RACE AND SEX AS DIFFERENTIAL FACTORS

IN ADOLESCENT SOCIALIZATION

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1976

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Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
May, 1983

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

In the social sciences, socialization refers to the complex process by which individuals come to learn and to perform various aspects of behavior expected of them by society. Thus socialization helps the teaching and learning of attitudes and values, thereby transmitting culture from one generation to another.

There are at least three basic characteristics thought to be common to all human beings which prompt social scientists to study socialization. First, human beings have few instincts and learn most of the behavior necessary for survival. Second, human beings do not live in isolation but depend upon and intereact with others. Third, because human beings lack instincts they tend to learn to control their relations with one another by living according to shared values and roles.

Socialization in Perspective

As one of the principal ways by which societies perpetuate themselves, socialization is a long and continuous process. It begins from infancy and it does not end until death. From childhood through adolescence to adulthood, social expectations require that people make some adjustments in their lives; otherwise, they cannot function as acceptable

members of their societies. The adjustments that need to be made differ from society to society and from person to person.

Socialization can be conceptualized as a process of dynamics for a variety of reasons. As the embodiment of the whole societal development, it can aid in a healthy growth of the individual or be responsible for the creation of anti-social elements. By the same token, socialization is capable of rehabilitating and restructuring anti-social tendencies that have been generated by earlier unacceptable trends. Sociological theory, in the main, deals with the dynamics of socialization, although in most cases theory does not make specific reference to these dynamics.

The agents of socialization are significantly instrumental in preparing children for acceptable roles and functions in society. The responsibility, however, is not uniformly shouldered by all the recognized agents. Perhaps it may be stated that the degree of relevance of the socialization agents varies from one society to another, or even within the same society. In the literature, the main agents of socialization that receive attention are family, peer group, school, and the mass media. According to Elkin and Hendel (1972):

> From the moment of his birth, before he had has the opportunity to take any actions on his own, the child is located in society--as middle class or working class, child of a teacher or truck driver, Christian or Jew, member of a dominant or subordinate ethnic group, member of a family respected or scorned (p. 103).

This quotation underscores the point that of all the socialization agents, the family is the most crucial. But as children become old enough to enter a circle of their friends, the influence of the family is lessened to a certain extent. The children come under the influence of people of approximately the same age and social status as themselves who constitute a peer group. When the children enter the school, another agent of

socialization makes its impact on them. The school provides a wider cir-
cle of peer group, teachers as parent surrogates, and specially designed
programs aimed at preparing children to perform useful roles and functions
in society. In addition to these agents, the community itself can be re-
garded as a viable agent of socialization.

Adolescence in Perspective

Adolescence has been defined by Hurlock (1967) as both a way of life
and a span of time in the physical and psychological development of indi-
viduals. It represents a period of growth and change in nearly all as-
pects of the children's physical, mental, social, and emotional life. It
is a time of new experiences, new responsibilities, and new relationships
with adults as well as peers. The general belief seems to be that radical
changes take place in individuals as they emerge from childhood into matur-
ity. Incidentally, to adolescents, being mature means having the rights
and privileges of adults which tends to mean the freedom to do as they
please. Adolescents are supposed to shed, automatically, the undesirable
traits acquired during childhood and to develop in some mysterious way,
and with little or no effort, desirable traits that will serve them well
they reach maturity.

Children cannot remain so forever. As physical development reaches
a certain point, children must grow up pyschologically and rid themselves
of childish habits. The task of change, however, is too big to be accom-
plished in a short time. The children must have enough time to make the
change. That is the function of adolescence. Commenting on adolescence
as a period of transition between childhood and adulthood, Sorenson (1962)
stated:

> Adolescence is much more than one rung up the ladder from childhood. It is a built-in, necessary transition period for ego development. It is a leave-taking of the dependencies of childhood and a precocious reach for adulthood. An adolescent is a traveler who has left one place and has not reached the next. . . . It is an intermission between earlier freedoms . . . and subsequent responsibilities and commitments . . . a last hesitation before . . . serious commitments concerning work and love (p. 9).

Adults are concerned about adolescence as much as adolescents themselves are. Most adults and parents are concerned about the unattractiveness of the adolescents' appearance and manners. Many adolescents are unruly, unsure of themselves, and they say and do things in an unsavory manner. Another source of concern is adolescent defiance of adult authority. Many adolescents go out of their way to do the opposite of what they have been told to do. Yet another area of concern has to do with what will happen to the adolescent in the future. Very often, as their adolescent children go downhill academically and hang around popular teen-age spots with peers, parents have to wonder how these patterns of behavior will prepare the adolescents for the competitive world in which they will soon find themselves. Adolescents themselves frequently dread this period while they wonder whether they are capable of assuming the responsibilities that go with freedom. Parental anxiety and concern about the adolescents' ability to cope with their problems and to achieve a satisfactory adult status do increase the adolescents' anxiety and lead to even stronger negative feelings about themselves and their abilities. It has been observed that while their behavior makes them difficult to live or work with, most adolescents come through this period with relatively little difficulty and make personal and social adjustments to adult life.

We need to bear in mind the point that transition always means change and with change comes a need for adjustment. Hurlock (1967) observed that:

Most adolescents make the transition from childhood to adulthood without any serious emotional upset though few do so without any emotional scars. Sometimes the emotional scars are damaging enough to affect their entire future. Others give up the struggle and remain immature for the rest of their lives (p. 12).

Statement of the Problem

It is recognized that adolescents as they move from the period of childhood to that of adulthood must make some personal and social preparations. However, it is not quite clear what specific shades and patterns preparations they make and to what degree they make those preparations in relation to society's efforts to get them ready to become useful and responsible citizens. Admitting individual differences, the major concern of this dissertation is to examine the extent to which socialization is experienced evenly by adolescents regardless of race and sex.

Therefore, the problem of this study is placing in a proper perspective those social and personal dynamics that are in operation in the socialization process as far as adolescents are concerned. The family, the school, and the community are selected as the agents of socialization in this study. Race and sex are considered as factors which may affect the socialization experience.

The analysis will focus on identifying differences between black and white—as well as male and female—adolescents of personal worth, family relations, school relations, and community relations. In addition, blacks in white communities and blacks in black communities will be compared on the selected variables.

The sample for the study consisted of 587 youths from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades drawn from ten high schools located in Eastern and Northeastern Oklahoma in the 1979-80 academic year.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I introduces the study. The main issues are conceptualized, followed by a statement of the problem and the organization of the study. In Chapter II, there is a review of the selected literature dealing with socialization, adolescence, and theory. Chapter III discusses the principal agents of socialization as applicable to the study. Chapter IV focuses on the core of the study. The background literature is reviewed, leading to the propositions by which the study is provided dimensions. Under the heading of methodology, Chapter V gives an account of the respondents, testing instruments, and the collection of the data. The analysis of the data is provided in Chapter VI with further discussion of the results in Chapter VII. Chapter VII contains the summary and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

Introduction

The interplay between individuals and the social system is a constant-
ly unfolding process which reflects developmental and historical events as
the individuals move through time. The social system as the individuals
experience it is not a static entity but one that reflects continuity as
well as change. Individuals' behavior can be conceptualized as being a
daily and long-term confrontation with the social structure in which they
live, serving as a pointer to new roles, new norms, and new reference
groups which characterize different stages in the individuals' life cycle.
The process by which individuals negotiate the various changes in the
social system through time is socialization.

Conceptualization of Socialization

For the sociologist, a study of the interplay between the organiza-
tion of the individual personality and that of the social system is of
profound importance. In the American society one may outline three main
stages of the socialization process, each of which in turn can be subdi-
vided into two clearly marked points. Parsons (1959) observed that the
first of these takes place in the nuclear family, the second centers
around the primary and secondary schools, and the third revolves around
the college and the graduate and professional schools. As might be

expected, the categorization tends to become less clear toward the top of the scale, since institutionalization at this level is still incomplete (Berger and Berger, 1971):

> In this respect, socialization is an essential part of the process of becoming fully human and realizing the full potential of the individual. Socialization is a process of initiation into a social world, its forms of interaction, and its many meanings. The social world of his parents first confronts the child as an external, vastly powerful and mysterious reality. In the course of socialization, that world becomes comprehensible. The child enters it, becomes capable of participating in it. It becomes his world (p. 164).

Berger and Berger restrict their conception of socialization to only childhood. They treat socialization as an episode on the human drama. This stand is in contradistinction to that of Bengston (1977) which is that:

> It is similarly true, but somewhat less obvious, that socialization occurs throughout the life-cycle. Socialization should be regarded as continuous bilateral negotiation between the individual and the social system as he moves into new positions through time (p. 19).

He adds that whenever one moves into a different social position, there are many new behaviors which must be learned in order to fill that position acceptably. A distinction, however, can be made between early and late socialization. In early socialization, which is characterized by childhood, one is helped and even forced to learn the new behaviors by agencies of socialization, such as the family which teaches good manners, and the school which teaches normatively correct expression in writing and speaking as well as values like citizenship. Late socialization, which covers adolescence and adulthood, also has agencies to guide individual behavior into ways acceptable to new positions. This then is what makes normal transition involving role changes in adolescence so difficult in this heterogeneous society.

The view that socialization is a continuous and dynamic process is strongly supported in the literature. Giddens (1979) remarked that Durkheim treated socialization as one of the modes in which the constraining properties of social facts make themselves felt. The "externality" of society vis-à-vis the individual, he proposed, is shown by the fact that society exists before each of its members is born, and constrains and molds the process of their development. We can accept the proposition that processes of socialization are basic to an account of the institutional organization of social systems so long as three important points are born in mind, each of which tends to be obscured or not properly confronted, in the writings of those influenced by it.

Giddens (1979) writes that socialization is never anything like a passive imprinting by society upon each individual.

From its earliest experiences, the infant is an active partner in the double contingency of interaction and in a progressive involvement with society. Second, socialization does not just stop at some particular point in the life of individuals when they become mature members of socieity. That socialization is confined to childhood or to childhood plus adolescence, is an explicit or implicit assumption of a good number of writers who have made use of the term. But socialization should really be understood as referring to the whole life cycle of the individual. Such an assertion does not go far enough if it simply refers to the continuity or temporarity of the life-course, or treats society as a static or finished order, rather than recognizing the mutuality of time-process, linking the life-course to the inherent temporarity of social reproduction. Third, we cannot appropriately speak of the process of socialization as if there were a single and simply mapped type of "process" which

everyone undergoes and as if there were a consensual unity which each individual is socialized.

Adolescence Defined

Considering the sociological definitions of adolescence, Elder (1975) noted that there is a lack of consensus as to the boundaries of contemporary adolescence. The clearest social markers that could be used are the years between seventh grade and relatively complete independence from the family of origin. The young come to maturity within social contexts that are subject to societal, historical, and ecological variations.

The legal theory of adolescence is also discussed. Bahan (1971) contended that adolescence was invented or discovered in America in response to social chnages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, its principal purpose being to prolong childhood. Three movements combined to create adolescence as a socially determined state of life--compulsory education, child labor legislation, and special procedures for juveniles. Thus adolescents became defined by legislation associated with these three movements as the periods between pubescence and the legal ages for termination of compulsory education, of employment, and of criminal procedure.

Indications are that there is no coherent concept of adolescence in this society. Lipsitz (1977) remarked that the various theories of adolescence with which scholars and practitioners deal all emphasize similar features like physical growth, sexual maturation, increasing autonomy, and increasing cognitive sophistication. Even so, biological, psychological, and social concepts stand apart from one another because there is little dialogue among the disciplines. It is the view of Cohen and Frank (1975)

that biologically, adolescence spans the years between the onset of puberty and the completion of bone growth. Puberty is defined biologically as the phase of bodily development during which the genes secrete sex hormones in amounts sufficient to cause accelerated growth and during which secondary sex characteristics appear.

Psychologically, Erikson's (1968) concept of adolescence as a time of both identity crisis and psychosocial moratorium dominates the literature. By psychosocial moratorium is meant a time of delay granted by society to people at the end of childhood who are not ready to accept the obligations of adulthood. It allows for a delay of adult commitment and permits experimentation, sometimes provocative and sometimes intense, with various commitments. Erikson adds that it is a time of socially approved exploration and experimentation which, if truncated, can lead to the premature foreclosure of identity development.

Coalescing various perspectives of adolescence theory, Lipsitz (1977) concluded that adolescence is an important stage in and of itself. It is a developmental stage, universal because of biological and endocrine changes and sociopsychological because its particular forms and stresses are culturally determined.

Relevance of Theory

Sociology operates under the umbrella of social theory as it is concerned with the relation between individuals and the social groups. Social theory studies the process of becoming for individuals and the groups of which they are members. As Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) pointed out:

> If a science wishes to lay the foundation of a technique it must attempt to understand and control the process of becoming. Social theory cannot avoid this task, and there is only one way of fulfilling it. Social becoming, like natural

becoming, must be analyzed into a plurality of facts, each of which represents a succession of cause and effect. The idea of social theory is the analysis of the totality of social becoming into such casual processes and a systematization permitting us to understand the connections between these processes (p. 36).

Opinions differ as to the connotation of theory. One perspective is that theory is an explanation of the relationship between phenomena which is not as solidly established as a law, but is more than a mere hypothesis. Another view is that a theory is a hypothesis which has undergone verification and which is applicable to a large number of related phenomena. Whatever explanation one adopts, the value of theory lies in the fact that it helps one in analyzing and understanding phenomena whether they are natural or social. Sociology entertains as many varied theories on socialization as there are different conceptualizations of the dimensions of socialization. Some of the theories relate to the positive aspects of socializations while others deal with its negative aspects.

Symbolic Interactionism

As a sociological theory, symbolic interactionism describes the relationship between personality and the social structure as a guide to understanding socialization. The theory states that a person is born into a social environment of pre-existing symbols and meanings. A person learns and uses these symbols in interaction with other persons. The underlying basis for symbolic interaction is a person's ability to use language.

George Herbert Mead (1934) is, without doubt, the most prominent of the proponents of symbolic interactionism. He held that a person is born into a world of symbols and comes to learn the use of the symbols and to develop a sense of social being through the process of socialization. Mead gave three stages as making up the socialization process through

symbolic interactionism. These were the preparatory stage, play stage, and game stage. The preparatory stage occurs during the second year of life, and it involves imitating the mannerisms of one's significant others such as parents, siblings, and other members of the family. In about the third year the play stage begins and is marked by the child's inclination to assume various roles. As it plays at being a father, a teacher, or a fireman, the child begins to get "outside itself." It acquires a series of selves which become integrated when it reaches the game stage. At the game stage, which is the period of the emergence of the unified self, the child is able to take the attitude of all members of the group to which it belongs. Mead (1934) related:

> The organized community or social group which gives to the individual his unity of self may be called 'the generalized other.' The attitude of the generalized other is the attitude of the whole community. Thus, for example, in the case of such a social group as a ball team, the team is the generalized other insofar as it--is an organized process or social activity--into the experience of any one of the individual members of it (p. 154).

Through these stages was developed the concept of self which was central to Mead's observations and arguments. Having a self means an individual is able to have a mental life which is separate and apart from overt behavior and action. It means, by interacting with themselves, persons are able to define, direct, and evaluate their social behavior. Cuzzort and King (1976) remarked that modern symbolic interactionists are inclined to agree with Mead that self-conception is not inherent at birth. They added:

> The acquisition of self-concepts comes through a process now referred to as 'socialization.' The most significant feature of the process of socialization is the development of a particular set of conceptions about the self (p. 110).

Mead insisted that the self is something which has a development; it is not initially there at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity. In other words, it develops in the individuals as a result of their relations to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process. Two aspects of the self are "I" and "Me." The I is the subjective side. Being imaginative, creative, and innovative, it learns in terms of gradually developed attitudes or likes and dislikes and feelings about right and wrong. The me is the objective side of the self and is formed largely through reaction to others. According to Mead, the I and the Me interact with one another, culminating in the development of the "self." As this point, a person begins to act symbolically instead of merely responding to gestures. Gestures refer to any part of a social act which stands for, or is a sign of, those parts of the social act yet to occur. It is gestures which give birth to language, the distinctive human attribute which is developed when people begin to interact with one another in a cooperative and rational way. Mead conceived of gestures as being significant when they allow for the coming into being of symbolic interaction. Thus significant symbols are gestures whose meaning is known to all members of a social group. As Mead (1934) pointed out:

> Only in terms of gestures as significant symbols is the existence of mind or intelligence possible; for only in terms of gestures which are significant symbols can thinking--which is simply an internalized or implicit conversation of the individual with himself by means of such gestures takes place. The internalization in our experience of the external conversation of gestures which we carry on with other individuals in the social process is the essence of thinking; and the gestures thus internalized are significnt symbols because they have the same meanings for all individual members of the given society or special group, i.e., they respectively arouse the same attitudes in the individuals making them that they arouse in the individuals responding to them (p. 47).

Significant symbols, then, are not only the building blocks of language; they are also the essential prerequisites of intellectual activity which is no less a contributory factor to socialization.

Mead used the term "mind" for the process whereby the individual examines the alternatives for an action, involving a discourse between the I and the me. Far from being static or physically located, mind is a dynamic process. The process also involves the subjective assignment of meaning to object which, according to Mead, is an entity represented by the culmination of act. An object represents a way of perceiving an aspect of reality which has meaning for how the individual acts toward the object. On the basis of this Meadian discussion, one cannot separate meaning from object. The value of mind to socialization can be brought to an even sharper focus. It is by mind as a process that individuals select and evaluate behavioral alternatives available to them. It is by the same process that persons determine their social world and how they interact with it. In this interactive context emerge laws, values, and rules of social behavior.

Other symbolic interaction theorists whose views are pertinent to socialization are C. H. Cooley and W. I. Thomas. Cooley (1962) determined that the task of sociology was to study the interaction between self and society. He felt that self and society were twin-born and so knowing one meant knowing the other. By extension, awareness of oneself was awareness of society. By the same token, social consciousness and self-consciousness were inseparable inasmuch as one cannot conceive of oneself without reference to some group; and equally, one cannot conceive of some group without reference to oneself. Self-consciousness and social consciousness originate and exist only in the mind, and their interaction occurs only in

the mind.   In relating the self to society, Cooley (1902) stated:

> Society, then, in its immediate aspect, is a relation among
> personal ideas. In order to have a society it is necessary that
> persons should get together somewhere; and they get together
> only as personal ideas in the mind. Where else? What other
> possible locus can be assigned for the real contacts of persons,
> or in what other form can they come in contact except as impres-
> sions or ideas formed in this common locus? Society exists in
> my mind as the contact and reciprocal influence of certain ideas
> named 'I' . . . and so on (p. 121).

Perhaps the concept for which Cooley is most famous on the subject

of socialization is the "looking-glass self." He conceived of the self

as an imaginative reconstruction of the way in which persons perceive

others to interpret their appearances imaginatively. In explaining the

"looking-glass self" concept, Cooley (1902) pointed out:

> A self idea of this sort seems to have three principal ele-
> ments: the imagination of our appearance to the person; the
> imagination of his judgement of that appearance; and some sort
> of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification (p. 183).

Cooley also treated social organization with special reference to

primary groups. He was of the opinion that primary groups were fundamen-

tal in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. As a sym-

bolic interactionist, Cooley was as much interested in the act of individ-

uals as he was in the actions of large social aggregates.

Social behavior as constituted in attitudes, values, and norms was

the area of concern to Thomas (1927). Behavioral situations could be con-

ceptualized as consisting of three essential elements. First, there are

the objective value conditions which affect either directly or indirectly

the conscious status of the individual actor. Second, there are the atti-

tudes an individual brings into a situation on the basis of past experi-

ence. Third, there is the individual's "definition of the situation."

The definition of the situation refers to the more or less conscious inter-

pretation which persons make of the proper combination of values and

attitudes to respond to in the form of a specific act or set of actions which occur in their interaction with others.

Individual attitudes, according to Thomas, were influenced by such inherent wishes as the desire for new experience, recognition, mastery, and for security. However, the appreciation of the definition of situations was central to Thomas' analysis of the process of socialization. He proceeded from the point that a culture is composed of definitions of situation which have been arrived at through the consensus of adults over a period of time. As a product of social life, these definitions are embodied in codes, rules, precepts, policies, traditions, and standardized social relationships. They are external to individuals, exercise some control over them, and have an existence of their own which makes them amenable to study in and of themselves. It should be remarked in passing that most of the ideas of Thomas were shared with Znaniecki (1958) particularly as expressed in their book The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.

Anomie Theory

Merton (1938, 1957) proposed The Anomie Theory which suggests that a condition of anomie or normlessness accounts for various forms of deviant behavior in a society. The theory implies that crime and delinquency grow out of a contradiction, or clash, between the culture and the social structure, and between the cultural values and the means that the social structure provides for achieving them. In American culture, for example, status symbol which is a value is based on the possession and display of economic goods, but such goods and the means for obtaining them are not available to everyone. The result of this anomaly is the creation of

pressure toward a breakdown of the pattern of complying with legal and social norms in order to attain the objectives. Those goods and the desirable status implied by them are therefore acquired through acts of illegal behavior and deviant means.

Merton outlined five modes of adaptation to the problem of means and goals. These are conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. Conformity relates to the normal or conventional behavior of most people in society. In this adaptation, people accept the cultural goals as worthy of attainment and the approved institutionalized means as worth pursuing. The conformist would want to work hard in order to achieve the socioeconomic status that society values and admires. Innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion, on the other hand, are "anomic reactions to social structural situations by individuals for whom access to them is blocked" (McGee, 1980, p. 476).

Innovators are those who believe in the legitimacy of the goal of accumulating money and material success but are either unwilling or unable to use the socially approved means to achieve it. Such people might have been denied educational opportunities or entry into the area of skilled trades on grounds of race or color. Nevertheless, they still want to attain the goal, toward which end they violate norms and break laws. Ritualists are those who slavishly adhere to the means while losing sight of the goal. Many civil servants are ritualistic in the sense that they busy themselves with rules and regulations while paying little attention to the real needs of their clients. Examples of retreatists are alcoholics, beatniks, and drug addicts. They reject both the cultural goals and the institutionalized means for achieving those goals. Rebels want a new normative structure preferably after a revolution of their own. Society

teaches its members that success is crucial to survival. It also offers
and defines hard work, education, thrift, and integrity as acceptable
means for the attainment of success. However, some people are unable to
use socially acceptable means of goal attainment or have their access to
them blocked simply because of accidents of social position, race, eth-
nicity, color, or other discriminatory factors. Some others means are
accordingly adopted to circumvent the system. To Merton, such a state of
affairs constituted anomie.

Labeling Theory

From the writings of Becker (1963) and the system of theory known as
labeling, one can gain further insight into the problem of socialization
from the perspective of the social environment. In Outsiders: Studies
in the Sociology of Deviance, Becker (1963) asserts that deviance involves
an interaction between "those who commit (or are said to have committed) a
deviant act and the rest of society, perhaps divided into several groups
itself" (p. 22). Labeling depends upon the ideas of right and wrong of
the society itself or even of subgroups within the society. It rests
principally with those who have power in the society. A person is put in-
to the position of being labeled deviant by the social group from the na-
ture of the relationship between the individual and society.

The importance of labeling theory lies not so much in the process as
in the consequence of labeling. By labeling a person as deviant, the so-
cial group seems to assign to that person a new role, a new set of expec-
tations. Furthermore, the social group responds to the individual accord-
ing to those expectations that have been created by labeling. In this way
the label and all future interactions are accordingly reinforced. It is

to be noted, however, that not everyone who performs a given act will be labeled as deviant for doing so; and the same act or behavior may or may not be so labeled at all times. Of the several forms of human action and behavior, only certain portions are selected by societies, or those with power, for definition and labeling as deviant.

The question as to what happens to people who are labeled is taken up by Erving Goffman. In his book Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity, Goffman (1963) undertakes an analysis of the problem of a damaged identity which results from labeling. He contends that society stigmatizes or puts an indelible imprint on those whom it labels. People with spoiled or somehow marred identities are people with a "stigma" at-tached to them. Very often it is not easy to cover up one's stigma and a possible way to manage one's new identity is to look for companionship in a subculture that meets one's needs. As Stewart and Glynn (1979) put it:

> Stigma and resulting social ostracism can drive people in
> the direction of deviance, sometimes very serious deviance. The
> idea of labeling is also important in the development of the
> deviant life, making it very difficult for the offender to re-
> late to, or return to, the normative world. The label often
> works as a self-fulfilling prophecy (p. 111).

Thus labeling leads to stigmatization which drives the deviant to membership in a subculture of deviants.

Teaching-Learning Process of Socialization

Margaret Mead (1972) noted that socialization, the process by which human children born potentially human become human and able to function within the societies in which they are born, has been a subject of increas-ing interest during the last fifty years. In discussing the process of socialization, we are treating abstract statements of empirical reference concerning the transmission of human culture. The process is a continuum

consisting of the transmission and acquisition of culture. Incidentally,

Kroeber and Kluckholn (1952) defined culture as:

> Culture consists of patterns explicit and implicit, of and
> for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting
> the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their
> embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists
> of traditional (is historically derived and selected) ideas and
> especially their attached values: culture systems may, on the
> other hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other
> as conditioning elements of further action (p. 181).

It cannot be said that humans are born with an innate impetus to move

through the socialization process. On the contrary, human infants are

born into the ongoing cultural system whose inception may be related to

other sciences such as evolution, ecology, and biology. In trying to

trace the history of the socialization process, Williams (1972) suggests

that there was a time in the past when essentially human populations lived

out their lives as did other animal forms. As reflection underwent evolu-

tionary development, possibly because of tool using, the human animal came

to live more and more in a cultural as well as a natural environment.

With the products of reflection being transmitted regularly to and acquir-

ed by succeeding generations, probably first through inarticulate experi-

ence then through use of language, the process of acquiring culture as

man's natural ecology had its beginning. According to Williams (1972, p.

19): "There is no way at present to say exactly when the socialization

process began, and no certainty as to what constitutes the evidence to be

used."

Needless to say, human beings are equipped with some biological fea-

tures which they can use in the socialization process. They must live

and grow, have reflexes, drives, and capacities that can be used in the

process. In a limited sense the concept of socialization is telelogical

because it looks forward to the goals of humans acquiring culture and also

looks back to the beginnings of the process of transmitting and acquiring culture. The term teleology, of course, is applied to the kind of reasoning which explains events in terms of their contribution to goals or ends of a larger plan.

Clausen (1968, p. 4) defined socialization: "To a large degree, childhood socialization is the social orientation of the child and his enculturation, first within the small world of family and neighborhood, and then in relation to the larger society and culture."

Although there is no demonstrable grand design or larger plan for socialization, if children are to become successful adults in a society, they obviously must learn the details of cultural patterns concerned with definition of tasks to be performed in a society, the ways such tasks are performed, and ways persons are recruited to such tasks. It seems therefore that a useful theoretical approach to an analysis of the socialization process might be one which has no requirements that some categories, features, or parts of that process must be chosen over other parts as being of fundamental or of primary relevance.

Granted that socialization is a teaching-learning process, two major theoretical models of learning can be considered briefly. These are Thorndike-Hull behaviorism and Freudian personal character process. Asch (1952) noted that learning is conceived by behaviorists as a process whereby drives are met, or supplemented by adaptive action, which enables an organism to act relevantly to its physiological requirements. Following a number of experimental studies, Thorndike (1955) formulated the concepts of trial and error and reward and punishment as fundamental to the understanding of the behavioristic learning model. For the concept of trial and error, Thorndike observed that in the course of numerous

encounters with its environment, an organism would tend to show increas-
ing modification of behavior and an increase in the skill of movement fol-
lowing upon an apparent elimination of wrong moves and consolidation of
correct moves. In other words, the move toward a more efficient satisfac-
tion of innate needs seemed to be a general trend of behavior in all ani-
mals including man.

The concept of reward and punishment indicated that the response of
an organism to a stimulus is automatically strengthened if it is followed
by a reward, but extinguished if followed by punishment. All organisms,
man included, exhibit this pattern of behavior. Thorndike's concept of
reward and punishment which he later formulated into the principle of re-
inforcement is currently designated in most literature as the "law of
effect." This concept has been extensively revised, resulting in Hull's
popular "stimulus-response reinforcement" theory of learning. Hull (1952)
proceeded on the assumption that in all organisms, including man, there
exists an innate sensory-motor network of such a nature that any stimulus
such as food would begin agitation in the sense organs, would be transmit-
ted automatically as an electrical-chemical impulse via the nervous system
to the muscles, and cause a motor activity that would lead to direct move-
ment of an organism toward the source of the stimulus. If a second stimu-
lus was introduced, such as a ringing bell and food, the second stimulus,
if presented often enough, could set off motor patterns derived from last-
ing remaining traces of the first stimulus, even in the absence of the
first stimulus. Once an organism responded regularly to the second stimu-
lus, the introduction of the first stimulus could be said to act as as
reinforcement of the conditioned or second stimulus. Undoubtedly, Hull
also drew upon Pavlov's concept of the conditioned reflex in formulating

the theory that learning is the association and reinforcement of a number
of stimulus-response connections which generate from the reduction of the
basic needs of the organism.

Miller and Dollard (1941) generalized the Thorndike-Hull learning
model to studies of human behavior. They proposed the concept of acquired
drives as an explanation for motivations to instrumental behavior. This
might develop as a direct outcome of positive reinforcements of stimuli
which the human organism could derive from the social and cultural environ-
ment. Miller and Dollard came out with a heirarchy of drives, beginning
with Hull's primary or innate drives, then moving on to a series of such
learnable drives as fear, gregariousness, prestige-seeking, desires for
money and social conformity, with higher mental process as the culminating
stage. The outcome of these models of learning was that anthropologists
and sociologists were placed in a strong position to deny the theory of
instinct which had previously been assumed to account for the socializa-
tion process.

It is not easy to nail down in precise terms the contribution of
Sigmund Freud to the learning theory of the socialization process. This,
however, does not mean that nothing of substance can be extracted from
the works of Freud. As Williams (1972) observed, the consensus of those
who have attempted to find a general theory of learning in Freud's work
appears to be that, while the propositions of classic psychoanalysis are
complex and so diffusely stated that it is difficult to subject them to
empirical test, learning concepts and form of learning theory exist in
the totality of Freud's words. At least three principles of learning can
be associated with Freud. These are the pleasure principle, the reality
principle, and the principle of repetition-compulsion. The pleasure

principle is similar to the law of effect of the Thorndike-Hull formulation. Basically it deals with the idea of genetically transmitted need-states which might lead to somatic disequilibrium resulting in the lowering of tensions for the survival of the organism. The reality principle corresponds to the trial and error formulation of Thorndike-Hull. Freud held that instead of seeking immediate pleasure, human beings would try to identify and eliminate those stimuli which potentially bring pain through a series of random moves. The Freudian concept of repetition-compulsion deals with acts or behaviors that are unusually resistant to change or extinction by adverse stimuli once those acts or behaviors have been learned.

One could also make references to specific Freudian studies of anxiety, aggression, regression, forgetting, and recall, all of which pertain to the socialization process embodied in learning theory. Freud also set forth the notion that individual personal character is developed equally from inherited body needs and cathexes, as the mechanism through which specific social and cultural forms and their symbols are incorporated into the organism. By cathexes Freud implied a dynamic conception wich reduces mental life to the interplay of reciprocally urging and checking forces. Thus, Freud believed that specific identifications are made with parental and other authority figures and their symbols through incorporation.

Finally, Freud's formulation of personality theory identified the primary divisions or portions of personal character designated as the id, ego, and superego. The id is the various biological drives, urges, needs, and instincts, representing the asocial, egocentric force within us. The superego consists of the acquired ethical and moral standards of the community (the conscience). The ego is the part of us which experiences

reality and which integrates the conflicting demands of the id and the superego. It manifests itself in growth.

To Freud, the superego was the most important of the three divisions of the human personality. He reasoned that the superego of each member of a human generation represented the accumulated influences of the social behavior of past generations on the present social behavior of the individual. According to Williams (1972):

> Freud held that a child learns the social and cultural traditions of his group by cathectic processes of identification with parents and their surrogates, and the incorporation of such identifications into the character structure, and particularly the superego. Parents and their surrogates, as agents of a social and cultural tradition, use specific rewards and punishments to lead children to acceptance of demands of the society (p. 48).

Summary

These versions of socialization theory have been cited inasmuch as they are germane to the process and dynamics of socialization in general and as they are experienced differentially by virtue of one's sex or race. Symbolic interactionism is pertinent in this regard because it lays the foundation for understanding the concept that socialization is engendered by and does thrive on interaction with others, especially persons of the primary group who invariably constitute significant others. Labeling theory is usually associated with deviance. It receives mention in this study because it could be observed that the racially or sexually defined majority tends to label the minority with characteristics which are generally non-complimentary. Reaction to labeling is shown to account for one's sense of personal worth, which is an important aspect of this study. The theory of anomie is stated with reference to the ambivalence and helplessness of many black adolescents caused by the differential opportunities

for survival and advancement offered by the American society. Learning

theory as treated is intended to amplify the learning process of socializ-

ation. It is on these dimensions of theory relative to socialization

that the directions of the study are built.

CHAPTER III

AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION

Introduction

For society to remain in being, certain essential functions are thought to be required. Winch (1963) outlined the following prerequisites for the continued existence of society:

1. Replacements for dying members of the society must be provided.

2. Goods and services must be provided and distributed for the support of the society.

3. There must be provision for accommodating conflicts and maintaining order internally and externally.

4. Human replacements must be trained to become participating members of society.

5. There must be procedures for dealing with emotional crises, for harmonizing the goals of individuals with the values of society, and for maintaining a sense of purpose.

The Family as Agent of Socialization

The family, by all accounts, is the principal agent by which society perpetuates itself. By virtue of being born into one family rather than into another, a person acquires a particular set of social positions and social statuses. The characteristics with which one is born and over which one has no control are termed ascribed and distinguished from those

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the person earns which are called achieved. Two aspects of the process
by which the family confers social positions upon its young are providing
locations for them in extrafamilial social systems and transmitting the
appropriate subculture.

By virtue of being located in a particular kind of community and at
a particular level in the status system, a family influences the probabil-
ity that its children will finish high school, attend and finish college,
enter a manual or non-manual occupation, and concomitantly, the rate at
which they will move upward in the status system. The ultimate position
and function for any child in society are, of course, the result of a
large number of influences and factors. These include the child's own in-
telligence, energy, and special aptitudes. In this instance, however, we
are focusing on what generally happens, what is the tendency, what is the
outcome, for the average child in a given situation. This is to say that
in the socialization process, children's life chances are critically in-
fluenced by the social position ascribed to them by their families, and,
in the words of Gerth and Mills (1955), their life chances include:

> Everything from the chance to stay alive during the first
> year after birth to the chance to view fine arts, the chance to
> remain healthy and grow tall, and if sick to get well again
> quickly, and the chance to avoid becoming a juvenile delinquent
> --and very crucially the chance to complete an intermediary or
> higher educational grade (p. 313).

In brief, through exposing the children to a set of experiences both with-
in and outside the home, the family creates a situation in which the chil-
dren learn attitudes and behaviors as well as values which are needed for
a successful development and functioning in the society.

An insight into the differences in emphasis which distinguish middle-
class socialization from lower-class socialization is provided by Kohn
(1959). He finds a broad set of values that both categories of parents

view as being both important and problematic of attainment. At the same time he notes that different priorities are given to certain values by each of the two classes. Specifically, Kohn indicates that lower-class parents are more likely to value more overt behaviors like obedience and cleanliness.

Further differences between middle-class and lower-class families in the area of socialization have been highlighted by Toby (1957). He showed that middle-class children stay in school longer and perform better than do lower-class children, and attributed the differences to the subcultures of the classes and to the family as the context through which the values are transmitted from parents to children. In this regard, it is necessary to point out some of the advantages which the middle-class children enjoy over the lower-class child. The parents of the middle-class children are probably better educated and are therefore more capable to helping them with their school work if that should be necessary. The parents are more eager to make the school work seem meaningful to them by indicating implicitly or explicitly the occupational application of the school subjects. The verbal skill which they acquire as part of child-training in the middle-class status level helps prepare them for the type of training that goes on in school and gives them an initial and cumulating advantage over the lower-class children in the classroom learning situation. Above all, the coordinated pressure of parents reinforces their motivation for scholastic success.

The provision of role models is probably one of the most important responsibilities of the family. In the context of the primary group, the family offers the children their first and crucial contact with other members of the human species. In addition to the implications of the theory

of symbolic interactionism, the accepted hypothesis is that children in a family learn their appropriate sex roles primarily from their parents. Sears, Pintler, and Sears (1946) have shown that in families where the father is absent, the male child is slower to develop male sex role traits than in families where the father is present. This finding was predicted from the fact that in the former instance there was no father whose role the child could take.

The School as Agent of Socialization

Social control is often associated with the police, riot squads, or the National Guard. However, as Durkheim pointed out, the most effective kind of social control is an internalized set of norms that make an individual self-policing. A society will want to socialize its new members to be loyal citizens of the state and dutiful to things beyond themselves. Parelius and Parelius (1978, p. 7) assert that "A child who has internalized societal values has a powerful system of self-control, an internal police force--since even thinking about violating the internalized moral codes will result in guilt and shame."

The school as an agent of socialization has been extensively treated by Durkheim. He argued that in traditional societies the family and later the church performed the function of instilling moral education in the youth. Then with the rise of urbanized industrial societies, the school assumed this responsibility because the church no longer reflected the moral values of modern society. For Durkheim, then, the main function of the school is to build moral fiber in each new generation. As Wilson and Schaurer (1961, p. 41) wrote: "Taking for granted that each society has central agreed-upon values and beliefs, Durkheim argued that the chief

function of schools is moral education." The school should serve the purpose of maintaining the social system in an integrated and harmonious fashion. Equally pertinent here is Durkheim's (1956, p. 71) perception of the role of the school teacher: "Just as the priest is the interpreter of his God, the teacher is the interpreter of the great moral ideas of his time and his country."

Of course, such priestly images of the teacher would not be shared by the current generation of students or their parents. In any case, current literature gives further evidence of the school as an agent of socialization. Writing in the Harvard Educational Review, Parsons (1959) gave an analysis of the classroom and concluded that the two major functions of the school are socialization and occupational selection.

Goslin (1965) elaborated on the socialization function of the school. He noted that cultural survivals in the forms of values, beliefs, and skills are central aspects of contemporary social life. Before the Industrial Revolution, formal enculturation was restricted to the elite. But with the advance of the industrial state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, knowledge grew more complex, specialized, and difficult to communicate. No longer could the transmission of technical knowledge and skills be left to the family and the church. Therefore, although the family still serves important socialization functions, the school is expected to assume a portion of the socialization process early in the development of the child:

> After primary socialization in the family, the school is
> charged with transmitting not only basic literacy, but also the
> ideals on which societal institutions depend. In the United
> States such ideals would include democracy, freedom, laisser-
> faire capitalism, and monogamous heterogenous sexual marriage
> (Goslin, 1965, p. 4).

School socialization has also been the subject of Jackson's (1968) writing. Jackson wrote that one goal of school socialization is to train the child to cope with waiting in line, frequent frustration, and constant interruptions. The idea is to help the child learn patience. In which case, those who cannot conform to the social controls may be offered more intensive training. On the other hand, the non-conforming student may drop out of school and thereby be denied access to prestigious jobs and social contacts as an adult. Jackson concludes that the school serves as both an indirect and direct mechanism of social control for the community and the society as a whole. Unfortunately, there are instances where the school has become dysfunctional to the society as well as its members.

There are aspects of social problems which could be attributed to the school. Truancy leading to juvenile delinquency has been blamed on the school. In fact, studies of adolescents who have attempted suicide indicate that school adjustment is often one of the major precipitating factors. In their research, Kenry, Tishler, and Christman (1980) found that in the samples of suicide cases studied, school performance was almost uniformly poor. Poor grades, truancy, and discipline have been found to characterize some of these adolescents. It is, therefore, to be expected that a disproportionate number of suicides occur in the spring and fall, when school problems are paramount. Incidentally, it is during those times that populations of institutions for juvenile delinquents increase.

There are positive ways in which the school provides opportunities for adolescents to be responsible and to learn to make constructive decisions. For instance, athletic teams, dramatic events, student governments, and musical groups could not be successful if the adolescents who were involved were not responsible. Another opportunity for adolescents

to accept responsibility for their actions is the contract system of grading. The school helps adolescents to be accountable for their behavior by expecting students to be prompt in attendance, to do assignments, to meet obligations, to respect other people and their rights, to meet academic standards and challenges, and to be responsible citizens.

The Community as Agent of Socialization

Most of the functions performed by the family are performed on a larger scale by the community. The community as such may be considered to be a constellation of families territorially defined and providing a unit of services for its members. Communities vary in size, but generally they constitute in each case a social setting for such activities as government, law and order, education, economics, and religion.

In its simplest form, the community is homogeneous and undifferentiated, based on the natural will of human beings, where people have close relationships with one another as total personalities. Members of the community are strongly bound to one another and do not pursue private interests. This type of social organization is what is called "Gemeinshaft." Tradition and custom govern social life. Here, members' positions based on family and community ties are stable and secure.

The typically homogeneous and undifferentiated community governed by tradition and custom has, in most cases, given place to the larger social organization referred to as the society. Society then is composed of a number of communities. The community, in this context, is the same as the neighborhood. As the agent of socialization, the community affords its young members the opportunity to interact with people who are outside their own families. By so doing the young ones learn to observe the

norms and values, as well as other social expectations which are neces-
sary for harmonious living. Although the community operates under a tra-
dition of culture, values, and norms, it shares the socialization process
in these areas with the other agents of socialization, one of which, of
course, is the school.

Peers as Agents of Socialization

One baffling factor of the dynamics that make for adolescent social-
ization is peer relationships. The roles of the family and the school
are generally identifiable. In the case of peer relationship or pressure,
however, its importance seems to be accepted without reservation, but its
course, direction, and impact are difficult to conceptualize.

An insight into the constitution of peer relationships and pressure
might be obtained if a number of high school students were asked what
characteristics they would like to be remembered by--a leader in activi-
ties, star athlete, brilliant, most popular, gorgeous, or affable. The
response from the students could lead one to attribute peer relationships
to values. A number of studies have been conducted in this area, the most
outstanding of which seems to be that of Coleman (1961). Coleman reports
the result of a study conducted among ten Illinois high schools. In re-
sponse to the question as to what qualities students would like to be
remembered by, Coleman noted that males wanted to be remembered as ath-
letes whereas females fluctuated between a desire for popularity and lead-
ership in activities. This meant that extra-curricular participation and
peer popularity in school far outweigh academic achievement per se. What
is revealed by the Coleman and similar studies is the presence of a stu-
dent culture with its own set of norms, values, and statuses.

Among the models which purport to explain the sources of teenage subculture are the psychogenic, culture-transmission, and behavioristic. Although the models represent different ways of looking at the same pheno- menon, they are not necessarily incompatible explanations but rather com- plimentary views emphasizing different aspects of the process.

The psychogenic model views teenage behavior as efforts to solve the problems which are characteristic of their frustrating and confusing state of ambivalence. The adolescents, standing between child and adult status and being devoid of a clearly structured social position, may fre- quently ask themselves the agonizing question of who they really are and come face to face with the issue of identity. According to Erikson (1963) and Bronson (1959), the major task facing the adolescent is the search for a meaningful identity. The modern teenagers receive a much less prac- tical and much more abstract introduction to life, with the result that they perceive the world as utterly ambiguous and complex. They have great difficulties in seeing just where they fit in.

On the other hand, the culture transmission model is concerned with the perpetuation of an already established subculture by transmission of its norms, values, and unique patterns of behavior from one generation to the next, or from one group to another. This model is interested more in understanding the learning process whereby, for example, the younger teen- agers acquire the models of thought and actions of their peers than in understanding the prime origin of these subcultural patterns. The mass media are probably the most effective mechanisms for transmitting and per- peturating the teenage subculture. The mass media encourage the youthful and impressionable audience to the styles and behavior patterns of their

idols and heroes. In the process, teenagers develop preferences, tastes, and tendencies to think and act similarly.

The behavioristic model resembles the psychogenic model. It takes the position that through interaction among themselves, adolescents discover that they are freer of stringent adult expectations and rules that they have found difficult to meet and accept. They experience their peer group as a more relaxed environment than the adult environment. Therefore, interaction among adolescent peers can be described as experiencing a multitude of stimuli which are largely gratifying to the participants and which gradually form patterns of subcultural behavior. The stimuli could be negative (escape from pain) or positive (finding security and gratification of fellowship) reinforcers. To the behavioristic model, then, normal gregarious activities help to form and sustain the peer culture of adolescents.

The reason for the development and promotion of this peer culture demands further probing, pervasive and influential as it is. For a plausible explanation, we may refer once more to Coleman (1961). His reasoning is that in a highly complex industrial society, the family loses many of its traditional functions to the school. Unfortunately, the school bureaucracy leaves little room for individual and effective relationships in its formal structure. Therefore, according to Coleman (1961), the student

> is forced inwards toward his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age. With his fellows, he comes to constitute a small society, one that has the most important interactions within itself, and maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society (p. 3).

Summary

Important agents of socialization, such as the family, the community, the school, and peers, train the young members of society, assign them roles and tasks, and familiarize them with regulations, rules, laws, and cultural values which help maintain society. Although these agents are treated separately, their functions are overlapping and complementary. For the purpose of this study, further attention will be paid to the family, the community, and the school.

CHAPTER IV

THE RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

Introduction

Individuals' pictures of themselves develop in interaction with their
environment. In turn, the environment is structured by broader social
and cultural forces, many of which extend beyond the awareness of the in-
dividuals. This is the case when we deal with the subject of race and
sex as differential factors in adolescent socialization. Blacks are re-
garded as a minority group in a white-dominated culture in a similar way
as females are regarded as a minority group in a male-dominated culture.

Black Adolescents and Sense of Personal Worth

Much of the literature on black adolescents in the United States
would suggest that the study of the personal and social conditions which
affect the adolescent experience of the black is of timely importance.
The fact is that black adolescents are part of a racial category that suf-
fers, although perhaps to a diminishing degree, from discrimination, de-
privation, and, therefore, a feeling of inadequacy resulting in a low
sense of personal worth. The racial status and usually low socioeconomic
standing of blacks mark their period of adolescence and set them apart
from whites. It has been noted by Clark (1955) that as children develop
an awareness of racial differences and of their racial identity, they
also develop an awareness and acceptance of the prevailing social

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attitudes and values attached to race and color. Hence self-rejection and rejection of others begin at an early age and become embedded in the personality as a part of the total pattern of ideas and attitudes which American black children learn from the larger society. Writing on the socialization process of black adolescents, Sebald (1968) remarked that it appears that the consistent conditioning of blacks to take an inferior socioeconomic status has had a far-reaching impact on their perception of themselves. They have internalized this imposed social inferiority and in many instances have come to perceive themselves as being inferior to whites.

According to Watson and Johnson (1972), the basic prejudices of white Americans which limit the opportunities of ethnic groups have a profound impact upon the self-evaluation of minority group members. It seems to be the general conclusion of a large number of studies that blacks have a negative sense of personal worth. Principal among such studies are those of Herskovitz (1928), Katz and Braly (1933), Frazier (1948), Bayton (1942), Johnson (1943), Meenes (1943), Myrdal (1944), Kardiner (1951), Clark (1955), Jefferson (1957), Clark and Clark (1958), Bernard (1958), Ausubel and Ausubel (1963), Deutch (1963), and Lang (1969).

In describing the black personality as lacking in sense of personal worth, Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) use such negative terms as "self-hatred," "self-contempt," and "low self-esteem." Also, Proschansky and Newton (1968) discuss the heavy social-psychological costs of low sense of personal worth, feelings of helplessness, and basic identity conflict borne by blacks. They indicate that blacks will characterize themselves in unfavorable terms and reveal negative self-images.

Studies by black social scientists tend to lend support to the asser-
tion that blacks have a low sense of personal worth. The black sociolo-
gist, Frazier (1966, p. 50), presents reasons why "the black bourgeoisie
have developed a deep-seated inferiority complex." Another black psycho-
logist, Clark (1965, p. 72) speaks of "pernicious self- and group-hatred,
the black's complex and debilitating prejudice against himself." In time,
he asserts, "blacks have come to believe in their own inferiority." Black
psychiatrists, Grier and Cobbs (1968, p. 9), also observe: "The essence
of the situation is that black women have a nearly bottomless well of
self-depreciation into which they can drop when depressed."

The overwhelming evidence seems to be that black socialization re-
sults in, at best, relatively self-accepting children, more often adoles-
cents who are characterized by ambivalent, conflicting, and negative ori-
entations, and most often adolescents whose self-perception is not so
much conflictual as it is extensively deprecatory. Growing up in the
black environment exposes the adolescents to a set of experiences concep-
tualized and reflected in self-debasing labels, which convey to the ado-
lescents an understanding of themselves as powerless and debased individu-
als who will have to forego many gratifications in life, and who often
may obtain, only through devious means, the few gratifications available
to them.

In recent years, the black nationalist movement and improvement in
the socioeconomic status of many black families are claimed to have made
some positive impacts on the sense of personal worth of blacks. McDonald
and Cynther's (1965) investigation of 261 black and 211 white high school
seniors showed blacks to have a higher sense of personal worth (based on
self-ideal discrepancy and on dominance score). McDill, Meyers, and

Rigsby's (1966) sample of 327 high school blacks individually matched with whites showed higher academic self-concepts among blacks. Also, fairly recently, Hunt and Hunt (1977) studied racial inequality and self-image by means of a secondary analysis of data collected by Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) on 690 males in grades 5 through 12. They found that black males held higher levels of sense of personal worth and sex role identification than their white counterparts, but had lower sense of personal efficacy in the early (but not late) school years. The study also found the sense of personal worth of black males to be more positive in segregated schools and where school attachment was high.

Black Adolescents and Family Relations

Parents may influence adolescents through the expression of normative standards or the provision of role models. For their part, adolescents respond to these processes directly or indirectly by internalizing norms or preferences of conduct. Kerchkoff (1972) noted that one-tenth of the white families are headed by a female compared with almost three-tenths of the black families. Furthermore, of white children under 18 years of age, 89 percent live with both parents and 8 percent with only the mother; among blacks the comparative figures are 59 percent and 29 percent, respectively. Kerchkoff even suggests that where the male is present, the mother tends to be the dominant parent. It is the view of Frazier (1966) that the reason for this is the more secure position which the black woman has had in the American economic structure throughout this century. What emerges from the structure of the black family is the absence of the male who should provide the expected role models for the male adolescents.

Further evidence of the proposition that black adolescents are sub-
stantially more likely than whites to grow up in broken families is offer-
ed by Moynihan (1964), Rainwater (1966), Billingsley (1968), and Herzog
and Lewis (1970). It has been observed further that even where remar-
riages are taken into account, black children are less likely than whites
to be living in intact homes. Rosenberg and Simmons (1979) add that black
children are considerably more likely than whites to originate from homes
characterized by illegitimacy, legal separation, or abandonment. In a
society where the socially least desirable family structure would appear
to be one characterized by illegitimacy or desertion, the family relation-
ship of the children concerned should be expected to be adversely affect-
ed. However, in a comparison of the socialization process in black and
white families, Aseltine (1978) gave 2,400 high school students in Ruth-
ford County, Tennessee, a questionnaire on family life. Results indicated
that subjects generally perceived family relation patterns similarly with-
out regard to race.

Black Adolescents and School Relations

Specific research on the subject finds that the negative self and
racial attitude of blacks affects their academic and vocational perfor-
mance. Such, for instance, is the finding of Harvey (1953), Katz and
Braly (1958), Katz and Benjamin (1960), Katz and Cohen (1962), Katz and
Greenbaum (1963), Klinberg (1963), and Pettigrew (1964). Commenting on
the likelihood of blacks not being able to complete high school, Cervantes
(1965) remarked that social class is so strongly related to dropping out
that it might be said that dropping out is a function of membership in
the lower social class. If the impact of parental role model is anything

to go by, the poor relationship which black adolescents have with the school can be fairly well understood. Kerckhoff (1972) found that 71 percent of all white heads of households under 45 years of age have completed high school, and 17 percent of them have completed four years of college. The comparative figures for blacks are 43 percent and 4 percent, respectively. While there is the possibility that the overall educational level of blacks has improved in recent years, there is no reason to speculate that it in any way matches that of whites.

Perhaps it would be superfluous to refer to the perennial comparison between blacks and whites on the subject of IQ. However, Katz and Benjamin (1960) noted that laboratory experimentation demonstrated that even when blacks receive objective evidence of equal mental ability in an interracial situation, they typically feel inadequate and respond compliantly.

Much of the negative attitude toward blacks shared by whites and blacks themselves regarding school might be attributed, to some extent, to the way blacks are treated in textbooks. In 1949, the American Council on Education conducted a study to evaluate prejudice in textbooks. Findings of the study were that the average textbook or curriculum guide tended to ignore blacks, particularly in regard to their position in present day America. The treatment of blacks in the curriculum materials became a more serious issue in the American educational system after 1960. Other studies conducted in New York in 1960, Michigan in 1963, and California in 1964, concluded, among other matters, that the majority of the books were misleading and offensive, especially in the treatment of black history. On the question of black history, Marcus (1961) pointed out that blacks, if referred to, were associated with the slavery period. Using a questionnaire based on a multifactor concept of alienation,

Wolfstetter and Gaier (1981) conducted a study of black, 32 female and 26 male, high school students. They found that alienation from both society and school was pervasive among subjects. Previously in a study by Massey, Scott, and Dornbusch (1975), black, Spanish, Asian, and white high school students in San Francisco were considered on institutional racism in urban schools. Findings were that, first, blacks and lower achieving students generally maintained positive concepts of their school ability despite their lower achievement in school. Second, blacks considered learning of school subjects more important than any other groups of students. Third, blacks and chicanos saw teachers as more friendly and warm than did the other ethnic groups.

Most recently, based on data compiled by the National Assessment of Educational Progress from 1969 to 1980, Jones (1982) suggested that for the nation as a whole, blacks were improving at a much sharper rate than whites on achievement scores, so that the black-white difference by 1980 was about two-thirds what it was ten years earlier.

There have also been studies comparing the performance of blacks in segregated schools with performance in desegregated schools. For example, Powell and Fuller (1970) studied the self-esteem of 614 white and black students in grades 7 through 9 in segregated and desegregated schools in a city in the central South. Using the Fitts Tennessee Self-Concepts Scales (Total Net Positive Score), they found that blacks in segregated schools had a higher sense of personal worth than blacks in integrated schools. Blacks in predominantly black schools averaged in the 60th percentile, while the mean score of blacks in the predominantly white schools was in the 40th percentile. A nationwide study of tenth grade boys by Bachman (1970) yielded similar results. He employed a ten-item global

measure of self-esteem and found that blacks in segregated schools scored higher in self-esteem than blacks in integrated schools. Previously, Coleman (1966) had noted that, for each group of blacks, as the proportion of whites in the school increased, the self-concept of the black child decreased.

Explanation for the phenomena of integration and segregation may be offered in terms of the broader principles of the consonant or dissonant social context. This concept, according to Bachman (1970), refers to the concurrence or the discrepancy between individuals' social characteristics and those of the surrounding population. It means that it is only when black children are integrated that they learn directly what it means personally to be a member of the minority. For them, therefore, an integrated environment constitutes a dissonant racial context. On the other hand, it is segregation which represents a consonant racial context for black children. However, it is possible for the effects of the dissonant social context to be mediated through direct interaction, shared perception, character norms, differential bases of comparison, and differential performance.

Black Adolescents and Community Relations

Black adolescents can be viewed as a part of the process of reluctant socio-cultural change which is gradually reassessing the status of blacks in the United States. These adolescents try to outlive a legacy of alleged racial inferiority, but by so doing they find themselves in an ambivalent situation. For them, on the one hand, a full and clear identification with a black culture is difficult since the black population has grown diffuse, diverse, and is often absorbed into the white community.

Moreover, identification with blacks in general is not all that ego-strengthening or self-enhancing, since it is apparently reminiscent of the inferior black stereotype. For the black adolescents, on the other hand, identification with and full incorporation into the white community is impossible to achieve.

Caught in a situation of anomie, the existence in a normless and ambivalent social milieu, blacks sometimes resort to deviant means. They desire, in terms of Sebald (1968), certainty regrading their place, purpose, and goal in life. Inasmuch as these factors are not clear to them, they tend to grow anxious, dissatisfied, apathetic, and very often aggressive. A variety of these reactions can be observed in the behavior patterns of many black adolescents in the community. For black adolescents, their experience of deprivation and poverty in the middle of affluence cannot make for very satisfactory community relations.

With reference to the notion of alienation it was assumed that the social conditions experienced by black adolescents in American society induced feelings of disenfranchisment from that society as a whole. On the further assumption of "matriarchy" in the black lower class, it was hypothesized by Wolfstetter and Gaier (1981) that the privileged and dominant position of the female would cause female adolescents to feel less alienated than male adolescents. A study of 32 female and 26 male black high school students was conducted to test the hypothesis. The result of the study indicated that black female and male adolescents were equally alienated from the American society.

Sense of Personal Worth of Female Adolescents

Despite the rise of the women's movement, changing economic and

political conditions, and the continued spread of modern values such as
individualism and equalitarianism, conceptions of the stereotyped female
or male are still widely held. Male and female stereotypes and idealiza-
tions exist probably as an outcome of the social processes by which sex
roles are culturally determined, and also as an ideology which serves to
reinforce and maintain sexual identification which are in existence. A
study conducted by Broverman and her colleagues (1972) indicates how in-
tense social processes and consequent self-alientation can be. The study
reports the high value that men and women place upon stereotyped male
traits such as competence, rationality, and assertion in comparison with
such stereotyped female traits as warmth and expressiveness. This differ-
ential value of traits is said to be the reason for women tending to have
negative self-concepts.

The suggestion seems to be that the negative self-concepts which
women have stem from the fact that they are classified and treated as a
minority group in conformity with the definition of Wirth (1945):

> A minority group is any group of people who, because of
> their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out
> from others in the society in which they live for differen-
> tial and unequal treatment, and who, therefore, regard them-
> selves as objects of collective discrimination (p. 347).

As a minority group in a male-dominated culture, females have been
considered in expressions which denote inferiority and a low sense of per-
sonal worth. Such indeed was the expression of Mrydal (1944, 1962). Com-
paring the position of females with that of blacks in the American society
he observed among other statements that:

1. Both have "high social visibility" owing to physical appearance
and/or dress.

2.   Originally both were forms of property, controlled by an absolute patriarch.

3.   Both were believed to have inferior mental endowment, and only limited educational opportunities were provided for them.

4.   Each has been assigned to a place in the social system; as long as they stayed obediently in this subordinate status, they were approved; any effort to alter this scheme was abhorred.

5.   The myth of the "contented woman" who did not want to have suffrage or other civil rights and equal opportunities had the same social function as the myth of the "contented black."

6.   Both blacks and women are appreciated--even loved--in their nurturant role. The dominant group is delighted to be nursed, fed, clothed, and cared for by these servants.

7.   Both women and blacks, in studying history, discover that white males occupy most of the heroic roles. Less than one percent of the statues erected to great historic figures in America honor either women or blacks. A typical school child's list of the important names in history will seldom include any women or blacks.

8.   Women and blacks are said to be more emotional than rational.

9.   The area in which these two "minorities" are first allowed to win distinction is music and acting.

From what had been stated so far, many views would agree to the supposition that society treats females as inferior and incompetent, that females internalize these social definitions of their worth, and that they tend to develop feelings of inferiority and a low sense of personal worth. Indeed, some studies have shown that girls do not usually find their life role ego-satisfying. For instance, Emmerin (1957) found that girls do

not identify with their mothers as readily as boys identify with their
fathers. According to Distenfeld (1964), males generally rated them-
selves closer to their ideal of the masculine role than did females to
the ideal feminine role. To both sexes the masculine role seemed to be
the most desirable. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) conducted an extensive
study of the research on sex differences and reported that girls appeared
to have a lower sense of personal worth than boys. They explained, how-
ever, that as a lead toward a sense of personal worth it was not the
girls' self-confidence that was unrealistically low, but rather the boys'
self-confidence which was unrealistically high. From their studies,
Simmons and Rosenberg (1975) concluded that female adolescents had a lower
sense of personal worth than male adolescents. Of the subjects, 26 per-
cent of the fifteen-year-old or older girls had a lower sense of personal
worth compared with 19 percent of the boys. Also, the girls were more
self-conscious and said that they felt more vulnerable to the opinions of
others. The findings of Bush et al. (1977-1978) support the view that
girls have a lower sense of personal worth than boys have.

On the other side of the issue, there have been other studies which
have found no sex differences in sense of personal worth. Studies by
Kaplan (1970; 1973), Kaplan and Pokorny (1972), and Helmreich and Stapp
(1974) are in this category. A study by Toler et al. (1976) rather found
female undergraduates to have more favorable sense of personal worth than
males. After reviewing approximately 1,600 studies published or unpub-
lished between 1966 and 1973, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) concluded that
many of the earlier reports of sex differences were without any solid
foundation. They did not find substantial support for previously reported
findings that: (1) girls are more "social" than boys, (2) girls are more

suggestible than boys, (3) girls have lower self-esteem or sense of per-
sonal worth, or (4) girls are less motivated toward achievement. The
sense of personal worth of 3,183 male and female seniors in a nationwide
sample of the high school class of 1977 was the subject of the study by
Omalley and Bachman (1979). Their finding was that males and females
were very similar in levels of sense of personal worth.

Family Relations of Female Adolescents

Some of the cultural elaborations of the female sex role in the
American culture have been found to suggest that parents tended to speed
up, most often unwittingly but also deliberately, the emancipation of
the boy from the family, while in the case of his sister the emancipation
was retarded. Indications are that girls are under greater pressure to
honor filial and kinship obligations than are boys. In a typical setting
of the extended family, when the grandmother needs somebody to run an
errand for her, the girl rather than the boy is more likely to be called
upon. In the same setting, the pressure to attend and observe birthdays,
anniversaries, and other family festivals is apparently greater for the
girl than for the boy. Conclusions from a study of 937 students by
Komorowsky (1950) were that girls were more often extremely attached to
their parents, more often made major life decisions very much in accord-
ance with the wishes of their parents, and were more often homesick than
were boys.

Even in the nuclear family, relations still seem easier on females
than on males. Writing on this subject, Arafat and Yorburg (1976) stated
that changing family patterns--the decline of the extended family and
changing values, particularly--also have implications for male and female

role conflict. There is, of course, the intense mother-child relationship promoted by the increasingly isolated nuclear family. Here there are frequently no grandparents, aunts and uncles, or cousins to act as buffers or mediators. This isolation of the nuclear family does not promote the independence and self-reliance which are essential to functioning in complex, rapidly changing societies. The new family structure has probably been more intense for male than female children, since independence and self-reliance have generally been more characteristic of male sex role definitions.

The view of Williams (1977) is that, in general, where parents are concerned, it seems that boys receive more socialization pressures than girls do. Their behavior is subject to more and stricter sanctions. Considering the ways parents treat their sons and daughters, they are in the direction of greater coerciveness and less tolerance for violations of sex role-prescriptions with the sons. The situation is put in an even better perspective by the observation of Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) that boys tended to receive more physical punishment than girls. An explanation of this could be that girls were more likely than boys to obey their parents' first request for compliance. Furthermore, parents see boys as tougher and girls as more fragile and thus might be less likely to restrain themselves when they feel the boys need to be punished.

Female Adolescents and School Relations

The school as it is experienced differentially by the sexes has been extensively discussed in the literature. Performances on IQ and achievement tests have, in many cases, formed the bases of these discussions. Following an extensive study of students in ten high schools, Coleman

(1961) came to the conclusion that girls averaged higher scores than boys on IQ tests. Quite to the contrary, Maccoby (1966) stated that in high school boys tended to score higher on IQ tests than girls. However, with regard to achievement as measured by school grades, girls did better than boys throughout their schooling, even in subjects, noted Maccoby, in which boys usually scored higher on standard achievement tests. Most recently, Blau (1981), in a study comparing the IQ scores of boys and girls, revealed significant differences between white boys and girls but not between black boys and girls. White girls' mean score (109) is significantly higher than that of white boys (105), but there is only one point difference favoring girls among blacks (97 versus 96). White girls also tend to average higher achievement scores (6.5) than white boys (6.2). For blacks there is virtually no difference in the average achievement.

In some respects, the finding of Blau supports the theory of Stinchcombe (1964) that boys should find the school more stressful than girls since the perception that a good job will not be forthcoming as a result of poor grades or no college plans should have graver consequences for the boys, the traditional breadwinner, than for the girls. It is relative to the same end-result of schooling that the school relations of girls have been the subject of other studies. Because of lack of motivation, noted Bardwick (1971), even academically talented girls are less likely than equally bright boys to enter college and complete the undergraduate degree. Meanwhile the result of a study reported by Watson and Johnson (1972) showed that 61 percent of the girls, but only 29 percent of the boys, reported being troubled by feelings of intellectual inferiority, although there was no evidence that girls actually performed worse than boys on the relevant test. At any rate, Williams (1977) studied 2,431

students in five types of high school. These were ghetto or inner-city, middle-class, suburban middle-size city, and semi-rural. The objective was to determine how the subcultural roles of the students would affect their adjustment, social participation, and sense of school belongingness. It was revealed that females were more favorably adjusted and related to the school than were males.

Female Adolescents and Community Relations

Unlike male adolescents, females are noted to utilize their outward appearance to enhance their community relations. The observation is that females who achieve by affiliating may evaluate themselves according to their attractiveness and other traits which serve to facilitate social acceptability. Research by Mathes and Kahn (1975) and Lerner et al. (1976) suggests that attractive females have more self-esteem but that the relationship between attractiveness and self-esteem was reduced or even reversed in males.

Various social psychological tests as reported by Yorburg (1974) point out that larger percentages of females have displayed dependent attitudes and behavior patterns, strong concern with popularity, seeking help and approval from peers and authority figures, conformity to rules and ready acceptance of authority and expressions of socially acceptable attitudes. These are attributes which are favorable to the community relations of females. With these attributes, they can satisfactorily interact with their peers as well as other members of the community and meet the community expectation in observing the values, norms, and rules that sustain the community.

In another study which pertains to adolescence and community rela-
tions, Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) found that although boys and girls
were both highly concerned with being well-liked by others, it was girls
who more consistently gave this characteristic top priority. Girls were
more likely than boys to stress such values as interpersonal harmony and
success as likable, easy to get along with, friendly, sociable and plea-
sant, and well-liked by many different people.

Much of the research on female personality has been summarized by
Bardwick (1971) with the statement that girls are generally more depen-
dent, more conformist, more gullible, and more vulnerable to interpersonal
rejection than are boys. The rationale for the statement is that girls
are usually socialized in such a way that social approval dominates their
motive structure while boys are usually socialized in ways which make them
more independent of social approval and more reliant upon internal stan-
dards of excellence in achievement situations. It would seem therefore
that for female adolescents, the achievement of favorable community rela-
tions is a matter of great concern.

Summary

It has become clear from the literature cited relative to the select-
ed areas of socialization as experienced differentially by the races and
sexes that many of the studies conducted have not shown support for the
popular assumptions and general trends of thought. It is the fact that
disagreements and conflicts of views surrounded these important social
issues which made this study worthwile. Evidence as could be gathered
from the literature led to the formulation of the research propositions
that:

1. Black adolescents will score lower than white adolescents on sense of personal worth.

2. White adolescents will score higher than black adolescents on family relations.

3. Black adolescents will score lower than white adolescents on school relations.

4. White adolescents will score higher than black adolescents on community relations.

5. Girls will score lower than boys on personal worth.

6. Girls will score higher than boys on family relations.

7. Girls will score higher than boys on school relations.

8. Girls will score higher than boys on community relations.

Although the literature did not make specific reference to interaction between race and sex on test of adolescent socialization, it was felt that the area deserved exploration based on the following propositions that:

1. There is no interaction between race and sex on a test of sense of personal worth.

2. There is no interaction between race and sex on a test of family relations.

3. There is no interaction between race and sex on a test of school relations.

4. There is no interaction between race and sex on a test of community relations.

The methodology for researching the propositions formulated above is discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The data for this study were collected in the course of a research
project conducted in 1979-1980, at Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma,
in which this research participated. That Langston project dealt with
the social and psychological factors that influenced clothing selection
and care by rural low-income adolescents. The 1970 census showed that
the quadrant of Oklahoma bordered by I-35 and I-40, and extending to the
south of I-40 eastward to Lake Eufaula, westward to I-35, and southward
to a line projected from Pauls Valley through Ada, had the lowest per
capita income of the four quadrants. Apart from major urban counties,
this quadrant also had greater concentrations of black rural residents
than any other parts of the state.

Schools selected for the study were those located in cities with
populations of less than 50,000 and were closest to Langston. These
schools serve the surrounding rural and low income areas. Figure 1 shows
the locations of the schools whose students participated in the research.

Participating Schools

Ten high schools were contacted for participation in the Langston
research project. With four refusals, four others were contacted to make
up the total of ten. Some of the schools which declined to participate

57

OKLAHOMA
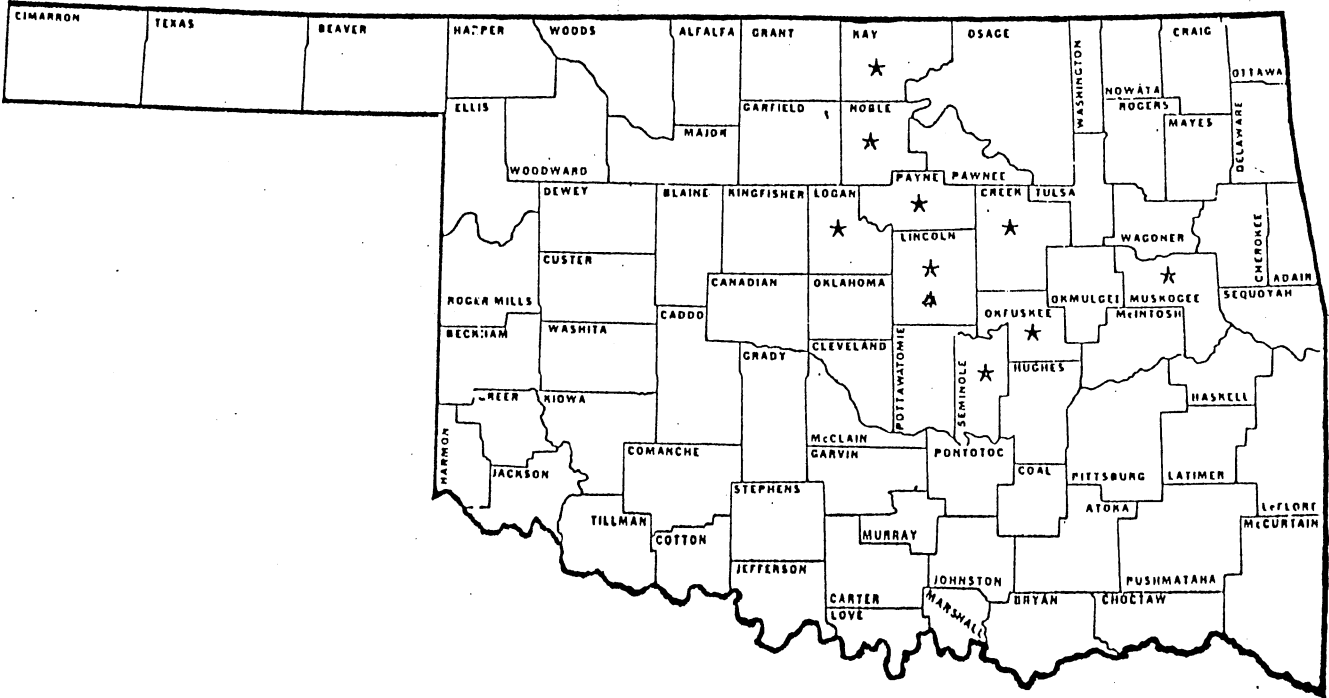
Figure 1. Map of the Location of Participating Schools

felt that the study would disturb their regular programs. Others were skeptical about the objective of the study, while some were not quite sure of the legal implications which their involvement would entail. Eventually, the high schools which provided participants were those of Boley, Bristow, Chandler, Cushing, Guthrie, Muskogee, Perry, Ponca City, Stroud, and Wewoka. Each school was to make available about 60 representatives from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. The races and sexes were to be evenly represented. Table I gives the frequency distribution of the subjects making up the non-probability analytical sample.

In the spring of 1979, a pilot study was undertaken at Coyle High School in Coyle, Oklahoma. Its purpose was to validate the test instruments and evaluate the comprehensibility of the language of the instruments, as well as the time within which respondents could work through the questionnaire. A total of 71 students took part in the pilot study. The instruments used were the California Test of Personality, a clothing questionnaire, and an observer's assessment list. Among the important results of the pilot study were that the item evaluation list for the California Test of Personality variables had Cronbach alpha values which ranged from 0.53 to 0.73, while that for the clothing questionnaire ranged from a low of 0.16 to a high of 0.75. The observer's assessment list had alpha values between 0.47 and 0.88. It was decided that any items with values less than 0.31 would not be used for the main study.

Collection of Data

As a step toward getting school authorities to allow their students to participate in the study, letters were sent to the superintendents and principals of the schools which had been earmarked. The letters attempted

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SCHOOL,
RACE, SEX, AND GRADE

Variables	Frequency	Percent
School (N = 605)		
Boley High School	53	8
Bristow High School	66	11
Chandler High School	64	11
Cushing High School	59	10
Guthrie High School	60	10
Muskogee High School	57	9
Perry High School	60	10
Ponca City High School	61	10
Stroud High School	60	10
Wewoka High School	65	11
Race (N = 605)		
White	446	74
Black	141	23
Others	18	3
Sex (N = 605)		
Male	296	49
Female	309	57
Grade (N = 605)		
10	210	35
11	176	29
12	219	36

to explain the purpose of the study and to assure participants that the objective was useful and purely academic. In order to satisfy and convince the schools further, a visit was made to each of the schools. In the course of the visit, copies of the testing instruments were shown to the principals and the counselors to give them further satisfaction as to the suitability of the instruments and the use to which they would be put. When the principals consented to their students' involvement in the study, either positively or tentatively, dates were scheduled for the administration of the testing instruments.

Responses to the instruments were to be taken in two parts. The schools' counselors were entrusted with the responsibility of administering the California Test of Personality at times which were convenient to their schools. On a date agreed upon with the school in each case, the researcher and colleagues administered the unstandardized instrument. It was up to the school to select the respondents. The selection for each grade, race, and sex was to be as representative as practicable. As far as the testing environment was concerned, each school provided a spacious location such as the auditorium or the library to enable all the respondents from the school to take the test at the same time and in the same place.

Distance was a crucial factor to be contended with in collecting the data. Since the participating schools were located several miles away from one another, it was necessary to devote one day to the exercise in each school.

The Test Instrument

The standardized instrument used was the California Test of Personality

which was designed to identify and reveal the status of certain highly important factors in personal and social adjustment. The factors are those which defy appraisal or diagnosis by means of ordinary ability and achievement tests. As it is used in this context, personality is not an entity separate and apart from ability or achievement but includes them. What is implied here is rather the manner and effectiveness with which individuals meet their personal problems and, indirectly, the way they impress others. The personality test has become attached to instruments for identifying and evaluating the intangible elements of total complex pattern of feeling, thinking, and acting. Its organization is around the concept of life adjustment as a balance between personal and social adjustment.

Items in the personal adjustment half of the test are designed to measure evidences of six components of personal security. They are: (1) self-reliance, (2) sense of personal worth, (3) sense of personal freedom, (4) feeling of belonging, (5) withdrawing tendencies, and (6) nervous symptoms. In the social adjustment, half the items are set to measure evidences of six components of social security which are: (1) social standards, (2) social skills, (3) family relations, (4) school relations, (5) occupation relations, and (6) community relations. Each of the 12 scales is made up of 15 items.

Several studies have been conducted using the California Test of Personality. A few of these which tend to relate to this study may be cited here. These date from about 20 years ago. For instance, Davis (1962) used the CTP for a study of adolescent values and self-concepts; Wolcott (1962) for a comparative analysis of the attitudes of black and white elementary students; Sumner (1964) for a comparison of the social and

personal adjustment of some black and white children in special education classes for the educable retarded. Other studies which used the CTP were those of Anderson (1966), on the effects of desegregation in the achievement and personality patterns of black children; Charette (1968), on personality and study habit correlates of achievement among lower socioeconomic class boys; Swanson (1969), on a child's acceptance by others, of others, and of self; and Taylor (1970), on a comparison of the self-concept of black students at the University of Alabama and black students at Stillman College.

In recent years the California Test of Personality has been utilized in the following research works: Bower (1971) dealt with traits among most preferred and least preferred students in grades 10, 11, and 12. Mihalopoulos (1971) did a comparative study of normal and problem nuclear families. Williams (1971) undertook a semantic differential study of the meaning of personality test items to children from different socioeconomic groups. Hood (1972) researched a comparison of transfer and non-transfer black students on achievement, selected personality variables, needs, and presses. There are also the studies of Woodruff and Birren (1972) dealing with age changes and cohort differences in personality, Bassis (1973) on characteristics of adolescent runaways in a community residential treatment center, Inselberg (1973) concerning social and psychological correlates of masculinity in young boys, and Musa and Roach (1973) regarding adolescent appearance and self-concept. All of these studies made use of the California Test of Personality.

Mention may also be made of Oriel and Berwick (1974) who examined the effect of feedback in self-reinforcing behavior in relation to self-acceptance; Freeman (1975) whose work was in the area of vocational

interest patterns of learning disabled adolescent males, as well as Galluzzi and Zucker (1977) who studied the level of adjustment and the self- and other-concepts. This study was based on four scales. These are: (1) sense of personal worth, (2) family relations, (3) school relations, and (4) community relations. Each of these concepts requires a brief definition.

Definition of Terms

The dependent variables of the study are defined as follows:

Sense of personal worth: individuals may be said to possess an adequate sense of personal worth when they feel they are well regarded by others, when they feel others have faith in their future success, and when the individuals themselves believe that they have average or better than average ability.

Family relations: individuals may be said to exhibit desirable family relations when they feel that they are loved and well treated at home, and demonstrate a sense of security and self-respect toward other members of the family. Favorable family relations also include parental control which is neither too strict nor too lenient.

School relations: students who are satisfactorily adjusted to their school are those who feel that they are liked by their teachers, enjoy being with other students, and find the school work adapted to their level of interest and maturity. Such students feel they count for something in the life of their school.

Community relations: persons may be said to be making acceptable adjustments in the community if they mingle happily with their neighbors, take pride in community improvements, and if they are tolerant in dealing

with others. Also satisfactory community relations include the disposi-
tion to be respectful of laws and regulations pertaining to the mainten-
ance of peace and order.

Four items were selected from the questionnaire that was developed
for the Langston University study. These were used in an exploratory man-
ner as single-item measures. The first of these (Q8) which was used to
measure a sense of personal worth asked the question, "How do you feel
about what others say about your appearance?" It was anticipated that
students who had a low sense of personal worth would respond that they
never thought about what others said about their appearance, whereas
those with a high sense of personal worth would respond that to them what
others said about their appearance was of the greatest importance. The
family relations level was measured by the question (Q5), "How much do
your parents suggest or demand about the clothes you wear?" Responses to
this question were: (1) they tell me exactly what to wear; (2) they are
very interested and help me plan my clothes; (3) they sometimes make sug-
gestions; (4) they rarely say anything; and (5) they never say anything.
These responses reflected the level of permissive relationships which
seemed to exist between adolescents and their parents. The question (Q14)
used to measure school relations was, "Does the way you dress have any
effect on why teachers may select you for school activities?" The sug-
gested responses were: (1) not at all; (2) very rarely; (3) sometimes;
(4) in some activities it matters a lot; and (5) it is important in every-
thing. The inference from these responses was that those who had favor-
able school relations would dress satisfactorily to be involved in as many
school activities as possible. Finally, the community relations level was
tested by the question (Q3), "How often have you felt you could not go to

some social affair because you did not have the necessary clothes?" Responses suggested were: (1) Always; (2) Often; (3) Occasionally; (4) Rarely; and (5) Never. Those students who had the least favorable community relations were expected to answer "Always," whereas those with the most favorable relations would respond "Never."

Since these questions did not have enough items for them to form acceptable scales, it was not intended that they should be used to draw definitive conclusions. It was therefore decided that the data derived from the unstandardized questionnaire should be analyzed separately from those obtained from the California Test of Personality. The data collected by the California Test of Personality as well as by the unstandardized questionnaire were analyzed by means of analysis of variance and chi square techniques.

To test the hypothesis that two or more populations have equal means, the analysis of variance seems to be the most efficient statistical method. It makes it possible for any number of samples to be compared at the same time, and a decision to be made as to whether or not they came from populations identical in their means. Also, the analysis of variance is a suitable statistical technique for drawing inferences about the differences between or among populations.

The chi square statistic may be used to evaluate whether or not the frequencies which have been obtained are significantly different from those which would be expected by chance variation. In this respect, the larger the difference between observed and expected frequencies, the larger the value of the chi square. This statistic might be the most appropriate procedure for testing the null hypothesis of no difference between two population proportions or percentages.

The two test instruments were scored differently. For the CTP, one was given for an agree response and zero was given for a disagree response to each item. Fifteen items (a maximum of 15 points could be scored) made up each scale. The unstandardized questionnaire was scored on a range of 1 to 5 for each of the single item measures with the lowest score representing the least favorable response and the highest score representing the most favorable response.

Limitations

This study was confined to the investigation of race and sex as factors in adolescent experience of sense of personal worth, family relations, school relations, and community relations. One limitation of the study was the methodology. The sample was not representative of any known larger population except, perhaps, adolescents of "rural" and "semi-urban" Oklahoma. Next, it was not possible by research design to separate overt change from sample peculiarities. Personality variables might not have been the perfect measure of social behavior.

Of the test instruments, the California Test of Personality had not originally been designed specifically for this study and seemed relatively old. However, it was used because its validity and reliability had already been established and it had been used in similar or related studies. The unstandardized questionnaire did not appear to have enough items to compose acceptable scales, and it had not been sufficiently tested for validity and reliability. Four of the items were used from it for a check on the findings of the established, but old, California Test of Personality.

Finally, this study might not have escaped any or all the problems of any paper and pencil test. Given these limitations, the findings of this study might not necessarily be generalized to other decision situations.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Introduction

Preliminary analysis of the data showed that of the subjects studied,
Boley had 53 or 8 percent, Bristow had 66 or 11 percent, Chandler had 64
or 11 percent, Cushing had 59 or 10 percent, Guthrie had 60 or 10 percent,
Muskogee had 57 or 9 percent, Perry had 60 or 10 percent, Ponca City had
61 or 10 percent, Stroud had 60 or 10 percent, and Wewoka had 65 or 11
percent, for a total of 605. Distribution by race indicated that blacks
were 141 or 23 percent, whites were 446 or 74 percent, while others not
included in the study were 18 or 3 percent. Of the blacks, 88 lived in
white communities while 53 lived in a black community. Males in the sam-
ple numbered 269 or 49 percent while females were 309 or 51 percent. Al-
though age or grade was not one of the factors taken into consideration
for study, it should be noted that there were 210 tenth graders (35%),
176 eleventh graders (29%), and 219 twelfth graders (36%). There was not
a perfectly even representation of the schools, races, and sexes. How-
ever, participation by races and sexes as evidenced by the data satisfac-
torily met the needs of the study. Table I (page 60) shows the frequency
distribution of the respondents.

Analysis of Data on Selected Variables Based on

the California Test of Personality

The data as obtained by the California Test of Personality were analyzed by chi square and analysis of variance statistics. For the races, 49.7 percent of the blacks versus 59.1 percent of the whites scored above the median on sense of personal worth. A chi square of 3.93 with $P < 0.05$ reflected the significant difference between the proportion of blacks who scored above the median and the proportion of whites who scored above the median. Results of the analysis of variance similarly showed that the mean of the white scores was higher than the mean of the black scores. The means for blacks and whites, respectively, were 10.23 and 10.56 with $F = 2.40$ and $P = 0.12$. Although the difference between the two means was not statistically significant at the 0.05 level, it is, nevertheless, worth noting. Table II provides the information stated above.

On family relations, 41.8 percent of the blacks versus 47.3 percent of the whites scored above the median. There was a chi square value of 1.27 with $P = 0.26$ and was, therefore, not significant at the 0.05 level. As given by the analysis of variance, in the second part of Table II, the scores of blacks and whites were equal at 9.6 with 0.00 F-ratio and $P = 0.99$. Hence there was not a significant difference between the scores of blacks and those of whites on family relations.

Scores on school relations for blacks and whites were examined next. Here, 50.4 percent of the blacks scored above the median whereas 51.6 percent of the whites scored above the median. The chi square value was 0.07 with $P = 0.79$, which was not significant. On the other hand, according to the analysis of variance, the scores for the blacks had a mean of 9.53, while those for the whites had a mean of 9.47. But the F-ratio was 0.04

TABLE II

CHI SQUARE AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY RACE FOR SENSE OF
PERSONAL WORTH AND FAMILY RELATIONS

Race	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of AOV
	Low	High					
Sense of Personal Worth--CTP							
Black	50.4 (71)	49.7 (70)	3.93	0.05	10.23	2.40	0.12
White	40.9 (181)	59.1 (262)			10.56		
Family Relations--CTP							
Black	58.2 (82)	41.8 (59)	1.27	0.26	9.60	0.00	0.99
White	52.7 (233)	47.3 (209)			9.60		

with P = 0.84 and it could not be concluded that there was a significant
difference between the scores of the blacks and those of the whites on
school relations.

As far as community relations were concerned, 39.7 percent of the
blacks and 47.7 percent of the whites scored above the median. The re-
sulting chi square was 2.77 with P = 0.09, and was therefore not statis-
tically significant. However, the analysis of variance had the result
that the mean of the scores for blacks was 8.59, whereas the mean of the
scores for whites was 9.32. In this case there was a significant differ-
ence between the mean for the blacks and that for the whites with the lat-
ter having the higher score. The F-ratio was 6.59 with P = 0.01. Table
III gives the chi square and analysis of variance information for blacks
and whites on the variables of school relations and community relations.

Analysis of Data for Males and Females

Data on the selected variables were analyzed for the sexes just as
was done for the races. For sense of personal worth, 56.2 percent of the
males versus 57.5 percent of the females scored above the median. The
chi square, which was 0.09, had P = 0.75, and was not significant. A com-
parison of the means for males and females as offered by the analysis of
variance pointed out that the mean for males (10.72) was higher than that
for females (10.38). However, the difference was not significant with
F = 0.99 and P = 0.16. In effect there was no significant difference be-
tween the scores of males and females on sense of personal worth.

On family relations, 40.6 percent of the males versus 51.0 percent
of the females scored above the median. A chi square of 6.29 with P <
0.02 meant that there was a significant difference between the proportion

TABLE III

CHI SQUARE AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY RACE FOR
SCHOOL RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Race	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of AOV
	Low	High					
School Relations--CTP							
Black	49.7 (70)	50.4 (71)	0.065	0.79	9.53	0.04	0.84
White	48.4 (214)	51.6 (228)			9.47		
Community Relations--CTP							
Black	60.3 (85)	39.7 (56)	2.77	0.09	8.59	6.56	0.01
White	52.3 (231)	47.7 (211)			9.32		

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of males who scored above the median and the proportion of females who did. Females, in this case, had the edge over the males. For a consideration of the total scores of the groups, the analysis of variance had to be employed. According to the AOV, the mean of the scores for males was 9.47. Compared with the mean of the scores for females, which was 9.73, no significant difference emerged between the two scores with the resultant $F = 0.60$ and $P = 0.44$. Therefore, based upon the AOV, it might be concluded that there was no significant difference between the mean score of males and the mean score of females on the variable of family relations. The chi square and analysis of variance information for males and females on sense of personal worth and family relations are given in Table IV.

In the first part of Table V can be found the chi square and analysis of variance information for males and females on school relations. Here, 45.2 percent of the males versus 57.0 percent of the females scored above the median. Since the chi square of 8.06 was significant at the 0.01 level, significantly more females than males scored above the median. Similarly, when the males were taken as a whole, the mean of their scores as per the AOV was lower than that of the scores of the females also taken together. The means for males and females were 9.22 and 9.74, respectively. The difference between the two scores was significant because the F of the AOV was 3.86 with $P = 0.05$. It might be concluded that there is a significant difference between the scores of males and the scores of females. Females scored higher than males.

In the second portion of Table V, the data on community relations resulted in 49.5 percent of the males versus 42.3 percent of the females scoring above the median. Statistically, there did not appear to be any

TABLE IV

CHI SQUARE AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY GENDER FOR SENSE OF
PERSONAL WORTH AND FAMILY RELATIONS

Sex	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of AOV
	Low	High					
Sense of Personal Worth--CTP							
Male	43.8 (124)	56.2 (159)	0.09	0.75	10.38	1.99	0.16
Female	42.5 (128)	57.5 (173)			10.72		
Family Relations--CTP							
Male	59.4 (168)	40.6 (115)	6.29	0.01	9.47	0.60	0.44
Female	49.0 (147)	51.0 (153)			9.73		

TABLE V

CHI SQUARE AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY GENDER FOR
SCHOOL RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Sex	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of AOV
	Low	High					
School Relations--CTP							
Male	54.8 (155)	45.2 (128)	8.06	0.01	9.22	3.86	0.05
Female	43.0 (129)	57.0 (171)			9.74		
Community Relations--CTP							
Male	50.5 (143)	57.7 (173)	2.99	0.08	9.17	0.04	0.84
Female	49.5 (140)	42.3 (127)			9.12		

difference between the two proportions, because the chi square had a value of 2.99 with P = 0.08. For further comparison between the scores of males and the scores of females, the analysis of variance was employed. The analysis of variance information obtained from the data for males and females on community relations was that the means for males and females were, respectively, 9.17 and 9.12. Since F = 0.04 and P = 0.84, it was concluded that there was no significant difference between the scores of males and females on community relations.

Analysis for Interaction Between Sex and Race Based on the California Test of Personality

As performed through analysis of variance, the test for interaction showed that there was not a significant interaction between sex and race on any of the dependent variables. Insignificant interaction meant that differences by race and by sex separately were the same when analyzed together. For sense of personal worth, the means for blacks and whites were 10.23 and 10.56, respectively, with F = 2.4 and P = 0.12. The mean for males was 10.72 and for females was 10.38, with F = 0.99 and P = 0.16. Interaction had an F = 0.39 with P = 0.53.

In the case of family relations, the means of blacks and whites were equal at 9.6. with F = 0.00 and P = 0.99. For sex, the mean score for males was 9.47 and for females was 9.73. Here, F = 0.60 and P = 0.44. The sum of squares of the interaction was 19.32 with F = 1.16 and P = 0.28.

The mean of the scores for blacks on school relations was 9.53 and for whites was 9.47, with F = 0.04 and P = 0.84. For males and females, the means were, respectively, 9.22 and 9.74, with F = 3.86 and P = 0.05.

The sum of squares of the interaction was 7.27, with F = 0.71 and P = 0.40.

Regarding community relations, the means of the scores for blacks and whites were, respectively, 8.59 and 9.32, with F = 6.59 and P = 0.01. The mean for males was 9.17 and for females was 9.12, with F = 0.04 and P = 0.84. The sum of squares of the interaction was 1.28, with F = 0.15 and P = 0.70. Table VI provides the CTP interaction information.

Analysis of Data on Blacks in a Predominantly Black Environment and Blacks in a Predominantly White Environment

From the data gathered by the California Test of Personality, scores of black students living in a predominantly black environment were compared with scores of blacks living in a predominantly white environment. Chi square and AOV techniques were used for the analysis. Although it was not within the mainstream of the study, this investigation aimed at the possibility of the environment being a factor in the socialization of black adolescents. Of the 141 black respondents, 88 lived in a predominantly white environment, while 53 lived in a predominantly black environment. When the scores of the two groups were compared on the variable of sense of personal worth, of the blacks who lived in the black community, 39.6 percent scored above the median; but of the blacks who lived in the white community, 55.7 percent scored above the median. The difference, however, was not significant because the chi square value was 3.41 with P = 0.06. In observing the first part of Table VII, the AOV also shows that the blacks who lived in the black community had a mean score of 9.83,

TABLE VI

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH, FAMILY
RELATIONS, SCHOOL RELATIONS, AND COMMUNITY
RELATIONS BY SEX AND RACE

Source of Variation	df	SS	F	Prob.
Sense of Personal Worth--CTP				
Sex	1	16.59	1.99	0.16
Race	1	20.19	2.40	0.12
Sex x Race	1	3.27	0.39	0.53
Family Relations--CTP				
Sex	1	10.12	0.60	0.44
Race	1	0.0001	0.00	0.99
Sex x Race	1	19.32	1.16	0.28
School Relations--CTP				
Sex	1	39.55	3.86	0.05*
Race	1	0.43	0.04	0.83
Sex x Race	1	7.27	0.71	0.40
Community Relations--CTP				
Sex	1	0.36	0.04	0.84
Race	1	56.67	6.56	0.01*
Sex x Race	1	1.28	0.15	0.70

*Significant F value beyond the .05 level.

TABLE VII

CHI SQUARE AND AOV FOR BLACKS IN BLACK COMMUNITY AND BLACKS IN WHITE COMMUNITY
ON SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH AND FAMILY RELATIONS

Commun-ity	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of AOV
	Low	High					
Sense of Personal Worth--CTP							
Black	60.4 (32)	39.6 (21)	3.41	0.06	9.83	1.00	0.97
White	44.3 (39)	55.7 (49)			10.47		
Family Relations--CTP							
Black	54.7 (29)	45.3 (24)	0.39	0.59	9.21	1.02	0.92
White	50.0 (44)	50.0 (44)			9.84		

while the blacks who lived in the white community had a mean score of 10.47. Since F = 1.00 and P = 0.97, the difference between the two means was not significant.

Relative to family relations, 45.3 percent of the blacks who lived in the black community versus 50.0 percent of the blacks who lived in the white community scored above the median. A chi square of 0.3 with P = 0.59 meant that there was not a significant difference between the two proportions. The AOV produced a mean of 9.21 for blacks who lived in the black community versus a mean of 9.84 for blacks who lived in the white community. Although the latter group scored higher than the former group, the difference between the two scores was not statistically significant, with F = 1.02 and P = 0.92. These figures are provided in the second part of Table VII.

On school relations, 45.3 percent of the blacks who lived in the black community versus 53.4 percent of the blacks who lived in the white community scored above the median. A chi square of 0.87 and P = 0.35 were derived. Therefore, although more of the blacks who lived in the white community scored above the median than did those who lived in the black community, the difference was not significant. The result of the AOV was that the mean for the blacks from the black community and the mean for the blacks from the white community were 9.17 and 9.75, respectively. With the resultant F = 1.14 and P = 0.63, the difference between the two means was not significant.

The information obtained on community relations showed that of the blacks who lived in the black community, 41.5 percent scored above the median. This proportion was substantially smaller than that of those who lived in the white community, which was 61.4 percent. A chi square of

5.25 with P = 0.02 meant that the difference between the two proportions was significant. Similarly, the result of the AOV was that the mean for the scores of blacks who lived in the black community was 7.74, whereas the mean for the scores of blacks who lived in the white community was 9.1. Although the blacks from the white community had a higher mean than did those from the black community, the difference was not significant. Here, F = 1.03 and P = 0.93. Table VIII contains the chi square and AOV information for blacks in the black community and blacks in the white community on the variables of school relations and community relations.

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Chi Square and Analysis of Variance Information on

Blacks and Whites--Unstandardized Questionnaire

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On sense of personal worth, 46.9 percent of the whites versus 58.2 percent of the blacks scored above the median. A chi square of 5.47 with P = 0.02 was obtained. It would appear that there was a significant difference between the scores of the whites and the blacks. Blacks scored a mean of 3.04 while whites scored a mean of 2.64. The F-ratio was 12.27, which was significant at the 0.05 level.

An analysis of the scores for family relations revealed that 44.2 percent of the whites versus 42.5 percent of the blacks scores above the median, with a chi square of 0.11 which was not significant. The mean scores for the whites and the blacks were 3.46 and 3.40, respectively, with F = 0.37.

Regarding school relations, 54.6 percent of the blacks versus 54.5 percent of the whites scored above the median. The chi square was 0.001. The means for the blacks and the whites were, respectively, 2.48 and 2.45. The F-ratio was 0.09 and was not significant.

TABLE VIII

CHI SQUARE AND AOV FOR BLACKS IN BLACK COMMUNITY AND BLACKS IN WHITE COMMUNITY ON SCHOOL RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Commun- ity	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of T-Test
	Low	High					
School Relations--CTP							
Black	54.7 (29)	45.3 (24)	0.87	0.35	9.17	1.14	0.63
White	45.6 (41)	53.4 (47)			9.75		
Community Relations--CTP							
Black	58.5 (31)	41.5 (22)	5.25	0.02	7.74	1.03	0.93
White	38.6 (54)	61.4 (54)			9.10		

For community relations, 61.0 percent of the blacks versus 63.7 percent of the whites scored above the median. The chi square of 0.33 with P = 0.56 was not significant. Also, the mean for the blacks was 3.63, whereas the mean for the whites was 3.76. The F-ratio was 1.61 with P = 0.21. Tables IX and X give the chi square and analysis of variance information for blacks and whites on the variables.

Analysis of Male and Female Scores Based
on the Unstandardized Questionnaire

When the scores of males and females on sense of personal worth as measured by the unstandardized questionnaire were examined, it was found that 43.5 percent of the males versus 55.3 percent of the females scored above the median. The chi square was 5.48 with P = 0.02. The means for males and females were 2.49 and 2.97, respectively, with F = 23.33, significant at the 0.05 level.

For family relations, 45.6 percent of the males versus 42.1 percent of the females scored above the median. The chi square was 0.76 with P = 0.38. Also, males had a mean of 3.48 while females had a mean of 3.41. With an F-ratio of 1.06 and P = 0.3, the difference between the two scores was not significant.

The analysis of the data pertaining to school relations showed that 54.0 percent of the males versus 55.0 percent of the females scored above the median. The chi square was 0.001 with P = 0.98. The males had a mean score of 2.44 while the females had a mean score of 2.48. In this case, the F-ratio was 0.18 with P = 0.67.

Concerning community relations, 72.6 percent of the males versus 54.0 percent of the females scored above the median. The chi square

TABLE IX

CHI SQUARE AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY RACE FOR SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH
AND FAMILY RELATIONS (UNSTANDARDIZED QUESTIONNAIRE)

Race	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of AOV
	Low	High					
Sense of Personal Worth							
Black	41.8 (59)	58.2 (82)	5.47	0.02	3.04	12.27	0.001
White	53.1 (237)	46.9 (209)			2.64		
Family Relations							
Black	57.5 (81)	42.5 (60)	0.11	0.74	3.40	0.37	0.54
White	55.8 (249)	44.2 (197)			3.46		

TABLE X

CHI SQUARE AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY GENDER FOR SENSE OF PERSONAL
WORTH AND FAMILY RELATIONS (UNSTANDARDIZED QUESTIONNAIRE)

Sex	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of AOV
	Low	High					
Sense of Personal Worth							
Male	56.5 (161)	44.7 (135)	5.48	0.02	2.49	23.33	0.0001
Female	43.5 (124)	55.3 (167)			2.97		
Family Relations							
Male	54.4 (155)	45.6 (130)	0.76	0.38	3.48	1.06	0.3
Female	58.0 (175)	42.1 (127)			3.41		

value was 21.91 which was significant at the 0.05 level. The mean scores
for the males and the females were, respectively, 3.93 and 3.53. There
was an F-ratio of 25.61 which was also significant. Tables XI and XII
show the analysis of the data as obtained by the unstandardized question-
naire.

Interaction Between Sex and Race

The test scores based upon the unstandardized questionnaire revealed
that there was not a significant interaction between sex and race on any
of the dependent variables studied. For sense of personal worth, the mean
score for blacks was 3.04 and for whites was 2.64, with F = 12.27 and P =
0.0005. Means of the scores for the sexes were 2.49 for males and 2.97
for females, with F = 23.33 and P = 0.0001. Figures for interaction were
0.00 ss, F = 0.00, and P = 1.00.

Relative to family relations, the means for blacks and whites were
3.40 and 3.45, respectively, with F = 0.37 and P = 0.54. Males had a
mean of 3.48 versus 3.41 for females, with F = 1.06 and P = 0.30. Analy-
sis for interaction showed ss = 0.00, F = 0.00, and P = 1.00.

Regarding school relations, blacks and whites had 2.48 and 2.45, re-
spectively, as mean scores, with F = 0.09 and P = 0.77. Males and females
had means of 2.44 and 2.48, respectively, with F = 0.18 and P = 0.67.
Figures for interaction were ss = 0.73, F = 0.51, and P = 0.48.

The means of the scores by race on community relations were 3.64 for
blacks and 3.76 for whites, with F = 1.61 and P = 0.21. Sex mean scores
were for males, 3.93, and for females, 3.53, with F = 25.61 and P = 0.0001.
Figures for interaction were ss = 0.85, F = 0.92, and P = 0.34. Analysis
of variance information on selected variables is provided by Table XIII.

TABLE XI

CHI SQUARE AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY GENDER FOR SCHOOL RELATIONS AND
COMMUNITY RELATIONS (UNSTANDARDIZED QUESTIONNAIRE)

| Sex | Percentage | | Chi Square | P of Chi Square | Mean | F | P of AOV |
	Low	High					
School Relations							
Male	46.0 (131)	54.0 (154)	0.001	0.98	2.44	0.18	0.67
Female	45.0 (136)	55.0 (166)			2.48		
Community Relations							
Male	27.4 (78)	72.6 (207)	21.91	0.001	3.93	25.61	0.0001
Female	46.0 (139)	54.0 (163)			3.53		

TABLE XII

CHI SQUARE AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY RACE FOR SCHOOL RELATIONS AND
COMMUNITY RELATIONS (UNSTANDARDIZED QUESTIONNAIRE)

Race	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of AOV
	Low	High					
School Relations							
Black	45.4 (64)	54.6 (77)	0.001	0.98	2.48	0.09	0.77
White	45.5 (203)	54.5 (243)			2.45		
Community Relations							
Black	39.0 (55)	61.1 (86)	0.33	0.56	3.63	1.61	0.21
White	36.3 (162)	63.7 (284)			3.76		

TABLE XIII

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH, FAMILY
RELATIONS, SCHOOL RELATIONS, AND COMMUNITY
RELATIONS BY SEX AND RACE (UNSTAN-
DARDIZED QUESTIONNAIRE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	F	Prob.
Sense of Personal Worth				
Sex	1	33.17	23.33	0.0001
Race	1	17.45	12.27	0.0005
Sex x Race	1	0.00	0.00	1.00
Family Relations				
Sex	1	0.79	1.06	0.30
Race	1	0.27	0.37	0.54
Sex x Race	1	0.00	0.00	1.00
School Relations				
Sex	1	0.26	0.18	0.67
Race	1	0.12	0.09	0.77
Sex x Race	1	0.73	0.51	0.48
Community Relations				
Sex	1	29.49	25.61	0.0001
Race	1	1.47	1.61	0.21
Sex x Race	1	0.85	0.92	0.34

Analysis of Data on Blacks in a Black Environment and

Blacks in a White Environment Based on

the Unstandardized Questionnaire

The data derived from the unstandardized questionnaire showed that

for the variable of sense of personal worth, 50.9 percent of the blacks

in the black community versus 38.64 percent of the blacks in the white

community scored above the median. Since the chi square was 2.04 and

P = 0.15, the difference between the two proportions was not significant.

The AOV indicated that the difference between the mean for the blacks in

the black community, 3.08, and that for the blacks in the white community,

3.02, was not significant, with F = 1.07 and P = 0.76.

Performances on family relations were that of the blacks in the black

community, 39.6 percent scored above the median versus 44.3 percent of

the blacks in the white community. The chi square of 0.3 with P = 0.58,

however, meant that there was no significant difference between the two

proportions. On the other hand, the mean scores of the blacks in the

black community and of the blacks in the white community were 3.34 and

3.44, respectively. There was no significant difference between the two

means. The AOV had an F-ratio of 1.07 and P = 0.76. Table XIV gives the

various scores on sense of personal worth and family relations.

It can be observed from Table XV that there was no significant dif-

ference between the scores of the blacks in the black community and

blacks in the white community on school relations. Of the former, 50.9

percent scored above the median, whereas of the latter, 56.8 percent did.

The chi square was 0.46 with P = 0.5. There was also no significant dif-

ference between the mean scores of the two groups. Here, the mean for

TABLE XIV

CHI SQUARE AND AOV BY BLACKS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND BLACKS IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY
FOR SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH AND FAMILY RELATIONS (UNSTANDARDIZED QUESTIONNAIRE)

Commun-ity	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Means	F	P of T-Test
	Low	High					
Sense of Personal Worth							
Black	49.1 (26)	50.9 (27)	2.04	0.15	3.08	1.07	0.76
White	61.4 (54)	38.6 (34)			3.02		
Family Relations							
Black	60.4 (32)	39.6 (21)	0.03	0.58	3.34	1.07	0.76
White	55.7 (49)	44.3 (39)			3.44		

TABLE XV

CHI SQUARE AND AOV BY BLACKS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND BLACKS IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY
FOR SCHOOL RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS (UNSTANDARDIZED QUESTIONNAIRE)

Commun- ity	Percentage		Chi Square	P of Chi Square	Mean	F	P of T-Test
	Low	High					
School Relations							
Black	49.1 (26)	50.9 (27)	0.46	0.50	2.36	1.11	0.70
White	43.2 (38)	56.8 (50)			2.57		
Community Relations							
Black	45.3 (24)	54.7 (29)	1.41	0.24	3.68	1.09	0.71
White	35.2 (31)	64.8 (57)			3.61		

the blacks in the black community was 2.36 and for blacks in the white community was 2.57. For the AOV, F = 1.11 and P = 0.7.

Scores on community relations are also provided in Table XV. Although the proportion of blacks in the black community who scored above the median was 54.7 percent and was less than the proportion of blacks in the white community who scored above the median, 61.4 percent, the difference was not significant. The chi square was 1.41 with P = 0.24. With F = 1.09 and P = 0.71, the AOV also indicated that there was no significant difference between 3.68, the mean for the blacks in the black community, and 3.71, the mean for the blacks in the white community. These scores and their implications are discussed further in Chapter VI.

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Results of the California Test of Personality

Compared With Those of the Unstan-

dardized Questionnaire

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Results of the California Test of Personality tended to be supported by the results of the unstandardized questionnaire, except in the following areas. On sense of personal worth by race on the CTP, as per the chi square, the proportion of whites (59.1%) who scored above the median was significantly higher than the proportion of blacks (49.7). The unstandardized questionnaire, however, showed that the proportion of blacks who scored above the median was significantly higher (58.2%) than the proportion of whites (46.9%). This disparity was reflected in the AOV where, according to the CTP, the mean score for the whites was 10.6, while that for the blacks was 10.2. By the unstandardized questionnaire, the means for blacks and whites were 3.04 and 2.64, respectively. On sense of personal worth (community), on the CTP, blacks in the white community tended

to score higher than blacks in the black community (55.7% versus 39.6%). The result of the unstandardized questionnaire was that blacks in the black community tended to score higher (50.9% black community versus 38.7% white community). Similarly by the AOV for the CTP, the means for the black community and the white community were, respectively, 9.83 and 10.47, but for the unstandardized questionnaire the corresponding scores were 3.08 and 3.02.

On family relations on the CTP, 51 percent of the females versus 40.6 percent of the males scored above the median. The AOV revealed that the mean for females was 9.73 and that for males was 9.47. To the contrary, the results of the unstandardized questionnaire were that for the chi square, 45.6 percent of the males versus 42.1 percent of the females scored above the median; and for the AOV the mean for the males was 3.48 and that for the females was 3.41. On school relations by race on the CTP, results for the chi square technique were that 51.6 percent of the whites versus 50.4 percent of the blacks scored above the median. The mean scores, as per AOV, were 9.47 for whites and 9.53 for blacks. However, the unstandardized questionnaire produced for the chi square 54.6 percent of blacks versus 54.5 percent of whites scoring above the median. For the AOV, the mean score of the blacks was 2.48 and that of the whites was 2.45.

Of the 64 units of analysis, the results of the unstandardized questionnaire generally tended to agree with those of the California Test of Personality in 56 cases, which meant 87.5 percent extent of agreement between the two instruments. In the discussions which follow, the test results that are mentioned are those of the CTP. As it has already been observed, the CTP is an established instrument with advantages over the

unstandardized questionnaire in terms of numbers of items composing the scales, reliability, and validity. In addition, some comments may be made about chi square versus AOV as methods of data analysis. Chi square had a few limitations. First, it collapsed scores above and below the median into the same categories and hence was less sensitive to possible differences. Second, there was a small N (sample population) for blacks in black schools which resulted in insignificant chi squares even when proportional differences appeared to be substantial. The two limitations seemed more restrictive than not meeting the assumptions of the AOV. In this study, the results of the chi square and the analysis of variance, except in one case, tended to be in the same direction. All the same, the overall conclusions which were discussed pertained more to the AOV than to the chi square, since the latter dealt with proportions or percentages whereas the former dealt with the total sample populations.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

It has been the expectation that this study would make a worthwhile

contribution to the knowledge about the ramifications of the process of

socialization. Of particular interest in this regard is how adolescents

of the socially-defined minority groups experience differentially social-

ization in relationship with agents of socialization. Several of the re-

searches which have been conducted in this field have not produced con-

verging results. Inconsistencies have characterized the outcome of these

research efforts. Perhaps it will help to put the trends of this study

in a proper perspective if they are discussed in relationship with those

of previous studies as cited in the literature. In this chapter, first

will be summary, findings, and comparison with past research. Subsequent

sections will discuss possible meanings of findings.

Effect of Race on Sense of Personal Worth

Based upon the chi square analysis of the data, the inference could

be drawn that the proportion of the white adolescents who had a high sense

of personal worth was significantly larger than the proportion of black

adolescents who did. Similarly, as disclosed by the analysis of variance

in this research, white adolescents on the whole seemed to have a slightly

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higher sense of personal worth than black adolescents, although the difference was not significant at the .05 level.

This finding is partly in disagreement with those earlier studies by Clark (1955), Clark and Clark (1958), Ausubel and Ausubel (1963), Lang (1969), and Banks and Grambs (1972). Those earlier studies had theorized that due the life conditions which were the heritage of American racism, blacks would have a low sense of personal worth. Their findings had confirmed the hypothesis of low sense of personal worth for blacks.

It might be worthwhile to consider some of the samples in the earlier studies. For instance, Clark and Clark studied young children between the ages of 3 and 7. Their study related to the choice of color which children made in the selection of toys. The fact that black subject preferred white toys to black toys was taken to mean that blacks did not feel proud of themselves or have a high sense of personal worth.

Recent studies among school populations have tended to negate much of what used to be taken as self-evident, fundamental, and irreducible data. In a study of junior college students, Gordon (1963) found blacks to have the highest sense of personal worth of five gorups. McDonald and Cynther's (1965) investigation of 261 black and 211 white high school seniors also showed blacks to have higher sense of personal worth based on self-ideal discrepancy and on dominance scores. Also, McDill, Meyers, and Rigsby's (1966) sample of 327 high school blacks individually matched with whites showed higher academic self-concept among blacks. Large sample studies of high school students by Bachman (1970) and Powell and Fuller (1973) all showed blacks with higher sense of personal worth. In a secondary analysis of the data collected by Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) on 690 male fifth to twelfth graders, Hunt and Hunt (1977) found that

black males held higher levels of self-regard in terms of personal worth and sex role identification than their white counterparts, but had lower senses of personal efficacy in the early (but not later) school years. All these suggestions of blacks having a higher sense of personal worth are not significantly supported by findings of this study.

In terms of the proposition of this study, it may be concluded that the results place the burden of proof on those who have contended that the derogated, disadvanted social position of blacks in the United States must obviously have resulted in seriously damaged sense of personal worth in that group. This study, overall, did not find a significant difference between black and white adolescents on their levels of sense of personal worth.

Family Relations as Experienced
Differentially by Race

An interpretation of the chi square analysis on the data relating to family relations was that of the proportion that seemed to have a better experience of family relations, white adolescents tended to have a slight edge over the black adolescents. Such a difference was too small to be considered significant. The finding of the analysis of variance was that family relations were experienced equally by the two races.

The general trend of thought as echoed by Moynihan (1964), Rainwater (1966), Billingsley (1968), Herzog and Lewis (1970), and Rosenberg and Simmons (1979) seemed to be that since most black adolescents came from homes characterized by illegitimacy, legal separation or abandonment, black adolescents generally would have a less favorable experience of family relations. This trend of thought is not supported by the findings

of this study. A recent study whose results seem to agree with those of this study was that of Aseltine (1978). In a comparison of the socialization process in black and white families, Aseltine gave 2,400 high school students in Rutherford County, Tennessee, a questionnaire on family life. Results indicated that subjects generally perceived family relation patterns similarly without regard to race. Such seems to be the indication of this study.

Race as a Factor in School Relations

Results of both the chi square and the analysis of variance methods seemed to disclose a very small difference between school relations as experienced by the races. More whites than blacks tended to have favorable school relations. But blacks as a group appeared to have more favorable school relations than whites as a group appeared to have. However, in neither of the two instances was the difference significant.

Many of the previous studies dealing with the subject of the effect of race on school relations and performance had given the indication that because of racial discrimination and their socioeconomic status, blacks had less desirable school relations and performance than did whites. Among others, Katz and Braly (1958), Katz and Greenbaum (1963), and Pettigrew (1964) belonged to that school of thought. Also, according to Kerckhoff (1972), only 43 percent of all black heads of households under 45 years of age had completed high school and only 4 percent had completed four years of college. Their children might not be expected to do any better. Most recently, Wolfstetter and Gaier (1981) conducted a study of 32 female and 26 male black high school students. Using a questionnaire based on a multifactor concept of alienation, they found that alienation

from both society and school was pervasive among the male as well as female black students. Neither the presumptions nor the specific findings referred to are borne out by the result of this study.

A study whose findings tend to be partially supportive of this one is that of Massey, Scott, and Dornbusch (1975). They studied black, Spanish, Asian, and white high school students in San Francisco on the topic of institutional racism in urban schools. Relevant among their findings were that: first, blacks and lower achieving students generally maintained positive conceptions of their school ability despite their lower achievement in school; second, blacks considered learning of school subjects more important than any other groups of students; third, blacks and Chicanos saw teachers as more friendly and warm than did other ethnic groups. Another evidence in support of this study's result is that of Jones (1982). Based on data compiled by the National Assessment of Educational Progress from 1969 to 1980, Jones suggested that for this nation as a whole, blacks were improving at a much sharper rate than whites on achievement scores, so that the black-white difference by 1980 was about two-thirds what it was 10 years earlier. The assumption being made here is that achievement scores might be a reflection of school relations.

Race as a Factor in Community Relations

According to the chi square analysis of the data, the proportion of white adolescents who seemed to have a higher degree of community relations was greater than the proportion of black adolescents who seemed to have a similar degree of community relations. However, the difference between the two proportions was not statistically significant. On the other hand, the interpretation of the analysis of variance was that white

adolescents appeared to have a significantly higher degree of community relations than did black adolescents.

It has generally been hypothesized that because blacks have borne the heaviest burden of prejudice and discrimination in American society, black adolescents would be alienated from their communities. They would be haunted by a feeling of relative deprivation. As it was observed by Sebald (1968), black adolescents caught in a situation of anomie and the existence in a normless and ambivalent social milieu, they would sometimes want to get even with society by resorting to deviant ways. A study of Wolfstetter and Gaier (1981) had been conducted on the assumption that the privileged and dominant position of the black female would cause black female adolescents to feel less alienated than black male adolescents. Although the sample was small, 32 female and 26 male black high school students, the results were conclusive that the male and female black adolescents felt equally alienated from society and, for that matter, from their community.

The outcome of this study is that black adolescents seemed to experience a lower degree of community relations than did white adolescents.

Sex Differences and Sense of Personal Worth

The results of the tests suggested that the experience of sense of personal worth was basically similar for male and female adolescents. Although more of the females than of the males seemed to have a higher level of sense of personal worth, the difference between the sizes of the two proportions was not significant. In the analysis of variance, female adolescents on the whole seemed to have a slightly higher sense of personal

worth. Here also the difference between the experiences of the two sexes
was not significant.

Many studies have generally taken for granted the low sense of per-
sonal worth of females arising out of the supposition that a male-oriented
society treats them as inferior. There are also other specific studies
which have found a low sense of personal worth among females. In an in-
tensive study which focused on sex differences, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974)
revealed that girls tended to indicate a lower sense of personal worth
than did boys. Simmons and Rosenberg (1975) also reported from their
studies of male and female adolescents that 26 percent of the fifteen-
year-old or older girls had a level of sense of personal worth which was
low as compared with 19 percent of the boys who did. Similar findings
were reported by Bush et al. (1977-78) following their study of male and
female adolescents. All these reports which tended to indicate that fe-
male adolescents had a lower sense of personal worth than male adoles-
cents are not supported by this study.

There are, on the other hand, other studies which found females to
have a higher sense of personal worth than males did. An example of such
a finding was that of Toler et al. (1974). In that study, however, sub-
jects were college undergraduates rather than high school students. At
any rate, the finding that girls were more likely than boys to have a
high sense of personal worth is not in agreement with the result of
Toler's study.

Studies whose findings seemed to be supportive of this study might
be exemplified by those of Kaplan and Pokorny (1972), Helmreich and Stapp
(1974), and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974). The work of the last pair of re-
seachers involved a review of about 1,600 studies, published or unpublished,

between 1966 and 1973. Their conclusion was that there was no solid foundation for many of the earlier reports of sex differences regarding sense of personal worth. Also supportive of the finding of this study is the report of Omalley and Bachman (1979) who studied 3,183 male and female seniors in a nationwide sample of the high school class of 1977. Their finding, too, was that males and females were very similar in levels of sense of personal worth.

Family Relations as Experienced by the Sexes

It could be gathered from the chi square analysis that significantly more of the female adolescents experienced more conducive family relations than their male counterparts. This difference, in any case, seemed to be supported when the analysis of variance was considered. In this respect, female adolescents on the whole tended to have better family relations than male adolescents. The difference here, however, was not significant.

Not much evidence of previous studies on sex differences in family relations for adolescents was found. All the same, the material that was available tended to indicate that female adolescents were more likely than male adolescents to have favorable family relations. For instance, Komorowsky's (1950) study of 937 high school students revealed that girls were more often attached to their parents than were boys. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) also observed that boys tended to receive more physical punishment from their parents than did girls. Furthermore, Arafat and Yorburg (1976) suggested that the expectations of family relations were more irksome to boys than they were to girls. It was the conclusion of Williams (1977) that family relations in the socialization process exerted more pressure on boys than they did on girls. All these reports seemed to

imply that girls were more likely than boys to have favorable family rela-
tions. This implication is not wholly consistent with the finding of
this study which was that girls did not differ significantly from boys in
their experience of family relations.

Sex as a Factor in School Relations

Considered in terms of the chi square, the data revealed that the
proportion of females who seemed to have more favorable school relations
was significantly higher than the proportion of males who did. Also, the
comparison between the overall performances of the two sexes, in accord-
ance with the analysis of variance, indicated that, on the whole, females
had more favorable school relations than males did. This difference in
degree of school relations was significant in favor of the females.

Results of research in the area are equally divided on the subject
of sex as a differential factor in school relations. Most of the earlier
studies related to IQ and achievement scores rather than to school rela-
tions per se. It was reported by Watson and Johnson (1972) that 61 per-
cent of the girls but only 29 percent of the boys in their study gave in-
dications of being troubled by feelings of intellectual inferiority. In
any case, there was no indication that boys actually outperformed girls
on the test. On IQ tests, Maccoby (1966) stated that boys tended to
score higher than girls, although on achievement tests and school grades,
girls did better than boys. It seems more of the reports revealed that
girls were more likely than boys to achieve favorable scores on tests per-
taining to IQ, achievement, and, therefore, school relations. After
studying students in ten high schools, Coleman (1961) concluded that girls
averaged higher scores than boys on IQ tests. Very recently, in a study

comparing the IQ scores of boys and girls, Blau (1981) found that the girls scored significantly higher than the boys. Even more poignant, Williams (1977) studied 2,431 students in five types of high schools--ghetto or inner-city, middle-class, suburban, middle-size city, and semi-rural--to determine how the subcultural roles of the students would affect their adjustment in terms of social participation and school belongingness. Conclusions were that female students were more favorably adjusted or related to the school than were the male students. These findings appear to agree with that of this study.

Community Relations as Experienced
Differentially by the Sexes

Test results did not give any evidence of significant difference between community relations as experienced by male adolescents on the one hand and by female adolescents on the other hand. Nevertheless, it could be inferred from the chi square analysis that more of the male adolescents, versus the female adolescents, seemed to have more favorable community relations. Similarly, male adolescents, on the whole, seemed to have a slightly but insignificantly higher level of community relations than female adolescents seemed to have.

Results of previous studies on sex differences affecting community relations appear to suggest that female adolescents were more likely to experience favorable community relations than were male adolescents. Summarizing a number of studies on female personality, Bardwick (1971) revealed that the achievement of favorable community relations was a matter which concerned females more than it did males. Similarly, Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) found that girls were more likely than boys to be easy to

get along with, to be sociable and pleasant, and to be well-liked by many different people, which would indicate the likelihood of favorable community relations. These observations were not supported by the results of this study. The conclusion of this study was that male and female adolescents were more or less alike in the degree to which they experienced community relations.

Interaction Between Sex and Race

The exploratory study which was formulated to determine whether or not there was a significant interaction between sex and race on any of the selected variables did not produce any unexpected result. There was no significant interaction. Whatever differences exist between races as well as between sexes are cumulative and consistent when race and sex are analyzed together. It would seem that not much research work has been done in the area of interaction between sex and race on the socialization variables selected for this study. For that reason, the findings of this study could not be compared with those of any that might have been done in the past.

Differences in Experiences of Blacks in a Predominantly Black Environment and Blacks in a Predominantly White Environment

On sense of personal worth, the proportion of blacks in a white community who scored above the median was slightly higher than the proportion of blacks in a black community. The difference, however, was not significant. At the same time, although on the whole, blacks in a white

community seemed to score higher than their counterparts in the black community; the difference here, too, was not significant.

When the two groups were compared on family relations, a larger proportion of the blacks in a white community scored above the median than was the case for blacks in a black community. The difference was not significant. Group performance also showed blacks in a white community as tending to have better family relations, although to an insignificant degree.

Regarding the third area, school relations, there was no significant difference between the proportion of blacks in a black community who scored above the median and blacks in a white community who did. All the same, the latter group seemed to have scored slightly higher than the former.

Taken as a whole, blacks in a white community appeared to have slightly but insignificantly more favorable school relations than did blacks in a black community.

There was a significant difference between the proportion of blacks in the black community who scored above the median and blacks in the white community who also scored above the median on community relations. Blacks in the white community had a higher proportion than those in the black community. The difference did seem to generate to the total groups, because, treated as groups, blacks in the white community seemed to have better community relations than blacks in the black community, although the difference was not significant. The general conclusion of this study was that blacks in a predominantly black community did not differ from blacks in a predominantly white community in the degree to which they experienced sense of personal worth, family relations, school relations,

and community relations. These findings are not consistent with those of

Powell and Fuller (1970) who studied 614 black and white students in

grades 7 to 9 in segregated and desegregated schools. They found that

blacks in segregated schools had a higher sense of personal worth than

blacks in desegregated schools. The findings also are not supported by

Bachman (1970) who studied tenth grade boys nationwide. He, too, concluded that blacks in segregated schools had a higher sense of personal

worth than did blacks in desegregated schools. In their study of the

data collected by Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) which covered 690 male

fifth to twelfth graders, Hunt and Hunt (1977) also found the self-

attitudes of black males to be more positive in segregated schools and

where school attachment was low. Although the data base and dependent

variables of Hunt and Hunt differed from those of this study, the directions and conclusions of the two studies were considered suitable for

purposes of comparison.

In this study the blacks were not representative of the typical

blacks of the ghetto who might be obsessed with a feeling of relative

deprivation. Blacks, particularly in the white environment, seemed to

have been "detribalized" and to have lost their racial identity to the

extent that they might behave like their white neighbors whose scores on

the test they appeared to reflect.

Conclusions of Analysis and Interpretation
of Data for Propositions

In consonance with the analysis and interpretation of the data, the

following conclusions could be drawn regarding the propositions of the

study:

1.   Black adolescents will score lower than white adolescents on sense of personal worth--not tenable.

2.   White adolescents will score higher than black adolescents on family relations--not tenable.

3.   Black adolescents will score lower than white adolescents on school relations--not tenable.

4.   White adolescents will score higher than black adolescents on community relations--tenable.

5.   Girls will score lower than boys on sense of personal worth--not tenable.

6.   Girls will score higher than boys on family relations--not tenable.

7.   Girls will score higher than boys on school relations--tenable.

8.   Girls will score higher than boys on community relations--not tenable.

9.   There is no interaction between race and sex on a test of sense of personal worth--tenable.

10.   There is no interaction between race and sex on a test of family relations--tenable.

11.   There is no interaction between race and sex on a test of school relations--tenable.

12.   ·There is no interaction between race and sex on a test of community relations--tenable.

Vital conclusions of the analysis and interpretation of the test results were that race was a significant factor, not in sense of personal worth, family relations, or school relations, but in community relations. Sex, too, was a significant factor, not in sense of personal worth,

family relations, or community relations, but in school relations. One plausible reason for the lack of differences in the scores could be instrument insensitivity.

Implications and Explanation of Findings

Sense of Personal Worth

Analysis of the data revealed that there was not a significant difference between the racial and sexual minorities and majorities on sense of personal worth. The results of the test and evidence from the literature would seem to suggest that the sense of personal worth of blacks and females has been increasing gradually compared with what it was prior to the sixties. Whatever gains blacks and females in general have made in recent years may be reflected by the performance of their adolescents. The black sense of personal worth will be examined first.

It is difficult to assess the direct contribution which the civil rights movement has made to the increase in the black sense of personal worth. The point of relevance, however, is that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, while active, served to draw national and international attention to problems of blacks in the American society. These civil rights movements struggled for the recognition of blacks in the American society and their rights to the opportunities of education, employment, housing, and justice. From the pronouncements and activities of the civil rights movements, blacks derived a sense of being, awareness, belongingness, and racial pride which perhaps gave an upward swing to their sense of personal worth.

Even before the emergence of the national civil rights movements, the foundation had been laid for the promotion and enhancement of the black image in a positive sense. In the years between the Civil War and 1890, an American black middle class emerged. Differentiated from the mass of freed men by virtue of superior education and economic attainments, it developed its own norms and values modeled for the most part after those of "respectable" whites. That black middle class produced several notable spokesmen, including W. E. B. Dubois, a sociologist. Dubois stressed that the future of the black race in America depended upon the ability of its educated members to lead the masses of their people to a position of productivity and respect in society. He believed that higher education for blacks would produce men and women of intelligence, sympathy, and knowledge, who would set the ideals for their community, direct its thoughts, and provide moral inspiration and character.

The ideas and ideals propounded by Dubois have been taken up and are being advanced by People United to Save Humanity (PUSH). This Chicago-based organization was founded by Reverend Jesse Jackson in 1976. Some of the projects that PUSH supports, such as the promotion of academic excellence and crime prevention in the ghetto, are in the main aimed at the youth. Reverend Jackson has a year-round program of giving motivational talks to hundreds of inner-city high schools. Typically his message mixes the gospel of self-reliance with an updated version of "black pride." These projects are known outside Chicago, as they are aired on national television and through contacts with black leaders.

Another motivational factor which could have contributed to the gains in the black sense of personal worth is the visible involvement of blacks in the activities of the American political arena. Blacks have been

visible in prominent positions in recent presidential administrations.

Individually they have been playing important policy-influencing roles,

handling a broad range of domestic and, in one case, international issues.

Also, 17 members of the House of Representatives are black. Among the

more familiar names in politics today are those of black mayors of such

headline-producing cities as Los Angeles, Detroit, Washington, D.C.,

New Orleans, Gary, and Newark. Scores of other cities, not as well known,

also are headed by blacks. In 1970, there were fewer than 50 black

mayors. Today there are 205 black mayors out of 19,000 mayors nationwide.

The fact that blacks are making significant gains in local and national

politics should brighten the self-image and concept of the black adoles-

cents.

If there were any one area that, by itself, might have positively

impacted the sense of personal worth of blacks, that area would be profes-

sional sports. In boxing, baseball, basketball, and football, blacks

have achieved as much fame and wealth as would make black adults and ado-

lescents proud of their race. Equally significant, in a related field,

is the achievement of blacks in music and entertainment. It is true that

in many movies blacks have usually played the roles of menial servants

and villains, but there is a perceptible move toward blacks playing the

typical "good guy." All told, when black adolescents read about or watch

the performances of blacks in professional sports, music and entertain-

ment, and movies, they may have their sense of personal worth elevated.

It is highly conceivable that much of the achievement that blacks

have made could be attributable to their progress in various dimensions

of educational attainment. Without any doubt, more and more blacks are

receiving better education leading to better jobs. A high level of

education making for better jobs must have resulted in improving the socioeconomic status of many black families. With the improvement in the socioeconomic status of their parents, many black children have been getting their material needs satisfied to the extent that they do not feel relatively deprived totally in comparison with their white neighbors and friends. The philosophy of W. E. B. Dubois is being translated into action.

The female sample in the study was made up of both whites and blacks. Although the whites far outnumber the blacks, any interpretation of the female experience ought to take into consideration a possible effect of the black factor. Perhaps the feminist movements have not been as vociferous and dynamic as some of the black civil rights movements. The foundation for the women suffrage movement in the United States must have been laid at the Seneca Falls Convention held at Seneca Falls, New York, on July 19-20, 1848. Following that, the convention idea continued to spread until women in many states were gathering to launch educational programs to change the state constitutions and gain legal recognition of women's right to vote. In 1869, two main organizations came into existence: the National Women Suffrage Association and the American Women Suffrage Association. In 1890, the two organizations amalgamated in the National American Women Suffrage Association. Through the efforts of the National American Women Suffrage Association and the National Women's Party, full women suffrage was attained in 1920, with the passage of the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Women had taken a very decisive step toward achieving political equality with men and improving their sense of personal worth.

In the United States, the earlier advocates of women's rights, tradi-
tionally the Womens' Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, accepted the
idea that women have a typical social role in society. Accordingly, they
endeavored through legal channels to obtain for women such rights as
equal pay for equal work and maternity leave without loss of seniority.
Very active in the fight for women's rights was the National Women's
Political Caucus. This was a nonpartisan organization of American Women
founded in 1971. Its main objective was to seek equality with men in jobs
at all government and political levels. Another force which could have
contributed to the enhancement of the sense of personal worth of women is
Women's Liberation or Women's Lib. This seems to be revolutionary rather
than reformist, political rather than economic in its orientation. Women's
Lib urges women to unite in sisterhood, just as blacks and working men
have been urged to unite in brotherhood, to overthrow the oppressive order
by sheer weight of numbers and by force of various kinds such as demonstra-
tions and boycotts. The Equal Rights Amendment, providing that "Equality
of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United
States or by any state on account of sex," is perhaps the most burning
issue in the women's movements and organization today. The point of the
discussion here is that through the efforts of women's organizations and
movements, women have achieved meaningful successes in several political,
cultural, social, and economic spheres of the American society. These
achievements have tended to change the erstwhile notion that women were
inferior to men and therefore had a lower sense of personal worth than
men had.

There are other reasons for women to feel proud of themselves and
entertaining a sense of personal worth comparable to that of men. Among

these reasons, the most important seems to be the types of jobs which
women hold. Currently there is hardly any occupation which is entirely
exclusive to men. Even in the U.S. military, women have come a long way
in the last decade. In 1973, the year the draft ended and the all-
volunteer force came into being, women made up nearly 1.6 percent of total
military personnel. Today there are more than 170,000 women on active
duty in the Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force, making up 8.4 percent of
the total personnel. Women also are rapidly climbing the corporate lad-
der. They are holding managerial and administrative positions. The U.S.
Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that in 1979, nearly 2.6 million
women were employed in managerial and administrative positions in both
private industry and government. Women accounted for nearly a quarter,
24.6 percent, of all workers in this occupational group up from 16.6 per-
cent in 1970, 14.4 percent in 1960, and 13.8 percent in 1950. And what
could more raise the level of the women's sense of personal worth than
the fact that now a woman serves on the U.S. Supreme Court? It would
seem that female adolescents may be reflecting the achievement of their
adult counterparts. Another explanation could be that they are in school
and academic performance is a key variable in feelings of self-worth and
achievement.

Family Relations

There is some reason to believe that it was not strange that this
study revealed no significant difference between family relations as ex-
perienced by black adolescents on the one hand and by white adolescents
on the other hand. By the same token, the best result that male adoles-
cents did not differ significantly from female adolescents in the degree

to which they experienced family relations could not have been too much of a surprise. The point of the matter is that family patterns in the American society are so amorphous that their definitions are at best nebulous. At present, three patterns represent nearly a quarter of all family groups. These patterns are childless couples, couples whose children are grown, and households headed by women. Another quarter falls into such categories as communes, affiliated monogamous families sharing a common household, unmarried couples, single persons alone, single persons living together for economic or convenient reasons without forming a true "family," and stable homosexual couples. Then four percent of the families still are reported to be "extended." These have grandparents or such other relatives as uncles or aunts as part of the household. In effect, fewer than one-half of all American families fall into the category of a traditional nuclear family which consists of father, mother, and children living together in their own household.

Black children are often described in stereotypical terms as illegitimate, coming from broken homes, and reared by single (mostly women) parents. Assuming that these descriptions are applicable, it is reasonable to expect that many a child must have come to accept their family structure as given. That is what they have grown into and become familiar with. On that ground there might not be a common basis for comparing the experiences of black and white adolescents as far as family relations are concerned. On the other hand, it may be speculated that with better education and improvements in their socioeconomic status, many black families are achieving such cohesiveness as would improve upon the relationships between parents and children. Moreover, it has been observed that in recent years there has been a considerable improvement in the black

families' ability to pass on to their children the social advantages they
have managed to acquire. In the early 1960's, it did not seem to matter
very much whether the family was poor or middle class because the chil-
dren usually had to start on the bottom rung of the social and occupation-
al ladder. By the early 1970's, however, they were much more likely to
start out at or rise to the status level of their parents; and their
careers were more likely to reflect the advantages bestowed by their par-
ents. Most of the white adolescents would be presumed to come from
nuclear families, in which case it might be anticipated that the experi-
ence of the white girls would be similar to that of the white boys regard-
ing their relationships with their parents.

School Relations

A finding of this study was that there was no significant difference
between black and white adolescent experiences regarding school relations.
In comparison with what the situation was about a decade ago, it might be
said that the gap between blacks and whites in the area of school rela-
tions is gradually decreasing. It is not that whites are losing ground;
rather, it would seem that blacks are trying to catch up with whites.

While there are no hard facts to account for the improvement in
school relations for blacks, a few plausible reasons may be offered. One
of these is the change that has taken place in the school environment it-
self. With the integration of schools, most black and white students
have been exposed to the influence of similar teachers, similar textbook
materials, and similar curricula and equipment. All the schools from
which subjects were drawn had their instructional guidelines prescribed
by the State Department of Education and there was no cause to suspect

that any one particular school received preferential treatment. It is true that the schools differed from one another in the quality of their physical structures and quantity of equipment, but these differences might not necessarily affect the quality of instructional delivery and discipline. It needs also to be remarked that in none of the schools were all the teachers members of one racial group or another. Certainly there were differences in the ratio of white to black teachers, but the most important point is that every school had black as well as white teachers. Therefore, exposed as they were to similar school environments, it might be expected that black and white adolescents would not differ remarkably on school relations.

Another possible reason for the improvement in black school relations is the progress that has occurred in the socioeconomic status of many black families. In earlier times, many black children would not go to school because their parents could not provide them with the clothes and food they needed. Now most black parents can clothe their children as white parents would. Essentially, improvement in the socioeconomic of many black families must have made it possible for the children to be relieved of financial restraint which might have constituted a barrier to their school attendance and participation in school activities.

Probably an important factor is the meaning blacks have come to attach to the school. Blacks must have realized for some time now that education, and for that matter the school, is one of the most viable avenues through which they can overcome their socioeconomic disadvantage and move up the socioeconomic ladder of the American society. It may have been concluded that the road to a successful career in competitive sports or entertainment, if not in private industry or public service, originates

from the school. For this reason, there is a reasonably strong motivation for black adolescents to have favorable school relations.

It was revealed by the analysis of the data that female adolescents appeared to have significantly more favorable school relations than did male adolescents. To the extent that females and blacks have in common their social classification as minority groups, they also share basically common grounds for an upward movement in their school relations. In addition to the reasons which have been suggested as accounting for the improvement in school relations for blacks, few others may be mentioned relative to females.

Boys are generally known to interact with their friends outside the school. They walk about the streets, shopping areas, and frequent places of entertainment and recreation in groups. Girls, on the other hand, engage in most of their play activities and association with their peers at school. The school therefore seems to exert a greater pull effect on girls than it does on boys. In other words, girls have a greater desire to be in school than boys seem to have.

Effects of the women's rights movements and organizations also deserve to be taken into serious consideration. These movements and organizations might have caused another renaissance. Education for females has become a matter of top priority in the race for equality with males. In 1979, for the first time in the history of this country, there were more females than males enrolled in American colleges and universities. Females comprised 50.7 percent of all college students in 1979-80, according to the National Center for Educational Statistics. More and more females are in the nation's law and medical schools now than ever before. Females must have accepted and been ready to utilize the school as the

passport to equality with males. In this type of contest it is females who have to move up and therefore stand to profit from more favorable relations with the school. This study's finding that female adolescents seemed to have higher levels of school relations than did male adolescents fell within the realm of current social issues.

Community Relations

White adolescents seemed to experience community relations significantly more favorably than did black adolescents. This became evident from the analysis and interpretation of the test scores. Such a finding was in consonance with popular opinion and results of other studies. If cultures are defined as ways of thinking and acting that embody ideas, beliefs, values, and proscriptions, and it is is understood that cultures stem from social formations based upon age, social class, race, and community structure, then it is essential to examine the cultural background of individuals in order to understand the options that are open to them. So it is with black adolescents.

The general observation tends to be that many black adolescents have received various accounts of their parents and grandparents having been unfairly treated by whites in their community. These adolescents might have internalized the motion and feeling of prejudicial treatment against their race. Ultimately they could have arrived at the conclusion that the conditions that prevailed in the community were less favorable to black adolescents than they were to white adolescents. A conclusion such as this appears to be reinforced by the adolescents' own experiences. In comparison with their white counterparts, black adolescents could feel that they have fewer job opportunities available to them. Besides, black

adolescents or their relatives who have had brushes with the law may have found out that they were less likely to receive justifiable treatment from law enforcement officers and the U.S. legal system than were white adolescents. The conviction that conditions in the community seemed more prejudicial and discriminatory to black adolescents than to white adolescents could worsen the relationship between black adolescents and the community. Of course the assumption here is that the community is under the control of the white majority.

In the present study female adolescents did not appear to differ significantly from male adolescents in the levels at which they experienced community relations. Black male and female adolescents could be presumed to share similar experiences regarding community relations. The same comment may be made for white male and female adolescents. There seems to be little reason for one sexual group to feel the worse off in its relationship with the community. Basically similar provisions for jobs, recreation and entertainment, and redress from the law are open to males as well as to females. Uniformity of opportunities and treatment should account for the finding that female adolescents did not differ significantly from male adolescents in the level at which they experienced community relations.

Blacks in a segregated environment did not seem to differ significantly from blacks in a desegregated environment with respect to any of the areas of the socialization process studied. For that reason it may stated that the implications and explanations of the findings that have been expounded concerning black adolescents apply equally to those in segregated and desegregated environments.

It might be speculated further that the black subjects scored higher on the test than had been anticipated as a general reflection of the peculiarities of the sample population. Blacks in rural and semi-rural Oklahoma might not have experienced so much racial discrimination as those in the urban, industrialized areas. The state of Oklahoma itself is relatively young and may not have been involved in as much racial turmoil as some of the states in the North and South. The absence of the impact of racial discrimination might be a reason for blacks in the sample not scoring significantly lower than the whites on sense of personal worth.

Another peculiarity of the sample is that the blacks could trace the history of their settlement in Oklahoma to about the same time as the whites, if not earlier. In any case, the possibility that the blacks did not feel they were strangers or aliens in comparison with the white neighbors might have helped them maintain a favorable level of sense of personal worth. Perhaps it is when it comes to job opportunities and treatment from law enforcement personnel more than anywhere else that blacks have felt they are at a disadvantage. This feeling has in some cases been so deep and bitter that it has been projected onto the community as a whole. That may partly account for blacks scoring significantly lower than whites on community relations.

Implications of Findings for
Theoretical Perspectives

Blacks and females belong to groups which have been socially and culturally defined as minorities. In those categories they have been given characteristics that tend to designate them as being inferior to whites

and males, respectively. From the perspective of the dominant groups,
blacks and females are supposed to have a low sense of personal worth as
well as less favorable family, school, and community relations. Such is
the implication of labeling theory. It is not that blacks and females
are in truth and in fact inferior to whites and males in that order, It
seems to be a matter of perception.

The findings of this study tend to support the implications of label-
ing theory. According to the results of the test, the whites scored sig-
nificantly higher than the blacks on only one of the four variables. In
the case of the sexes, the males did not score significantly higher than
the females on any variable. These scores might that social or cultural
definitions are not necessarily tenable. Evidently the labeling of the
minority groups is functional to the dominant groups because it allows
for the justification of discriminatory treatment of the labeled.

Also applicable to this study is symbolic interactionism. That the-
ory has the connotation that through the process of socialization, chil-
dren come to learn the symbols of the society, and develop a sense of
social being. What is, perhaps, most important here is the development of
the self. In having a self, an individual is albe to have a mental life
which has a bearing on the overt behavior. Besides, as individuals inter-
act with themselves, they are in a position to evaluate, define, direct,
and control their behaviors. The relevance of the development of the
self, for the purposes of social understanding, is that individuals are
determined by the society and they in turn help to determine it by being
able to respond and act appropriately as demanded by the situation.

In this society, blacks and females, principal among socially and
culturally defined minorities, have generally been exposed to treatment

and ideologies which generate negative self-concepts and contribute to the assumption of defeatist behaviors in important areas of personal and social growth. This is the type of experience which the adolescents of the sample were expected to be having. As symbolic interactionism entails, they could have developed the concept of themselves in accordance with that of the adult members of the society.

Among the findings of this study is that the blacks and the females in the sample seemed to be reflecting a change that is occurring. That change is from the stereotyped image and role of blacks and females. A key factor in the process is the development of a high sense of personal worth. That development could be conformity with the looking-glass self concept, and the notion of the definition of the situation which are important aspects of symbolic interactionism. It may be conjectured that blacks and females have realized that they have to help determine the course of the society by developing a positive sense of personal worth. In turn, that would facilitate the process of the socialization agents.

For this study, labeling theory helps to explain why the test scores did not fully meet popular notion and expectations regarding the performance of the black and female adolescents. On the other hand, symbolic interactionism provides some insight into the development of the patterns of behavior which the adolescents of the sample appeared to be reflecting.

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APPENDIX A

CALIFORNIA TEST OF PERSONALITY

Secondary • GRADES 9 to College • form **BB**

California Test of Personality

1953 Revision

Devised by

ERNEST W. TIEGS, WILLIS W. CLARK, AND LOUIS P. THORPE

Do not write or mark on this booklet unless told to do so by the examiner.

Name.. Grade.................................... Sex M-F
      Last   First   Middle

School...City.................... Date of Test..
                                                            Month   Day   Year

Examiner...(....................) Student's Age.................. Date of Birth..
                                                                  Month   Day   Year

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS:

This booklet contains some questions which can be answered YES or NO. Your answers will show what you usually think, how you usually feel, or what you usually do about things. Work as fast as you can without making mistakes.

DO NOT TURN THIS PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

S

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS

DO NOT WRITE OR MARK ON THIS TEST BOOKLET UNLESS TOLD TO DO SO BY THE EXAMINER.

You are to decide for each question whether the answer is YES or NO and mark it as you are told. The following are two sample questions:

SAMPLES

A. Do you have a dog at home? **YES NO**

B. Can you drive a car? **YES NO**

DIRECTIONS FOR MARKING ANSWERS

ON ANSWER SHEETS	ON TEST BOOKLETS
Make a heavy black mark under the word YES or NO, whichever shows your answer. If you have a dog at home but cannot drive a car, you would mark the answer sheet this way:	Draw a circle around the word YES or NO, whichever shows your answer. If you have a dog at home, draw a circle around the word YES in Sample A above; if not, draw a circle around the word NO. Do it now.

```
        YES  NO
    A    |   ⦂
    B    ⦂   |
```

Mark under the word that shows your answer.
Find answer row number 1 on your answer sheet.
Now wait until the examiner tells you to begin.

If you can drive a car, draw a circle around the word YES in Sample B above; if not, draw a circle around the word NO. Do it now.

Now wait until the examiner tells you to begin.

After the examiner tells you to begin, go right on from one page to another until you have finished the test or are told to stop. Work as fast as you can without making mistakes. Now look at item 1 on page 3.

SECTION 1 A

1. Do you like to be in charge of group activities? **YES NO**

2. Is it easy for you to get back the things that you have loaned? **YES NO**

3. Are you considered shy when you are in the company of your friends? **YES NO**

4. Do you usually get upset when things go wrong? **YES NO**

5. Are you usually willing to suffer some discomfort in order to achieve a goal? **YES NO**

6. Do you find that you can influence other people successfully? **YES NO**

7. Is it hard for you to go on with your work if you do not get enough encouragement? **YES NO**

8. Are you enough of a leader to sway other people's opinions? **YES NO**

9. Is it hard for you to protect yourself from people who are rude? **YES NO**

10. Do you usually carry out your plans even when difficulties arise? **YES NO**

11. Do you usually feel uneasy when you are around people you do not know? **YES NO**

12. Do you usually feel at ease when talking to members of the opposite sex? **YES NO**

13. Do you usually feel at home at social affairs? **YES NO**

14. Is it hard for you to defend your views when you are opposed? **YES NO**

15. Have you found that other people are usually to blame when things go wrong? **YES NO**

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Page 3
CTP-S-BB

Section 1 A
(number right) ....

SECTION 1 B

16. Do people seem to think that you are capable of facing serious difficulties? **YES NO**

17. Do you feel that difficult problems bring out your true abilities? **YES NO**

18. Do you find that many situations cause you to blush or become embarrassed? **YES NO**

19. Do you find that friends are seldom inclined to do you a favor? **YES NO**

20. Do you feel that people appreciate your personality qualities enough? **YES NO**

21. Are you asked to the social affairs which you would like to attend? **YES NO**

22. Do people seem to enjoy having you as company or as a guest? **YES NO**

23. Do people recognize your ability as well as they should? **YES NO**

24. Do you feel that you can handle yourself well in strange places? **YES NO**

25. Are you distressed because you are not a good mixer at social affairs? **YES NO**

26. Do some of your acquaintances claim that you are not dependable enough? **YES NO**

27. Do your friends sometimes cause you to feel embarrassed or inferior? **YES NO**

28. Do people seem to think that you are going to make a success in life? **YES NO**

29. Do people usually seem interested in the things you are doing? **YES NO**

30. Do you feel that you are going to have a successful career? **YES NO**

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 B
(number right) ....

SECTION 1 C

31. Are you allowed enough time for recreation?　YES　NO

32. Do you have difficulties because of unnecessary customs?　YES　NO

33. Do you frequently have to give up your own way because of conflicts with others?　YES　NO

34. Do you feel that you have too little to say about the rules that you are supposed to follow?　YES　NO

35. Do you feel that you have as much liberty as you deserve at your age?　YES　NO

36. Do you have to go to many affairs which you dislike?　YES　NO

37. Do other people concern themselves too much with your affairs?　YES　NO

38. Are you usually permitted to choose your friends of the opposite sex?　YES　NO

39. Do you feel that there are too many regulations affecting your freedom?　YES　NO

40. Do too many people assume authority over you?　YES　NO

41. Do you feel that you are allowed too little freedom in going places?　YES　NO

42. Do you participate in making the rules at home?　YES　NO

43. Are you usually allowed to bring your friends to your home when you wish?　YES　NO

44. Are you encouraged to help plan your future vocation or career?　YES　NO

45. Are you permitted to regulate your own affairs as much as you should be?　YES　NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Page 4
CTP-S-BB

Section 1 C
(number right) ....

SECTION 1 D

46. Do you usually feel at home when you are with a group of people?　YES　NO

47. Have you found that too many people ignore you?　YES　NO

48. Do people tend to seek out your company as much as you would like?　YES　NO

49. Does your family seem to enjoy as good a social standing as you would like?　YES　NO

50. Do you belong to the social set that you prefer?　YES　NO

51. Do you belong to as many school clubs as you would like to?　YES　NO

52. Do your friends seem unwilling to ask you for favors?　YES　NO

53. Do most of the people you meet seem interested in you?　YES　NO

54. Do you often find it hard to play the games your friends like?　YES　NO

55. Do people seek your company?　YES　NO

56. Are you usually asked to join in the fun at social gatherings?　YES　NO

57. Do your teachers seem to want you in their classes?　YES　NO

58. Are you usually in on the social affairs of your group?　YES　NO

59. Have you found it almost impossible to take any of your friends into your confidence?　YES　NO

60. Are you asked to take part in discussions?　YES　NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 D
(number right) ....

SECTION 1 E

61. Would you rather not take part in games even when you have a chance? **YES NO**

62. Do you find it more pleasant to think about desired successes than to work for them? **YES NO**

63. Have you found it difficult to keep from being nervous when other people are around? **YES NO**

64. Is it easy for you to get so absorbed in personal interests that you forget about obligations? **YES NO**

65. Would you rather think about other things than work at your present task? **YES NO**

66. Do those who criticize you often hurt your feelings? **YES NO**

67. Are you bothered if all eyes are on you when you enter a room? **YES NO**

68. Do you think that most people are out to cheat or "put something over on" their associates? **YES NO**

69. Do you find it difficult to talk readily when in a group? **YES NO**

70. Do you often seclude yourself so that people cannot bother you? **YES NO**

71. Do you usually try to avoid people you don't know? **YES NO**

72. Have some of your friends accused you of being touchy on various subjects? **YES NO**

73. Do you prefer to stay away from most social affairs? **YES NO**

74. Do you often feel depressed over your lack of success? **YES NO**

75. Does it bother you to have people look at you for any length of time? **YES NO**

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 1 E (number right) ....

Page 5
CTP-S-8B

SECTION 1 F

76. Do you seem to need more rest during the day than most people? **YES NO**

77. Have you been troubled by frequent "sick stomachs" or vomiting spells? **YES NO**

78. Are you considerably underweight much of the time? **YES NO**

79. Do you sometimes have annoying muscle twitchings? **YES NO**

80. Have you sometimes felt that you were on the verge of a nervous breakdown? **YES NO**

81. Has illness often caused you to miss school? **YES NO**

82. Are you often tired even in the early part of the day? **YES NO**

83. Does it make you nervous or put you "on edge" when you have to wait for someone? **YES NO**

84. Have you been troubled frequently by disturbing fears? **YES NO**

85. Have you sometimes felt that you have more than your share of aches and pains? **YES NO**

86. Have you found it difficult to keep from being nervous much of the time? **YES NO**

87. Do circumstances often make you irritable? **YES NO**

88. Are you inclined to worry more than most people? **YES NO**

89. Do you frequently find that you read several sentences without realizing what they are about? **YES NO**

90. Do you often find yourself becoming irritable without good cause? **YES NO**

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 F (number right) ....

SECTION 2 C

121. Do you dislike some people so much that you try to get even with them? **YES NO**

122. Have you found that there are many people who deserve to be treated with disrespect? **YES NO**

123. Do you find that displaying a temper is effective in getting results? **YES NO**

124. Do you have to be on your guard in order to defend your rights? **YES NO**

125. Do people frequently start hot arguments with you? **YES NO**

126. Do you try to get even with people who have a grudge against you? **YES NO**

127. Do you sometimes think that it serves the school right if you break a few things? **YES NO**

128. Do you have to talk about yourself and your abilities in order to get recognition? **YES NO**

129. Are things frequently so bad at school that you just naturally stay away? **YES NO**

130. Do some people almost force you into a fighting mood? **YES NO**

131. Do children sometimes get so "fresh" with you that you have to punish them? **YES NO**

132. Do you frequently find it necessary to get even with people who have been unjust? **YES NO**

133. Do you sometimes have to deal severely with people because they talk about you behind your back? **YES NO**

134. Are your acquaintances often so unreasonable that you lose your temper? **YES NO**

135. Do you feel better when you have gotten even with someone who has taken advantage of you? **. YES NO**

GO **RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN**

Page 7
CTP-S-BB

Section 2 C
(number right) ....

SECTION 2 D

136. Do your folks seem to believe that you are not thoughtful of them? **YES NO**

137. Do the members of your family get along well? **YES NO**

138. Do your folks seem to appreciate it when you do things well? **YES NO**

139. Do your folks frequently take time to do things with you? **YES NO**

140. Are there some jealous people in your home? **YES NO**

141. Do you feel that your folks are entirely too strict with you? **YES NO**

142. Is there anyone at home with whom you can talk over your problems? **YES NO**

143. Does someone in your home quarrel with you too much of the time? **YES NO**

144. Do you dislike talking things over with your folks because they don't understand you? **YES NO**

145. Do most of your friends seem to have more freedom at home than you do? **YES NO**

146. Does someone at home criticize you a lot but seldom praise you? **YES NO**

147. Do you feel that there are too many strict regulations in your home? **YES NO**

148. Do you feel that there are too many bosses in your home? **YES NO**

149. Are you made to feel as worthwhile as other members of your family? **YES NO**

150. Does your family nag at you instead of correcting you fairly? **YES NO**

GO **RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE**

Section 2 D
(number right) ....

SECTION 2 E

151. Do you often take part in social affairs at your school? **YES NO**

152. Do you often ask questions or give answers in class discussions? **YES NO**

153. Are some of your subjects so difficult that you may be in danger of failing? **YES NO**

154. Do you think that many of your teachers show partiality? **YES NO**

155. Have you assisted in planning school affairs? **YES NO**

156. Have you often been unhappy because of getting low marks in school? **YES NO**

157. Are you usually indifferent to members of the opposite sex at school? **YES NO**

158. Do you feel that most of your classmates are superior to you? **YES NO**

159. Have you found most of your teachers to be very interesting persons? **YES NO**

160. Are most of your courses in school so dull that they have little interest for you? **YES NO**

161. Does your school discourage young men and women from enjoying each other's company? **YES NO**

162. Do you make a practice of going to school affairs? **YES NO**

163. Would you be happier if you could quit school and go to work? **YES NO**

164. Are you considered a good mixer at school? **YES NO**

165. Do your classmates often make remarks that hurt your feelings? **YES NO**

SECTION 2 F

166. Do you sometimes go to neighborhood shows, skating rinks, or dances? **YES NO**

167. Do you sometimes go out with individuals of the opposite sex in your community? **YES NO**

168. Are some of the people in your community irritating? **YES NO**

169. Do only a few of the people in your community seem to be intelligent and likable? **YES NO**

170. Is the moral tone of your neighborhood as high as you would like to have it? **YES NO**

171. Does it make you happy to know that your neighbors are getting along well? **YES NO**

172. Do you feel that your friends have more neighborhood interests than you do? **YES NO**

173. Is your community hampered by the presence of too many racial groups? **YES NO**

174. Do you sometimes spend an evening talking or playing games with neighbors? **YES NO**

175. Are there places in your neighborhood where you can have good times? **YES NO**

176. Do you feel that most of your neighbors are interesting people? **YES NO**

177. Is there an attractive "crowd" of your own age for you to associate with in your community? **YES NO**

178. Do you have enough opportunity for recreation in your neighborhood? **YES NO**

179. Have you sometimes felt that you have unusually dull or unkind neighbors? **YES NO**

180. Have you participated in improving the looks of your community? **YES NO**

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 2 E
(number right) ....

STOP NOW WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

Section 2 F
(number right) ....

CALIFORNIA TEST OF PERSONALITY
Intermediate, Secondary, Adult · 1953 Revision

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Student Number or Name

SPACES FOR STUDENT NUMBER

The answers to the California Test of Personality, (Intermediate, Secondary, Adult) that you are going to mark on this answer sheet give you an opportunity to show what you usually think, how you usually feel, or what you usually do about things. There are no right or wrong answers. Just answer each question according to what you think, feel, or do.

You are taking Form AA ::::: BB :::::

You are taking the Intermediate ::::: Secondary ::::: Adult ::::: level of this test.

Sec. 1A — 1 through 15

Sec. 1B — 16 through 30

Sec. 1C — 31 through 45

Sec. 1D — 46 through 60

Sec. 1E — 61 through 75

Sec. 1F — 76 through 90

Sec. 2A — 91 through 105

Sec. 2B — 106 through 120

Sec. 2C — 121 through 135

Sec. 2D — 136 through 150

Sec. 2E — 151 through 165

Sec. 2F — 166 through 180

Score ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____   ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____

%-ile Rank

Section	1A	1B	1C	1D	1E	1F	Per. Adj.	2A	2B	2C	2D	2E	2F	Soc. Adj.	Total Adj.

California Test of Personality

Intermediate. Secondary. Adult · 1953 Revision

ANSWER SHEET NO. 5546

Student Number

Percentile norms and instructions for completing the profile may be found in the Manual of directions.

EXAMINER

SCHOOL OR ORGANIZATION

CITY

NAME ___ Last ___ First ___ Middle

DATE OF TEST (Year) (Month) (Day)

DATE OF BIRTH (Year) (Month) (Day)

GRADE OR OCCUPATION

SEX (Circle One) M F

AGE

— Test

— Component

— Possible Score

Student's Score

Percentile Rank

PERCENTILE RANK
(Chart student's percentile ranks here.)

1 2   5 10   20 30 40 50 60 70 80   90   95   98 99

1. PER. ADJ.

A. S-rel. 15

B. Per. Wth. . . 15

C. Per. Fdm. . . 15

D. Belg. 15

E. Wd. Td. . . . 15
(Fdm. from)

F. Ne. S. 15
(Fdm. from)

TOTAL (A-F) . 90

2. SOC. ADJ.

A. Soc. Sn. . . . 15

B. Soc. Sk. . . . 15

C. A-s. Td. . . . 15
(Fdm. from)

D. Fm. Rel. . . . 15

E. Sc. or Oc. Rel. . 15

F. Cm. Rel. . . . 15

TOTAL (A-F) . 90

TOTAL ADJ. 180

30   35   40   45   50   55   60   65   70

Standard Score

APPENDIX B

UNSTANDARDIZED QUESTIONNAIRE (Q1-Q20)

Instructions: For each of the questions from 1 through 17, mark only one answer. For questions 18 through 20, fill in the correct answers.

1. How much do you dress up when you are invited to a special party?

    a. Go as I am
    b. Put on clean clothes
    c. Wear any new clothes
    d. Wear special clothes
    e. Wear my best clothes

2. How much do you dress up for school?

    a. I often wear whatever is handy
    b. I wear something different each week
    c. I wear something different each day
    d. I put on clothes which go well together
    e. I always dress my best

3. How often have you felt you could not go to some social affair because you did not have the necessary clothes?

    a. Always
    b. Often
    c. Occasionally
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

4. Are you able to dress as well as your friends?

    a. Not as well
    b. Nearly as well
    c. As well as they do
    d. A little better
    e. Much better

5. How much do you parents suggest or demand about the clothes you wear?

    a. They tell me exactly what to wear
    b. They are very interested and help me plan my clothes
    c. They sometimes make suggestions
    d. They rarely say anything
    e. They never say anything

6. Compared to those of other students in school, how nice are your clothes?

    a. Far from being as nice
    b. Not quite as nice
    c. Just as nice
    d. A little nicer
    e. Much nicer than most of the others

7. How often do other students say something nice about your clothes?

   a. Never
   b. On rare occasions
   c. When I wear something new
   d. Very often
   e. Every day

8. How do you feel about what others say about your appearance?

   a. I never think about it
   b. I like to be acceptable
   c. I definitely think about it
   d. I am quite concerned
   e. To me it is of the greatest importance

9. Do you show off your clothes?

   a. Not at all
   b. Only if I have something special
   c. Whenever I have something new
   d. I try to be flashy in my clothes
   e. I am a fashion motivator or leader

10. Do you feel you can take pride in the way you dress?

    a. Not at all
    b. A little
    c. Enough
    d. Quite a bit
    e. A great deal

11. How often do others copy your ideas about dress?

    a. Has never happened
    b. Perhaps once
    c. Occasionally
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often

12. How much time do you spend with friends of your age?

    a. Less than an hour a week
    b. About an hour a week
    c. Several hours per week
    d. Several hours each day
    e. All my free time

13. Have you thought of an occupation or life work for which you are preparing?

    a. Have not thought about it
    b. Have considered it, but have not really decided
    c. Have decided, but may change my mind
    d. Have decided, but am trying to learn more about it
    e. It is important in everything

14. Does the way you dress have any effect on why teachers may select you for school or class activities?

    a. Not at all
    b. Very rarely
    c. Sometimes
    d. In some activities, it matters a lot
    e. It is important in everything

15. Does the way you dress affect the invitations you receive from others?

    a. No effect
    b. A little effect
    c. Usually has some effect
    d. Always a consideration
    e. A very important factor

16. How should you dress if you were going out on a date or to a party?

    a. Go as I am
    b. Dress up a little
    c. Put on clean clothes
    d. Dress up attractively
    e. Dress up very attractively

17. Do you talk to other students about your clothes?

    a. Never do
    b. Not very often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Often
    e. Practically every day

18. For any sport or activity in which you participate, do you have special clothes, such as tennis shoes, tennis shirt, team uniform, or baseball cap? List what you have:

    a. _____   d. _____
    b. _____   e. _____
    c. _____

19. Are there any sports or games you would like to get into if you had the necessary clothes or equipment? Name them:

    a. _____   d. _____
    b. _____   e. _____
    c. _____

20. Counting both in and out of school, how many clubs or organizations have you joined in the last three years? Name all you can remember:

    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____
    d. _____

APPENDIX C

LETTER OF PERMISSION

CTB/McGraw-Hill

Del Monte Research Park
Monterey, California 93940
Telephone 408/649-8400

19 October 1982

Albert Appiah
8824 Cedar Lane
Midwest City, OK 73110

Dear Mr. Appiah:

Thank you for writing of your plans to use the California Test of Personality in your doctoral research program.

CTB/McGraw-Hill is pleased to grant you permission to use the CTP in collecting data for your study. We would appreciate receiving an abstract of your findings for our research files.

Sincerely yours,

Phyllis O'Donovan, Editor
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VITA

Albert Appiah

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: RACE AND SEX AS DIFFERENTIAL FACTORS IN ADOLESCENT SOCIALIZATION

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

> Personal Data: Born in Ghana, September 24, 1936, the son of Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Appiah.

> Education: Received the Bachelor of Arts from the University of London via the University of Ghana in 1962; received the Diploma in Education from the University of Cape Coast in 1965; received the Master of Criminal Justice Administration degree from Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in 1976; received the Master of Business Administration degree from Central State University, Edmond, Oklahoma, in 1977; completed requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in May, 1983.

> Professional Experience: Taught for seven years in secondary (high) school in Ghana; was Headmaster (Principal) of secondary school for five years; was Secretary of Regional Headmasters' Conference; teaching assistant, Oklahoma State University, Spring semester of 1979; research assistant at Langston University, Summer, 1979, to Fall, 1980; currently social worker at Boley State School for Boys, Boley, Oklahoma.

> Professional Organization: Member, American Correctional Association.