African American Self-esteem: Racial Ideology and Racial Identity

Carrie Wilson-Brown

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African American Self-esteem: Racial Ideology and Racial Identity

(TITLE)

BY

Carrie Wilson-Brown

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MA

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1992

YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE
African American Self-Esteem: Racial Ideology and Racial Identity

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Abstract
This study empirically investigated the relationships among global self-esteem and racial self-esteem, ethnic and racial ideology, cultural identity, and anti-white sentiment in a sample of 109 African-American students enrolled in the Partnership for Excellence program at Eastern Illinois University. The findings suggest that these dimensions are interrelated and anchored in the relationships with family and friends in the black community. Self-esteem is strongly correlated with racial self-esteem, cultural knowledge, and black separatism. The data do not support a relationship between self-esteem and system-blame, anti-white sentiment, and interracial contact. Implications of this study are that black self-esteem is insulated from systems of racial inequality, and system-blame is not employed to account for individual failure.
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Chapter One

Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction

In large part, self-concept is a product of social attitudes and behavior towards the individual. Since African-Americans have been victims of discrimination and segregation, low self-esteem was assumed to be a result of minority status. However, within the past decade, researchers have unanimously reported either no racial differences in self-esteem or differences favoring blacks over whites.

These studies have also generated research questions about the process involved in black self-concept development. This study is interested in how self-esteem relates to racial self-esteem, ethnicity, and racial ideology variables. Specifically, system blame, black identity, anti-white sentiments, black separatism, and interracial contact will be tested in relation to self-esteem.

Review of Literature

Self-esteem. Although studies of black self-esteem have concentrated on the issue of racial differences, interpretations of these studies have yielded arguments concerning the process of self-esteem development among blacks. Rosenberg's (1965) breakthrough research concluded that blacks exhibit only slightly lower self-esteem than
whites. Following Rosenberg’s (1965) lead, researchers such as Gordon (1969) and Taylor and Walsh (1979) discovered no difference between black and white self-esteem for adolescents and adults. Interestingly, in an expanded version of his original study, Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) found that blacks in grades 3-12 obtained a higher level of self-esteem than their white classmates.

The results from these studies have made it increasingly apparent that self-esteem has become a product of social interaction and social force. Self-esteem is seen as the evaluative and emotional dimension of self-concept. It has been a product of symbolic interaction since the landmark research of Mead (1934), Cooley (1902), and James (1890). Self-identity, though a distinct division of self-concept, has become increasingly important to self-esteem research. According to Grecas (1982), self-identity focuses on the meanings that comprise the self as an object, gives structure and content to self-concept, and anchors the self to social systems. These two aspects of self-concept are closely related because self-evaluations are typically based on aspects of self-concept, and identities typically have evaluative components.

According to Rosenberg (1981), self-esteem arises out of social experience and interaction; it both incorporates and is influenced by the individual’s location in the social structure: it is formed within institutional systems, such
as the family, school, and church; it is constructed from
the culture; and it is affected by immediate social and
environmental contexts. In short, the self-esteem achieves
its particular shape and form in the confines of a given
culture, social structure, and institutional system.

Though social scientists have failed to establish a
consistent definition of self-esteem, many agree with
Rosenberg (1989) and Wylie (1979) that self-esteem refers to
an individual's overall self-evaluation. However, various
aspects of self-esteem have been identified. For example,
self-evaluation and self-worth (Grecas, 1982), sense of
power and sense of worth (Grecas, 1971), competence and
morality (Rokeach, 1979), and "inner" and "outer" self-
esteem (Franks & Marolla, 1976).

Common to these categorical divisions is the
distinction between self-esteem based on a sense of
competence, power, or efficacy and self-esteem based on a
sense of virtue or moral worth (Grecas, 1982). This
distinction suggests that the two divisions of self-esteem
may be a product of diverse processes of self-concept
formation and motivation. For example, competency-based
self-esteem is closely related to effective performance
(Franks & Marolla, 1976). As a result, it is associated with
self-attribution and social comparison principles. Self-
esteem based on virtue or self-worth is anchored by norms
and values concerning personal and interpersonal conduct
such as justice or honor (Grecas, 1971). The process of reflective appraisal is attributed to the formation of self-worth (Grecas, 1982).

The distinction between an individual's perception of competence or worth, though theoretically important, tends to blur at the experimental level. Sense of worth has been found to be strongly affected by sense of competence and vice versa. For example, Covington and Beery (1976) found a strong interconnection between these sources of self-esteem and school. It has become increasingly apparent that self-esteem is directly related to social interaction and attitudes.

**Social context of self-esteem.** In every society people are characteristically ordered according to a number of stratifications. These include occupation, social class, race, religion, gender, age, and ethnic origin. Since class and caste positions command unequal social esteem, social scientists have tended to take it for granted that those ranking lower in the various status hierarchies would have lower self-esteem than the more accepted members of society. This general assumption would appear to rest primarily on three principle theories of self-esteem: reflected appraisals, social comparison, and self-perception.

The principle of reflected appraisals advanced by the theories of Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934) proposes that if others look up to us and treat us with respect, then we will
Self-esteem

respect ourselves, but if they oppress or disdain us, then our self-esteem will be low. In short, an individual’s self-respect normally depends on the respect of others. According to Mead (1934), the fundamental social process is communication. In order to communicate, it is essential to assume the role of others in society, to look at the self through the other’s perspective. Thus, Mead (1934) asserted that “we are more or less unconsciously seeing ourselves as others see us” (p. 68).

In accordance with Mead’s theory, Cooley (1902) asserted years earlier, “Each to each a looking glass...Reflects the other that doth pass” (p. 184). The self is not a literal looking glass image but the evaluation of this reflection in another’s mind. We must interpret these outside perceptions as well as the responses according to the observer’s individual values and attitudes. The racial attitudes of the white community represent Cooley’s (1902) “social looking-glass” through which the black community gazes. The looking-glass, thereby, reflects that blacks are inferior, “bad,” and generally detestable (Baldwin, 1979). This suggests that individuals belonging to low status groups will internalize the negative evaluation of society and, consequently, have low self-esteem.

The second principle in self-esteem formation is Festinger’s (1954) social comparison theory. According to
social comparison, self-esteem is a consequence of individuals comparing themselves with others and making positive or negative self-evaluations. Social comparison is in accordance with James's (1890) characterization of self-esteem as a function of the discrepancy between aspirations and achievements. This principle is at the core of Pettigrew's (1964) social evaluation theory which contends that humans learn about themselves by comparing themselves to others. In accordance with social comparison, blacks experience low levels of social and economic achievement in American society and compare themselves with whites. This should lead to low self-esteem.

A third principle in the formation of self-esteem is self-perception. Bem's (1972) self-perception theory indicates that self-esteem results from a person observing his/her behavior and characteristics and paying close attention to successes and failures. Self-perception theory can be categorized under the more general attribution theory which deals with how individuals make inferences about their own and others' behavior (Grecas, 1982). This principle suggests that blacks pursue goals valuable to the average American but are deterred by discrimination; thus, their experiences of themselves as failures lead to low self-esteem.

Rosenberg (1981) argues that the application of these theories presupposes the following three assumptions.
Self-esteem

First, the reflected appraisals important to blacks are that of the larger, general white society, not family, friends, and teachers in the black community. Second, blacks use whites as the standard for social comparisons. Third, blacks take individual responsibility for the low status of blacks in America instead of blaming systematic discrimination.

Reflected appraisal and social comparison. If negative values of whites towards blacks is going to affect black self-esteem, blacks must be aware of these attitudes, accept them, consider them significant, and believe them to be relevant. Rosenberg (1981) suggests that in most cases these criteria are not met, and black self-esteem is not affected by white attitudes. In fact, Jacques and Chason (1977) found that black self-esteem is strongly related to the reflected appraisals of their status peer group in the black community.

For this reason, comparisons with whites do not contribute significantly to black self-esteem. Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) maintain that because adolescents compare themselves with others in their own immediate, interpersonal environment, black high school students, who are usually surrounded by other blacks, tend to compare themselves with other blacks. Byrne (1988) also argues that blacks have always been aware of the fact that white people dislike black people. Given such an awareness, it seems unlikely
Self-esteem

that blacks would expect objective feedback from the white community. Thus, blacks would question the relevance of white appraisals in relation to self-worth and only accept those appraisals which are seen as "positive." Krause’s (1983) study supports Rosenberg’s conclusions showing that interracial contact among college students is irrelevant to black self-esteem.

However, Simmons, Brown, Bush, and Blyth (1978) observed slightly lower self-esteem for black adolescents attending integrated schools. Black self-esteem was especially affected in interracial settings by characteristics prevalent in black homes such as single parent families. Hunt and Hunt (1977) reported similar findings for elementary, junior high, and high school students when racial composition and personal attachment to school were controlled. The data revealed that black self-attitudes tended to be less positive in integrated schools than in segregated schools.

Multiple variables are responsible for the various results reported in interracial studies. Porter and Washington’s (1979) review of interracial literature revealed that age, education, and environmental control can affect the impact of interracial contact. Interestingly, Hunt and Hunt’s (1977) study revealed that the white and the black sample both held different variables at different levels of esteem.
Studies that support the principle of reflected appraisals and social comparisons have used adolescents as subjects. Many of these studies have reported a high level of self-hatred and cultural denial among black children. Researchers have used dolls, pictures, line drawings, and draw-a-person paradigms to assess the level of group identity among children.

Clark and Clark (1939) developed the doll test to measure children's racial awareness and preferences. In an extensive study, they examined 150 black children from ages 5-7, and a series of eight different requests were made including "give me the doll that: (a) you like to play with or the doll you like best, (b) is the nice doll, (c) looks bad, (d) is a nice color, (e) looks like a white child, (f) looks like a colored child, (g) looks like a negro child, (h) looks like you." They found that 75% of the five-year-olds preferred the white doll over the black doll.

Clark & Clark (1940) also divided the children into light, medium, and dark skin color groups. In analyzing the results for these groups, they found the choices to the "black boy" picture over the "white boy" picture tended to vary as the children's skin colors varied from "light" to "dark." Here the "light" group made 20% more choices favoring white characters than favoring black characters in the pictures. The "medium" group made 11% more choices favoring black characters than favoring white characters,
and the "dark" group made 16% more choices favoring black than favoring white.

In another important study in this area, Stevenson and Stewart (1958) tested some 220 3-9 year-old children, 95 of whom were black and 125 were white. This study involved procedures similar to those of Clark and Clark's (1939) research. There were distinct inconsistencies across age groups in the black children's choices of the white and brown dolls. The middle age-group (5-6 years) showed the greatest tendency toward white choices for preferred playmates: whereas, 59% of the 3 year-olds and over 60% of the 7-year-olds made choices favoring the brown doll.

The white children, however, consistently increased their choice of the white doll with age. Moreover, the white 7-year-olds showed the white choice tendency (82%) to a far greater degree than did the black 7-year-olds show the brown choice tendency (65%). Stevenson and Stewart concluded that their findings indicated a higher frequency of negative attitudes towards self among black children.

Although Clark and Clark (1939, 1940) did not commit themselves to the self-hatred conclusion, they did indirectly suggest that such conclusions may be appropriate. They did argue that most black children prefer to be white. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) based their results on this notion of white preference in black children. They found that by including a "mulatto" doll the majority of black
children tended to associate positive statements such as "good," "want to play with," and "is a nice color" with the mulatto and white doll. Further investigation by researchers such as Baldwin (1979) and Wylie (1979) concluded that these results are ambiguous despite Greenwald and Oppenheim's (1968) claim that they replicated Clark and Clark's (1939) findings.

Though most of the self-hatred literature was reported before 1970, recent studies by Powell-Hospson and Hopson (1988) and Gopaul-McNicol (1988) found little change in racial attitudes of black pre-school and kindergarten children over the past 40 years. Powell-Hospson and Hopson (1988) administered the Clark and Clark (1939) doll test to black and white pre-school children and found that 68% of the black children chose the white doll to play with, and 74% of the white children chose the white doll to play with. For the black children, the six preference questions responses ranged from 60 to 78% in favor of the white doll with 76% choosing the black doll as the doll that looked bad. For the white children, preference responses ranged from 62% to 82% choosing the white doll, with 82% choosing the black doll as the doll that looked bad.

Similar findings were discovered by Gopaul-Mc.Nicol (1988) when administering the doll test to 191 black pre-school children from New York and Trinidad. Though Trinidad is primarily black, the children preferred the white doll
and identified with the white doll as readily as the New York sample. Even most of the dark-skinned black children chose the white doll as looking like them. In fact, most of the children identified the black doll as "looking bad."

Many societal and theoretical flaws are blamed for the results found in black self-hatred literature. In an essay detailing black self-denial, Fairchild (1988) blames black negativity on the myths and psycholinguistic biases in language. He believes phrases like "Black Sunday" and "Black Magic" further perpetuate the negative self-image that children embrace. Cross's (1985) review of studies in the area of self-hatred concluded that researchers have not adequately studied personal and group identity and that they have failed to establish either the theoretical relationship between these concepts or the effect of social variables on this relationship. In addition, Baldwin (1979) states in his analysis of black self-identity that there is only "suggested evidence at best that some black people seem to experience what appear to be conflicting color attitudes" (p. 70).

Interestingly, Clark (1986) found when studying black and white middle class college students that the self-concept of black students could not be predicted from their ratings of other black Americans. In short, he found that individuals can reject their group identity but maintain a high self-esteem.
In conclusion, the literature suggests that minority adolescents and adults tend to compare themselves and seek acceptance in their immediate interpersonal environment. This fact continues to contribute to the controversy surrounding the effects of interracial contact for both black and white samples. Interracial contact is a large contributor to the varying levels of racial identity found in black adolescents and adults. Though researchers have pointed out some serious limitations and theoretical flaws in the literature, the results remain important in tracing the development of black self-esteem.

Self-attribution. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, sociologists argued that black Americans were keenly aware that discrimination and minimal opportunities were responsible for the failure of the average black person to enjoy a life comparable to the white majority. It has been argued that this belief has protected black self-esteem by enabling blacks to attribute blame for failure to the social system rather than to themselves as individuals (McCarthy & Yancey, 1971; Porter & Washington, 1979; Heiss & Owens, 1972).

Researchers found that feelings of external control in black subjects was interpreted as a defensive reaction to cover a basic sense of insecurity. But Gurin and Epps (1975) dispute this interpretation and suggest that for blacks the relationship between self-esteem and a developed
sense of external control may be normal and healthy. Due to instances of racial discrimination, feelings of external control may not be a passive belief in chance or fate but, instead, system blame, which indicates a healthy interpretation of the real world. Taylor and Walsh (1979) did find that blacks do employ system blame, yet controlling for system blame did not affect black self-esteem. Of greater consequence, they found that system blame was not related to positive self-esteem for blacks or whites; in fact, system-blame was weakly associated with low self-esteem. The sample used in this study was composed of adults, yet Gurin & Epps (1975) speculated that system-blame is more intense among adolescents and, thus, is especially likely to affect the self-esteem of this group. Hughes and Demo (1983) also reveal sampling limitations which make it unclear how these findings relate to most blacks.

In sum, system-blame is seen as a realistic appraisal of society and a factor attributing to strong black self-esteem. Some empirical data supports this notion, but many researchers have found a negative relationship between system-blame and self-esteem. Due to the varying information, it still remains unclear how system-blame is related to self-esteem.

Racial self-esteem. Another important factor in the development of black self-esteem is ethnic pride or what social scientists term racial self-esteem. Porter &
Washington (1979) refer to racial self-esteem as how the individual feels about the self as black, such as cultural identity. As noted previously, studies done before 1970, mostly involving children, consistently reported that blacks generally had low racial self-esteem. Studies done in the past two decades report an increasing tendency for black children to favor their own race (Hraba and Grant, 1970).

These findings suggest the subculture explanation for racial self-esteem. According to this model, as the subculture begins to exhibit black pride, as it has since the 1960's, black children and young adults begin to internalize new norms and values (Porter & Washington, 1979; Heiss & Owens, 1972). As these new norms and values become increasingly important, blacks will begin to closely identify with their own group (Toomer, 1975; Newman, Liss, & Sherman, 1983). Toomer's (1975) study attributes this increase of in-group identification to an interest in black history and black culture.

Paige (1970) found that pro-black and anti-white sentiments were associated in his young urban sample. Earlier studies of blacks had found that anti-black and anti-white sentiments were directly related. Paige's (1970) data indicates that the societal demands of the white majority are still associated with self-hatred but does not predict anti-white feelings. He suggests that the link between black self-esteem and attitudes towards whites is
Self-esteem

subcultural rather than psychological, thus the relationship between the two should change depending on the situation. Toomer (1975) supports Paige’s (1970) findings of an inverse relationship between in-group and out-group sentiments.

If the subcultural explanation of black self-esteem is correct the young should exhibit the highest racial self-image because they are the most likely to have been socialized into the new norms and values. Sampson and Milan (1975) found a strong sense of ethnic pride and solidarity in the young male middle class. These findings remain significant because subcultural attitudes have developed into black middle class ideals. Contradictory results were found by Broman, Neighbors, and Jackson (1988) who reported the strongest racial group identification among older blacks and the least educated blacks who live in urban areas. It has been speculated that gender, age, and demographic location may need to be controlled for when testing ethnic pride (Porter & Washington, 1979).

Although high levels of anti-white sentiments were not prevalent in the black community, some studies during the 1960’s indicated a pro-black/anti-white ideology that appealed to segments of militant youth (Porter & Washington, 1979; Grecas, 1982). Yet feelings of positive black identity have been associated with anti-white sentiments for only a minority of the young population (Gurin & Epps, 1975). In fact, when analyzing previous black self-concept
data, Grecas (1982) found an association between white hatred and low self-esteem. Although the question of anti-white behavior has not been resolved in empirical data, studies continue to assume there is a link between self-esteem and white hatred.

Variations of racial self-esteem have also been tested across such categories as gender and social class. Though black women experience the "double jeopardy" in relation to race and gender, they continue to maintain the same level of self-esteem as white males and higher levels in relation to black males and white females (Coul ter, 1983; Turner & Turner, 1982; Martinez & Dukes, 1987; Richman, Clark, & Brown, 1985). Richman et al. (1985) also found that black men exhibit higher private self-esteem but lower public self-esteem than their white counterparts.

Studies of social class (SES) differences in self-evaluation generally find that the working and lower-class individuals have lower self-esteem than middle-class individuals (Heiss & Owens, 1972; Yancey, Rigsby, & McCarthy, 1972). The effects of SES on children and adults seem to be mixed. Rosenberg and Pearlin (1978) demonstrated that during the adult years social class has an important influence on self-esteem because of the increasing contact with white institutions. In support of these findings, Demo and Savin-Williams (1983) found that as an individual's age increases, so does the importance of an individual's SES in
relation to self-esteem.

Contrary to these findings, Johnson's (1990) research into social class revealed that underemployment and underpayment did not lower the self-esteem of black men. As a matter of fact, the data revealed the opposite, that black men have a higher self-esteem. He attributes the heightened self-esteem to coping strategies whereby black men assess their self-worth by personal and familial achievements.

The effects of SES have also been found in early adolescents. The academic and general self-esteem of low SES adolescents were found to be lower than the self-evaluations of middle SES students (Fu, Hinkle, & Korslund, 1983; Hare, 1977). Researchers continue to speculate the effect SES may have on children. Children as well as adults are members of institutions which may help foster racist ideals. Yet, Kohr, Coldiron, Skiffington, Masters, and Blust (1988) revealed that self-esteem is not affected by low SES status in 5th, 8th, and 11th grade black adolescents. In addition, Gray-Little and Applebaum (1979) found a positive correlation between general self-esteem and the father's education for 7th and 10th graders.

The relationship between self-esteem and SES seems to depend primarily on whether the measuring instrument defines self-esteem in general or specific terms. Wylie (1979) concluded that overall the results have been weak,
that only in the more specific measures of self-concept of school ability or academic self-concept did studies reveal a consistent positive association between SES and self-esteem. She further hypothesized that a stronger relationship between SES and self-esteem might exist in interracial middle or upper SES groups as a function of intense competition for status within these groups.

In conclusion, racial self-esteem is important to the development of racial identity and ethnicity. Though young black men were hypothesized to embrace this ideal and exhibit high self-esteem, black women continue to show a higher level of self-esteem than black men. Also, age and racial self-esteem remain inversely related. Though the subcultural explanation for increasing black self-esteem continues to foster the assumption of pro-black and anti-white sentiments, it remains unclear how anti-white sentiments and SES relate to black self-esteem.

Hypotheses

Self-concept literature has empirically secured the notion that African-Americans have a relatively high level of self-esteem. Yet, ambiguities remain as to the importance of racial identity and racial esteem to global self-esteem.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate how social processes influence black self-esteem. To do this, the following hypotheses are tested:
$H_1$: Black self-esteem is not affected by interracial contact.

$H_2$: Black self-esteem is positively correlated with racial self-esteem.

$H_3$: Black self-esteem is positively correlated with system-blame.

$H_4$: Black self-esteem is positively correlated with black separatism.

$H_5$: Black self-esteem is positively correlated with cultural identity.

$H_6$: Anti-white sentiments and black self-esteem are positively correlated.
Chapter Two

Method

Subjects

The subjects were 56 black freshmen and 13 black seniors participating in the Partnership For Excellence Program (PFE) at Eastern Illinois University. The subjects in the pool included 80 freshmen and 46 seniors, but 14 freshmen and 3 seniors refused to take part in the study. The participants were chosen by their counselors from various elementary schools and high schools in Illinois including Chicago, East St. Louis, Decatur, Danville, Champaign, and Urbana. The counselors took academic ability as well as academic motivation into account when choosing representatives. Students were given one credit toward high school or college for participating in the program. The sample was 60% female and 40% male with a mean age of 13-14 for the freshmen and 16-17 for the seniors. Freshmen were split into four study hall groups and administered the questionnaire in a classroom. Seniors were given the measurement during their nightly meeting in a residence hall.

Research Variables

In order to test the six hypotheses, subjects were administered a 58-item instrument designed to measure self-esteem, racial self-esteem, ethnicity and racial ideology, cultural identity, and anti-white sentiment (see Appendix
A). The ethnic ideology and cultural identity variables tested are system blame, interracial contact, black separatism, cultural knowledge, and cultural pride.

Self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured with the 10-item Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale. The scale is used to obtain a global measure of an individual's self-respect, self-acceptance, and feelings of personal worth. Respondents were asked to indicate extent of agreement with statements such as "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" and "I certainly feel useless at times." The possible scores range from zero (lowest self-esteem) to six (highest self-esteem). Rosenberg (1989) measured the reproducibility of the scale at 92% and its scalability at 72%.

Racial self-esteem. The operationalization of racial self-esteem is not standardized. For the purpose of this study, Hughes and Demo's (1989) racial self-esteem scale was used. They operationalized racial self-esteem by the belief that most black people possess positive characteristics and do not possess negative characteristics. The measurement amounts to an overall evaluation of black people as a group. The question utilized in this investigation was: "How true do you think it is that most African Americans [ ] ______?" The following characteristics were given to complete the question: (a) keep trying, (b) females love their families, (c) are ashamed, (d) are
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lazy, (e) males neglect their families, (f) are lying and shallow, (g) are hardworking, (h) do for others, (i) are weak, (k) are proud of themselves, (l) are honest, (m) are selfish, (n) are strong, (o) are as intelligent as whites. Responses were coded: (1) true, (2) somewhat true, (3) a little true, and (4) not true at all. The reliability coefficient for this scale is .80.

Ethnicity and racial ideology. Hughes and Demo's (1989) scale measures system blame, interracial contact, and black separatism. The measure for system-blame is an additive scale of two items. Respondents were asked to respond to two questions with two possible choices: (1) "In the United States, if African Americans don't do well in life, it is because: (a) they don't work hard to get ahead, or (b) they are kept back because of their race:" and (2) "In this country, if African Americans do not get a good education or job, it is because: (a) they haven't had the same chances as whites in this country, or (b) they have no one to blame but themselves." A high score indicates that discrimination is blamed. The correlation between the two items is .370.

The measure of interracial contact indicates the level of involvement the respondent has had with white people or other minorities over time. Respondents judged the racial mixture of five settings: (a) grammar or elementary school, (b) high school, (c) neighborhood, (d) church or place of
worship, and (e) present workplace. Subjects had the option to indicate if the religious or employment questions applied to them. Responses were coded: (1) all African American, (2) mostly African American, (3) about half African American, (4) mostly minorities other than African American (Hispanics, Asians, etc.), (5) mostly white, or (6) almost all white.

Black separatism was tested by asking a number of questions concerning commitment to African culture and the degree to which blacks should confine their relationships to other blacks. Subjects were asked if they agreed with the following statements: (1) African-American children should learn an African language, (2) African Americans should always vote for African American politicians, (3) African American women should not date white men, (4) African Americans should shop in African American owned shops whenever possible, (5) African American men should not date white women, and (6) African American parents should give their children African names. The statement, "Black English is as valid a language as Standard American English," was added by the researcher to uncover the separatist's view of language in the black community. The four responses varied from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." A factor analysis, conducted by Hughes and Demo (1989), determined that the first six items load strongly on a single factor and yield a reliability coefficient of .61.
Cultural identity. Three statements developed by the researcher were asked in relation to knowledge of African American history and background: (1) I have a strong knowledge of African American history, (2) My parents talk about my African American background, (3) I am proud of my African American heritage. The responses are on a four point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." In order to determine the importance of cultural references in self identification, a variation of the "Who am I test" described by Hurstfield (1985) was also administered. Instead of simply asking the respondents to complete the statement, "I am..." they were given the following scenario: "If you had to describe yourself to a pen pal, what five phrases or words would you use to describe who you are?" The responses were divided into 25 categories developed by Hurstfield (1985) that included descriptions such as "ethnic/national heritage" or "friendship references" (See Appendix B).

Anti-white sentiment. Subjects were given one statement developed by the researcher relating to anti-white sentiment: "Whites today should compensate African Americans for the oppression of their ancestors." Responses were given on a four point response scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree."
Chapter Three

Results

Mean scores, modes, and standard deviations were calculated for all variables (see Appendix C). Pearson's $r$ was also used to evaluate the correlations between self-esteem and racial self-esteem, ethnicity and racial ideology, cultural identity, and anti-white sentiment. The significance level chosen for the analysis was $p < .01$, however, a few exceptions at $p < .05$ will be noted.

Research Variables

Not surprisingly, both the Freshmen and the Seniors exhibited extremely high self-esteem. There were no significant differences between the self-esteem of both groups. The data indicated that 99% of the sample consistently selected the extreme responses except for the variable which measured self-respect ($\bar{x} = 2.81/4.0$).

Both groups also exhibited a high racial self-esteem. However, 50% of the sample agreed with the negative perceptions about their race rather than the extreme positive perceptions. That is, the respondents' self-perceptions are much stronger than their racial perceptions. Moderate responses were also chosen over the extreme responses for black separatism ($\bar{x} = .255/4.0$). Both groups agreed with various statements associated with black separatism, yet the overall agreement is not strong. Therefore, as an independent variable, black separatism is
Self-esteem

weak. The strongest supported black separatism variable measured the value of Black English ($\bar{x} = 1.99/4.0$).

In general, the respondents had limited contact with the white community, and most contact occurred during high school. However, for both groups, intraracial contact with peers in the black community is strong. Most respondents are regularly exposed to environments which are all African-American or mostly African-American.

Tables 1 and 2 indicate that only 7% of the Freshmen and 6% of the Seniors used cultural references to describe themselves (see Appendices D and E for complete categories and responses). The Freshmen identified themselves by their body image (22%), personality (19%), and positive moral worth (19%). Yet, the Seniors identified themselves by their personality (26%), positive moral worth (23%), and interpersonal style (14%).

Insert Tables 1 and 2 about here

Overall, both groups agreed with the system-blame statements. That is, the respondents blamed the system for low socio-economic achievement. This section yielded a 27% nonresponse rate which makes it difficult to form meaningful conclusions concerning system-blame. Finally, the sample's level of anti-white sentiment is relatively high ($\bar{x} = 2.29/4.0$).
Findings Pertaining to Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis, which suggests that interracial contact does not affect black self-esteem, was not clearly supported by the data. The level of contact with the white community is not significant enough to evaluate the effects of interracial contact and self-esteem (see Appendices F and G for complete listing of correlations). Yet, the findings indicate that the intraracial contact within the black community positively affects black self-esteem. As noted in Appendix F, the racial population of the Freshmen's elementary schools is positively correlated to self-esteem ($r^2 = .424$). In addition, the racial population of the Seniors' neighborhoods is positively correlated to self-esteem ($r^2 = .777$). Therefore, peer contact within the black community positively affects black self-esteem; however, the effects of interracial contact is unclear.

Findings Pertaining to Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis, which states that black self-esteem is positively correlated with racial self-esteem, was clearly supported by the data. The relationship between self-esteem and racial self-esteem is stronger for Seniors than Freshmen. Further analysis indicated that the Seniors' racial self-esteem is positively correlated with cultural identity ($r^2 = .778$) and black separatism ($r^2 = .811$). This suggests that racial self-esteem has a positive effect on self-esteem, cultural identity, and black separatism.
Findings Pertaining to Hypothesis Three

No strong support for the third hypothesis, which states that system-blame is positively correlated to self-esteem, could be generated from the data. However, the findings presented in Appendix H indicate that system-blame is somewhat related to self-esteem for the Seniors ($r^2 = .606; p > .05$). Further investigation indicated some relationship between system-blame and racial self-esteem for Freshmen ($r^2 = .234; p < .05$). In addition, system-blame is related to the racial population of the Seniors' elementary schools ($r^2 = .677$) and places of worship ($r^2 = .608; p < .05$). These findings indicate that system-blame is not positively related to self-esteem but only somewhat related to self-esteem and intraracial contact for the Seniors.

Findings Pertaining to Hypothesis Four

The data clearly supports the fourth hypothesis that black separatism is positively correlated to black self-esteem. The correlation between black separatism and black self-esteem is stronger for Seniors than Freshmen. Further investigation of the fourth hypothesis uncovered that four variables of black separatism are related to system blame for the Freshmen. These include statements pertaining to politics, interracial dating, and economic support.

Findings Pertaining to Hypothesis Five

The data also supported the fifth hypothesis which suggested that black self-esteem is positively correlated to
cultural identity. Specifically, cultural knowledge ($r^2 = .611$) and cultural pride ($r^2 = .750$) are the strongest indicators that cultural identity and black self-esteem are correlated. This suggests that group pride is important to self-esteem.

Findings Pertaining to Hypothesis Six

The data did not support the sixth hypothesis which suggested that anti-white sentiments and black self-esteem are positively correlated. Yet, further analysis discovered that the Freshmen’s racial self-esteem was positively correlated with anti-white sentiment ($r^2 = .750; p < .05$). Therefore, unlike personal self-esteem, racial self-esteem and anti-white sentiments are positively correlated for the Freshmen.
Discussion and Conclusions

Discussion

The findings indicate that global self-esteem is positively correlated with racial self-esteem, black separatism, and black identity. However, system-blame, interracial contact, and anti-white sentiment are not specifically correlated with self-esteem.

Although the first hypothesis, which suggests that black self-esteem is not affected by interracial contact, is not supported, there is evidence that relationships in the black community are directly related to self-esteem. In theoretical terms, this finding supports one of Rosenberg's (1981) contentions concerning the application of self-esteem principles to black Americans. He found that family, friends, and peers are strong predictors of self-esteem. The present study reveals that the populations of an individual's neighborhood and elementary school are related to self-esteem. According to the current study, these environments are entirely African-American or about half African-American, implying that the initial socialization environments are the foundation of self-esteem.

Consequently, this foundation is based on peer acceptance and interaction. Also, consistent with Krause (1983), this study found little evidence to support a relationship between interracial contact and black self-esteem. This is
in accordance with the idea that social comparisons with whites are not relevant to black self-esteem.

As stated in the second and fourth hypotheses, self-esteem is strongly correlated to racial self-esteem and black separatism. These findings support Porter and Washington's (1979) position that, for black Americans, group pride is an important factor in self-perception.

Respondents reported a relatively high racial self-esteem, yet, in both groups, self-perceptions are much stronger than racial perceptions. As in Clark's (1986) study, attitudes towards race are not always strong indicators of attitudes towards self. Rosenberg's (1979) and Clark's (1986) explanations of this phenomena suggest that even when a relationship does exist between racial-group identity and self-concept, other variables may serve as moderators. This can also be interpreted as a healthy awareness and acknowledgment that salient and non-salient traits exist in all racial groups.

Further analysis of the second hypothesis, which suggests that self-esteem is positively correlated with racial self-esteem, reveals that ethnic and racial ideology variables that reflect cultural processes internal to the black community are the most important aspects of racial self-esteem. According to Porter and Washington (1979), those with the highest racial self-esteem are those who combine high expectations with ethnic identity and
Self-esteem

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understanding that black achievement in the wider society has been blocked by racial discrimination. This may, in part, explain the difficulties in completing the system-blame statements. Both groups blamed the system and institutional discrimination, yet they continue to expect individuals to give their best efforts. Thus, for the subjects, both choices were correct.

On the whole, this analysis of racial self-esteem is in accordance with the subcultural explanation that young blacks identify more closely with their ethnic group (Toomer, 1975). Apparently, recent socialization practices have been effective in teaching group pride among blacks.

However, the findings indicated that cultural identifications are much less important to self-esteem than predicted in the fifth hypothesis which suggests that black self-esteem is positively correlated with cultural identity. This is in accordance with Rosenberg's (1981) contention that "being black" is not the only or most important aspect of black self-concept. According to this sample, body image, personality, moral worth, and interpersonal style are much more important in identifying the self. This finding indicates that the Freshmen are conscious of the external variables important in society such as being "pretty" and being "good looking." However, the Seniors are conscious of the internal characteristics relating to the self such as being "nice" and being "caring." This agrees in part with
Wade's (1991) findings that physical attractiveness and social interaction are important to black adolescent self-esteem and global self-esteem.

There is no support for the third hypothesis which suggests that high black self-esteem is due to system-blame. This finding corroborates research by Taylor and Walsh (1979) and contrasts the widespread assumption that system-blaming leads to a more positive self-image among blacks (McCarthy & Yancey, 1971; Porter and Washington, 1979; Rosenberg, 1981). McCarthy and Yancey (1971) argued that middle class blacks tend to accept white achievement values and, therefore, blame themselves for failures, while lower-class blacks can blame discrimination. Taken together, the middle class status of the sample and the finding that system-blame is not related to self-esteem partially support McCarthy and Yancey's (1971) hypothesis that middle class blacks do not incorporate system-blame into their value system. However, Hughes and Demo (1989) argue that the history of discrimination has had widespread effects throughout the entire black population, affecting the unconscious selection of dimensions on which self-esteem is based.

Though system-blame is not related to the self-esteem of both groups, it was uncovered that system-blame is related to the racial population of the seniors elementary schools and churches. According to Mays and Nicholson
Self-esteem

(1933) and Billingsley and Caldwell (1991), the black church is the most important academic, social, political, and religious institution in the black community. Like school, the church is an important foundation for socialization into the larger society. These findings indicate that the influence of a strong black church organization continues to shape the social and moral values of the black community.

Conversely, no evidence supports the sixth hypothesis which suggested that anti-white sentiments are correlated with self-esteem. However, racial self-esteem and black separatism variables are related to anti-white ideals, but the connection remains weak and unclear.

Limitations

Though desired findings concerning black self-esteem, racial self-esteem, and black separatism were uncovered, the study had three important limitations: the sample profile and size, the survey design, and the testing environment.

The sample is unusual because the average PFE student's educational, familial, and professional environments do not fit the profile of the average black American. First, the small number of subjects chosen for the PFE program are exceptional students. Second, the majority of the students come from strong, two parent middle class professional or blue collar families. According to research and previous studies, this is not representative of the average black profile pertaining to family, education, social class, and
economic standing.

In addition, the four-point survey is designed to induce forced choice. Following Bachman and O'Malley's (1981) research, Hughes and Demo (1989) employed a four-point Likert scale to avoid extreme responses. The use of forced choice may have yielded a high non-response rate for specific variables. For example, system blame received a 27% non-response rate. Also, the four-point scale limited how the respondents truthfully believed a statement should be completed. The use of a 5- or 7-point scale might have more accurately reflected the respondents' views.

Finally, the survey was administered in what the researcher perceived as a hostile environment. While administering the survey to the Seniors, the race of the researcher was called into question. Due to this, comments referring to the "racist" and "unfair" nature of the survey hindered its completion. Coupled together, the high non-response rate and Bank's (1979) contention that blacks would not expect objective feedback from whites made it evident that the race of the researcher is important to the sample's responses to the survey. Yet, Baldwin's (1979) extensive review of black self-esteem literature uncovered few studies which analyzed the relationship between the race of the researcher and the attitudes and responses of the sample. Due to severe sample limitations, these studies were inconclusive in determining the effect of the researcher's
race on the subjects' responses.

Despite these limitations, this study stresses the importance of researching black self-esteem in a multidimensional framework. The purpose of this study was to define the relationship between racial self-esteem, personal self-esteem, ethnicity and racial ideology variables, cultural identity, and anti-white sentiment. Although personal self-esteem, racial self-esteem, and ethnic and racial ideologies are firmly anchored in the relations with family and friends, previous studies reveal that these dimensions were generated through many years of institutional inequality. Racial self-esteem is partly generated by cultural and interpersonal processes internal to the black community, but it is promoted by intraracial contact and the perception that discrimination may impede the achievement of black people.

Recommendations for Further Research

In accordance with the findings, the following suggestions for further research are offered:

1. Conduct research focusing on the self-esteem of other minority groups such as Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asians.

2. Conduct research focusing on the relationship between the race of the researcher and the responses and attitudes of the sample.

3. Conduct research focusing on other possible
theoretical foundations of self-esteem such as the principle of self-efficacy.


5. Conduct research focusing on anti-white sentiment and its relationship to racial self-esteem.

6. Conduct research focusing on the implications of a cultural diversity curriculum on the self-esteem and racial self-esteem of all racial groups.

Conclusions

Future research should continue to focus on the complex nature of self-esteem. Though black self-esteem is firmly grounded in the ethnic and cultural variables of the black community, many speculations remain as to the effects of institutional racism on minority self-esteem.

While the study did not discover significant effects of interracial contact, system-blame, and anti-white sentiments on global self-esteem, existing research alludes to a plausible relationship. A larger, more diverse sample may yield more favorable results. A clearer understanding of minority self-esteem, racial self-esteem, and cultural ideologies may redefine or reinforce the social processes attributed to self-esteem.
References


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<th>Category*</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>Body image</td>
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<td>Intellectual/scholarly competence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interpersonal style</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strong race/ethnic heritage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age/sex</td>
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<td>Tastes</td>
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<td>Sport</td>
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<td>Self determination</td>
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*Note. Categories were outlined by Hurstfield (1985).*
Table 2

Category and Percentage of Senior Responses

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body image</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self determination</td>
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<td>Existential</td>
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<td>Interpersonal sex reference</td>
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</table>

*Note: Categories were outlined by Hurstfield (1985).*
APPENDIX A

SURVEY
SURVEY

THE ANSWERS OBTAINED FROM THIS SURVEY WILL BE A PART OF A GRADUATE STUDY DETAILING AFRICAN-AMERICAN ATTITUDES.

Please circle the appropriate answer.

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

2. At times, I think I am no good at all.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

6. I certainly feel useless at times.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

7. I feel that I am a person of worth or, at least, on an equal plane with others.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
   A. strongly agree   C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

10. I take a positive attitude towards myself.
    A. strongly agree   C. disagree
     B. agree           D. strongly disagree

    A. strongly agree   C. disagree
     B. agree           D. strongly disagree
12. Black English is as valid a language as Standard American English.
   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

17. African-American parents should give their children African names.
   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

18. I have a strong knowledge of African-American history.
   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

20. Whites today should compensate African-American for the oppression of their ancestors.
   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

   A. strongly agree  C. disagree
   B. agree           D. strongly disagree

Given the following responses, which most accurately reflects your belief?

22. In the United States, if African-American don't do well in life, it is because:
   A. they don't work hard to get it.
   B. they are kept back because of their race.
23. In this country, if African-Americans do not get a good education or job, it is because:
   A. they haven’t had the same chances as whites in this country.
   B. they have no one to blame but themselves.

Fill in the number that finishes the sentence:

24. How true do you think it is that most African Americans____?

1. True
2. Somewhat true
3. A little true
4. Not true at all.

a. ___ keep trying
b. ___ females love their families
c. ___ are ashamed
d. ___ are lazy
e. ___males neglect their families
f. ___ are lying and shallow
g. ___ are hardworking
h. ___ do for others
i. ___ give up easily
j. ___ are weak
k. ___ are proud of themselves
l. ___ are honest
m. ___ are selfish
n. ___ are strong
c. ___ are as intelligent as whites

Put the number of the correct answer in the blank.

1. All African American
2. Mostly African American
3. About half African American
4. Mostly minorities other than African American (Hispanics, Asians, etc.)
5. Mostly white
6. Almost all white

25. The racial population of my grammar or elementary school is____.

26. The racial population of my high school is____.

27. The racial population of my neighborhood is____.
28. The racial population of my church or place of worship is ___.
   Check here if question does not apply ___.

29. The racial population of my present workplace is ___.
   Check here if question does not apply ___.
Please fill in the blank or circle the appropriate answer.

1. Sex: Male___ Female___

2. Your Age: 13-14__ 15__ 16__ 17__ 18__

3. What was your grade point average on your last report card?
   A+___ A/A-___ B+___ B/B-___ C+___ C/C-___ D___

4. How much education do you expect to receive during your lifetime?
   A. High school
   B. Vocational school (Secretarial, Beautician, Mechanic, etc.)
   C. College, but not a bachelor's degree
   D. Bachelor's degree
   E. 1 or 2 years of graduate or professional study
   F. Doctoral degree such as M.D., Ph.D., etc.
   G. Other___

5. Your parents are:
   Married___ Divorced___ Separated___ Other___

6. What level of education did your parents receive?

   Father:
   A. Less than high school
   B. High school
   C. Two year college degree
   D. Bachelor's degree
   E. Master's degree
   F. Doctoral degree (M.D., Ph.D., etc.)
   G. Other___

   Mother:
   A. Less than high school
   B. High school
   C. Two year college degree
   D. Bachelor's degree
   E. Master's degree
   F. Doctoral degree (M.D., Ph.D., etc.)
   G. Other___

7. Father's Occupation: ________________
8. Mother's Occupation: __________

9. If you had to describe yourself to a pen pal, what 5 phrases or words would you use to describe who you are? Write your response in the space provided below.

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Thank you for your cooperation!
APPENDIX B

HURSTFIELD'S "WHO AM I" CATEGORIES
Hurstfield's "Who am I" Categories

1. Abstract
2. Age
3. Body Image
4. Friendship Reference
5. Ethnic/National Heritage
6. Existential
7. Goal
8. Intellectual/Scholarly Competence
9. Interpersonal Sex Reference
10. Interpersonal Style
11. Name
13. Personality
14. Positive Moral Worth
15. Possessions
16. Religion
17. School Reference
18. Self Determination
19. Sex Role Reference
20. Sport
21. Strong Racial Statements
22. Taste
23. Territory
24. Weak National Heritage Statements
25. Weak Racial Statements
APPENDIX C

SURVEY RESULTS
SURVEY RESULTS

Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
   Mean = 1.587  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = .897

2. At times, I think I am no good at all.
   Mean = 3.123  Mode = 4  Standard Deviation = .881

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
   Mean = 1.481  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = .633

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
   Mean = 1.514  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = .533

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
   Mean = 3.440  Mode = 4  Standard Deviation = .937

6. I certainly feel useless at times.
   Mean = 3.147  Mode = 4  Standard Deviation = .880

7. I feel that I am a person of worth or, at least, on an equal plane with others.
   Mean = 1.570  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = .702

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
   Mean = 2.811  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = 1.025

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
   Mean = 3.743  Mode = 4  Standard Deviation = .479

10. I take a positive attitude towards myself.
    Mean = 1.495  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = .647

Black Separatism

    Mean = 2.135  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = .914

12. Black English is as valid a language as Standard American English.
    Mean = 1.990  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = .889

    Mean = 2.877  Mode = 3  Standard Deviation = .912

Self-esteem

Mean = 2.789  Mode = 3  Standard Deviation = 1.037

   Mean = 2.337  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = 1.011

   Mean = 2.875  Mode = 3  Standard Deviation = .992

17. African-American parents should give their children African names
   Mean = 2.912  Mode = 3  Standard Deviation = .759

Cultural Identity and Anti-white Sentiment

18. I have a strong knowledge of African-American history.
   Mean = 2.260  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = .800

   Mean = 2.350  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = .936

20. Whites today should compensate African-American for the oppression of their ancestors.
    Mean = 2.229  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = 1

    Mean = 1.276  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = .596

System Blame

22. In the United States, if African-Americans don't do well in life, it is because:
    1. they don't work hard to get it.
    2. they are kept back because of their race.
    Mean = 1.529  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = .502

23. In this country, if African-Americans do not get a good education or job, it is because:
    1. they haven't had the same chances as whites in this country.
    2. they have no one to blame but themselves.
    Mean = 1.452  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = .500

Racial Self-esteem

24. How true do you think it is that most African Americans?
    1. True
    2. Somewhat true
    3. A little true
    4. Not true at all.
Self-esteem

60

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<tr>
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<td>a. ___ keep trying</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 1.771</td>
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<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .788</td>
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<td>b. ___ females love their families</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 1.433</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 1</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .734</td>
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<td>c. ___ are ashamed</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 3.038</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 3</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .965</td>
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<td>d. ___ are lazy</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 2.924</td>
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<td>e. ___ males neglect their families</td>
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<td>f. ___ are lying and shallow</td>
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<td>g. ___ are hardworking</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 1.590</td>
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<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .793</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. ___ do for others</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 1.990</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 2</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .919</td>
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<td>i. ___ give up easily</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 2.827</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 3</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .950</td>
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<td>j. ___ are weak</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 3.757</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 4</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .618</td>
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<td>k. ___ are proud of themselves</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 1.760</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 1</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = 1.119</td>
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<td>l. ___ are honest</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 2.183</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 2</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .747</td>
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<td>m. ___ are selfish</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 2.757</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 3</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .955</td>
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<td>n. ___ are strong</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 1.413</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 1</td>
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<td>o. ___ are as intelligent as whites</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> = 1.204</td>
<td><strong>Mode</strong> = 1</td>
<td><strong>Standard Deviation</strong> = .662</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interracial Contact

1. All African American
2. Mostly African American
3. About half African American
4. Mostly minorities other than African American (Hispanics, Asians, etc.)
5. Mostly white
6. Almost all white

25. The racial population of my grammar or elementary school was ___.
   Mean = 3.106  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = 1.890

26. The racial population of my high school is (or will be) ___.
   Mean = 3.038  Mode = 5  Standard Deviation = 1.613

27. The racial population of my neighborhood is ___.
   Mean = 2.714  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = 1.769

28. The racial population of my church or place of worship is ___.
   Check here if question does not apply ___.
   Mean = 1.439  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = .964

29. The racial population of my present workplace is ___.
   Check here if question does not apply ___.
   Mean = 3.256  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = 1.953

Please fill in the blank or circle the appropriate answer.

1. Sex: Male ?i  Female 64
   Missing 4

2. Your Age: 13-14 60  15 2 16 13 17 39 18 0
   Missing 4

3. What was your grade point average on your last report card?
   A+ 5  A/A- 39  B+ 26  B/B- 26  C+ 4  C/C- 4  D 1
   Missing 4
   Mean = 3.010  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = 1.213

4. How much education do you expect to receive during your lifetime?

   1. High school
   2. Vocational school (Secretarial, Beautician, Mechanic, etc.)
   3. College, but not a bachelor's degree
   4. Bachelor's degree
   5. 1 or 2 years of graduate or professional study
   6. Doctoral degree such as M.D., Ph.D., etc.
   7. Other_____  
   Mean = 5.275  Mode = 6  Standard Deviation = 1.027

5. Your parents are:
   Married____  Divorced____  Separated____  Other____
   Mean = 1.845  Mode = 1  Standard Deviation = 1.027
6. What level of education did your parents receive?

Father:
1. Less than high school
2. High school
3. Two year college degree
4. Bachelor's degree
5. Master's degree
6. Doctoral degree (M.D., Ph.D., etc.)
7. Other
Mean = 3.351  Mode = 2  Standard Deviation = .163

Mother:
1. Less than high school
2. High school
3. Two year college degree
4. Bachelor's degree
5. Master's degree
6. Doctoral degree (M.D., Ph.D., etc.)
7. Other
Mean = 3.649  Mode = 3  Standard Deviation = 1.543

7. Father's Occupation:
8. Mother's Occupation:

9. If you had to describe yourself to a pen pal, what 5 phrases or words would you use to describe who you are? Write your response in the space provided below.

---------------------------------------------------------------

Thank you for your cooperation!
APPENDIX D

FRESHMEN RESPONSES ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY AND CATEGORY
### Freshmen Responses According to Frequency and Category

**Body Image**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tall</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Handsome</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretty</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cute</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark brown</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got braces</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good looking</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown eyes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark brown eyes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fit</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light skinned</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long hair</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long hair in back,</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short on top</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium height</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium weight</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Pretty smile 1
Round faced 1
Slim and 5'3 1
Tall and thin 1
Very pretty 1

Personality
Funny 8
Friendly 7
Fun 4
Crazy 3
A good personality 1
Class clown 1
Crazy/weird 1
Cool 1
Humorous 1
I have a good personality 1
Lazy 1
Loveable 1
Likes to laugh a lot 1
Mad 1
Normal 1
Positive 1
Sensible 1
Sensit1’e
Serious
Sweet
Well rounded

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Nice</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Caring</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud and worthy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am a person with self-respect</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Smart</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educated well</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifted in school</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am very intelligent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am smart and intelligent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am somewhat smart</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wise</td>
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<td>Interpersonal Style</td>
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<td>Snv</td>
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<tr>
<td>A good listener</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good talker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courteous to all</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerate to others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative person</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy to talk to</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fun to be with</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am honest to people no matter what</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy joking around</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I get along with others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have an open mind</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interesting to people</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kind of mean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not easy to work with</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular</td>
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<td>Quiet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very friendly with people</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought well of</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoughtful to others feelings</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can depend on me</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Strong Race**

| Black                        | 10 |

**Tastes**

| I like many hobbies          | 1 |
| I like sports               | 1 |
| I love kids                 | 1 |
| I read a lot                | 1 |
| I like to go places         | 1 |
| Sports are my favorite pastime. | 1 |

**Sport**

| Fast                        | 1 |
| Active                     | 1 |
| Sporty                     | 1 |
| I am good at sports        | 1 |
| Healthy and fit            | 1 |
**Self Determination**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Determined</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardworking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have self-respect and will achieve my goals.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will receive in life because I am confident in myself.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong willed</td>
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**Age**

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<td>Young</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am 13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am 14</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

**School**

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<td>I am in 9th grade</td>
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<td>Freshman</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Love math</td>
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**Existential**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Frequency</th>
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<tr>
<td>I am unique</td>
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Frequency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Myself</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

Positive Ethnic Heritage

African American 3

Sex

Male 1
Young man 1

Abstract

I am such and such 1

Family

I have a family 1

Goal

I want to be an M.D. 1

 Territory

Live in Decatur, IL 1
<table>
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<th>Strong Race and</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tr>
<td>Heritage</td>
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<td>Black African American</td>
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<table>
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<th>Frequency</th>
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<td>Sex</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am a black male.</td>
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APPENDIX E

SENIOR RESPONSES ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY AND CATEGORY
Senior Responses According to Frequency and Category

---

**Personality**

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<td>Crazy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Funny</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fun</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cool</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Optimistic</td>
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<td>Angry</td>
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<td>Committed</td>
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<td>Cool as hell</td>
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<td>Genuine</td>
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<td>Helpful</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mature</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moody</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respectful</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sensitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive Moral</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Worth</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>I am a nice person</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
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<td>Fair</td>
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<td>Devoted</td>
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<td>Kind</td>
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<td>Kind hearted</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loyal</td>
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<td>Keep to myself</td>
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<td>Listener</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trait</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
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<td>Not sociable</td>
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<td>Open with others</td>
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<td>Outspoken</td>
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<td>Smart</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Wise</td>
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<td>Self Determination</td>
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<td>Hardworking</td>
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<td>I will make something out of myself in the future</td>
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<td>Positive I can do anything</td>
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<td>Self motivated</td>
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<td>Strong minded</td>
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<td>I am different</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am true to self</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am true to the real game</td>
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<table>
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<td>Like to get on the boys</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trait</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like boys</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smooth with women</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am into church</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supportive to my family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am 17</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>Female</td>
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APPENDIX F

FRESHMEN SELF-ESTEEM, RACIAL SELF-ESTEEM, RACIAL IDEOLOGY,
AND CULTURAL IDENTITY CORRELATIONS
Self-esteem

On the whole I am satisfied with myself. (V1)

1) I have a strong knowledge of African-American history. (Cultural identity, V18)
2) I am proud of myself. (Racial self-esteem, V24K)

I feel I do not have much to be proud of. (V5)

1) I am as intelligent as whites. (Racial self-esteem, V24G)

I wish I could have more respect for myself. (V8)

1) Black English is as valid a language as Standard American English. (Black separatism, V12)

I take a positive attitude towards myself. (V10)

1) Grammar or elementary school (Interracial contact)

Black separatism

African-American men should not date white women. (V16)

1) I am weak (Racial self-esteem, V24J)
2) I am honest (Racial self-esteem, V24L)

African-American Parents should give their children African names. (V17)

1) Females love their family (Racial self-esteem, V24B)

Cultural identity

My parents talk about my African-American background. (V19)
1) are proud of themselves (Racial self-esteem, V24K)

Anti-white sentiment

Whites today should compensate African-Americans for the oppression of their ancestors. (V20)

1) are strong (Racial self-esteem, V24N)

2) are as intelligent as whites (Racial self-esteem, V24O)

Racial self-esteem

Most African American males neglect their families. (V24E)

1) high school (Interracial contact)

p < .01.
APPENDIX G

SENIOR SELF-ESTEEM, RACIAL SELF-ESTEEM, RACIAL IDEOLOGY, AND CULTURAL IDENTITY CORRELATIONS
Self-esteem

Senior Self-esteem, Racial Self-esteem, Racial Ideology, and Cultural Identity Correlations

Category/variables

Self-esteem

On the whole I am satisfied with myself. (V1)

1) I am proud of my African-American heritage. (Cultural identity, V21).

2) I am hardworking (Racial self-esteem, V24G)

At times, I think I am no good at all. (V2)

1) neighborhood (Interracial contact)

I feel I have a number of good qualities. (V3)

1) I am hardworking (Racial self-esteem, V24G)

2) I am honest (Racial self-esteem, V24I)

I am able to do things as well as most other people. (V4)

1) African-American women should not date white men. (Black separatism, V14)

I feel I do not have much to be proud of. (V5)

1) I am hardworking (Racial self-esteem, V24G)

I certainly feel useless at times. (V6)

1) African-Americans should shop in African-American owned shops whenever possible. (Black separatism, V15)

2) I have a strong knowledge of African-American history. (Cultural identity, V18).

3) males neglect their families (Racial self-esteem, V24E)
4) give up easily (Racial self-esteem, V24I)

I feel that I am a person of worth, or at least on an equal plane with others. (V7)

1) African-American men should not date white women.

(black separatism, V18)

I wish I could have more respect for myself. (V8)

1) African-American parents should give their children

African names. (Black separatism, V17)

All in all I am inclined to believe I am a failure. (V9)

1) I have a strong knowledge of African-American history.

(Cultural identity, V18)

I take a positive attitude towards myself. (V10)

1) are hardworking (Racial self-esteem, V24G)

Black separatism

African-American children should learn an African Language. (V11)

1) are lying and shallow (Racial self-esteem, V24F)

2) give up easily (Racial self-esteem, V24I)

3) are weak (Racial self-esteem, V24J)

4) do for others (Racial self-esteem, V24H)

Black English is as valid as Standard American English. (V12)

1) are ashamed (Racial self-esteem, V24C)

2) males neglect their families (Racial self-esteem, V24E)

3) give up easily (Racial self-esteem, V24I)

African-Americans should always vote for African-American
politicians. (V13)

1) I have a strong knowledge of African-American history.
   (Cultural identity, V18)
2) are ashamed (Racial self-esteem, V24C)
3) are lazy (Racial self-esteem, V24D)
4) males neglect their families (Racial self-esteem, V24E)
5) give up easy (Racial self-esteem, V24I)

African-American women should not date white men. (V14)
1) do for others (Racial self-esteem, V25H)
2) I have a strong knowledge of African-American history.
   (Cultural identity, V18)

African-Americans should shop in African-American-owned shops whenever possible. (V15)
1) give up easily (Racial self-esteem, V24I)
2) I have a strong knowledge of African-American history.
   (Cultural identity, V18)

African-American parents should give their children African names. (V17)
1) do for others (Racial self-esteem, V24H)

Cultural identity
I have a strong knowledge of African-American history. (V18)
1) give up easily (Racial self-esteem, V24I)

My parents talk about my African-American background. (V19)
1) give up easily (Racial self-esteem, V24I)

I am proud of my African-American heritage. (V21)
1) females love their families (Racial self-esteem, V24B)
2) are hardworking (Racial self-esteem, V24G)

System-blame

In the United States, if African-Americans don't do well in life, it is because: (V22)

1) grammar or elementary school (Interracial contact)

2) place of worship (Interracial contact)

p < .01
APPENDIX H

ANTI-WHITE SENTIMENT AND SYSTEM BLAME CORRELATIONS
Anti-white Sentiment and System-blame Correlations

Categories/variables

Freshmen

Anti-white Sentiment

Whites today should compensate African-Americans for the oppression of their ancestors. (V20)

1) Black English is as valid a language as Standard American English. (Black separatism, V12)

System-blame

In the United States, if African-Americans don't do well in life, it is because: (V22)

1) African-Americans should always vote for African-American politicians. (Black separatism, V13)

2) African-American women should not date white men. (Black separatism, V14)

3) are lazy (Racial self-esteem, V24D)

In this country, if African-Americans don't do not get a good education or job, it is because: (V23)

1) African-American women should not date white men. (Black separatism, V14)

2) African-Americans should shop in African-American owned shops whenever possible. (Black separatism, V15)
Seniors

Anti-white sentiment.
Whites today should compensate African-Americans for the
oppression of their ancestors. (V20)

1) Black English is as valid a language as Standard
American English. (Black separatism, VI12)

2) African-American women should not date white men.
(Black separatism, VI11)

3a) are weak (Racial self-esteem, V210)

System-blame
In the United States, if African-Americans don't do well in
life it is because: (V22)

1) I feel I have a number of good qualities. (Self-esteem,
V31)

2a) are lazy (Racial self-esteem, V210)

p < .05,