group utilizing the principle of divergent methodological inquiry, seeks to provide a consistent and convergent data base capable of describing, explaining and predicting exploratory preferences as they relate to Kelly's (1966, 1967, 1968) conceptualization of the interactional model of the adaptation process.

This study is an elaboration and extension of the approach utilized in the current study of high school students in the Detroit metropolitan area. The major study is concerned with coping preferences of high school students in varied high school environments. Exploratory behavior, the coping style, is studied using a multi-method, longitudinal approach.

A major part of the thesis presented here is that the study and development of critical cognitive and environmental variables relevant to Black people have rarely been approached from the theoretical perspective of positive indices of adaptation, cognition, socialization, and maturation. Using white middle class norms for the nominal categorization of individuals, groups and their relationships to existing social systems has proven at best an erroneous assumption due to the totally inadequate vantage point from which social scientists initially proceed. For an example, the use of adaptation conceptualizations and preventive intervention models for social change very subtly co-opts and negates underlying necessity for studying individuals of African ancestry. To posit that adaptation to an oppressive cultural milieu is desirable behavior to which one should enthusiastically adhere, is to implicitly demand of the individual that he keep in wraps the unique aspects of his environment that produce the individual as he perceives himself in relationship to the systems and people with which he must deal.

The adaptation processes that Blacks envision as successful call for an extended and radical ecological system that moves from the hands of those who have, by tradition and power, controlled what successful adaptative functioning is to look like, to those who collectively determine the functional needs of the adapting organism and then changes both the environment (institution) and the person to mirror or approximate that conceptual mode. Unless social scientists begin to design and execute ecosystems that functionally involve, heretofore, ignored groups, then the concept of adaptation as a model for interaction and/or preventive intervention will be useless. The importance of this notion is that the needs of the person, must intricately mesh with the needs of the institution. The person-environmental interaction must determine that need. Only to the extent that there exists a collective interactive exchange between environment and person can there be adaptive functioning in a workable ecological framework.

The alienation that directly speaks to the issue of the interaction between the subordinate minority and their subsequent efforts to invoke environmental change represents a cultural racism model. It is not an area that has been well-researched. The reasons seem apparent, for in order to execute theoretical and operational investigations, one must first squarely confront the historical context that is innately apparent. If, for example, a population of people are

forcefully transported to another region and successfully stripped of their history, language, mannerisms, and behavioral patterns indigenous to that culture, the sole mechanism for survival in the relocated region is to acquiesce overtly, while contempt for the cultural raider bitterly circulates internally. A system of brutal and elaborate oppression is crudely developed to insure contrived allegiance to the new cultural ideals. Just as in aversive conditioning, after the punishment via shock is established and discontinued, the anticipated fear becomes the strongest motivator, while avoidance of the punishment functions as a potent primary reinforcer.

At this point in time, that is, after the effective establishment of the punishment has been instituted, only occasional punishment is necessary to re-escalate the anticipated fear, to a level that extinction is operable. Thus, behavior becomes appropriate to avoid punishment. Sufficiently motivated by external realities, the individuals go underground, sometimes become clandestine, develop specific codes of behavior, signals of communication, and in general, execute a defensive mode of operation within the environment.

The problem however, is that alienation is defined outside of the context of oppression, and defined in this manner, can have no validity. More importantly, however, is that Black alienation not delineated within the lexicon of oppression has no legitimate anchor in the social scientific literature.

Given that the political history of tyranny and oppression in the U.S. has conspicuously entangled and contaminated every aspect of the North American continent, any attempt to disregard its trenchant ramifications in the consideration of social behavior is categorically not in accord with the philosophy and principles that are imbedded in the epistemological foundations of scientific activity. Until the holistic approach to alienation is utilized it will remain a fragmented, confusing, and meaningless paradigm.

INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT

In an effort to reduce a white-oriented questionnaire bias about belief systems, values, motives, and attitudes that were realistically valid only for whites, the author felt, as a primary task, the need to specifically tailor the ethnic focus of the instrument to the existing realities of the particular ethnic group under study.

The first task, then was to generate a pool of items appropriate enough to the respondents behavioral repertoire to preclude executing a series of intermediate reversals before a response could be elicited. This conceptual thinking then, would obliterate the necessity of a respondent having to directly deal with the issue of "how would I answer this item were I white," and secondly "how should I answer this item since I am Black". The utility of this thought facilitated the possibility of a respondent reading the item and directly responding without reversing and/or forcing the item to fit his environment.

Interpretation of dissent, withdrawal, activism and alienation for the purpose of generating items invoked Seeman's (1959) notion of powerlessness and similarly Rotter's (1966) internal-external locus of control. As conceived by Rotter, these ideas may have significant reliability and validity of interpretation as they relate to whites, the generalizability of these notions however to Black populations disregards the vast differentials

in Black and White populations that play a major role in their cultural socialization, respectively. Power concerns are perceived differently in the two cultures. Whites perceive the cultural imperatives of the American social order with pronouns such as "us and we", and the Black social order as "them and not we". The need then was for items appropriate to the Black frame of reference.

Proceeding with the notion that the amount of accurate utilizable information and the collective data base of information for Black adolescents was virtually negligible, it was decided that information and data should be collected employing the interview method and natural observation of the designated environment.

Natural Observation

In the major study, four high schools are currently contrasted for study. The high schools were selected on the basis of differences in particular attributes that existed among them. Two of the high schools are suburban and white, while the other two are urban and Black.

The author and a fellow researcher, frequented all four schools for purposes of ascertaining the prevalent moods of the students, in the various institutions, as well as the physical facilities, the scheduled activity of any given day, and to gain some familiarity with the administrators, teachers, and

counselors.

In the process of observation, students were randomly approached by the investigators and questioned only generally by them about their perceptions of the school. The two investigators monitored different areas of the school setting in order to maximize the information retrieved.

Upon completion of the observational method, the investigators exchanged information, confirmed or negated "hunches" about any particular school-setting and student behavior and recorded the information.

Interviewing Technique

Following analysis of the information gathered during the observational expedition, the investigators decided that more specific and intensive kinds of information were necessary if a better understanding of adolescent behavior was to be realized.

Thus after intensively studying and analyzing some interview data, on high-school junior males, that was collected in the Spring of 1968, and on file in our archives, the author and a co-worker collectively agreed upon the specific kinds of informative data that was requisite for future test-item-construction. The time period from August, 1968 through November, 1969 was spent developing a structured interview to be conducted at the four high-schools involved in the larger study.

The major purpose of the interview schedule was to retrieve information specifically relevant to alleged alienation indices. The difficulty, however, comes in attempting to construct items or ask interview questions of the S's that would not reveal the purpose of the interview. That is, great care was taken to avoid biasing student responses with the social desirability dimension. The face validity of the interview was maintained by telling the student that we were interested in some aspects of his life-space (i.e., family, school, peers, fears, anxieties, political beliefs, religious beliefs, ethnic beliefs, interpersonal beliefs, aspirations, and goals.) Other content areas involved perceptions of change, the change process, implementation of social reforms, the effects of social discrimination, education and politics in their personal lives.

Pre-Test Subjects

Ten senior males from each of the four high schools, participated in the interviews. The interviews were two hours in length and were recorded. Each S was conducted to a room in the school and only an investigator and one S were present for each interview. After the single interviews had been completed group interviews were conducted with S's who were willing to participate. The focal issues in these sessions were extensions of the single interview sessions.

Rapport with the S's in both individual and group sessions was excellent. The investigators dressed in sweaters and shirts, were perceived by the students as "a couple of guys" who were conducting some interviews. In fact, many of the S's commented on how comfortable they felt 'rapping with us'. This was true in both the white and black high-schools.

Black Student Types

Three distinct student groups in terms of attitudes seemed to evolve from analysis of the intensive interviews at the Black schools. These characterizations represent rational interpretations of the data.

The student types that are described in the following paragraphs, are all characterized as having strong feelings of alienation due primarily to their skin color. The over-all assumption is that all Black people are alienated, and that the only characteristic differences between Blacks is found in the particular individual style or manifestation of that behavior. Thus, students run the behavioral gamut from completely repressed and inhibited to openly active.

The major task, was to build into the instruments enough dissimilar alternatives to tap all the major differences existant among student types.

The first group can be designated as marginal. This group participates in no other activities that are aimed at reducing

feelings of alienation. Psychological behavior consists of an excessive amount of active repression concerning attitudes despite knowledge of the antecedent conditions that produced them. The political philosophy that this group embodies is probably more diverse than any other single group. The diversity of beliefs about politics and change probably stem from the fact that the group cohesion and participation is negligible. There exists no formal kind of group membership and the individuals belonging in this category don't know each other. Interaction between them is lacking and no formal structure therefore serves as a model.

The active repression and/or denial of their attitudes as reflected in their lack of participatory behavior probably stems from key supports outside the school environment. Parental demands, individual demands, and college or job market concerns allegedly preclude these members from active commitment. These individuals have not yet reached a publicly recognizable conflictual state, simply because they have not allowed their conflicts to surface. This loosely-knit group typically serves as "apologists" to whites for the Black movement.

The second student group is characterized as participating in school and their activities include some other social commitment to the movement. The individual is highly dissatisfied but in minor contrast to the marginal group, participates in activities that are perceived by him as militant and

by the militants as "selling out". Commitment for the group member is both cautious and moderate. School is perceived as the major goal concern and his rationalizations while verbal and self-protective, are essential in order for him to sustain himself. His political philosophies are tinged with moderate radicalism, however, for the most part he is "middle of the road" and therefore bifurcated. Among militant Blacks he is viewed as an "Uncle Tom". Among whites he is viewed as the "one with whom you can rationally talk". He probably devotes an equal amount of time to the Black movement and to other private events in his life. His expression of activism is more public than private, his peer group is more cohesive than the marginal group and less cohesive than the following group. This group of individuals perceives itself as the happy medium between two disparate worlds, i.e., marginals and militants.

Support for the individual in terms of resources and supplies rests primarily with his family and his peer group. His level of participation includes what would have been conceived as radical a decade ago, i.e., protests through picketing, boycotts, and a non-disruptive type of activity. He is characterized as an "interpreter" to whites about the Black movement, and probably has a greater number of white friends than either of the other two groups.

The third variant of the highly dissatisfied Black adolescent will be called the militant, dedicated or extensive. His

total existence as a Black man is predicated upon his commitment to Black liberation. His participation in radical or protest activities conceivably far exceeds either of the two groups. The political ideology that this group adheres to is generally more radical and revolutionary in nature. His perceptions about the establishment are generally more harsh, but more valid and true relative to actual observable conditions of their immediate environment, than his two counterparts. Idealistically, the individuals in this group vehemently opposed integration as it was verbalized in the 1950's and 1960's. This group usually possesses a much more extensive and detailed knowledge of Black history, Black movements, and Black heroes. Their information about revolutionaries around the world is fairly impressive. They consider themselves to be instrumental in furthering the anticipated radical reforms that this nation must undergo. Individuals in this group are very close, in constant contact with each other, mutually supportive and sometimes highly clandestine. They typically "tell it the way it is" mincing no words or thoughts about what their position is. This group is typically more knowledgeable concerning racist attitudes, oppression, and behavior and are determined in their effort to change or reform through confrontation and disruption, if necessary. This group is characterized as most frightening to whites.

Pre-Test Instrument

The next phase of test-construction involved analyzing all of the sources of data, conferring with teachers, principals, and counselors. This follow-up procedure extended across the range and focus of what was perceived to be relevant information. Construction of a pre-test instrument, designed to assess perceptual feelings of alienation that were hypothesized to be present in the Black adolescent followed.

Upon completion the pre-test booklet was administered to a group of all Black senior males, who were attending Detroit High School summer session. The pre-test booklet contained a 50-item, Likert-type, forced choice format, a section on political and racial strategy preferences, a list of Black political heroes, and Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beattie (1969) modified locus of control scale.

Pre-test data analysis in terms of mean responses to each choice within an item were computed and the frequency of response was converted to percentages. The main purpose of the analysis was to determine whether responses were normally distributed over the scale for each item.

Upon completion of the pre-test data analysis, some items were discarded because they failed to differentiate S's, some items were substituted for the discarded ones, and the open-ended section of the booklet was deleted because it failed to yield any additional information. The final test instrument is

presented as Appendix A.

Subjects

The subjects chosen for study were senior (12A and 12B) Black males currently enrolled in the high school. Subjects (S's) ranged in age from 16 to 19 years of age, and were stratified according to their STEP-SCAT scores, which were previously obtained from the school. S's who were administered and completed the battery instruments numbered 128.

Data Collection

On May 1, 1970, a group of 5 Black researchers travelled to Detroit, Michigan to administer a battery of self-report inventories to the students including a revised version of the alienation inventory. S's had previously been contacted about the testing session via the high-school field coordinator prior to the testing date.

All S's were assigned to a testing room on an a priori basis. Each of the six testing rooms had approximately an equal number of S's occupying them. In addition to the six Black test-administrators, a high-school teacher was assigned to each room to assist the investigators and to answer any questions that S's might have regarding the instruments. The test-sessions began at 8:30 a.m. and the last subject had completed all forms by 11:00 a.m.

Each test booklet had printed instructions on the cover sheet, and all investigators were instructed to read them aloud while the S's read along with them. There was a total of 3 separate booklets, and they were all administered in the identical order to all S's. S's were encouraged to ask questions about test-items that they did not completely understand. After the administration of two of the three booklets, S's were allowed an intermission of 20 minutes, with punch and cookies provided by the research team. Upon the completion of the 3 booklets by all S's the testing session was ended.

ANALYSIS

A principal components analysis was performed on the data obtained from the 128 subjects. The output from this was then rotated to a solution yielding six factors accounting for 37 percent of the variance in the 50 items (see Appendix B). This factor analysis was performed for the purpose of developing orthogonal scales measuring various aspects of alienation. Thus the item loadings on each factor were examined for inclusion in the appropriate scale on the basis of two criteria. Beginning with the highest factor loading, items were continuously added into the scale to the point where the addition of one more item would have lowered rather than raised the estimated reliability of the final scale. In addition, each item was inspected with regard to its contribution to variance accounted for in each of the six factors. In order to assure a high degree of independence among the derived scales, items loading highly on two or more scales were discarded from use.

Abbreviated statements descriptive of the item content are given in Table 1 along with the factor loading of the items for the scale to which the item was assigned. These represent the rotated loadings.

The estimated reliabilities of the six scales ranged from .58 to .76 (see Table 2). Since these are obtained from the rotated factor loadings they are biased estimates and probably represent an upper limit for the true reliability.

Table 1. Abbreviated item content and factor loadings for items in scale

Factor	Items	Factor loadings
I. White Americanism scale		
	47. Star Spangled Banner makes me feel patriotic	-.69
	42. Important to serve in Armed Forces	-.65
	31. If Martin King white, Ray would get death sentence	.65
	40. Crime to desecrate American flag	-.58
	26. Knew that policeman who killed Black youth would be freed	.54
	9. Should punish students who tear-up draft cards	-.52
	28. Proud to be Black American	-.42
	20. "Reefer" more harmful than alcohol	-.35
II. Black identification scale		
	48. Soul, exclusively Black	-.70
	49. "Oh Happy Day" song whites don't understand	-.66
	39. Most Blacks dislike whites	-.58
	19. Most whites dislike Blacks	-.55
	22. Education doesn't matter whites with same or less education get better jobs	-.50
	35. Black authors more important to read than white ones	-.47

Table 1 (Continued)

Factor	Items	Factor loadings
III. Denial by facade scale		
	14. Thing's improving for Blacks	.56
	50. Received a fair shake in this country	.53
	24. Political system in U.S. intends to include Blacks	.49
	12. Riots get out of hand because police not hard enough soon enough	.48
	10. Police motto "to protect and serve" carried out by most policeman	.46
	25. Education key to success	.45
	15. Black's don't care about improving themselves	.43
	30. Not true that Black Panthers systematically murdered	.41
IV. Political activism scale		
	5. Activism in Black Liberation helps me to know that things are getting better	-.59
	8. Admit Communist China to U.N.	-.54
	2. Legislative committees should investigate political beliefs of non-major party members	.48
	46. Better to ignore Black-white issue	.47
V. Participation scale		
	38. Important to be involved in civil-rights activities	-.61
	34. Organized participation no good	.51

Table 1 (Continued)

Factor	Items	Factor loadings
	13. Lower voting age to 18	-.48
	32. White teachers concerned with Black students doing well	.40
VI. Non-assimilation scale		
	27. In 50 years Blacks and whites live in harmony	-.57
	23. Black militance not best way to gain equality	-.51
	3. Too easy on criminals. Police can't do job	-.51
	43. Discrimination will disappear when Blacks-whites inter-marry	-.45
	33. Would rather live in another country	.31

After the items were assigned to their respective scales each subject was scored on each of the six scales. A scale score was obtained by assigning a 1 to the adjective rating "strongly agree", a 2 to the rating "agree, and so on to a 5 for "strongly disagree". Items keyed in the opposite direction from the predominant ones defining the scale had their scale score inverted and were then added in.

Table 2. Scale reliabilities and formula

Scale	Reliability ^a
I. White Americanism	.75
II. Black identification	.76
III. Denial by facade	.69
IV. Political activism	.69
V. Participation	.58
VI. Non-assimilation	.58

^aReliabilities were estimated by the following formula based on item loadings

$$R = \frac{n \left[\frac{(\sum a)^2}{n^2} \right]}{1 + (n-1) \left[\frac{(\sum a)^2}{n^2} \right]}$$

where a = any item loading on a given factor

n = number of items.

RESULTS

The six derived scales measure facets of alienation with varying degrees of adequacy. The "White Americanism" scale and the "Black Identification" scale had reliabilities of .75 and .76, respectively. The first of these; "White Americanism" reflects attitudes toward the United States governmental policies as perceived from an Afro-American cultural context. A person endorsing the items of this scale would appear patriotic and supportive of the "system" where as a high score on the "Black Identification" scale would connote a perceptual frame of reference turning on a black-white axis. Scales III and IV, "Denial by Facade" and "Political Activism" each yield reliabilities of .69. "Denial by Facade" projects an authoritative, dogmatic, repression-denial syndrome sustained by a societal facade advocating that the condition of the Black man in America is improving. The "Political Activism" scale connotes activism at a level sufficiently abstract to subsume international as well as national issues.

The final two scales, "Participation" and "Non-assimilation" were only moderately reliable (.58 each) and would require additional developmental work in order to develop any sound validity information.

After scores were assigned to each subject on the six alienation scales, the subjects were then dichotomized into two groups on the basis of their composite Cooperative School

and College Abilities Test (SCAT) scores. The groups above and below the median SCAT score were then compared on the six scale scores and significance tests were run. Means, standard deviations and t 's are presented in Table 3. The "Black Identification" scale yielded a mean difference significant at the .07 level of confidence. Thus Black male high school students who are less exclusive of identification with whites are more likely to receive higher scores on the standardized achievement test used in the school system.

Table 3. Means, standard deviations and t -tests for each factor above and below median groups on SCAT

Factor	Means		Standard deviations		t
	<u>Above</u>	<u>Below</u>	<u>Above</u>	<u>Below</u>	
I	3.57	3.64	.161	.168	N.S.
II	2.82	2.42	.151	.162	1.82 ^a
III	2.81	2.76	.172	.196	N.S.
IV	2.67	2.60	.162	.185	N.S.
V	2.10	2.23	.146	.099	N.S.
VI	3.03	2.90	.166	.160	N.S.

^aSignificant at the .07 level.

DISCUSSION

Emanating from an empirical necessity to investigate psychological dimensions that are relevant to Black youth, an alienation questionnaire survey was developed. The concept of alienation as previously studied has little validity for Black adolescents. The lack of validity stems not from the irrelevance of the concept, but from the inappropriate usage of the concept outside of the environmental milieu for which it was designed, developed and validated.

The alienation concept as a theoretical construct is well-documented. Concomitant psychological and behavioral dynamics underlying perceptions of alienation are, however, little understood. While this is certainly true of research findings related to white youth cultures, it also holds true for Black youth cultures. The reasons, however, are different. As the lack of meaningful and useful research on Black adolescents in general, and Black alienation, in particular, is severely apparent, it was decided to establish construct validation for a measure of alienation in Black adolescents.

A 50-item Likert-type questionnaire inventory was designed and developed by the author. The survey instrument was pre-tested, revised and ultimately administered to 128 Black senior males who are attending an inner-city high-school in Detroit. Based on student test-scores from the Cooperative School and College Abilities Tests (SCAT) the S's were split into two

equivalent groups, representing high and low academic achievement. Data were analyzed on 116 S's.

The rotated factor loadings derived from the factor analysis, produced six scales. The scales are: I. White Americanism; II. Black Identification; III. Denial by Facade IV. Political Activism; V. Participation; and VI. Non-assimilation.

I. The White Americanism scale, is an index composed of eight items which deal with Black perceptions of white patriotism.

II. The Black Identification scale focuses on Black identity relative to the attitudes of the new emerging Black experience.

III. The Denial by Facade scale is composed of ten items that seem to tap a denial-repression syndrome supported by a mythology based on the assumption that the American ideal is working for the Black man.

IV. The Political Activism scale, as well as V, the Participation scale, are indices of political ideologies and strategies relative to the induction of social reform or social change in the Black community.

VI. The Non-assimilation scale appears to reflect cognitive coping styles of Black adolescents viz a viz innovative belief systems concerning inter-racial "togetherness". It seems to question both the feasibility and plausibility of racial

harmony due to the external realities that are constantly assaulting the psychological systems of Black adolescents.

Apropos, the Black student types, many speculations can be offered on the basis of the six scales. The scales III and V, Denial by Facade and Participation, respectively, appear to be particularly relevant to the marginal group. For an example, given the real-life conditions of oppression, which generate racism, depressed economic instability, inferior education and deflated personal self-esteem for the oppressed, it may be psychologically expedient to simply deny and/or repress what the real-world looks like. The Denial by Facade scale provides the opportunity to reject, fallaciously, the contemporary plight of Black people. This scale would indicate that people who are steeped in this belief system are potentially candidates for experiencing a more serious psychological pathology that is grounded in severe conflict. The denial-repressive syndrome only perpetuates inhibition of conflict resolution.

The moderate group, would appear to have specific investments in scales I, IV and V, White Americanism, Political Activism and Non-assimilation, consecutively. Patriotism or White Americanism modelled after the normative structure can no longer provide a *modus operandi* to imitate. That is not to say that some variety of patriotic concern does not exist within the members of this group. White Americanism is, however, conceivably translated to Black Patriotism or Black Americanism

as opposed to Black Nationalism or Pan-Africanism. Although the White Americanism and Political Activism scales are independent, it seems plausible that there exist some relationship between groups working in the area of Black politics and Black patriotism. The perceptions that may be crucial to understanding this relationship rests within the ideological principle of changing the established institutions to meet the needs of its participants. This is on the order of planned change, or change through "proper" and "established" channels of redress and due-process. Despite the transformed Black frame of reference, with respect to white institutions and systems, patriotism, politics and participation persevere a relatively unsophisticated or uncomplicated adaptation to the system.

The cadre of students that are labeled militant or radical clearly call for new priorities. The equitable distribution of the basic necessities that are requisite for survival, and the establishment of a new social order direct their activities.

The political philosophies of the moderate and militant groups are dissimilar in focus. While the moderate group would attempt a social and political reformation, the militant group perceives the social order as irreparable because it is hopelessly contaminated with its own power.

If, in fact, it could hold true that the greatest critics of any system, are the members who know that system best, high academic achievers probably function as powerful precursors to

the emergence of a Black identity. Black identity can be defined as a contemporary effort to break-away from the white-identity of Black Americans. The 'white-identity' syndrome enjoyed its greatest success during the integration era. This confused identity syndrome has yet to be significantly alleviated, however, some signs of change are apparent. The Black Identification scale is especially crucial to the members of this group because it directs young Black minds toward the projected goal of Black liberation; and conceptually Black liberation is perceived as diametrically opposed to Black oppression. The political ideology that resides within these group members has no immediate anchor in existing and established political systems. The politics of ghetto streets still operate underground, and paranoid concerns about information-seekers justifiably abounds.

It would appear, as an interpretation based on the data, that the urgent social problems that besiege this country are not conveniently side-stepped by high achievers. They are aware of the problems, and appear to be invested in the prognosis. While moderate reactionaries would label the members of this group as "militant", the author offers the conservative suggestion that these attitudes may reflect a scrutinizing population of Black adolescents that are relatively unrelenting in their efforts to be treated as complete human beings.

CONCLUSION

An alienation inventory, designed and developed for Black adolescents was administered to 128 Black senior males stratified on the basis of measured achievements. The data were then factor analyzed. From the rotated factor loadings six scales were derived. These were: I. White Americanism, II. Black Identification, III. Denial by Facade, IV. Political Activism, V, Participation and VI. Non-assimilation.

The Black Identification scale yielded a difference between high and low academic achievement groups significant at the .07 level of confidence.

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APPENDIX A

[1-6]

6	9	0	2	0	1
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P# S# C#

[7-11]

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I.D. #

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE
IN THIS SPACE.

[12-26]

[27]

[28-45]

FIRST NAME M.I. LAST NAME

[46-53] [54-73] [74-7]

HOUSE NUMBER STREET NAME AGE

PLEASE PRINT YOUR FULL NAME, ADDRESS AND AGE ABOVE.

(FORM IB-SPRING 1970)

STUDY OF OPINIONS OF YOUTH



THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

We are interested in the way you personally feel about the questions that are in this booklet. It is important that you can answer the questions as truthfully as you can. Rest assured that no one in this school will see your answers. Be sure to answer all questions. Remember, this is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers.

Thank you very much for helping us.

PART 1. Please indicate how you feel about each of the following statements.
(MARK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH STATEMENT.)

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>	
1. A former member of the Black Panther Party who refuses to reveal the names of Party members he has known should not be allowed to teach in the Public School System.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[12]
2. Legislative committees should investigate the political beliefs of people who are not members of either the Democratic or Republican Parties.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[13]
3. We're getting too easy on criminals. The police can't do their job.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[14]
4. It is proper for the government to refuse a passport to a Communist.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[15]
5. Active involvement in Black Liberation activities helps me to know that things are getting better.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[16]
6. Police in this country have too much power.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[17]
7. Any mother who gives birth to an illegitimate child while already on welfare should have her money cut off.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[18]
8. Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[19]
9. Students who tear up their draft cards or sit-in draft boards should be punished by being drafted.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[20]
10. The police motto to protect and serve is practiced by most of the policeman that I have ever known or heard about.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[21]

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	
11. The U.S. government has proven over the years that it is not a useless, corrupt, silly organization.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[22]
12. Things that happened in cities like Newark and Detroit got out of hand because the police didn't crack down hard enough or soon enough.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[23]
13. Lowering the voting age to 18 should make a big difference in how this country is managed.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[24]
14. Things do seem to be getting better for most Blacks.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[25]
15. The problem with most Blacks is that not enough care about bettering themselves.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[26]
16. The only way to get ahead is to be accepted by whites.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[27]
17. If I get a good high school education, most of my problems will be solved.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[28]
18. Blacks can never expect to receive justice inside or outside of the courts.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[29]
19. Most whites automatically dislike Black people.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[30]
20. "Reefer" is more harmful to the body than alcohol.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[31]
21. The U.S. government is not really concerned about the well-being of Black people.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[32]
22. It doesn't matter how much education I receive, a white person with the same or less education will still get a better job.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[33]
23. Black militance is not the best way to gain equality.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[34]

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	
24. The political system in the U.S. has every intention of giving Afro-Americans more decision-making power in the affairs that affect their own communities.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[35]
25. Education is the key to success for all people.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[36]
26. Almost every Black person in Detroit knew from the beginning that August, the policeman that killed the young Black brother in the Algiers Motel shooting, would be freed.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[37]
27. In 50 years, Blacks and whites will live in harmony.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[38]
28. Most of my Black friends are proud to be called Americans.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[39]
29. It's important to have friends of all races.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[40]
30. It is not true that members of the Black Panther Party are systematically being murdered.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[41]
31. If Martin Luther King had been white, James Earl Ray would have received a death sentence rather than life imprisonment.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[42]
32. White teachers are really concerned with Black students doing well in work.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[43]
33. More often than not, I would rather live in another country than the U.S.A.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[44]
34. Participating in organized activities is not where its at.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[45]
35. Reading books by Black authors is more important than reading books by white authors.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[46]
36. It would be good if in 100 years there was only one race.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	[47]

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	
37. The continuation of the Biafran War was lengthened by the presence of Standard Oil.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[48]
38. It is important to become actively involved in civil rights.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[49]
39. Most Black people automatically dislike white people.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[50]
40. The American flag is the symbol of democracy and freedom, and it should, therefore, be a crime to burn it, spit on it, or walk on it.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[51]
41. Integration is far more important than Black nationalism.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[52]
42. I think it is more important to serve my country in the Armed Forces.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[53]
43. Discrimination will only disappear when more Blacks and whites marry each other.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[54]
44. People in the United States would really prefer only white people living here.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[55]
45. The Republic of New Africa makes Black people look bad in the eyes of whites.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[56]
46. Sometimes I think ignoring the entire Black-white issue is better than becoming frustrated by it.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[57]
47. Whenever I hear the Star Spangled Banner, I feel very patriotic.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[58]
48. Soul is exclusively a Black thing.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[59]
49. The song "Oh Happy Day" is a gospel song that whites don't really understand.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[60]
50. For the most part I've received a fair shake in this country.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[61]

APPENDIX B

Table 4. Complete table of rotated factor loadings, 50 items x 6 factors plus variance accounted for

Item number	Factors					
	VI	II	V	III	I	IV
1	-0.28	-0.03	0.08	0.04	-0.35	0.02
2	-0.27	-0.12	-0.03	0.04	0.02	0.48
3	-0.51	-0.07	-0.14	-0.05	-0.01	-0.08
4	-0.15	-0.22	-0.09	0.09	-0.29	-0.34
5	0.01	-0.29	-0.23	0.03	-0.11	-0.59
6	0.00	-0.33	0.32	-0.19	0.36	-0.17
7	-0.26	0.20	-0.33	-0.04	-0.23	0.05
8	-0.16	0.19	-0.08	-0.08	0.20	-0.54
9	-0.09	-0.04	0.05	0.05	-0.52	0.00
10	-0.11	0.18	0.09	0.46	-0.12	-0.02
11	0.06	0.12	0.18	0.40	-0.37	0.18
12	-0.31	-0.05	-0.05	0.48	-0.03	0.10
13	-0.11	-0.01	-0.48	-0.03	0.13	-0.01
14	0.12	-0.00	0.14	0.56	-0.10	-0.37
15	-0.04	-0.03	-0.08	0.43	0.15	-0.02
16	-0.25	-0.20	0.31	-0.06	-0.33	-0.25
17	-0.27	-0.16	0.34	0.27	-0.11	-0.03
18	-0.14	-0.28	0.16	-0.39	0.26	-0.32
19	-0.12	-0.55	-0.04	-0.19	0.22	0.17
20	-0.15	-0.00	0.11	-0.02	-0.35	-0.06
21	-0.09	-0.21	-0.34	-0.46	0.38	-0.24
22	-0.11	-0.50	0.05	-0.20	0.38	-0.04
23	-0.51	0.07	0.02	0.37	-0.02	0.23
24	0.05	-0.11	0.12	0.50	-0.39	0.30
25	-0.15	0.09	-0.25	0.46	-0.28	0.09
26	-0.06	-0.31	-0.02	-0.01	0.55	-0.00
27	-0.57	0.14	0.15	0.06	-0.09	0.11
28	-0.20	-0.00	0.24	0.36	-0.43	0.17
29	-0.33	0.09	-0.13	0.28	0.01	-0.02
30	0.01	0.11	-0.05	0.42	-0.23	0.25
31	0.02	-0.24	-0.11	0.08	0.66	0.08
32	-0.15	0.27	0.40	0.25	-0.31	-0.01
33	0.31	0.11	-0.08	-0.19	0.19	-0.00
34	-0.01	0.15	0.51	-0.14	-0.12	0.06
35	0.05	-0.48	0.16	0.10	0.39	-0.32
36	0.17	-0.02	0.07	-0.25	-0.00	0.00
37	-0.26	-0.04	-0.34	-0.11	0.18	-0.32
38	0.22	-0.14	-0.61	0.17	-0.07	-0.27
39	-0.12	-0.58	-0.04	-0.19	-0.08	0.29
40	-0.11	0.10	-0.02	0.21	-0.58	0.16

Table 4 (Continued)

Item number	Factors					
	VI	II	V	III	I	IV
41	-0.38	0.02	0.02	0.10	-0.39	0.23
42	0.07	0.25	-0.14	0.14	-0.65	0.08
43	-0.45	-0.14	0.00	0.05	-0.11	0.13
44	-0.06	-0.05	-0.42	-0.41	-0.01	0.09
45	-0.16	-0.11	-0.05	0.05	0.02	0.32
46	-0.22	-0.07	0.05	0.09	-0.22	0.47
47	0.00	-0.11	0.13	0.27	-0.69	0.11
48	0.01	-0.70	-0.06	-0.08	0.04	0.04
49	0.06	-0.66	-0.18	0.12	0.02	-0.04
50	-0.21	0.22	0.04	0.53	-0.33	0.11

Percent removed (total variance) by each factor

4.82773 6.32709 4.72326 7.14362 9.34399 5.08077

Percent total variance removed by 6 factors: 37.44645

Percent common variance removed by each of 6 factors

12.89235 16.89637 12.61336 19.07688 24.95292 13.56809

Table 5. Item content of the scales and scoring key

Scale	Items	Scoring key
I. White Americanism		
47.	Whenever I hear the Star Spangled Banner, I feel very patriotic	(-)
42.	I think it is more important to serve my country in the Armed Forces	(-)
31.	If Martin Luther King had been white, James Earl Ray would have received a death sentence rather than life imprisonment	(+)
40.	The American flag is the symbol of democracy and freedom, and it should, therefore, be a crime to burn it, spit on it, or walk on it	(-)
26.	Almost every Black person in Detroit knew from the beginning that August, the policeman that killed the young Black brother in the Algiers Motel shooting, would be freed	(+)
9.	Students who tear up their draft cards or sit-in draft boards should be punished by being drafted	(-)
28.	Most of my Black friends are proud to be called Americans	(-)
20.	"Reefer" is more harmful to the body than alcohol	(-)
II. Black Identification		
48.	Soul is exclusively a Black thing	(-)
49.	The song "Oh Happy Day" is a gospel song that whites don't really understand	(-)
39.	Most Black people automatically dislike white people	(-)

Table 5 (Continued)

Scale	Items	Scoring key
19.	Most whites automatically dislike Black people	(-)
22.	It doesn't matter how much education I receive, a white person with the same or less education will still get a better job	(-)
35.	Reading books by Black authors is more important than reading books by white authors	(-)
III. Denial by Facade		
14.	Things do seem to be getting better for most Blacks	(+)
50.	For the most part I've received a fair shake in this country	(+)
24.	The political system in the U.S. has every intention of giving Afro-Americans more decision-making power in the affairs that affect their own communities	(+)
12.	Things that happened in cities like Newark and Detroit got out of hand because the police didn't crack down hard enough or soon enough	(+)
10.	The police motto to protect and serve is practiced by most of the policeman that I have ever known or heard about	(+)
25.	Education is the key to success for all people	(+)
15.	The problem with most Blacks is that not enough care about bettering themselves	(+)
30.	It is not true that members of the Black Panther Party are systematically being murdered	(+)

Table 5 (Continued)

Scale	Items	Scoring key
IV. Political Activism		
	5. Active involvement in Black Liberation activities helps me to know that things are getting better	(-)
	8. Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations	(-)
	2. Legislative committees should investigate the political beliefs of people who are not members of either the Democratic or Republican Parties	(+)
	46. Sometimes I think ignoring the entire Black-white issue is better than becoming frustrated by it	(+)
V. Participation		
	38. It is important to become actively involved in civil rights	(-)
	34. Participating in organized activities is not where its at	(+)
	13. Lowering the voting age to 18 should make a big difference in how this country is managed	(-)
	32. White teachers are really concerned with Black students doing well in work	(+)
VI. Non-assimilation		
	27. In 50 years, Blacks and whites will live in harmony	(-)
	23. Black militance is not the best way to gain equality	(-)

Table 5 (Continued)

Scale	Items	Scoring key
	3. We're getting too easy on criminals. The police can't do their job	(-)
	43. Discrimination will only disappear when Blacks and whites marry each other	(-)
	33. More often than not, I would rather live in another country than the U.S.A.	(+)