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RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN THE ASSUMPTIVE WORLD

A Thesis Presented

by

KAREN HAVENS BUTLER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Psychology

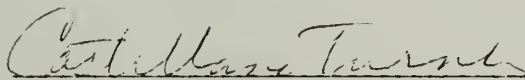
RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN THE ASSUMPTIVE WORLD


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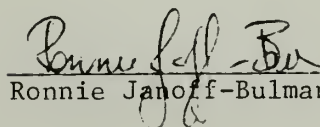
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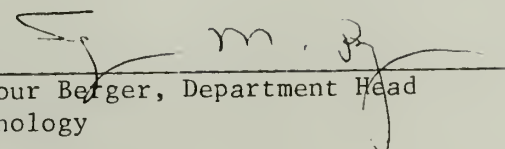
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Belief Systems: A Necessity

Human beings have a need to organize the world. The end result of this process of organization is found in a set of assumptions individuals hold about the world. Several researchers have investigated the nature of such assumptions. The focus of such research has been to determine what people's assumptions are, how they are formed, and how they change. World assumptions are implicit and often go unchallenged. The function thought to be served by an assumptive world is that it provides a framework within which people conduct themselves day to day. Heider (1958) maintains that such organization creates a psychological uniformity in the way individuals perceive events. He also maintains that we do this not because of a direct relationship between our assumptions and our experience, but because we have a strong need to maintain a unifying harmony between cognitive events.

There are two noteworthy premises upon which the concept of Assumptive World is based. First is the possibility that there is a degree of commonality, such as the idea that the majority of individuals hold an underlying sense of invulnerability. The second idea is that people need to have a way in which to plan a daily course of action. The idea of invulnerability stems from early parent-child interactions. Adequate parenting is thought to foster both a basic sense of trust and personal safety. Following from this we develop a sense that we are relatively safe in the world and that misfortune is something that happens to others.

Theorists such as Bowlby (1969), Maris (1975), and Epstein (1979, 1980) have developed models conceptualizing people's assumptions about the world and the functions such assumptions are thought to serve. These models differ in terms of structure and content, yet they share in common attempts to diagram ways in which individuals organize experience. Janoff-Bulman (1986) developed the Assumptive World Scale. She hypothesized three basic components which taken together form a basis of people's assumptions about the world. These components represent the relative magnitude of good versus bad events in the world, the mechanisms by which these good and bad events are thought to be distributed, and the determination of relative goodness and badness of the self. The components of the scale represent the thought that individuals' assumptive worlds have three facets. Possibly we believe there is a way the world is at large, the way the world is for other people, and the way we experience it. Janoff-Bulman (1986, 1987) has used the scale in the context of looking for differences in assumptive world as a function of victim versus non-victim status. Initial sampling suggests that victims do differ from non-victims on some dimensions of assumptive world. This line of research has focused on people who have experienced individual incidents of victimization. The proposed line of research will focus on the possibility of variability in assumptive world concept as a function of socio-cultural victimization. Due to the historical tradition of difference in experience of black and white Americans it would seem plausible that some manifestation of this would be expressed in terms of assumptive world.

In western culture an important assumption is the belief in a just world. Lerner (1974a) has conducted research examining this

belief. Those who view the world as just believe that good happens to those that are good and bad to those that are bad. One manifestation of this is seen when non-victims blame victims for their ill fate, reasoning that the victim must have done something to deserve the misfortune. For those who believe the world to be unjust the distribution of good and bad events are determined by factors external to the individual, such that misfortune is not seen as a reflection of a victim's moral character or actions. There is a striking similarity between the Just World conception and Judaeo-Christian teaching. The idea that people form and hold assumptions about the world did not originate with the Just World, Assumptive world or the theory leading to them.

Kohlberg (1963) and Piaget (1965) offer cognitive-developmental perspectives on justice. Specifically, Piaget's notion of "immanent justice" is perhaps the initial foundation upon which adult assumptions about the just or unjust nature of the world are formed. Piaget (1965) states that all children possess a sense of "immanent justice" when young, but that this declines as a function of age in response to each individual child's experiences. Thus as black children share a common history of the victimization of blacks, one could anticipate that this would manifest itself in each black individual's formulation about the world differently from white individuals.

Lerner (1980) investigated the development of the belief in a just world within the context of western society. He explored the role of children's fairy tales as an initial means of transmitting such a view:

"The industrious and deserving Cinderella is rewarded by marriage to the charming prince; Pinocchio's lies are punished by an ever-lengthening nose; Santa Clause makes a list of children who are 'naughty or nice' so he can allocate presents only to the deserving" (1980, pg. 18).

He postulates that parents use fairy tales as a way of shaping prosocial behavior. Thus, belief in a just world is viewed as providing an outline for behaviors that serve both the individual and the larger society of which the individual is a part. Lerner (1980) does not include non-western fairy tales in his analysis. He also does not address any possible effects white fairy tales might have on black youths. The messages transmitted via this modality might be translated differentially depending on one's racial heritage.

Lerner (1980) conducted research to look for possible correlations between the just world concept and Rotter's (1966) locus of control concept. Lerner (1980) found that there was a correlation between the two measures. Individuals who saw injustices in the world had a higher mean score on the Internal-External locus of control scale. He also found these individuals to place more importance on religion in their lives. He relates this to the concept of world assumptions and victimization in that those who view the world as less just have a tendency to see events in the world as occurring for reasons outside the individual and as such tend not to blame victims for their victimization. In his work those who did blame victims for their victimization tended to see the world as more just, had internal locus of control, and reported a lower degree of importance to religion in their lives.

Within the context of world assumptions coexists assumptions about ourselves. Such assumptions also aid people in daily functioning. One area of research in social psychology has focused on the need for individuals to see themselves as having the ability to control what happens to them. Learning theory has presented data demonstrating the devastating effects of learned helplessness. For example, people who perceive no relationship between their efforts and what happens to them, give up and become depressed.

Parkes' (1971) work has sought to determine how individuals change their assumptions about the world. Specifically, this has taken the form of looking for differences in such assumptions in populations where some have experienced some form of psychosocial stress or negative life event and others in the same population who have not. Parkes (1971) attempted to clarify what is meant by psychosocial stress. He formulated the concept of psycho-social transitions which include such things as:

"...disasters,
bereavements,
childbirth, changes of
occupation, retirement, major
physical illness and
disablement" (pg. 101).

Parkes views such events as representing opportunities for change in assumptive worlds. His perspective coincides with Lerner's in that the degree to which individuals experience negative life events is thought to be reflected in their assumptions about the nature of the world. Parkes postulates that the degree of belief in justice or lack thereof could serve an adaptive function with respect to reaction to a psychosocial stress or transition. That is, individuals who do not occupy either pole of the just world continuum may be more readily

able to accomodate dissimilar information than those with more polarized beliefs. Parkes' (1975) extension of the notion of psycho-social stress to include transitions is found in the inclusion of such events as childbirth, changes in occupation, and retirement which are common experiences to most members of society in addition to events such as rape, incest and physical disability, which are less frequently experienced by most members of society.

Parkes (1975) draws on Bowlby's idea that not only do people need to organize the world into a set of static assumptions but that there must be some mechanism for change and adaptation of such assumptions as new and perhaps incongruent information is provided by experience. Within this context Parkes looks to changes that we make in our world assumptions in the face of incongruence. Parkes (1971) proposes that individuals abandon, modify or alternate between assumptive worlds when faced with psycho-social transition. He believes that individuals possess the capacity to make changes. The utility of any form of change is derived from the specific context within which it arises. Further usefulness of the change is determined as a function of the adequacy with which it allows the individual to function effectively on a day to day basis following the stressor or transition it is in response to. Parkes (1975) notes that people's world assumptions rarely change in response to incongruence because they have a sizeable investment in maintaining preexisting assumptions.

Janoff-Bulman (1986) developed the Assumptive World scale in order to assess the hypothesized underlying assumptions.

"I maintain that there are three primary categories of such assumptions: 1) perceived benevolence of the world; 2)

meaningfulness of the world;
and 3) worthiness of the self"
(Janoff-Bulman, 1986, pg. 7).

Briefly, the Assumptive World scale is a 32-item paper-and-pencil questionnaire designed to get at people's assumptions about the world. Benevolence of the world refers to the extent to which people perceive good and bad events as naturally occurring. Janoff-Bulman (1986) has likened this measure to perception of a base rate of occurrence of good and bad events. This category is a combination of benevolence of the impersonal world and benevolence of people in the world. The second category, meaningfulness of the world, refers to individuals' perceptions of how good and bad events or outcomes are distributed. Finally, worthiness of the self refers to our perceptions of how deserving we ourselves are of good or bad events/outcomes.

Janoff-Bulman's work parallels Lerner's in its attempt to specify the nature of people's underlying assumptions about the world. The difference between the two bodies of work is found in the conceptualization of the composition of such assumptions. Janoff-Bulman's works has begun to explore the possibility that such assumptions are three-fold; Lerner, however, explores the possibility from a dichotomous position. Much of the research in this area has focused on differences in beliefs about the world in reaction to individual experiences with negative life events. Although voice has been given to individual differences within the continuum of assumptive worlds, no research has been conducted to investigate the possible differences in assumptive worlds as a function of race. Lerner (1980) and Piaget (1965) do note that individuals' beliefs about the world are influenced directly by their experiences. Thus, it

would seem to follow that such differences might manifest themselves between different racial groups.

Black Experience In America

Mays (1986) elaborates on some of the experiences that have historically been present and powerfully influential for black Americans. She chronicles the black experience in America from slavery to the present. Specifically, her focus is on the development of black identity within a historical context. Her material provides a plethora of examples of continual experience with victimization as confronted by blacks throughout their membership in American society.

Turner, Singleton and Musick (1984) address the issue of black victimization with respect to economic, political, educational, legal and sociocultural oppression. They begin by noting the universal process of social stratification.

"Stratification is both a structural and a processual conception in that it denotes all those processes (1) that are involved in the unequal distribution of material well-being, power, and prestige; and (2) that create a comparatively enduring system of ranks that divide the population of a society in terms of their relative degrees of access to scarce and valued resources" (Turner, 1978; pg. 328-32; Turner and Starnes, 1976; Turner 1984).

Blacks began their membership in American society as property. Being property denied one the right to own property and clearly denoted inferiority with respect to who may own and who may be owned. Thus, the initial context of black-white relations gave birth to the idea

that blacks were inferior to whites, opening the door for blacks to be victimized by whites.

When we speak of assumptions, essentially we are referring to a set of underlying beliefs people hold about the world. These beliefs inform our perceptions and guide our actions. As such, the underlying belief that initially defined black-white relations was one of racial inferiority. Turner, Singleton and Musick (1984) examine precolonial imagery with respect to the colors black and white. Though perhaps less prevalent today, vestiges of this imagery remain. Black continues to be associated with evil, while white is associated with all that is good and pure. Such imagery is closely tied to many religions which represent demonic forces as dark and Godly forces as light. As long as such imagery prevails it increases the likelihood that blacks as a group will be an easily identifiable target for victimization.

Daniel and Smitherman (1976) write about the function which religion serves, within what they term the "Traditional African World View" commonly held among black Americans. The significance of religion in the Traditional African World View as relevant to the distributional component of the assumptive world, is found in the shared content of this perspective with Judaeo-Christian beliefs. Specifically, that good behavior is ultimately rewarded as bad behavior is ultimately punished. From this perspective the influence of repeated experience with victimization or injustice may be less significant as a function of religious participation. Although religion may serve to dilute the potency of such experiences, it is not the intention of this researcher to explore the possible relationship between assumptive and religion in a racial context.

In a study by Turner and Turner (1975) it was found that blacks perceived more discrimination against blacks than did whites. Of additional interest was that black females and white males perceived more discrimination against females than did white females. Turner and Turner (1975) utilize the American value of equality of opportunity and Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance to explain the difference in perception of discrimination against blacks found between blacks and whites. They explain the incompatibility of equality of opportunity and the reality of blacks holding a significantly larger number of low prestige positions is reconciled by whites through the perception of less discrimination against blacks by whites.

Whereas the Turner and Turner (1975) study focuses on the perception of occupational discrimination between blacks and whites, a later study by the same researchers focuses on the relationship between perception of occupational discrimination and actual occupational discrimination as indicated by the distribution of blacks and whites in the occupational hierarchy. Turner and Turner (1981) found a greater correspondence between perception of and actual occupational discrimination among blacks than among whites. They clearly noted that the perception of discrimination can result from present exclusion or past disadvantage. In a similar study Burnett (1987) again found that blacks tended to perceive more occupational discrimination against blacks than did whites. This difference persisted over a 15 year period.

One of the most salient features of Turner and Turner's (1975, 1981) research is the developmental significance that past discrimination carries both for blacks and whites. Earlier I noted how

researchers tie the concept of invulnerability to that of assumptive world through the process of early parent-child caretaking. That is, adequate parent-child caretaking is thought to facilitate a sense that the world is safe and can be trusted and that the individual is basically good. I would speculate that though adequate parenting may universally foster a sense of safety and self-esteem, that this message may be different with respect to racial identity. By adequate parent-child caretaking it is meant that parents prepare their children realistically to deal with life. Thus it would seem the case that realistic preparation for life might be different for black children than white children given the black experience in America. Adequate parent-child care taking for black children may well include beliefs that reflect a wariness of the environment. I believe racial identity may limit or differentiate the boundaries of safety and situations in which self-esteem prevails. Turner and Turner (1975) outline the process by which black children are socialized into persons who are discriminated against. Thus any perception of invulnerability as it may manifest itself in assumptive world is contrasted against the background of potential inherent victim status. Turner and Turner (1981) succinctly summarize by saying

"...blacks are the ones who
have been directly victimized
or told of other blacks
experiences" (pg. 332).

The literature suggests both that victims differ in their assumptive worlds from non-victims, and that blacks experience victimization.

One possible manifestation of the victimization that blacks have experienced is alienation. Psychologically alienation is often defined as

"...a function of a perceived disjunction between present behavior and rewards, values or goals" (Munson, 1970).

Alienation is thought to be characterized by estrangement, disjunction, or separation and the feelings and cognitions that coexist with such lack of connectedness (Fromm, 1966; Denise, 1973). Alienation, though originally conceived as unidimensional is now seen as taking numerous forms. It may take the form of alienation from the self, work, family, peers, one's community, the dominant culture, or subcultures. Anomia is the individual experience of alienation marked by disorientation, anxiety, and isolation.

Srole (1956) developed a scale to measure five components he hypothesized to compose individual experiences of anomia. These components include: the perception of indifference on the part of public officials, hopelessness regarding the future, and a sense of loss of faith in personal relationships. It is important to remember that the prevalent view of alienation is that it is situation specific or contextual. In a study by Clark (1959) it was found that farmers felt alienated from governmental agricultural agencies but not from each other. Similarly, Hajada (1961) found graduate students to be alienated from the non-intellectual community but not from the academic community.

As mentioned earlier blacks have been differentially treated since their introduction to America. Social deprivation theory (Merton, 1938) posits that groups who have historically been denied political and economic equality have suffered as a result of such denial. This suffering is thought to result in alienation in a greater degree of alienation. The work of Rubins (1961), Srole (1962) and

Gould (1969) makes use of social deprivation theory in support of the idea that the experiences of specific subcultures of Americans lead them to feel among other things alienated. Merton (1956) says anomia results when a society promotes specific common values for all members while concurrently limiting access to attainment of such values for certain groups. Blacks, as a group, have been denied access to full participation in American political and economic structures while at the same time being encouraged to seek full participation.

Alienation And World Models

One might anticipate that blacks would experience a greater degree of alienation than whites. Howard (1986) found black undergraduates to manifest more general alienation than whites using the Alienation Index Inventory developed by Turner (1968). Additionally, black undergraduates were found to be more alienated from peers, school, work, and from the white world or dominant culture.

Alienation and assumptive world perhaps represent different conceptualizations of the same phenomenon. Both concepts reflect attempts to specify systems of organization which people use to receive and interpret experience. Another common feature of these concepts is the extent to which each is thought to be implicit. For example, people are most often unaware that they hold an underlying belief in the benevolence of the impersonal world. A belief in less benevolence of people might be reflected by a correspondence with greater degrees of alienation from self, peers, or family. Following from this I hypothesized that there would be differences in assumptive world and differences in manifest forms of alienation held between racial groups. The purpose of this study was to explore the

possibility of difference between black and white college students in terms of generalized belief systems about the world and alienation.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

Subjects

The subject pool was comprised of undergraduate students at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. Data was obtained from 310 white students and 46 black students. The white students and 17 black students were all in an introductory psychology course. Nine black students were among a group of honor students receiving end-of-the academic year awards. Two black students were taking an upper level psychology seminar. The remaining 18 black students were recruited from the Committee for Collegiate Education of Blacks and other Minority Students (CCEBMS). As the black students were recruited from a number of different sources it was determined most appropriate to match the white subjects with black subjects in an attempt to ensure subjects represented the same population. All subjects were matched on 7 demographic variables which included: sex, age, year in college, father's education, mother's education, father's occupation and mother's occupation. The final subject pool included 46 white students, of which 19 were males and 27 were females; and 46 black students, of which 20 were males and 26 were females. The total sample included 92 students used in the analysis.

Procedures

The questionnaires were administered to subjects in their respective groups. All questionnaires were paper and pencil, and self administered. The questionnaires took approximately 20-25 minutes to complete.

Instruments

Three questionnaires were utilized to collect the data. The first was an eight item background questionnaire to determine gender, race, year in college, age, and parents' level of education and socioeconomic status. The second measure was Janoff-Bulman's (1986) Assumptive World Scale. The scale has 32 items which were answered on an eight point Likert type scale ranging from disagree completely to agree completely. The Assumptive World has eight subscales: benevolence of the impersonal world, benevolence of people, justice, controllability, chance, self-worthiness, self-controllability, and luck. The third instrument is the Alienation Index Inventory developed by Turner (1968). This was a 45 item scale where items are rated on a 4 point Likert type scale. The scale ranges from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Nine subscales compose the Alienation Index Inventory, including general alienation, self alienation, alienation from family, alienation from peers, alienation from community, alienation from legal structures, alienation from school, alienation from work, and alienation from the white world. The general alienation subscale was composed of items from the Srole Anomie Scale. The alienation from the white world scale (black alienation) is comprised of items from the Srole general alienation subscale adapted to focus on blacks in a white society.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Description Of Subject Population

There were no significant differences between black and white subjects for any of the demographic variables except father's occupation. The mean for father's occupation was 2.62 for the total sample with respective means of 2.20 for whites and 3.04 for blacks. A one way analysis of variance for race by father's occupation yielded an F of 5.30 which was significant ($p < .02$). Originally matches for father's occupation were formed according to a verticle coding scheme. However, in order to determine socioeconomic categories the variable occupation was computed with a linear coding scheme. Thus the matches for father's occupation were not exact. White father's had slightly higher occupational status than black father's. In the final analysis of variance socioeconomic status was calculated as a function of father's education, mother's education, and father's occupation. There was no significant difference in socioeconomic status between blacks and whites.

Pearson Correlation

Pearson correlations were computed for father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, socioeconomic status (SES), and socioeconomic status based on education (SESED). Socioeconomic status was a combination of father's education, mother's education, and father's occupation. SES was computed without mother's occupation in an attempt to achieve the most accurate estimate of socioeconomic standing, as there were 19 missing values for mother's occupation. Some of the respondents wrote in that

their mothers were housewives, others simply left mother's occupation blank. SESED is a composite of father's education and mother's education.

Cronbach's Alpha For Assumptive World

And Alienation Index Inventory

Table 5 presents the Standardized Item Alphas for all subscales of both the Assumptive World Scale and the Alienation Index Inventory. The Standardized Item Alpha was computed due to the size of the sample and the number of items composing each subscale. The analysis were performed for the entire population and for blacks and whites separately. In the combine analysis alpha (.5549) for the justice subscale of the Assumptive World was low. Alpha's for all the other subscales of the Assumptive World ranged from .61 to .87, this would seem to indicate a reasonable degree of internal consistency among the scales. Of the 9 subscales on the Alienation Index Inventory 3 yielded questionably low alpha values. These subscale included alienation from legal structures (Standardized Item Alpha=.48), alienation from community (Standardized Item Alpha=.55), and alienation from work (Standardized Item Alpha=.49). The Standardized Item Alphas for the remaining 6 subscales were .68 or higher.

The Standardized Item Alpha's for the white subjects range from .60 to .91 with the exceptions of alienation from legal structures (.58), alienation from community (.51), and alienation from work (.39). For black subjects there was considerably more diversity on measures of internal consistency of the scales. The Standardized Item Alpha's ranged from .63 to .77. The exceptions were as follows: justice (.39), self-controllability (.42), alienation from peers

(.57), alienation from legal structures (.35), alienation from community (.55) and alienation from work (.56).

Analysis Of Assumptive World Scales

And Alienation Index Inventory

Each subscale for both the Assumptive World and Alienation Index was treated as a dependent variable in a 2x2x3 analysis of variance (race: white/black by sex: male/female by SES: low/middle/high). There were no significant main effects nor any significant interactions on scales measuring justice, chance, self-worthiness, self-controllability, luck, self alienation, alienation from family, alienation from peers, alienation from community, alienation from school, or alienation from work. There were significant main effects for benevolence of the impersonal world, benevolence of people, controllability, general alienation (Srole), alienation from legal structures, alienation from the white world (Black Srole). The results of the analyses of variance are presented in Tables 7 through 24.

On the benevolence of the impersonal world scale a race main effect appeared ($F = 12.91$, $p < .001$). Blacks (mean = 16.82) were more likely to see the impersonal world as less benevolent than whites (mean = 20.46). This finding is consistent with the basic premises of this study.

On benevolence of people scale again a main effect for race appeared ($F = 12.01$, $p < .001$). Blacks (mean = 17.14) were more likely to see people as less benevolent than whites (mean = 20.30). This is consistent with the basic postulates of this study.

A main effect for race was found on the controllability scale of Assumptive World ($F = 4.88$, $p < .03$). Blacks (mean = 12.12) were less

likely to feel they had control over events that happened to them than whites (mean = 13.40). This too is consistent with the premises of this study.

General Alienation yielded main effects for both race ($F = 25.35, p < .000$) and SES ($F = 5.44, p < .006$). There were no significant interactions. Blacks (mean = 16.53) were more likely to manifest general alienation than whites (mean = 18.37). Individuals in the middle SES category (mean = 16.95) were more likely to manifest general alienation than were those in either the low SES category (mean = 17.32) or the high SES category (mean = 18.12).

On the alienation from legal structures scale a main effect was found for race ($F = 8.99, p < .004$). Blacks (mean = 10.63) tended to manifest more alienation from legal structures than did whites (mean = 11.57).

A main effect for race appeared on the alienation from the white world scale ($F = 23.93, p < .000$). Blacks (mean = 9.36) were more likely to manifest alienation from the dominant culture than whites (mean = 9.54). This finding remains consistent with the postulates of this study.

Discriminant Function Analysis

A discriminant function analysis was conducted to determine which items best differentiated between racial groups. Six factors emerged as reliable discriminators between blacks and whites: benevolence of the impersonal world (Wilks Lambda = .88, $p < .0006$), benevolence of people (Wilks Lambda = .87, $p < .0005$), controllability as a distributional principle (Wilks Lambda = .95, $p < .000$), alienation from legal structures (Wilks Lambda = .91, $p < .004$), and alienation from the white world (Wilks Lambda = .80, $p < .004$).

.000). Refer to Table 6 for full results of the discriminant function analysis. The 6 factors that emerged as discriminators between racial group appear to fit together in that they reflect real differences in terms of how the world is experienced for blacks versus whites. These factors address the experience of the larger social system and the way people understand the world to be. Quite possibly these factors reflect logical conditions of the structural hierarchy of blacks experience.

T-Test And Student Newman-Keuls Analysis

For Main Effects On General Alienation

There were main effects both for race and SES on the measure of general alienation. In order to clarify the SES main effect both T-Tests and the Students Newman-Keul were performed, the Students Newman Keul being the more conservative of the two measures. The Newman-Keul analysis revealed no significance between any two groups at the .05 level. The T-Test revealed difference between the middle SES group and the high SES group ($t = -2.31$, $p < .025$). As is consistent with the premises of this study blacks manifested more general alienation than did whites. An unexpected finding is that those in the middle income SES group manifested more general alienation than did either those in the low SES or high SES groups.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the possibility of racial differences in the Assumptive World and alienation. The Assumptive World scale was originally conceived in the context of looking for differences in generalized belief systems between victim and non-victim populations. In its original form victimization is thought to result from direct experience with a victimizing agent, and is considered an individual experience. In the context of this study victimization is being reinterpreted.

The form of victimization referred to here occurs as a result of ethnic identification with a group history of victimization or oppression. In this form the victimization need not be experienced directly. Yet I will assert that the effects of such victimization may be experienced as if they were personal in the sense that it influences the groups perception of the world at large.

Race And Benevolence Of The Impersonal World And People

One of the major premises of this research is that adequate parenting facilitates a basic sense of trust and safety towards the world. Additionally the idea of the provisions of adequate parenting are to prepare children realistically to deal with the world. As such adequate parenting for black children may necessitate the inclusion of beliefs that the world at large is not safe and that trustworthiness is confined to specific situations. Thus, there are most likely real differences in the manifestation of adequate parenting for blacks and whites. For blacks the world is probably less benevolent. The findings of this study suggest that blacks see both the impersonal world and people as less benevolent than do their white counterparts. I contend

that through the oral tradition in black families the ethnic heritage of blacks as victims is passed on, which in turn manifests itself in assumptions blacks, as a group, hold about the world.

That blacks pass on past and/or present experiences of oppression is not all negative. In fact the oral tradition may well serve some adaptive purposes. Turner and Turner (1975) note

"that from early childhood on, black children,...are socialized into the role of 'a person who is discriminated against'. Parents, relatives and friends of a black child often recount, to the child and to others in within the child's hearing, personal experiences of racial discrimination obtaining a job or housing, at school or at work, or in casual encounters with whites" (pg. 348).

Perkins (1975) says that hearing of past victimization works to ensure that younger members not become victims. I understand this to mean that cognitive awareness or understanding of past victimization of others of your ethnic group can serve as a preventative tool. The only effect surely is not that of a preventative tool. In addition such an understanding must shape perceptions of the world in general. Shade (1982) says that Afro-Americans are taught at an early age to be wary of people and systems in their environment. Although the child may not have directly experienced victimization, the message is clear that the potential exists. More specifically the message is that the world is not a safe place for blacks and one must learn whom to trust and under what circumstances.

Shade's view is of particular interest in that it qualifies some of the parameters of belief systems research. Such research is

predicated on the idea that adequate, early parent-child interactions instill in all who experience them a sense that the world is trustworthy and that the individual is safe. Perhaps it is more appropriate to say that the foundation for feelings of trustworthiness and safety begin in such parent-child interactions. Again it must be highlighted that the content of adequate parenting differs for blacks and whites. For minority group members the messages of safety and trustworthiness are qualified or limited differentially from majority group members. Research suggests that

"there is a basic cultural consensus as to what represents trustworthiness and several authors point out, Afro-Americans appear to determine this on non-verbal behavioral rather than on verbal cues" (Shade, 1982, pg 221).

This conclusion is supported by other authors (Roll, Schmidt, and Kaul, 1972; Switkins & Gynther, 1974; Terrell & Barrett, 1979). Shade (1982) contends that parent-child interactions within black families emphasize the interpersonal world versus the 'object world'. This is thought to be reversed for whites (Shade, 1982). Given the black experience in America, which began with slavery and continues today with the oppression and ghettoization of the majority of the black population, it is not surprising that blacks should perceive the world as less benevolent than whites. Most likely a more miniscule analysis of benevolence of the world would reveal that the perception of benevolence is situation specific versus global.

Race And Controllability

In a series of studies by Gurin and associates (Gurin & Epps, 1975; Gurin, Gurin, Lao & Beattie, 1969) it was noted that

"...Afro-Americans seem to have a higher ability than others to differentiate between situations in which they had control and those in which other people had the most influence" (Gurin & Epps, 1975, pg. 230).

This body of work lends support to the finding that blacks feel they have less control over the distribution of good/bad events than whites. This also speaks to the issue of the adaptive value of an Afro-American view of the world and the status of blacks within the larger system. From great grandparents to grandparents to parents to children is transmitted the heritage of what has gone before. This pattern of oral transmission does not differ from other people of the world. Each group transmits what has happened to their own. For blacks in America, unfortunately reality has been one of victimization.

In an article entitled "The Social Meaning of Discrimination", Antonovsky suggests

"that a discriminatory system of social relations requires both shared goals and scarcity of rewards, and competition here refers to the interaction between two or more social units striving to achieve the same scarce goal (e.g., land or prestige)" (1960, pg. 84).

Blacks having been stripped of their own culture and values were forced to participate in the values of the larger system and to vie for the same rewards as the dominant culture. Antonovsky (1960) comments that in the absence of shared goals there is no overlapping of values hierarchies and thus no competition motivator, and that people of different ethnicities can live in close proximity without super-subordination.

Differential power has been evident in black-white relations from the outset. The initial relationship between indentured servant and contract owner was skewed, yet provided for the attainment of freedom. Slavery, which followed indentured servitude, initiated a life long status of property both for the slave and all offspring. As the government legalized this status, the scales of power were concretized in imbalance. Slavery set in motion a persisting pattern of caste stratification. The negative stereotyping of blacks continues and has severely restricted the participation of blacks in society even in the absence of slavery.

Baluner (1969) elaborates on his view that American blacks continue to live as a colonized people. Though the experience of colonization is common among many people of color, the particular experience for black Americans has been unique. "Classical colonialism", as Blauner refers to it, takes place in the homeland of the colonized. Colonized people are allowed to retain elements of their own culture. This process takes the form of political and economic domination, and dependence on the mother country. Blauner (1969) speaks to the issue of a formalized recognition of the power differential and organizations erected to maintain the subjugation. He comments that the colonization of blacks has occurred in a different fashion in that

"...internal colonization of the Afro-American did not involve the settlement of whites in any land that was unequivocally black. And unlike the colonial situation, there has been no formal recognition of differing power since slavery was abolished outside the South" (pg. 395).

Blauner picks up on Clark's (1964) example of black ghettos as representing American colonization. Both see the black ghetto as the "major device" of black colonization. Whereas other immigrants have also inhabited the ghettos, generally by the second or third generation upward mobility allowed them to move into fuller participation in the political and economic structures of the majority culture. In this sense the ghetto is more of a temporary way-station. For blacks the ghetto has been a more permanent living arrangement, with far fewer members moving out. Clark (1964) comments that

"Ghettos are the consequences of the imposition of external power and the institutionalization of powerlessness. In this respect, they are in fact social, political, educational, and above all - economic colonies. Those confined within the ghetto walls are subject peoples. They are victims of the greed, cruelty, insensitivity, guilt and fear of their masters..." (pg. 10).

Slavery and Clark's idea of the colonization of Afro-Americans are historical examples of the victimization of blacks. Though not all blacks were slaves or live in ghettos the heritage is shared. Following the end of slavery blacks were denied: the right to vote, access to various restaurants and hotels, to education, to job opportunities, and to full participation in society. The contemporary catch-22 is that some blacks have been allowed to participate more fully or to assimilate, and one effect of this has been to divide loyalty in the black community. Lack of unity among blacks helps to maintain their colonized/victimized/oppressed status. Though some blacks have entered the middle and upper classes, as a group, blacks

continue to occupy the lowest position on the societal hierarchy.

Historically blacks have not always had control over the events that happen to them. Even in contemporary times with governmental programs such as welfare and affirmative action, control in the sense of political and economic decision-making remains illusive to the majority of blacks. In this light it is not surprising that in a sample of college students, black college students would perceive that they had less control over events that happen to them than their white counterparts.

Race And General Alienation

Given the historical context of the black experience in America the findings that black college students manifest higher scores in general alienation, alienation from legal structures and alienation from the white world when compared with white college students seems self evident. Traditionally blacks have scored higher on the Srole (general alienation) scale. The Alienation Index Inventory, while measuring general alienation, also measures alienation which is situation specific. It is possible that the higher general alienation scores for blacks is a reflection of the experience of alienation from legal structures and the white world. Black college students did not manifest significantly higher alienation scores on scales measuring alienation from self, family, peers, community, school or work. This supports the idea that alienation is situation-specific or contextual as opposed to a pervasive life experience.

Not only blacks in this sample manifested a higher score on the general alienation scale. Members of the middle SES group also had higher general alienation scores. The significant difference here appears to be between the middle SES group and the high SES group. In

a study by Lerner and Elkinton (1970) it was found that the upper middle class group perceived the greatest amount of injustice, when compared to lower middle class and laboring class. This was contrary to what had been hypothesized, which was that the laboring class would perceive the most injustice. Although these findings are not directly in line with the findings of this study, they lend some support.

Those in the low SES group may well have resigned themselves to their status. Additionally since this sample was of college students, those in the low SES group by virtue of their being in college may feel they have an opportunity to improve their status. The opportunity to attend college and direct the course of ones future may mitigate general alienation. Those in the high SES group are most likely to hold values akin to the dominant culture and as such it is not anticipated they would manifest high scores on measures of general alienation. For those in the middle SES group possibly the current political and economic climate has resulted in higher general alienation scores in a college population. As economic resources for education and other public programs are becoming scarce, taxes for middle income people are rising, and as more lower middle income people are slipping into the low SES group it might be anticipated that the middle income individuals would experience more general alienation. It is possible that for middle income college students a college education is no longer a guarentee of a secure future.

Race And Alienation From Legal Structures

A main effect for alienation from legal structures was found for race. In this study, with a college population, blacks manifested a higher alienation score on this dimension. In a study by Howard (1986), utilizing data from a college population obtained in 1969,

black students were not found to be more alienated from the legal structures than whites. At this time it was hypothesized that following the gains of the civil rights movement blacks saw the legal system as a means to gain greater equality and fuller participation in society (Fleming, 1981). The present study was conducted on the campus of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst during a year in which there have been several instances of racial violence and student protest. The disciplinary and/or legal actions taken by the administration have not always met with the approval of the injured parties or the larger black community. It is possible that these events are reflected in the scores measuring this form of alienation for blacks in this sample.

Race And Alienation From The White World

With reference to literature presented in the introduction and in previous sections of the discussion, it appears well documented that blacks would score higher on measures of alienation from the white world than their white counterparts. As blacks are members of a minority group, they hold some values that differ from those of the majority culture. This difference most likely results in feelings of alienation from the majority culture in specific contexts.

In summary, the hypotheses of this study appear to be supported. Difference in assumptive world and alienation as a function of race were found. The purpose of this body of work was to outline the conception of a priori victimization, a form of victimization which is part of a cultural heritage and is transmitted orally from generation to generation. Slavery, though to have begun in the late 1600's, lasted for 250 years. It is doubtful that many would deny the victimizing effect of slavery. The ethnic stratification that arose

from slavery continues to exist. This is the heritage or legacy of young black Americans today. Researchers such as Turner and Turner (1975), Perkins (1975) and Shade (1982) agree that the experience of black oppression is transmitted orally from generation to generation. It is quite plausible, though not documented specifically at this time, that an a priori sense of victimization differentiates blacks' perceptions or assumptions about the world from those of whites. Surely a priori victimization must in some way shape perceptions of the world at large, and the way in which the world is experienced by black Americans. This research lends support to the body of work on black alienation, and lays an initial foundation for the exploration of racial differences in terms of how the world is perceived and experienced.

Appendix A

Measures

Consent Form

College Student Survey

This is a study involving college students. It entails answering a few questions concerning your background and filling out 2 questionnaires.

How you respond to the questionnaires will not be associated with your name, thus your answers will not be given to anyone other than the researcher or effect your status at the University in anyway. Data will be held in strictest confidence. Your name is requested on this form to verify your participation, and to allow you to receive the results of this study if you are interested. At no time will your name be connected to your answers. A group aggregate analysis will be used to report the results.

Your participation in this research project is voluntary. As such you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time. Please feel free to ask any questions you may have.

I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature

Date

If you would like the results of this study sent to you
please list a forwarding address below:

Background Questionnaire

1. Sex: Male Female
2. Age:
3. Year in College: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior
4. Race: White Black Hispanic Native American
Asian Other (specify)
5. Indicate the highest level of education completed by
your father: elementary school
junior high school
high school
college: 1 yr. 2 yrs. 3 yrs. 4 yrs.
graduate school
6. Indicate the highest level of education completed by
your mother: elementary school
junior high school
high school
college: 1 yr. 2 yrs. 3 yrs. 4 yrs.
graduate school
7. Father's usual occupation, choose 1 category A-G and
check the most appropriate job title:
 - (A) Professional
Lawyer, doctor, engineer, judge
High school teacher, minister, newspaper editor
Social worker, grade school teacher, librarian
 - (B) Proprietors and Managers
Businesses valued at 75,000\$ and over
Businesses valued between 20,000\$-75,000\$
Businesses valued between 5,000\$-20,000\$
Businesses valued between 2,000\$-5,000\$
Businesses valued between 500\$-2,000\$
Businesses valued at less than 500\$
 - (C) Business Men
Regional and divisional managers
Assistant manager
Minor officials of business
 - (D) Clerks
Certified public accountant
Accountant, salesman of real estate, insurance
Auto salesman, bank/postal clerks, executive
secretaries
Stenographer, bookkeeper, ticket agent
Hardware salesman, telephone/beauty operators
 - (E) Manual Workers
Contractor
Factory foreman, electrician, plumber, carpenter
Molder, skilled worker, carpenter's assistant
Heavy labor, migrant worker, miner

- (F) Protective & Service Workers
 - Dry cleaner, butcher, railroad conductor
 - Barber, fireman, practical nurse
 - Baggage man, police man, taxi & truck drivers
 - Janitor, scrub man, news paper delivery
 - (G) Farmers
 - Gentleman farmer
 - Large farm owner
 - Tenet farmer
 - Small tenet farmer
 - Migrant farm laborer
8. Mother's usual occupation, choose 1 category A-G and check the most appropriate job title:
- (A) Professional
 - Lawyer, doctor, engineer, judge
 - High school teacher, minister, newspaper editor
 - Social worker, grade school teacher, librarian
 - (B) Proprietors and Managers
 - Businesses valued at 75,000\$ and over
 - Businesses valued between 20,000\$-75,000\$
 - Businesses valued between 5,000\$-20,000\$
 - Businesses valued between 2,000\$-5,000\$
 - Businesses valued between 500\$-2,000\$
 - Businesses valued at less than 500\$
 - (C) Business Women
 - Regional and divisional managers
 - Assistant manager
 - Minor officials of business
 - (D) Clerks
 - Certified public accountant
 - Accountant, saleswoman of real estate, insurance
 - Auto saleswoman, bank/postal clerks, executive secretaries
 - Stenographer, bookkeeper, ticket agent
 - Hardware saleswoman, telephone/beauty operator
 - (E) Manual Workers
 - Contractor
 - Factory foreman, electrician, plumber, carpenter
 - Molder, skilled worker, carpenter's assistant
 - Heavy labor, migrant worker, miner
 - (F) Protective & Service Workers
 - Dry cleaner, butcher, railroad conductor
 - Barber, fireman, taxi & truck drivers
 - Janitor, scrub woman, newspaper delivery
 - (G) Farmers
 - Gentleman farmer
 - Large farm owner
 - Tenet farmer
 - Small tenet farmer
 - Migrant farm laborer

World Assumptions Questionnaire

Please use the scale that follows in responding to the statements below. Please answer honestly; we are interested in your true beliefs.

- 0 = disagree completely
- 1 = disagree on the whole
- 2 = disagree somewhat
- 3 = disagree slightly
- 4 = agree slightly
- 5 = agree somewhat
- 6 = agree on the whole
- 7 = agree completely

To what extent do you disagree/agree with each of the following statements?

1. The world is a good place.
2. People are basically kind and helpful.
3. In general, life is mostly a gamble.
4. Through our actions we can prevent bad things from happening to us.
5. By and large, good people get what they deserve in this world.
6. I am basically a lucky person.
7. I always behave in ways that are likely to maximize good results for me.
8. I have reason to be ashamed of my personal character.
9. There is more good than evil in the world.
10. Human nature is basically good.
11. Bad events are distributed to people at random.
12. People's misfortune results from mistakes they have made.
13. People will experience good fortune if they themselves are good.
14. Looking at my life, I realize that chance events have worked out well for me.
15. I take the actions necessary to protect myself against misfortune.

- 0 = disagree completely
- 1 = disagree on the whole
- 2 = disagree somewhat
- 3 = disagree slightly
- 4 = agree slightly
- 5 = agree somewhat
- 6 = agree on the whole
- 7 = agree completely

- 16. I have a low opinion of myself.
- 17. The good things that happen in this world far outnumber the bad.
- 18. People don't really care what happens to the next person.
- 19. The course of our lives is largely determined by chance.
- 20. When bad things happen, it is typically because people have not taken the necessary actions to protect themselves.
- 21. Misfortune is least likely to strike worthy, decent people.
- 22. I am luckier than most people.
- 23. I almost always make an effort to prevent bad things from happening to me.
- 24. I often think I am no good at all.
- 25. If you look closely, enough, you will see that the world is full of goodness.
- 26. People are naturally unfriendly and unkind.
- 27. Life is full of uncertainties that are determined by chance.
- 28. If people took preventative actions, most misfortune could be avoided.
- 29. Generally, people deserve what they get in this world.
- 30. When I think about it, I consider myself very lucky.
- 31. I usually behave so as to bring about the greatest good.
- 32. I am very satisfied with the kind of person I am.

Items Comprising The Assumptive World Scale

Benevolence of the World

Benevolence of the Impersonal World

1. The world is a good place.
9. There is more good than evil in the world.
17. The good things that happen in this world far outnumber the bad.
25. If you look closely enough, you will see that the world is full of goodness.

Benevolence of People

2. People are basically kind and helpful.
10. Human nature is basically good.
18. People don't really care what happens to the next person.*
25. People are naturally unfriendly and unkind.*

Meaningfulness of the World

Justice

5. By and large, good people get what they deserve in this world.
13. People will experience good fortune if they themselves are good.
21. Misfortune is least likely to strike worthy, decent people.
29. Generally, people deserve what they get in this world.

Controllability

4. Through our actions we can prevent bad things from happening to us.
12. People's misfortunes result from mistakes they have made.
20. When bad things happen, it is typically because people have not taken the necessary actions to protect themselves.
28. If people took preventative actions, most misfortune could be avoided.

Chance

3. In general, life is mostly a gamble.
11. Bad events are distributed to people at random.
19. The course of our lives is largely determined by chance.
27. Life is too full of uncertainties that are determined by chance.

Worthiness of Self

Self-Worthiness

8. I have reason to be ashamed of my personal character.*

- 16. I have a low opinion of myself.*
- 24. I often think I am no good at all.*
- 32. I am very satisfied with the kind of person I am.

Self-Controllability

- 7. I always behave in ways that are likely to maximize good results for me.
- 15. I take the actions necessary to protect myself against misfortune.
- 23. I almost always make an effort to prevent bad things from happening to me.
- 31. I usually behave so as to bring about the greatest good for me.

Luck

- 6. I am basically a lucky person.
- 14. Looking at my life, I realize that chance events have worked out well for me.
- 22. I am luckier than most people.
- 30. When I think about it, I consider myself very lucky.

Note: Item numbers represent the placement of statements in the questionnaire.

* reversed-scored

Alienation Index Inventory

Here are some statements that people have different feelings about. They to do with many different things. Read each statement and decide whether you:

- 0 = strongly agree
- 1 = agree
- 2 = disagree
- 3 = strongly disagree

There are no wrong or right answers. Just indicate how you really feel.

- 33. In spite of what some people say, things are getting worse for the average man.
- 34. I have not lived the right kind of life.
- 35. No one in my family seems to understand me.
- 36. I have nothing in common with most people my age.
- 37. Most of the people in my community think about the same way I do about most things.
- 38. A person in my community who commits a crime should be punished.
- 39. School does not teach a person anything that helps in life or helps get a job.
- 40. Any person who is able and willing to work hard has a good chance of making it.
- 41. These days black people don't really know who they can count on.
- 42. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
- 43. There is very little I really care about.
- 44. Most of my relative are on my side.
- 45. My way of doing things is not understood by others my own age.
- 46. I have never felt that I belonged in my community.
- 47. Laws are made for the good of a few people, not for the good of people like me.
- 48. School is a waste of time.

0 = strongly agree
1 = agree
2 = disagree
3 = strongly disagree

49. The kind of work I can get does not interest me.
50. There is little use in black people writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of black people.
51. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
52. I usually feel bored no matter what I am doing.
53. My parents often tell(told) me they don't(didn't) like the people I go(went) around with.
54. It is safer to trust no one--not even so-called friends.
55. Community organizations don't speak for me.
56. It would be better if almost all laws were thrown away.
57. School is just a way of keeping young people out of the way.
58. To me work is just a way to make money--not a way to get satisfaction.
59. In spite of what some people say, things are getting worse for black people.
60. There is little use in writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
61. I don't seem to care what happens to me.
62. I don't have anything in common with my family.
63. Most of my friends waste time talking about things that don't mean anything.
64. There are many good things happening in my community to improve things.
65. It is OK for a person to break the law if he doesn't get caught.
66. I have often had to take orders on a job from someone who did not know as much as I did.

0 = strongly agree
1 = agree
2 = disagree
3 = strongly disagree

67. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for black people in the future.
68. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.
69. I do things sometimes without knowing why.
70. I don't care about most members of my family.
71. In the group that I spend most of my time most of the guys(or girls) don't really understand me.
72. My community is full of people who care only about themselves.
73. In a court of law I would have the same chances as a rich man.
74. I like school.
75. Most foremen and bosses just want to use the worker to make bigger profits.
76. Nowadays black people have to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
77. Most of the stuff I am told in school does not make any sense.

Items Comprising The Alienation Index Inventory Scales

General Alienation

1. In spite of what some people say, things are getting worse for the average man.
10. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
19. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
28. There is little use in writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
36. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.

Self-Alienation

2. I have not lived the right kind of life.
11. There is little I really care about.
20. I usually feel bored no matter what I am doing.
29. I don't seem to care what happens to me.
37. I do things sometimes without knowing why.

Alienation from Family

3. No one in my family seems to understand me.
12. Most of my relatives are on my side.*
21. My parents often tell(told) me they don't(didn't) like the people I go(went) around with.
30. I don't have anything in common with my family.
38. I don't care about most members of my family.

Alienation from Peers

4. I have nothing in common with most people my age.
13. My way of doing things is not understood by others my age.
22. It is safer to trust no one--not even so-called friends.
31. Most of my friends waste time talking about things that don't mean anything.
39. In the group that I spend most of my time most of the guys(or girls) don't understand me.

Alienation from Community

5. Most of the people in my community think about the same way I do about most things.*
14. I have never felt that I belonged in my community.
23. Community organizations don't speak for me.
32. There are many good things happening in my community to improve things.*
40. My community is full of people who care only about themselves.

Alienation from Legal Structures

6. A person who commits a crime should be punished.*
15. Laws are made for the good of a few people, not for the good of people like me.

- 24. It would be better if almost all laws were thrown away.
- 33. It is OK for a person to break the law if he doesn't get caught.
- 41. In a court of law I would have the same chances as a rich man.*

Alienation from School

- 7. School does not teach a person anything that helps in life or helps get a job.
- 16. School is a waste of time.
- 25. School is just a way of keeping young people out of the way.
- 42. I like school.*
- 45. Most of the stuff I am told in school just does not make any sense to me.

Alienation from Work

- 8. Any person who is able and willing to work hard has a chance of making it.*
- 17. The kind of work I can get does not interest me.
- 26. To me work is just a way to make money--not a way to get any satisfaction.
- 34. I have often had to take orders on a job from someone who did not know as much as I did.
- 43. Most foremen and bosses just want to use the worker to make a bigger profit.

Alienation from the White World

- 9. These days black people don't really know who they can count on.
- 18. There is little use in black people writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of black people.
- 27. In spite of what some people say, things are getting worse for black people.
- 35. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for black people in the future.
- 44. Nowadays black people have to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

*items are reverse-scored

Appendix B

Tables

Table 1
Pearson Correlation Between Indices of Social Class

	Mother's Education	Father's Education	Mother's Occupation	SES	SESED
Father's Education	.60***	.51***	.26*	.87***	.89***
Mother's Education		.45***	.45***	.84***	.89***
Father's Occupation			.17*	.76***	.54***
Mother's Occupation				.38**	.40***
SES					.96***

SES = Father's Education + Mother's Education + Father's
Occupation

SESED = Father's Education + Mother's Education

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 2
Pearson Correlation Between Indices of Social Class
for Whites

	Mother's Education	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation	SES	SESED
Father's Education	.51***	.51***	.13	.86***	.87***
Mother's Education		.32*	.41**	.80***	.87***
Father's Occupation			.16	.71***	.48***
Mother's Occupation				.30*	.31*
SES					.96***

SES = Father's Education + Mother's Education + Father's
Occupation

SESED = Father's Education + Mother's Education

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 3
Pearson Correlation Between Indices of Social Class
for Blacks

	Mother's Education	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation	SES	SESED
Father's Education	.67***	.49***	.37**	.87***	.91***
Mother's Education		.54***	.49***	.89***	.91***
Father's Occupation			.18	.77***	.56***
Mother's Occupation				.42**	.48**
SES					.96***

SES = Father's Education + Mother's Education + Father's
Occupation

SESED = Father's Education + Mother's Education

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 4
Pearson Correlation for Assumptive World and
Alienation Index Inventory Scales

	BIW	BP	JUST	CONT	CHAN	SELF	SECO
BIW	1.0	.71	.13	.20	-.07	.15	.25
BP	.71	1.0	.16	.08	-.13	.14	.17
JUST	.13	.16	1.0	.53	-.18	.03	.16
CONT	.20	.08	.53	1.0	-.11	-.02	.19
CHAN	-.07	-.13	-.18	-.11	1.0	-.07	.003
SELF	.15	.14	.03	-.02	-.07	1.0	.44
SECO	.25	.17	.16	.19	.004	.44	1.0
LUCK	.36	.30	.19	.20	.06	.23	.24
GENA	.57	.53	.11	.06	-.05	.25	.28
SELA	.31	.38	.01	.01	-.02	.43	.42
ALFA	.21	.21	.06	-.02	-.05	.47	.35
ALPE	.29	.34	.07	.03	-.03	.39	.40
ALCC	.31	.44	.29	.07	-.02	.21	.29
ALSC	.30	.30	.13	.17	-.14	.19	.31
ALWO	.27	.35	-.01	.07	-.16	.24	.27
ALWW	.47	.45	.04	.05	-.06	.24	.26

cont.

Table 4 (cont.)

	LUCK	GENA	SELA	ALFA	ALPE	ALCC	ALSC
BIW	.36	.57	.30	.21	.29	.31	.30
BP	.30	.53	.38	.21	.34	.44	.30
JUST	.19	.11	.004	.06	.07	.29	.13
CONT	.20	.06	.01	-.02	.03	.07	.17
CHAN	.06	-.05	-.02	-.05	-.03	-.02	-.14
SELF	.23	.25	.43	.46	.39	.21	.19
SECO	.24	.28	.42	.35	.40	.29	.31
LUCK	1.0	.34	.32	.30	.26	.29	.22
GENA	.34	1.0	.50	.44	.51	.51	.49
SELA	.32	.50	1.0	.66	.59	.42	.54
ALFA	.30	.44	.66	1.0	.55	.44	.49
ALPE	.26	.51	.60	.55	1.0	.63	.44
ALCC	.29	.51	.43	.44	.63	1.0	.54
ALSC	.22	.49	.54	.49	.43	.54	1.0
ALWO	.20	.49	.51	.37	.46	.41	.53
ALWW	.22	.68	.32	.38	.40	.41	.33

cont.

Table 4 (cont).

	ALWO	ALWW
BIW	.27	.47
BP	.35	.45
JUST	-.01	.04
CONT	.07	.05
CHAN	-.16	-.06
SELF	.24	.24
SECO	.27	.26
LUCK	.20	.22
GENA	.49	.68
SELA	.51	.32
ALFA	.37	.38
ALPE	.46	.40
ALCC	.41	.41
ALSC	.53	.33
ALWO	1.0	.44
ALWW	.44	1.0

cont.

BIW = benevolence of the impersonal world
 BP = benevolence of people
 JUST = justice
 CONT = controllability
 CHAN = chance
 SELF = self-worthiness
 SECO = self-controllability
 LUCK = luck
 GENA = general alienation
 SELA = self alienation
 ALFA = alienation from family
 ALPE = alienation from peers
 ALCC = alienation from legal structures
 ALSC = alienation from school
 ALWO = alienation from work
 ALWW = alienation from the white world

Table 5
Cronbach's Alpha for Assumptive World and Alienation
Index Inventory

	Whites	Blacks	Total Sample
Benevolence of the Impersonal World	.83	.65	.77
Benevolence of People	.86	.64	.80
Justice	.71	.39	.55
Controllability	.68	.68	.69
Chance	.59	.66	.62
Self-Worthiness	.79	.83	.81
Self- Controllabilty	.76	.42	.61
Luck	.83	.77	.80
General Alienation	.64	.67	.71
Self Alienation	.59	.76	.70
Family Alienation	.79	.63	.71
Peer Alienation	.77	.57	.68
Legal Alienation	.58	.35	.48
Community Alienation	.51	.55	.55
School Alienation	.67	.76	.73
Work Alienation	.39	.56	.49
Alienation from White World	.83	.59	.74

Table 6
Summary of Discriminant Function Analysis using all
Scales by Race

Variables	Wilk's Lambda	F	Significance	Discrim. Function Coeff.
Benevolence of Impersonal World	.88	12.51	.0006	-.35
Benevolence of People	.87	13.00	.0005	
Justice	.98	2.06	.16	-.13
Controllabilty	.95	4.82	.03	.54
Chance	.99	.24	.63	.11
Self-Worthiness	.99	.48	.49	-.35
Self-Controllality	.99	.60 E-.01	.81	-.19
Luck	.97	2.99	.09	.003
General Alienation	.82	20.27	.0000	.47
Self Alienation	.98	1.71	.19	.22
Family Alienation	.98	1.45	.23	.05
Peer Alienation	.97	2.61	.11	-.12
Legal Alienation	.91	8.53	.004	.37
Community Alienation	.97	3.13	.08	-.09
School Alienation	.98	1.66	.20	-.19
Work Alienation	.99	.16	.69	-.55
Alienation from White World	.80	22.61	.0000	.63

Table 7
Summary of ANOVA for Benevolence of the Impersonal
World by Race by Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	300.78	1	300.78	12.91	.001
Sex	1.24	1	1.24	.05	.02
SES	37.76	2	18.88	.81	.45
Race x Sex	56.17	1	56.17	2.41	.12
Race x SES	50.39	2	25.20	1.08	.34
Sex x SES	.39	2	.20	.01	.99
Race x Sex x SES	32.13	2	16.07	.69	.51
Explained	445.74	11	40.52	1.74	.08
Residual	1863.42	80	23.29		
Total	2309.16	91	25.38		

Table 8
Summary of ANOVA for Benevolence of People by Race
by Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	226.01	1	226.01	12.01	.001
Sex	28.84	1	28.84	1.53	.22
SES	10.22	2	5.11	.27	.76
Race x Sex	13.16	1	13.16	.70	.41
Race x SES	34.13	2	17.07	.91	.41
Sex x SES	25.02	2	12.51	.67	.52
Race x Sex x SES	8.42	2	4.21	.22	.80
Explained	380.93	11	34.63	1.84	.06
Residual	1505.72	80	18.82	18.82	
Total	1886.65	91	20.73		

Table 9
Summary of ANOVA for Justice by Race by Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	37.40	1	37.40	1.91	.17
Sex	64.18	1	64.18	3.27	.07
SES	7.88	2	3.94	.20	.82
Race x Sex	1.00	1	1.00	.05	.82
Race x SES	14.63	2	7.32	.37	.70
Sex x SES	7.62	2	3.01	.19	.82
Race x Sex x SES	64.58	2	32.29	1.65	.20
Explained	212.47	11	19.32	.98	.47
Residual	1569.28	80	19.62		
Total	1781.75	91	19.60		

Table 10
Summary of ANOVA for Controllability by Race by Sex
by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	90.69	1	90.69	4.87	.03
Sex	20.36	1	20.36	1.10	.30
SES	.29	2	.15	.01	.99
Race x Sex	3.60	1	3.60	.19	.66
Race x SES	84.77	2	42.38	2.28	.11
Sex x SES	4.80	2	2.40	.13	.88
Race x Sex x SES	91.93	2	45.97	2.47	.10
Explained	298.13	11	27.10	1.46	.16
Residual	1488.47	80	18.61		
Total	1786.60	91	19.63		

Table 11
Summary of ANOVA for Chance by Race by Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	Significance of F	
Race	11.16	1	11.16	.44	.51
Sex	11.59	1	11.59	.46	.50
SES	62.41	2	31.20	1.24	.30
Race x Sex	20.64	1	20.64	.82	.37
Race x SES	78.16	2	39.10	1.55	.22
Sex x SES	81.10	2	40.55	1.61	.21
Race x Sex x SES	65.52	2	32.76	1.30	.33
Explained	321.30	11	29.21	1.16	.33
Residual	2017.62	80	25.22		
Total	2338.91	91	25.70		

Table 12
Summary of ANOVA for Self-Worthiness by Race by Sex
by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	13.18	1	13.18	.42	.52
Sex	.01	1	.01	.000	.99
SES	15.41	2	7.70	.25	.78
Race x Sex	15.37	1	15.37	.49	.49
Race x SES	33.56	2	16.78	.53	.59
Sex x SES	57.66	2	28.83	.92	.40
Race x Sex x SES	41.32	2	20.66	.66	.52
Explained	201.92	11	18.36	.58	.84
Residual	2519.28	80	31.49		
Total	2721.21	91	29.90		

Table 13
Summary of ANOVA for Self-Controllability by Race
by Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of Significance
Race	1.14	1	1.14	.07	.79
Sex	18.74	1	18.74	1.12	.29
SES	12.60	2	6.30	.38	.69
Race x Sex	.05	1	.05	.003	.96
Race x SES	31.47	2	15.74	.94	.39
Sex x SES	25.12	2	12.56	.75	.47
Race x Sex x SES	74.70	2	36.35	2.18	.56
Explained	161.87	11	14.72	.88	.56
Residual	1334.42	80	16.68		
Total	1496.30	91	16.44		

Table 14
Summary of ANOVA for Luck by Race by Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	76.82	1	76.82	2.75	.10
Sex	1.10	1	1.10	.04	.84
SES	18.19	2	9.10	.36	.72
Race x Sex	4.55	1	4.55	.16	.69
Race x SES	40.03	2	20.01	.72	.49
Sex x SES	11.25	2	5.62	.20	.82
Race x Sex x SES	2.99	2	1.50	.05	.95
Explained	159.36	11	14.49	.52	.89
Residual	2236.99	80	27.96		
Total	2396.35	91	26.33		

Table 15
Summary of ANOVA for General Alienation by Race by
Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	128.08	1	128.08	25.34	.000
Sex	7.22	1	7.22	1.43	.24
SES	55.02	2	27.51	5.44	.01
Race x Sex	2.88	1	2.88	.57	.45
Race x SES	15.24	2	7.62	1.51	.22
Sex x SES	2.37	2	1.18	.23	.79
Race x Sex x SES	18.61	2	9.31	1.84	.17
Explained	215.66	11	19.61	3.88	.000
Residual	404.44	80	5.06		
Total	620.11	91	6.81		

Table 16
Summary of ANOVA for Self Alienation by Race by
Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	10.79	1	10.79	1.59	.21
Sex	1.91	1	1.91	.28	.68
SES	.44	2	.22	.03	.97
Race x Sex	.45	1	.45	.07	.80
Race x SES	5.25	2	2.63	.39	.68
Sex x SES	9.21	2	4.60	.68	.51
Race x Sex x SES	4.55	2	2.27	.34	.72
Explained	35.78	11	3.25	.48	.91
Residual	541.34	80	6.77		
Total	577.12	91	6.34		

Table 17
Summary of ANOVA for Family Alienation by Race by
Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	10.55	1	10.55	1.56	.22
Sex	1.66	1	1.66	.25	.62
SES	12.49	2	6.25	.92	.40
Race x Sex	.07	1	.07	.01	.92
Race x SES	1.83	2	.91	.14	.87
Sex x SES	1.30	2	.65	.10	.91
Race x Sex x SES	2.01	2	1.01	.15	.86
Explained	33.24	11	3.02	.45	.93
Residual	541.84	80	6.77		
Total	575.08	91	6.32		

Table 18
Summary of ANOVA for Peer Alienation by Race by Sex
by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	19.82	1	19.82	3.37	.07
Sex	5.57	1	5.57	.95	.33
SES	33.78	2	16.89	2.87	.06
Race x Sex	9.38	1	9.38	1.60	.21
Race x SES	9.42	2	4.71	.80	.45
Sex x SES	21.81	2	10.91	1.86	.16
Race x Sex x SES	1.17	2	.59	.10	.91
Explained	115.92	11	10.54	1.79	.07
Residual	470.20	80	5.88		
Total	586.12	91	6.44		

Table 19
Summary of ANOVA for Legal Alienation by Race by
Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	40.10	1	40.10	8.99	.004
Sex	5.30	1	5.30	1.19	.28
SES	12.95	2	6.47	1.45	.24
Race x Sex	1.67	1	1.67	.37	.54
Race x SES	2.78	2	1.39	.31	.73
Sex x SES	5.10	2	2.55	.57	.57
Race x Sex x SES	6.43	2	3.21	.72	.49
Explained	78.79	11	7.16	1.61	.11
Residual	356.73	80	4.46		
Total	435.52	91	4.79		

Table 20
Summary of ANOVA for Community Alienation by Race
by Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	11.42	1	11.42	2.43	.12
Sex	.02	1	.02	.004	.95
SES	11.09	2	5.54	1.18	.31
Race x Sex	2.20	1	2.20	.47	.50
Race x SES	1.32	2	.66	.14	.87
Sex x SES	12.30	2	6.15	1.31	.28
Race x Sex x SES	8.56	2	4.28	.91	.41
Explained	50.93	11	4.63	.99	.47
Residual	375.58	80	4.70		
Total	426.51	91	4.70		

Table 21
Summary of ANOVA for School Alienation by Race by
Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	13.46	1	13.46	2.03	.16
Sex	7.34	1	7.34	1.11	.30
SES	38.18	2	19.09	2.88	.06
Race x Sex	3.42	1	3.42	.52	.48
Race x SES	29.59	2	14.79	2.23	.11
Sex x SES	3.94	2	1.97	.30	.74
Race x Sex x SES	1.90	2	.95	.14	.87
Explained	86.19	11	7.84	1.18	.31
Residual	530.03	80	6.63		
Total	616.22	91	6.77		

Table 22
Summary of ANOVA for Work Alienation by Race by Sex
by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	.67	1	.67	.12	.73
Sex	8.04	1	8.04	1.44	.23
SES	4.63	2	2.32	.42	.66
Race x Sex	1.65	1	1.65	.30	.59
Race x SES	12.97	2	6.49	1.16	.32
Sex x SES	8.07	2	4.04	.72	.49
Race x Sex x SES	9.15	2	4.58	.83	.44
Explained	50.54	11	4.60	.82	.62
Residual	446.37	80	5.58		
Total	496.91	91	5.46		

Table 23
Summary of ANOVA for Alienation from White World by
Race by Sex by SES

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Race	160.29	1	160.29	23.93	.000
Sex	.002	1	.002	.000	.99
SES	11.82	2	5.91	.81	.42
Race x Sex	12.68	1	12.23	1.85	.18
Race x SES	12.63	2	6.34	.95	.39
Sex x SES	7.79	2	3.90	.58	.56
Race x Sex x SES	39.42	2	19.71	2.94	.06
Explained	256.81	11	23.35	3.49	.001
Residual	535.92	80	6.70		
Total	792.73	91	8.71		

Table 24
Summary of Means and Standard Deviations for all
Scales by SES by Sex by Race

Scale	SES	Male				Female			
		White		Black		White		Black	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
BIW	1	22	4.4	16.6	5.3	21.8	3.5	17.1	5.2
	2	20.3	4.0	15.6	3.9	16.9	7.9	18.8	4.1
	3	22.3	2.1	16	4.2	20.3	3.5	17.2	5.6
BP	1	19.5	5.8	14.7	4.4	21.8	3.6	17.7	3.6
	2	19.9	3.6	16.9	3.3	18.4	7.9	18.8	2.6
	3	21	2.6	17.5	2.1	21.1	3.6	18.1	4.4
JUST	1	15.8	5.3	12.3	5.5	10.6	4.6	11.7	3.9
	2	14.4	4.8	13.2	5.8	14.7	3.8	10	3.2
	3	13.7	1.5	14	.0	12.4	3.8	12	3.8
CONT	1	16.4	4.1	14.4	4.7	13.4	4.4	15.1	4.8
	2	16.2	4.2	14.1	7.5	17.3	3.6	10.4	2.3
	3	17	1	11.5	2.1	15.6	2.7	13.3	3.6
CHAN	1	14.3	5.6	15.7	4.5	12.8	3.2	14.6	6.8
	2	13.6	5.2	8.6	5.7	13.4	6.8	15.1	3.7
	3	11.7	1.2	12	1.4	14.9	4.4	12.6	4.3
SELF	1	24.3	4.7	22.5	5.9	21.3	5.3	22.1	8.6
	2	23.2	4.6	21.1	5.1	21.3	5.2	23.2	3.6
	3	16.3	4.9	22.5	4.9	20.7	5.1	23.1	5.7
SECO	1	18.3	6.9	19.7	5.1	18.6	3.7	16.8	3.3
	2	20.8	4	16.9	3.5	16.9	3.7	18.1	3.5
	3	16.7	1.2	19.5	.7	18.6	4.4	19.6	3.1
LUCK	1	19	5.5	16.4	5.4	19.4	4.4	14.9	5.7
	2	16.8	3.6	16.3	8.2	18.3	4.9	17	1
	3	18.7	8.4	17.5	4.9	18.7	4.1	17.8	5.6
GENA	1	11.2	3.3	8.9	2.9	11.5	1.8	7.7	1.8
	2	10.3	1.5	6.3	1.6	8.7	2.1	7.4	1.8
	3	12	1.7	9.5	4.9	9.8	2.3	9.3	2.3

cont.

Table 24 (cont.)

Scale	SES	Male				Female			
		White		Black		White		Black	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
SELA	1	12	2.3	10.3	3.4	11.9	1.9	11	3.5
	2	11.5	2.2	11	1.5	11.4	1.6	10	4.5
	3	10.7	1.5	9.5	.7	11.5	2.6	11.8	2.2
ALFA	1	12.8	2.4	12	2.3	12.1	2.2	11.6	2.7
	2	12.3	2.2	11.6	2.2	12.4	2.1	10.8	3.2
	3	11.3	3.1	10.5	4.9	11.3	3.3	11	2.4
ALPE	1	12.2	3.3	9.5	2.5	12.6	1.7	11.6	2.6
	2	10.9	2.2	10.1	.9	9.6	1.9	9.6	2.9
	3	11.7	2.3	9.5	3.5	12.1	2.9	12	2.4
ALCC	1	9.5	3.2	8.2	2.4	10	1.5	8.4	1.9
	2	9	1.8	7.3	1.4	9	1.7	7.6	3.8
	3	7.7	.6	9	4.2	10.3	1.9	8.9	1.5
ALSC	1	12.7	2.1	11.6	3.4	12.5	1.4	10.4	3.6
	2	11.8	2	10.9	1.8	11.3	2.2	9	3.1
	3	12	2	12.5	3.5	12	2.7	12.8	2.2
ALWO	1	9.8	3.1	8.6	3.6	10	1.9	8.9	2.5
	2	8.3	2	9	2.4	9.9	1.3	10.2	2.2
	3	11	2	8.5	.7	9.6	1.9	10.3	2.2
ALWW	1	11.5	4.2	8.7	2.8	11.9	2.2	8.2	2.9
	2	12	2.3	6.4	1.1	10.3	2.5	10	2.6
	3	12	2.6	11	5.7	10.9	2.2	9.8	2.2

cont.

BIW = benevolence of the impersonal world

BP = benevolence of people

JUST = justice

CONT = controllability

CHAN = chance

SELF = self-worthiness

SECO = self-controllability

LUCK = luck

GENA = general alienation

SELA = self alienation

ALFA = family alienation

ALPE = peer alienation

ALCC = legal alienation

ALCO = community alienation

ALSC = school alienation

ALWO = work alienation

ALWW = alienation from the white world

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