RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REPORTED EXPOSURE TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND LEVEL OF SELF-ESTEEM AND TRUST OF WHITES

THESIS

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By

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This study investigated the level of trust of whites and self-esteem as a function of reported exposure to racial discrimination. It was hypothesized that participants reporting high levels of racial discrimination would be less trusting of whites and have lower self concepts than those reporting low levels of exposure to racism. A total of 84 undergraduates were administered three measures designed to assess the amount of exposure to racial discrimination, self-esteem and cultural mistrust. No relationship was found between extent of exposure to racial discrimination and level of self concept. However, mistrust of whites among blacks was found to be related to frequency of exposure to racial discrimination.
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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REPORTED EXPOSURE TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND LEVEL OF SELF-ESTEEM AND TRUST OF WHITES

Investigators have long been interested in the effects stressful life events have upon behavior. Whitlock (1978) has proposed that racism may be viewed as a stressful situation. As a consequence of the traumatizing effect, racism, has been presumed to affect the personality of blacks in at least two ways. First, it has been suggested that as a consequence of racism, blacks who are the victims of racism often develop a low self concept (Clark & Clark, 1939). Second, it has been proposed that exposure to racism often results in the recipients being less trustful of others (Grier & Cobbs, 1968).

Various definitions of racism exist. Allport has defined prejudice as negative attitudes toward a person or group based upon a social comparison process in which the individual's own group is taken as the positive point of reference. Others have defined prejudice as an unjustified reaction to a racial, ethnic or other minority group (Wrightsman, 1977). Although some differences in definition exist among theorists, all agree that prejudice refers to a biased attitude. Discrimination, in contrast, is a behavioral manifestation of prejudice and often consists of biased behavior involving the denial of certain opportunities to an individual on the basis of his
or her sex, race, or religion. Racial discrimination may be considered as a form of behavioral discrimination when persons are treated less favorable because of an ethnic group membership. More precisely, racial discrimination has been defined as "the prediction of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group," (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967, p. 3).

In summary, racial discrimination (for purposes of the present research) may be viewed as the differential treatment of blacks by whites. There are many instances available describing circumstances where blacks have been treated differently by whites. For example, Kutner, Wilkins and Yurrow (1952) conducted an experiment illustrative of verbal discrimination. Eleven restaurant managers were mailed letters requesting reservations for a social gathering which would include both black and white guests. No replies were received in 17 days after mailing the letters. Therefore, each manager was telephoned. None of the managers accepted the telephoned reservations from the racially mixed group. However, they did accept reservations one day later from a group described as being all white, despite the fact that both calls were made by the same individual. In another study, Huessenstamm (1971) wanted to examine whether members of the Black Panther Party were discriminated against by the police. Students who had no record of moving traffic violations served as participants.
Of this group five were black, five were white and five were of Hispanic background. Bumper stickers suggesting Black Panther Party affiliation were then put on car bumpers of the fifteen students. Within two weeks, these students had accumulated a total of 33 citations. It was concluded that members of the Black Panther Party were discriminated against.

Since an individual's self concept is shaped by his or her experiences, and since blacks have been viewed as being inferior to whites, many blacks have internalized the view that they are inferior. As a result, blacks often experience a lowered level of self-esteem. Also, in order to adapt to inconsistent behavior on the part of many whites, blacks often become distrustful.

Previous research has tended to support the notion that blacks have a lower self concept than whites (Clark & Clark, 1947). Also, recent research indicates that blacks are generally less trusting then whites (Terrell & Barrett, 1978). However, no studies are available designed to examine whether a relationship exists between exposure to racism and level of trust. The following sections will summarize previous research examining the presumed affects of differential treatment on the self concept and trust level of blacks, and conclude with a statement of the hypotheses to be examined in this study.

**Self Concept**

It has been suggested that the feedback one receives from others may have a profound effect on that person's
self-evaluation as well as that person's interpersonal behavior (Neistein & Katkovsky, 1974). It has been suggested that because blacks have often been the victims of racism, many have developed a low self concept. Several studies have been conducted. Clark and Clark (1940), examined the effect skin color has on racial identification of black, pre-school children. Three groups were formed according to skin color (light, medium and dark). Participants were then observed to identify which stimulus person children opted to be identified. It was found that light-skinned and dark-skinned children chose the white boy with whom to be identified. It was suggested that light-skinned children chose the white child because of their awareness of self in terms of their skin color. In contrast, it was speculated that dark-skinned children selected the white boy because of wishful thinking. It was concluded that differential treatment of blacks by whites resulted in black children preferring whites. In addition, it was suggested that preference for whites rather than blacks was indicative of negative attitudes among black children toward their skin color.

The tendency of black children to reject their own race for a perceived more socially desirable ethnic group has been reported by others. For example, Morland (1966) obtained black children from various geographical regions and asked them questions related to their willingness to accept members of both races, their racial preferences, and their self
identification. It was found that children tended to identify more with whites than blacks. Morland (1966) concluded that self concept of these children had been affected by previous differential treatment of blacks by whites. However, no measures were taken to actually determine if differential treatment had indeed affected the self concept of these children. Rather, it seems as if these investigators simply assumed that because differences in self concept were found, these differences were attributable to racial discrimination.

Early studies examining race and self concept seem to be based upon the assumption that as a result of racism, black children prefer white dolls and children. More recently, several investigators have suggested that there has been a reduction in the prevalence of racism. If this hypothesis is accurate, and if indeed previous speculations of low self concept among blacks is due to racism, then recent studies should find a higher self concept among blacks relative to earlier studies.

Beglis and Sheikh (1974) hypothesized that the Black Nationalist movement, coupled with a reduction in racism have had an effect on self concept of black children. To examine their hypothesis, these authors obtained a sample of black and white children and administered the Kuhn and McPartland Twenty Statement Technique. No significant differences in self concept of children was found as a function of racial group membership. The authors concluded that combined effects of
the Civil Rights Movement and reduction in racism had a positive effect upon black children's self concept.

If discrimination results in a lowered self concept, then a positive environment should result in a high self concept. Smedley and Bayton (1978) predicted that whites would perceive blacks as having fewer derogatory traits as a result of a reduction in racism. Eighty black and 74 white college students were asked to select a list of traits they felt best described members of their own and other races. White students rated both black and white students as having approximately the same number of favorable traits. In fact, black participants rated blacks as having slightly more positive traits than whites. The authors concluded that the more favorable ratings given by blacks to other blacks may be reflective of a more positive self concept among blacks.

Finally, Ward and Braun (1972) have suggested that blacks would perceive themselves in a more favorable way both physically and attitudinally when compared to whites. It was predicted that lower class black children would have a more positive self concept than middle-class black children. The justification of this latter prediction was based on the authors' reasoning that there is limited contact between lower class black children and whites. Thus, there are fewer opportunities for lower class blacks to be discriminated against. Black children from varying socioeconomic levels were given several measures of self concept. The results
from this study indicated that black children viewed themselves in a more positive manner than they viewed white children. The authors suggested that the Civil Rights Movement may have produced feelings of self worth among blacks regardless of social status.

In summary, studies conducted prior to the Civil Rights Movement suggest that many blacks had a relatively low self concept. This lowered self concept was assumed to be a function of a relatively high frequency of racism. More recent studies have indicated that many blacks have relatively high self concepts. This trend has been assumed to occur at least in part, due to a reduction in derogatory behavior by whites toward blacks.

**Trust**

Essentially two major approaches to trust exist in the psychological literature. Erikson (1963) has proposed a theory of personality which involves eight stages of development in man. The initial stage in one's psychological development has been referred to as the basic trust versus mistrust period. This stage is viewed as being a prerequisite for the development of faith in others. Erikson (1963) states that trust develops when a child's needs are consistently met. Basic trust is defined as a preparatory defense mechanism for danger and the anticipation of discomfort. According to Erikson (1963) a child's initial reaction toward people will normally be one of trust if biological and social needs of the child are fulfilled
on a regular basis especially during the first year of life. More precisely, a child who receives favorable treatment will develop feelings of security in relating to others. The child will also tend to regard the world as fair and dependable. However, the establishment of trust in children is not totally contingent upon the amount of tangible items such as food, the child receives from the parent(s). Development of trust is also contingent upon the mother providing the child with a sense of familiarity, consistency, continuity and sameness of experience (Hogan, 1976).

Although basic trust is assumed to have its origin in the maternal relationship, it may change depending upon the content of one's interpersonal interactions (Erikson, 1963). Thus, trust is a fragile component of one's personality which, once established, can be destroyed or weakened through a multitude of future interpersonal interactions. In later life, if one is exposed to inconsistent behavior, the person will become less trusting. However, if the person in the process of interacting with others is treated consistently in a fair way, the individual will remain trustful.

To summarize, Erikson has proposed that mistrust occurs as a result of inconsistencies early in one's family relations. In contrast, however, Rotter (1967) has proposed that mistrust can occur at any time in one's life, and that it develops as a result of one's experiences in a broader, social context.
According to Rotter's (1967) social learning theory, people develop different expectations toward reinforcements due to their experiences with promises of negative or positive reinforcement by other people. As a result of those experiences the expectancies tend to generalize from one social situation to another.

Rotter (1971) defines trust as a generalized expectancy held by an individual or a group that the word, promise, verbal or written statement of an individual or group can be relied on (Rotter, 1971, p. 440). Consequently, if a person is consistently deceived, that individual will no longer be trustful in similar situations.

While Rotter and Erikson differ in their opinions as to when trust develops, both agree that the type of interactions or social settings play an important role in the determination of whether a person will be trusting or not. Similarly, both theorists seem to suggest that if an individual is trusted inconsistently or inappropriately, that person will be less trusting. Grier and Cobbs (1968) have suggested that due to racism, many blacks are distrustful because distrust is essential for providing barriers against potential mental anguish which often accompanies being exposed to racial discrimination. Thus, distrust serves as an adaptive mechanism for many blacks.

There is a paucity of studies which examine the etiology of mistrust among blacks. However, there is some evidence
indicating that blacks are indeed less trusting than whites. Terrell and Barrett (1979) administered the Rotter Interpersonal Trust Scale to male and female college students of various races and socioeconomic levels. In general it was found that: (a) males were more trusting than females; (b) higher socioeconomic group members were more trusting than lower socioeconomic group members; and, (c) white students were more trusting than black students. As mentioned previously however, while significant differences between racial groups were found as has been proposed by previous investigators, no studies are available which have examined possible reasons for these differences in trust level.

Summary and Purpose of This Study

Several studies have examined differences in self concept among blacks. In general, earlier studies have found that blacks tend to have a lower self concept than whites. More recent studies however, have found that the self concept of blacks does not differ significantly from whites. The early differences in self concept of blacks relative to whites has generally been attributed to a high incidence of racial discrimination against blacks. Similarly, it has been assumed that more recent findings of no differences in level of self concept as a function of racial group membership is due to a reduction in racial discrimination. Additionally, it has been assumed that the tendency of many blacks to mistrust whites is due to racial discrimination. However, no studies are available
which have specifically examined whether the extent to which blacks trust whites or differences in level of self concept among blacks are related to the degree to which an individual has been discriminated against. The purpose of the following study was to examine whether a relationship exists between the extent of reported racial discrimination and the extent to which blacks trust whites. A second purpose was to examine whether a relationship existed between the degree to which one has been discriminated against and level of self concept.

Method

Subjects

Participants for this study consisted of 84 black students who were enrolled in introductory psychology courses at a state university located in the southwest. Of this total sample, 36 were males and 48 were females.

Measures

Four measures were used in this study. One measure used was the Terrell and Terrell (1981) Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI). This was a 48-item inventory which asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they trust whites in various situations. High scores reflected a tendency to mistrust whites; low scores indicated a tendency to trust whites. Participants were asked to respond to each item using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. All 48 items have demonstrated low correlations with a social desirability measure, and the total scores
ranged from .34 to .47. In addition, participants with backgrounds similar to those used in this study, a 2-week test-retest reliability estimate of .82 has been found. This measure has also shown some convergent and discriminant validity (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Terrell, Terrell & Taylor, 1981). A copy of this inventory is available in Appendix A.

A second measure used by Terrell and Miller (1980) was the Racial Discrimination Index (RDI). The RDI, a 24-item inventory, included a number of incidences having racialistic overtones. For each racialistic incidence, participants were asked to indicate how often they had been the victim of the same or similar racial experience. In addition, using a 10-point response format, participants indicated how upsetting instances of this sort were to them. A copy of the RDI has been reproduced in Appendix B.

A third measure used in this study was the Rosenberg (1966) Self-Esteem Scale. This was a 10-item scale designed to measure the extent to which individuals possessed favorable attitudes toward themselves. Relatively high reliabilities were reported, namely an internal reliability estimate of .92, and a two week test-retest reliability estimate of .85. In addition, this measure had been used successfully in several studies (Robinson & Shaver, 1972). A copy of this inventory is reproduced in Appendix C.

Finally, all participants were administered a background information questionnaire especially designed for this study.
This was designed to obtain demographic biographical information about participants such as their age, sex, marital status, educational level, and parental socioeconomic level. The purpose of this questionnaire was to obtain descriptive information about the participants used in this study. A copy of this questionnaire may be found in Appendix D.

Procedure

Participants were administered the various inventories in groups ranging in size from 15 to 20. The following instructions were administered prior to testing:

"I am going to pass out some inventories which I would like for you to complete. The instructions for completing these inventories are self-explanatory. Simply read the directions for filling out each inventory and follow those instructions. If any of the instructions are unclear, please raise your hand and I will assist you. If, while filling out the inventories you decide you do not want to continue, simply bring all of your material up to me and then you may leave. You may begin now."

After all participants had completed filling out all of the measures they were given the following feedback:

"Psychologists have known for a long time that situational variables affect how you behave or think. For example, money, which is a situational variable will make many people do many things. One situational variable we were interested in was how a person behaves
if that individual thinks he or she has been treated unfairly. One of the measures you filled out entitled the RDI, assessed the extent to which you felt you had been treated unfairly. Two other measures entitled the CMI and the SES assessed how you felt about yourself and how you felt about others as a result of possibly being treated unfairly. The final measure was simply a background information questionnaire which was designed to obtain some general information about the people who participated in this study. All information will be held in strict confidence. Do you have any questions? Thank you for your cooperation."

This procedure was replicated until all data had been collected. This concluded the data collection aspect of this project.

Data Analysis

As will be recalled, the purpose of this study was to examine whether a relationship existed between the extent to which an individual is exposed to racism and trust of whites as well as self concept level. To do this, participants were divided into three groups of high, medium and low frequencies of racial discrimination as indicated by their responses on the RDI. Next, separate one-way analyses of variance were computed between these groups and their scores on the CMI and self concept scales.
Mac Phillamy and Lewinsohn (1982) have maintained that the frequency of exposure to an event is not the only variable of importance. The emotional impact that event has upon a person is also an important determinant of an individual's behavior or attitude. Therefore, to explore further whether a relationship existed between racism or one's self concept as well as trust level of whites, Pearson correlations were computed between the RDI and the individual's scores on the CMI and Rosenberg Self-Concept Scale.

**Results**

**Preliminary Data Analysis**

Initially, the means and standard deviations for all groups were computed for the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI) and Rosenberg (1966) Self-Esteem Scale (SES). These results are presented in Table 1. As can be seen, considerable fluctuations exist among the standard deviations of groups. Given this variability, it seems possible that the assumption of homogeneity among sample variances was invalid. To examine this possibility, F maximum tests were conducted on the trust scores and self concept scores for all groups. However, nonsignificant differences were obtained on the trust scale ($F_{\text{max}} = 2.73, p > .05$) and on the self concept scale ($F_{\text{max}} = 3.01, p > .05$), thus indicating nonviolation of homogeneity of variance.
Table 1

Mean Cultural Mistrust and Self-Esteem Scores of Racial Discrimination Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RDI Groups</th>
<th>Mean CMI Scores</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Mean SES Scores</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>215.66</td>
<td>23.50</td>
<td>60.27</td>
<td>7.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>218.33</td>
<td>26.61</td>
<td>52.21</td>
<td>10.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>195.16</td>
<td>22.02</td>
<td>43.70</td>
<td>7.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>121.62</td>
<td>27.06</td>
<td>18.62</td>
<td>8.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>181.00</td>
<td>23.04</td>
<td>17.31</td>
<td>12.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>176.53</td>
<td>33.00</td>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next, the means and standard deviations for all groups were computed for the frequency and emotional responsivity scales of the Racial Discrimination Index (see Table 2). The scores on the RDI were examined to determine if those participants in varying levels of discrimination did indeed differ. To do this, one-way analyses of variance tests were computed separately for males and females on the frequency and emotion scales of the Racial Discrimination Index.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Frequency Mean</th>
<th>Frequency S.D.</th>
<th>Emotion Mean</th>
<th>Emotion S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>136.83</td>
<td>8.91</td>
<td>225.66</td>
<td>7.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>37.58</td>
<td>7.23</td>
<td>152.75</td>
<td>12.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>12.25</td>
<td>8.01</td>
<td>68.33</td>
<td>7.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>32.16</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>222.75</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>10.50</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>139.50</td>
<td>6.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>30.06</td>
<td>9.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Highly significant differences were obtained for males on both the frequency ($F = 19.24, p < .001$) and emotion scales ($F = 135.16, p < .001$) of the RDI. For females, significant mean difference was also found on the frequency ($F = 16.04, p < .001$) and emotion scale ($F = 155.40, p < .001$). These results are presented in Table 3. It was concluded that there were indeed differences between groups. Therefore, the major hypotheses of this study were examined.
Table 3

Analysis of Variance Results on the Racial Discrimination Index (RDI)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males Total</td>
<td>193274</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52026.8</td>
<td>19.24**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Between</td>
<td>104054</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>52026.8</td>
<td>19.24**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within</td>
<td>89220.8</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2703.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females Total</td>
<td>17215</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Between</td>
<td>7260.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3630.18</td>
<td>16.04**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within</td>
<td>9955.51</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>226.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotion</th>
<th>Males Total</th>
<th>166952</th>
<th>35</th>
<th>7494.2</th>
<th>135.16**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Between</td>
<td>148788</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7494.2</td>
<td>135.16**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within</td>
<td>18163.3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>550.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females Total</td>
<td>342127</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Between</td>
<td>298858</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>149429</td>
<td>155.40**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within</td>
<td>43269.2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>961.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. **p < .001.

Analyses of Trust Scale

To examine the first hypothesis of this study, males and females were arranged separately into high, medium and
low levels of racial discrimination based upon their RDI frequency scores. Similarly groups were arranged into high, medium and low emotional sensitivity to racism based upon their emotional scores on the RDI. Next, one-way analyses of variances were computed on the trust scores to determine if a relationship exists between racial discrimination and trust level and the results are provided in Table 4.

Table 4

One-way Analysis of Variance Results Between RDI Groups on the CMI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males Total</td>
<td>47179.9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>3856.03</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1928.02</td>
<td>1.468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>43323.9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1312.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females Total</td>
<td>101518</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>11660.7</td>
<td>5830.34</td>
<td>2.919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>89857.6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1996.84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males Total</td>
<td>47179</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>3677.81</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1838.91</td>
<td>1.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>43502.1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1318.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females Total</td>
<td>105867</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>7463.25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3731.63</td>
<td>1.706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>98404</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2186.75</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen, for males no significant differences were found for trust scores ($F = 1.46, p > .05$) among the RDI groups. Table 4 also indicates no significant differences exist among females on frequency scale ($F = 2.91, p > .05$) or emotion scale ($F = 1.70, p > .05$). Although the results indicated that the groups did not differ in trust levels as a function of either frequency or emotional responsivity to racism, the lack of significant differences may have been due to a lack of sensitivity of the analysis of variance design to identify differences between groups. Therefore, Pearson Product Moment Correlations were computed separately for the sexes on both the RDI frequency and emotion indices and the CMI score. Males obtained a correlation of $0.20 (p < .05)$ between the frequency subscale of the RDI and CMI and a value of $0.16 (p < .05)$ between the emotion subscale and CMI. In contrast, females obtained a value of $0.29 (p > .05)$ between the frequency scale scores and CMI scores, and a value of $0.28 (p > .05)$ between the emotion scale scores and CMI scores.

Analyses of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

Similar statistical procedures were used to examine the relationship between racial discrimination and cultural mistrust. RDI group means and standard deviations are provided in Table 5. However, as with findings comparing RDI level and trust scores, no significant differences were found as a function of frequency of racial discrimination on self concept.
Table 5

SES Means and Standard Deviations of RDI Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RDI Group</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Emotion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>61.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
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<tr>
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<td>43.70</td>
<td>7.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>Females:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
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<td>8.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>9.14</td>
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</table>

scores for males ($F = 2.02, p > .05$) or females ($F = 2.19, p > .05$) nor as a function of emotional impact of racial discrimination and self concept scores of males ($F = .37, p > .05$) and females ($F = 1.10, p > .05$). Results of these analyses are summarized in Table 6.

To further examine whether a relationship exists between racial discrimination and mistrust of whites, correlations were computed between both scales of the RDI and CMI. For males a correlation of $-0.12 (p > .05)$ was found between reported frequency of racial discrimination and self-esteem scores and a value of $-0.08 (p > .05)$ was found between emotional impact of racial discrimination and self-esteem scores.
Table 6
Summary of Analysis of Variance of SES as a Function of RDI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>18419.75</td>
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<td>9209.87</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>149842.81</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4540.68</td>
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<td>Females Total</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>30371.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15185.5</td>
<td>2.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>311754.31</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6927.87</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>df</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males Total</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>2178.68</td>
<td>.37</td>
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<tr>
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<td>191867.06</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5814.15</td>
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<td>Females Total</td>
<td>17401.96</td>
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<td>Between</td>
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<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>16589.39</td>
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For females the correlation between frequency of racial discrimination and self concept scores was -.27 (p > .05) while the relationship between emotional impact of racial discrimination and self-esteem scores was .22 (p > .05). Thus, no significant correlations were found between RDI subscale scores and CMI scores for either males or females.
Discussion

One prediction of this study was that participants who report being the recipients of high levels of racial discrimination would be less trusting of whites than those who report less exposure to racial discrimination. A second major hypothesis was that participants exposed to discrimination would have a lower self concept than participants exposed to lower levels of racial discrimination. In order to investigate the hypotheses of this study, groups of black males and females were given an inventory which assessed the extent to which they had been exposed to racial discrimination as well as inventories which measured their self concept and the extent to which they trust whites. However, using analysis of variance design, no significant differences were found between either levels of exposure to racial discrimination and level of trust of whites or between racial discrimination and self concept.

Trust

As previously mentioned, when an analysis of variance design was used, no significant differences were found in mistrust of whites by either black males or females as a function of frequency or emotional responsivity to racism. However, when correlations were computed, significant relationships were found for both frequency and emotional impact of racism and level of mistrust of whites for males. However,
no significant relationships between these variables were found for black females.

Several theorists (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Rotter, 1971) have suggested that persons who are mistreated based upon their skin color will be less trusting. However, since no significant relationships were found between trust level and racial discrimination for females who felt they had been discriminated against, speculations by previous theorists were only partly supported.

Several plausible explanations are available to account for this lack of significance for females. One possible explanation may be that even though significant differences were found between racial discrimination, the differences were not large enough to affect trust levels. Another possible explanation is that the RDI measures direct exposure to racial discrimination. It is possible that participants in the lower racial discrimination group had observed others being discriminated against and as a result, like those participants in the higher discrimination groups, also mistrust whites.

Previous studies have indicated that individuals who are less trusting tend not to believe the word or promise of another individual (Rotter, 1972). Since both frequency of racial discrimination as well as emotional reactivity were found to be significantly related to level of mistrust of whites at least for black males, these results may have some
practical implications for this population. One obvious implication would be that black males are unlikely to believe whites. If this lack of trust is generalizable into a therapy context, then it is likely that white counselors will be unable to conduct therapy effectively with black males.

This was basically a correlational study. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that racial discrimination causes mistrust of whites among blacks. It is equally likely that blacks who are mistrustful of whites tend to be more vigilant of instances of racial discrimination. However, if it is assumed momentarily that racial discrimination, at least in part, contributes to mistrust among blacks of whites, then another implication of these results would be that one possible way of increasing the extent to which blacks trust whites would be to reduce the incidence of racial discrimination.

**Self Concept**

A second prediction of this study was that participants who reported high frequencies of racial discrimination would have a lower self concept than those who reported lower levels of racial discrimination. However, no differences were found in self concept level for either black males or females as a function of racial discrimination.

Several investigators have proposed that self concept may be viewed as multidimensional (e.g. Fitts, 1965). It may be that self concept levels were indeed affected.
However, rather than one's global self concept being affected, it is possible that one's black self concept was affected. This study did not include a measure of one's black self concept. Had a measure of this sort been used, it is possible that significant differences would have been found among groups as a function of both the frequency to which individuals had been exposed to racism as well as a function of the emotional impact of racism. It is suggested that other studies be conducted examining whether a relationship exists between one's black self concept and exposure to racism.

Another possible reason may have been that as with the trust findings, it is possible that due to vicarious exposure to discrimination, the self concept level of participants in the low racial discrimination group were comparable to the high discrimination group. Therefore, future studies may also wish to consider the relationship between both direct exposure to racism and self concept level.
Appendix A

Cultural Mistrust Inventory - Revised

Directions

Enclosed are some statements concerning beliefs, opinions, and attitudes about Blacks. Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings about the beliefs, and attitudes expressed. Indicate the extent to which you agree by using the following scale:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(_____) (_____) (_____) (_____) (_____) (_____) (_____) (_____) (_____) (_____

Not in Slightly Moderately Very Much Entirely the least agree agree agree agree
agree

The higher the number you choose for the statement, the more you agree with that statement. For example if you "moderately agree" with a statement, you would choose among the numbers 4 and 5 which appear above the label "Moderately agree." If you choose number 5, this means you agree more with the statement than if you had chosen number 4. The same principle applies for the other labels. The higher the number you chose, the more you agree with the statement.

Finally, there are no right or wrong answers, only what is right for you. If in doubt, blacken the space which seems most nearly to express your present feelings about the statement. Please answer all items.
1. Whites are usually fair to all people regardless of race.

2. White teachers teach subjects so that it favors whites.

3. White teachers are more likely to slant the subject matter to make blacks look inferior.

4. White teachers deliberately ask black students questions which are difficult so they will fail.

5. There is no need for a black person to work hard to get ahead financially because whites will take what you earn anyway.

6. Black citizens can rely on white lawyers to defend them to the best of his ability.

7. Black parents should teach their children not to trust white teachers.

8. White politicians will promise blacks a lot but deliver little.

9. White policemen will slant a story to make blacks appear guilty.

10. White politicians usually can be relied on to keep the promises they make to blacks.

11. Blacks should be suspicious of a white person who tries to be friendly.

12. Whether you should trust a person or not is not based on his race.

13. Probably the biggest reason whites want to be friendly with blacks is so they can take advantage of them.

14. A black person can usually trust his or her white co-workers.

15. If a white person is honest in dealing with blacks, it is because of fear of being caught.

16. A black person can not trust a white judge to evaluate him or her fairly.

17. A black person can feel comfortable making a deal with a white person simply by a handshake.

18. Whites deliberately pass laws designed to block the progress of blacks.
19. There are some whites who are trustworthy enough to have as close friends.
20. Blacks should not have anything to do with whites since they cannot be trusted.
21. It is best for blacks to be on their guard when among whites.
22. Of all ethnic groups, whites are really the Indian-givers.
23. White friends are least likely to break their promise.
24. Blacks should be cautious about what they say in the presence of whites since whites will try to use it against them.
25. Whites can rarely be counted on to do what they say.
26. Whites are usually honest with blacks.
27. Whites are trustworthy as members of any other ethnic group.
28. Whites will say one thing and do another.
29. White politicians will take advantage of blacks every chance they get.
30. When a white teacher asks a black student a question, it is usually to get information which can be used against him or her.
31. White policemen can be relied on to exert an effort to apprehend those who commit crimes against blacks.
32. Black students can talk to a white teacher in confidence without fear that the teacher will use it against him or her later.
33. Whites will usually keep their word.
34. White policemen usually do not try to trick blacks into admitting they committed a crime which they didn't.
35. There is no need for blacks to be more cautious with white businessmen than with anyone else.
36. There are some white businessmen who are honest in business transactions with blacks.
37. White store owners, salesmen, and other white businessmen tend to cheat blacks whenever they can.

38. Since whites can't be trusted in business, the old saying "one in the hand is worth two in the bush" is a good policy to follow.

39. Whites who establish businesses in black communities do so only so that they can take advantage of blacks.

40. Blacks have often been deceived by white politicians.

41. White politicians are equally honest with blacks and whites.

42. Blacks should not confide in whites because they will use it against you.

43. A black person can loan money to a white person and feel confident it will be repaid.

44. White businessmen usually will not try to cheat blacks.

45. White business executives will steal the ideas of their black employees.

46. A promise from a white is about as good as a three dollar bill.

47. Blacks should be suspicious of advice given by white politicians.

48. If a black student tries he will get the grade he deserves from a white teacher.
Appendix B

Racial Discrimination Index

Directions:

Enclosed you will find 24 situations depicting blacks as being the victim of racism. Read each item then in "Column A" on the answer sheet, do the following. Write a "0" if you have never been exposed to a racialistic incident of the sort described. If you have been the victim of racism similar to that depicted once in your life, write in "1". If you have been the victim twice in your life, write in "2"; if you have been victim three times, write in "3", and so on. If you have been the victim of that form of racism 10 or more times in your life, write in 10.

In "COLUMN B", using the following scale, you should indicate how traumatic or upsetting racial incidents of that type are to you.

0  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Moderately</th>
<th>Considerably</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>disturbing</td>
<td>disturbing</td>
<td>disturbing</td>
<td>disturbing</td>
<td>disturbing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, if you were the victim of a racial incident of the corresponding type and it did not disturb you at all, you should write a "0" in the blank space for that situation. If, when you were exposed to racial incidents described in a particular item and it was slightly disturbing to you, you should write in a "1", "2" or "3". If it was moderately disturbing to you, you should write in a "4", "5" or "6", and so on.

In all cases, put a number in each blank space and there should not be any numbers above 10 in any blank space.
1. A black person went to a restaurant to eat. The waitress showed the black to a table and handed the black a menu. A short while later, a white person arrived and the same behavior was repeated for that person. But, instead of taking the black person's order first, the waitress took the white person's order although the black was ready to order.

2. A black put in an application for a job. The black's qualifications for that particular position were exceptional, the interview was perfect, but the black didn't get the job. When the black visited that place of employment a short time later, the black was surprised to see that one of the white applicant's who had been ranked lower than the black, had gotten the job instead of him.

3. A black person walked toward a taxi. A white person walked toward the same taxi but the black man reached the taxi first. But the driver waited for the white person to arrive then turned to the white and asked for that person's destination, ignoring the black person.

4. A black went to the mall one day. While there, the black person saw a sweater without a price tag on it. The black rang the bell for assistance and a white salesperson started toward the black. But the salesperson was stopped by a white customer who had just walked up. Instead of asking the white customer to wait for a minute, the black customer was made to wait.

5. A black was walking down the street when a carload of whites suddenly drove close to the black. The whites yelled obscenities, held up their middle finger, and called the black "nigger".

6. A black drove a car into a service station. The white attendant was filling the gas tank for another white customer. After the attendant finished filling the white customer's tank, the attendant proceeded to check under the hood and clean the windshield. After completing the service for the white customer, the attendant turned to the black. However, the only service the black customer received was a tank of gas, although the black bought approximately the same amount of gas the white customer did.
7. A black person called to ask if an apartment which had been advertised as being for rent was still available. The person who answered the phone said yes. So the black person went to look at the apartment. But when the black arrived, the manager told the black that the apartment had been rented. A week later the black called the apartment manager again and asked if the same apartment had been rented. The black was told no the apartment had not been rented.

8. A black person makes a mistake and the black's supervisor criticizes the black and implies the black is stupid. A white person makes a similar mistake. However, the same supervisor forgives the white person and points out all people make mistakes.

9. A black and white person were sitting next to one another. Another white person came by and stepped on the toes of the others, apologized to the white person but did not apologize to the black person although the white person who had stepped on the others' toes realized that the toes of both persons had been stepped on.

10. A black couple went to a restaurant to eat. However, they were not permitted to enter the restaurant because, they were told, the rules required males to wear ties and females to wear long dresses. But the black male was not wearing a tie and the black female was not wearing a long dress. As the black couple were leaving, a white couple, who were dressed in a similar fashion as the black couple, were permitted to enter the restaurant.

11. A white person was crossing the street when a white person drove up in a car. Seeing the white pedestrian in the path of the car, the white motorist stopped the car until the white pedestrian had reached the curb. A few yards up the same street a black person was crossing. However, although it seemed as if the white motorist saw the black pedestrian, the white motorist did not even slow down.

12. A white person was watering a lawn with a hose. However, some of the water was spraying on the sidewalk. A white person walked by. The white who was watering the lawn turned the hose off until the white person had passed. A few moments later a black person walked by. Although the white person saw the black walk by, the white person did not turn the water off but rather permitted the black to get damp from the mist.
Appendix B--continued

13. A black went to a motel. However, the black was told by the white clerk that there were no vacancies. While the black was standing off to one side trying to decide what to do next, a white person walked up and asked for a room. Although the white customer did not have a reservation, that person was given a room of the same type previously requested by the black person.

14. A black person was hired at the same time as a white person. Both had approximately the same credentials and both were given the same job title and paid the same amount of money. The first day of work, the black person was given significantly more work to do than the white person.

15. A going away party was being given for an employee. A white person was in charge of sending out invitations for the party. Although the employee who was going away liked and was liked by both black and white employees, invitations were sent to all whites but none were sent to the black employees.

16. A black person went into a store to buy some food. The black person asked the price of a particular item. The clerk, who was white, told the black the price. A few moments later, a white person came in and asked the same clerk how much the price was for the same item. The clerk was overheard quoting a figure much lower than the figure which had been given to the black.

17. A black person checked into a hotel. The black person wanted to pay the hotel bill by credit card. However, the white clerk informed the black person the bill would have to be paid in cash and paid in advance. After the black paid, a white person entered and although the white did not seem to have any more credentials than the black, the white was informed the bill could be paid at check-out time and could be paid by check.

18. A black person went to traffic court because of a speeding ticket. The black pleaded guilty to the speeding violation. The white judge found the black person guilty and ordered the black person to pay the ticket. A white person came in just after the black. The white person had been cited for speeding also. The white person pleaded guilty to speeding. The same judge who handled the black's case also handled the white's case. However in
this instance, the white was found guilty but not ordered to pay the fee. In neither instance did either defendant have a previous traffic record.

19. A black patient and a white patient entered the hospital at approximately the same time to be treated for similar illnesses. The white patient was assigned a senior level physician and modern equipment used. Although additional experienced physicians and advanced equipment was available, the black patient was assigned a very inexperienced physician and seemingly outdated equipment was used.

20. A black person asked for an application for a position. The black was informed by a white clerk that applications were no longer being accepted. As the black person was walking away, a white classmate of the applicant's walked in and asked for an application. The white classmate was given one. The next day the black applicant learned that the white applicant had gotten the position. Both the black and white applicant had similar credentials.

21. A black and white candidate were up for a promotion. Although neither candidate were perfect, both had generally excellent ratings and had similar ratings by their supervisors. The white supervisor of the two candidates was asked to prepare a condensed report on each of the candidates so that the credentials of each candidate could be evaluated by the board responsible for making promotions. The white supervisor told mostly the bad things about the black candidate and mostly the good things about the white candidate.

22. A black and white person were hired at the same time. Both had similar credentials. Also, both had the same job title and were being paid the same amount of money. However, each day the white supervisor of these two employees would assign the black person a job which was considerably dirtier than the job assigned the white person.

23. A black person bought a faulty item. The black brought the item hoping to have the item replaced or the money which it cost to buy the item refunded. The first person the black asked about having the item replaced referred the black to someone else. That person referred the black to someone else. In all, the black was referred to someone else five different times and each person who referred him was white. However, no action was taken on getting the black persons money refunded. As the black was waiting for the elevator to exit, a white person
came in with an item similar to the item the black person had purchased and attempted to complain about. The white person was overheard by the black person complaining of the same problem that the black wished to complain about. The white customer's money was refunded by the clerk whom the black person had first complained to.

24. A black couple went to a movie and a white usher seated them. However, the seats were in the rear of the theatre behind a large pole. This couple had asked for seats at the front of the theatre and there were vacant seats available. A white couple came into the theatre and were overheard requesting seats near the front of the theatre. They were then escorted by the same usher to seats in the front of the theatre where there were no apparent obstructions to their view.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLUMN A</th>
<th>COLUMN B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of times you have been in a situation similar to this one</td>
<td>Extent to which situations such as this are traumatic to you</td>
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Appendix C

Self-Esteem Scale

I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least an equal with others.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree

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

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree
Appendix C--continued

I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

1________________ Strongly agree
2________________ Agree
3________________ Disagree
4________________ Strongly disagree

I take a positive attitude toward myself.

1________________ Strongly agree
2________________ Agree
3________________ Disagree
4________________ Strongly disagree

On a whole, I am satisfied with myself.

1________________ Strongly agree
2________________ Agree
3________________ Disagree
4________________ Strongly disagree

I wish I could have more respect for myself.

1________________ Strongly agree
2________________ Agree
3________________ Disagree
4________________ Strongly disagree

I certainly feel useless at times.

1________________ Strongly agree
2________________ Agree
3________________ Disagree
4________________ Strongly disagree
At times I think I am no good at all.

1. _______________ Strongly agree
2. _______________ Agree
3. _______________ Disagree
4. _______________ Strongly disagree
Appendix D

Background Information Questionnaire

1. Age:__________ Sex: Male_______ Female_______

2. Marital Status: Single__________ Separated_____
   Married__________ Divorced_____

3. Classification: Freshman__________ Junior_______
   Sophomore__________ Senior_______

4. College Major:_____________________________________

5. Grade Point Average:________________________________

6. Occupational plans upon graduation:________________________

7. What kinds of sports do you enjoy participating in?_____

8. Hobbies:___________________________________________

9. Father's occupation:_________________________________

10. Mother's occupation:________________________________

11. Father's level of education:___________________________

12. Mother's level of education:___________________________

13. Give the city and state of your residence:________________

14. What would you estimate the population of your hometown
to be: Under 50,000__________ Over 50,000__________
References


Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. K. (1939). The development of consciousness of self and then emergence of racial identifi-


