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than by whatever he is personally, or by whatever memberships he holds in other social groups.

This point is brought home clearly by John Griffin, the correspondent who disguised himself as a Negro and wrote of Negro life as he wandered through the south:

The Negroes' only salvation from complete despair lies in his belief, the old belief of his forefathers, that these things are not directed against him personally, but against his race, his pigmentation. His mother or aunt or teacher long ago carefully prepared him, explaining that he as an individual can live in dignity, even though he as a Negro cannot. "They don't do it to you because you're Johnny—they don't even know you. They do it against your Negro-ness." (19, p. 48)

This aspect of a Negro's perceptions is also relevant in situations where he is welcomed as well as those where he is rejected. In a recent issue of Harper's (31) the cartoonist, Jules Feiffer, depicts the Negro at a "white-liberal-party" who is invited not for himself, but, rather, because he is a Negro. Although Feiffer's cartoon "liberals" want a Negro at their parties with whom to sympathize and talk about the "Negro-problem," they also fail to perceive the Negro as an individual. Thus we see that whites who want to eliminate certain social problems of Negroes in our society may be no more perceptive in recognizing Negroes as individuals than white racists.

A major problem is raised in these conjectures: how can a Negro maintain his self-esteem, or "realistic self-identity," when he is denied what Alfred Adler felt was necessary for every human being, a "claim to distinction." Denied distinction before the white majority, the Negro would seem to have little chance to establish firmly his self-esteem in the larger social milieu. Hlocked in access to many social goals that facilitate growth of self-esteem and distinction in
the general American culture, it is also difficult for the Negro to attain societal positions in which, if not rewarded by the white community, he could at least obtain some notability and respect in the Negro community.

As a possible consequence of overdetermined race-related failure, numerous studies have reported Negroes' self-attitudes as reflecting rejection of their color and search for "whiteness." Radke, Sutherland, and Rosenberg (34) demonstrated that the development of negative self-concepts originate in early childhood for the Negro. This has been found repeatedly through studies using choices of favorite dolls with varying skin color (Clark and Clark 6; Horowitz 20). Marks (28) found that Negro college students retain a preference for lighter coloring.

E. F. Frazier commented:

A mere perusal of Negro newspapers and magazines will reveal that a large part of their income is derived from the advertisements of products which will remove or modify Negroid characteristics. These advertisements tell how the Negro can rid himself of his black or dark complexion, or how he can straighten his hair. (18, p. 158)

In interviews with and biographies of Negro youths, Dai (9) found that Negroes differed from whites by displaying a greater sense of unworthiness. They absorbed whites' evaluations of dark skin, developed a sense of indifference and identified with whites to the point of becoming white in judgment of blacks. The fact that Negroes are construed as a negative reference group by whites seems an almost too obvious point to be mentioned. Nevertheless, Clarke and Campbell (?) found that whites gave lower estimates of Negro classmates' test performances than were actually obtained, reflecting white stereotypes of Negro inferiority.
In summarizing studies of values, Dreger and Miller state:

... differences in self-concepts are marked, however, in that being a white person in a white society appears to mean little in respect to the development of self-concepts, whereas being a Negro in a white society seems to be one of the most important factors in such development. (13, p. 386)

The major point in these references is that the Negro who grows up in a white society where membership in the "Negro-group" is a negative quality seeks his self-esteem and identity by being as different from the membership group as possible. Self-esteem seems dependent on not being a part of that group which is undeniable because of its very visibility. These suggestions correspond with James Baldwin's self-revelation that he had searched for years to escape from all Negro referents which included jazz, southern speech, and his own upbringing in Harlem.

At this point we might ask what alternatives are available to a person in his search for distinction and self-esteem when his membership group precludes success in that pursuit. The alternatives above involve attempted denial of negative characteristics (Negro-ness) and identification with the aggressor (Negro self-hatred). Another choice is posited by I. Finestone (16) who speaks of the young Negro drug addict as a "normless" rejector of middle-class society. He describes a dyssocial subgroup of Negro youths with its own system of norms and values. Two of the strong values of this subgroup are: "coolness," the ability to delay and channel aggressive action into more cognitive-manipulative behavior; and "kicks," the heightened sensations of the present moment that non-cats (squares) cannot comprehend.
Kardiner and Ovesey (22) have hypothesized that in the modal Negro family where the woman assumes the dominant role and the father vacillates between submissiveness and occasional attempts at punishment, the children lack confidence in human relations and exhibit eternal vigilance and distrust of others. It is in regard to such descriptions that Milner (30) has characterized the American Negro's "adjusted personality organization" as schizoid.

The four defensive behavior patterns described above: rejection of own group, identification with the aggressor, dyssocial and schizoid life styles serve to minimize potential threats to the individual's already tenuous self-esteem.

- From a developmental standpoint in ego-psychology, E. Brody quotes E. Erickson:

  "The growing child must at every step derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experience . . . is a successful variant of a group identity . . . ego identity gains real strength only from the wholehearted and consistent recognition of real accomplishment, i.e., of achievement that has meaning in the culture. . . . Achievement that has real cultural meaning, and the sense of reality that comes from a life way which is an individual variant of a stable group identity, is almost out of reach for large segments of the American Negro population. . . . Further, if the family is the primary agent of socialization—that is, if culture is learned from the family—and if the family is not a total participant in the general white American culture, what the child learns is something different from the prevailing ways of acting, feeling and thinking of the surrounding society. (4, p. 344)

  In short, the Negro, hindered in pursuing meaningful achievement because of his group membership and having experiences variant with the larger culture, seems destined, according to Erickson, to fail at achieving a satisfying ego-identity. Consequently, the Negro must resort to the previously mentioned defenses to maintain a sort of organized
self-system that will allow some measure of self-esteem. In conjunction with these defenses the Negro might be expected to use projective mechanisms as suggested by Griffin's description of the Negro child's preparations for rejection (19). Since the Negro easily finds obstacles and rejections because of his race, he may tend to attribute all personal failures to his being Negro. Such perceptions would probably receive consensual support from Negroes who have experienced similar failures. Frazier (18), in his study of the Negro middle-class, has also spoken of Negroes' attempts to compensate for inferiority feelings by the creation of a world of fantasy in which delusions of wealth, power, and prestige in the white world are paramount.

The difficulty in shifting from a well integrated system of defenses to behaviors that commit oneself to active reality-testing with its dangers of failure seem ominously immense. In one retort to editor Fischer's editorial on Negro irresponsibility, the Negro's position was likened to that of the enlisted man. The writer, in speaking of his army experiences, made much of the variety of defenses he displayed as part of his accommodation to "namelessness" and low status in situations where little if any competence was expected from him. After a long and difficult "rehabilitation" the writer was led to state:

Mr. Fischer is quite right. Every day the Negro's "irresponsibility" becomes more and more inappropriate. But before the Negro will see it, he needs an unequivocal, legal "discharge." And even then it will not be easy. The man who is born an EM. (enlisted man) cannot be rehabilitated. He needs metamorphosis. And unlike the fellow in Kafka, he can't do it overnight. (43, p. 21)

Bettelheim (2) has reported a similar accommodation to lowered status in his description of life in Nazi concentration camps. He
reports that prisoners ceased to be active and responsible subjects and became passive, irresponsible, and childlike objects. Elkins (14) has noted the similarity between the Negro "Sambo" stereotype and concentration camp prisoners. Both are seen as products of constricted fields of alternatives with little chance for any role other than one of complete dependence on a possibly capricious and absolute authority. Childishness and irresponsibility in both are said to grow from the constriction of available alternatives.

The analogy between the Negro's position and that of prisoners and enlisted men is striking. A major difference, however, is that the Negro has a life-long preparation for and expectation of failure.

Baldwin's phenomenological descriptions of self-growth show the great difficulty he experienced in learning to interpret others' behaviors toward him as responses to himself and not just himself-as-a Negro. This change may be interpreted as the becoming of a unique person, the recentering of the locus of causality to oneself. The Negro irresponsibility may be analogous to the "irrational" behavior of mobs which, early social psychologists explained, resulted partly from the anonymity present in the large group. Whereas irresponsibility may go hand-in-hand with anonymity, responsible behavior, purposively directed toward reality testing, may depend upon the establishment of identity and uniqueness.
CHAPTER II  

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES  

A. In an attempt to study certain behaviors of Negroes in achievement situations, it is hypothesized that in a situation where the results of one's performance are seen as a function of the individual's own skills and competence, Negroes will resort to the defense mechanisms noted in Chapter I. They should be less likely than whites to rely on previous experiences for future estimations and perform more in accord with generalized expectancies for themselves-as-Negroes in achievement tasks. In essence, rather than meeting the task actively and attempting maximal success, they should anticipate failure and become defensive. In order to test this hypothesis, two groups of Negroes and whites were selected on the basis of similar social class origins and equivalent intelligence estimates as derived from group administered tests at both the U. S. Public Health Service Hospital at Lexington, Kentucky and the Chillicothe Federal Reformatory at Chillicothe, Ohio. These Ss were tested on the Rotter Level of Aspiration Board (LOA), and were also compared on several other personality measures: the Internal-External Control Scale (I-E), and Dean's Alienation Scales (Powerlessness, Social-Isolation, and Normlessness).

The LOA technique is an objective procedure which attempts to study an individual's goal-setting behavior and the effect of success
and failure in attaining these goals upon the setting of future goals. According to Rotter (37), who has written a historical review of the level of aspiration area, early studies of LOA were concerned primarily with testing hypotheses developed by the Lewinian group. A clear theoretical rationale for the instrument as a measure of individual personality variables was presented in an article by Lewin et al. (25). These writers attributed behavior in the LOA situation to three factors: 1) the seeking of success; 2) the avoidance of failure; and 3) the cognitive factor of probability judgment.

P. Sears (44) and Rotter (39) have discussed the hypotheses that LOA behavior reveals the kind of defenses which the individual uses in anticipation of failure. In Rotter's early studies with the LOA technique (40), he found significantly higher frequencies of cautious or defensive patterns displayed by a group of crippled college students, who were not handicapped on the task itself, compared to a group of other college students. In the same article Rotter demonstrated with other selected groups that a relationship existed between patterns drawn from LOA performance and life histories with regard to past successes and failures. Cohen (8), Raifman (35), Sheehan and Zelen (46), and Jost (21) have each found relationships between LOA performance and different diagnostic groupings. Such research has shown the LOA situation to be a useful tool in studying self-evaluation in the confrontation of problems.
Before presenting the hypotheses dealing with LOA behavior, the indices which describe performance on the Rotter LOA Board will be listed and defined. They are as follows:

1. The D-score: the mean of the difference between each estimate and the preceding performance score. In Rotter's original sample of 205 Ss, the mean D-score was 1.99 with an S.D. of 2.79.

2. Number of Shifts: the number of changes of estimate made by the S. In Rotter's original group the mean frequency of shifts was 9.53 with an S.D. of 4.70.

3. Unusual Shifts: shifting an estimate up after failure and down after success. In Rotter's sample, no unusual shifts appeared in more than half the Ss.

4. Patterns: Rotter has described nine of these over-all patterns on the LOA Board. The patterns are characterized by various combinations of the above indices, and they are determined on the basis of their psychological significance.

The patterns as they have been described by Rotter (41) are as follows:

1. Low Positive D-Score Pattern

This is the culturally expected "normal" reaction to success and failure. It is the middle ground of flexibility and stability. The D-score range is from +1.0 to +2.5 inclusive. There are an average number of shifts and one or no unusual shifts.

2. Low Negative or very slightly Positive D-Score Pattern

D-scores are between -2.5 and +.9. The tendency is in the direction of cautiousness and protection as a defense against failure. There are an average number of shifts and one or no unusual shifts.

3. Medium High D-Score Pattern

Usually, a D-score from +2.6 to +6.0 and an average number of shifts. These Ss set high goals and try hard to reach them. This is the pattern of the aggressive, ambitious individual. There are an average number of shifts and one or no unusual shifts.
4. Achievement-Follower Pattern

There is no stability of estimates and a large number of shifts (13 or more). The D-score is usually close to zero. These are individuals who have difficulty in making their own decisions. They change their estimates frequently making them the same or close to the previous achievement.

5. The Step-Pattern

D-scores may range from low positive to high positive, but are usually fairly high. The only shifts are upward. S refuses to lower his estimate after failure. Once he has made an estimate he feels he must reach it without retreating. This behavior is termed stubborn and persistent.

6. Very High Positive D-Score Pattern

A D-score above +6.0. The estimates set by the S are so unrealistically high that success becomes a matter of chance. Therefore, the individual need not feel that he himself has failed when he does not succeed. Unusual shifts are customarily up after failure.

7. High Negative D-Score Pattern

A D-score below -2.0. There is usually more than one shift down after success. The pattern indicates a strong desire for protection against failure.

8. Rigid Pattern

An absence of shifts. S avoids the problem situation by maintaining the original estimate or one set early in the task, regardless of the achievement.

9. The Confused or Breakdown Pattern

A very high frequency of shifts and unusual shifts of both kinds are frequent. The S actually seems to break down in the problem situation. He appears impulsive and unpredictable and his behavior lacks consistency.

Experimental hypotheses about LOA behavior

From the LOA measures described above, certain inferences may be drawn about what has been called "responsible behavior" in the introductory chapter. Responsible behavior in achievement situations may be
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depicted as task-engagement with cognizance of one's own skills and previous performances in that task; that is, active involvement with "realistic" aspirations derived from reliable self-estimations in previous similar experiences.

Previous research has indicated that the number of shifts in the LOA task relates to a general stability and self-confidence. A high frequency of shifts seems to occur with individuals who do not use their previous experience to establish some consistent estimate of their performance but rather keep changing their estimates with each new result. A low frequency of shifts is characteristic of a defensive, rigid pattern of performance.

The first hypothesis is: Negroes will show greater variance in shifting than whites.

Unusual shifts likewise suggest failure of the Ss to establish more reliable estimates of a stable skill, and suggest dependence on luck or magical, non-self-controlled factors. Our second hypothesis is: Negroes will make more unusual shifts than whites.

Of the LOA patterns described above, 1 and 3 indicate a stable, ambitious overestimation approach as opposed to the other patterns that are more failure-avoidant. Consequently, the third hypothesis is: Fewer Negroes than whites will perform in the combined 1 and 3 Patterns. We may consider Patterns 1 and 3 as a definition of task-involvement with realistic self-appraisal that is intrinsic to the notion of responsibility.
Internal versus external control

Rotter, Seeman, and Liverant (42), in a recent review of the I-E concept, explore its history and its relations to other psychological and sociological concepts, and propose research to investigate this variable further. The writers state:

As a general principle, internal control refers to the perception of positive and/or negative events as being a consequence of one's own actions and thereby under personal control. . . . external control refers to the perception of positive and/or negative events as being unrelated to one's own behaviors in certain situations and therefore beyond personal control. (42, p. 38)

In a very real sense this variable may lie at the heart of what is called responsible behavior, since, if a person perceives his reinforcements as externally controlled, he would not exert himself to try to succeed and to avoid difficulties.

Phares (32) notes in one study that a greater number of unusual shifts on the LOA task were obtained from a group of external-controls than a comparable group of internals. Simmons (47) likewise found a greater number of unusual shifts among external-control females though not in his male sample. However, he also found external-control males to be defensive in the face of possible failure, producing more maladjustive patterns on the Rotter LOA Board.

We predict, therefore, that on a measure of internal-external control, Negroes will indicate a greater belief in external-control than a comparative group of white Ss.
Alienation

In a recent article by M. Seeman (45), the variable "alienation" has been defined in such a manner as to make it a more useful variable in social research. Seeman has refined the more global and less useful concept of alienation into more specific variables of powerlessness, normlessness, isolation, meaninglessness, and self-estrangement. Of these, we will concentrate on the former three which have been put into operational form by M. Dean (10), a former student of Seeman's.

Powerlessness is defined as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcements he seeks." This variable has much in common with the concept of Rotter et al. of internal-external control, although Seeman places emphasis upon man's powerlessness in his relation to the larger social order.

Secondly, normlessness is said to be a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals." This concept is said to derive from Durkheim's "anomie" which denotes a situation in which social norms regulating individual conduct have broken down or are no longer effective as rules for behavior. Normlessness, then, relates to the loss of commonly held standards and the development of instrumental, manipulative attitudes.

The third variant of alienation, social-isolation, refers to those who "assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically valued in the given society."
All three alienation variables may be related to responsible behavior: powerlessness, for the same reasons as I-E; normlessness, because of the disbelief in the success potentials of reliable achievement-seeking behavior; and isolation, because of the disenchantment with socially desirable ends. The three variables may be said to represent pessimism regarding self-means, society's means and society's ends. Each presumably eventuates in lowered effort, avoidance of achievement challenges and irresponsibility.

As predicted with the I-E variable, it is hypothesized that Negroes will score higher on measures of powerlessness, normlessness, and isolation. High scores on these measures may also correlate with defensive behaviors in the LOA situation.

B. If it is found that Negroes do tend to avoid achievement challenges, as hypothesized in the first half of this chapter, due to their expectancies that they as Negroes are more apt to fail, then the possibility of altering expectations and subsequent behavior may lie with a change in the reference group within which the Negro is functioning. If a Negro were responded to on the basis of a group membership other than racial, his behavior in challenging situations might differ considerably from behaviors elicited in situations where there is no available alternative to his role as a Negro.

Kurt Lewin in a discussion of minority group problems, speaking particularly of Jews, notes the shift in perspectives from the Ghetto to the Post-Ghetto period:

Using a term of dynamic psychology, we can say that the individual in so far as his Jewishness is concerned, becomes to a higher degree a separated whole than he was in the time
of the Ghetto. At that time he felt the pressure to be essentially applied to the Jewish group as a whole. Now as a result of the disintegration of the group he is much more exposed to pressure as an individual. The weakening of the pressure against Jews as a group since the Ghetto period has been accompanied by a development which has shifted the point of application of external forces from the group to the individual. . . . This shows the extent the previous behavior was due to the previous situation, a situation in which the individual was uncertain whether a disparagement of his work was attributable to its lack of merit or to the fact that its creator was a Jew. Even though the occasions for this uncertainty might have been rare, they could have the lasting effect of depriving the person of standards by which to measure the extent and limits of his ability, and in this way make him unsure of his own worth. (24, p. 183)

Let us now apply Lewin's theorizing to Negroes who are also "ghetto-ized" and clearly delineated by color, as Jews were previously delineated by arm bands, Semitic features and names. If Negroes were responded to not simply as racial-group members but as specific individuals with many identifications other than racial, the individual would feel greater pressure upon himself with clearer standards by which to measure his own worth and abilities.

Clinical observations by this writer of Negro patients at the Lexington Narcotics Hospital, who occupy positions in positive reference groups other than racial, seem to bear out the Lewinian notions. These patients appeared less defensive and withdrawn in social interactions than the not-so-distinctive Negro patients and were more able to accept blame for failure. They were more realistic in planning their futures and made use of past experiences of failure and success. The observed sample was largely comprised of jazz-musicians.
In essence, the Negro who occupies positions in non-racial, positive reference groups may be less defensive and withdrawn in the face of achievement challenges than a Negro who has no alternative roles with which to operate in social interactions. Since the jazz-musician role is a highly valued one for Negro youths, this role will be used experimentally in an attempt to manipulate expectations and behavior in achievement and social interaction situations.

At the Chillicothe Federal Reformatory there are several clubs operating to help further avocational interests of the prisoners. One, the Band and Music Club, is largely comprised of amateur and novice jazz-musicians, who are predominantly Negroes. The "musicians" would probably like to perceive themselves as musicians but have not established themselves in that profession beyond the confines of the institution. Consequently, their identifications with the musician role would be tenuous at best.

The plan of the experiment was to structure the investigation as being concerned with the interests, opinions, and skills of jazz musicians. Three groups of Negro Ss were used. We selected, first, those who had shown enduring interest in jazz as indicated by continued membership in the Band and Music Club; second, a group comprised of individuals who had joined the club but stopped attending after a brief period of time; third, a group was chosen that had never affiliated themselves with any music clubs.

After brief interviews concerning jazz interests, the Ss were administered the LOA task, a questionnaire concerning favored musicians, and the I-E and alienation scales described previously. We predict that
the Negroes most responsive to the jazz cues would be those who had maintained their membership in the club. The control Ss were merely informed that they had been picked at random and were not offered any cues relating to jazz. This was done to maximize the "namelessness" said to be the Negro's plight.

In the LOA task, we hypothesize there will be differences among the three groups: the jazz musicians (J) will show fewer extremes in shifting than the jazz-club-quitters (Q) or the controls (C). They will display neither too many nor too few shifts. Similarly, the Q group will show fewer extremes than the C group. Secondly, the number of unusual shifts will increase in ascending order from J to Q to C. Thirdly, the J group will show the greatest incidence of Patterns 1 and 2, the Q group fewer, and the C group least.

On the I-E and alienation scales, the three groups are predicted to show these differences: the C group will be highest in all scale measures, the Q group second and the J group lowest in scale scores.

Briefly, the Negroes given alternative roles would be expected to shift away from the withdrawn "distance" sorts of behaviors toward those that appear more task-engaging and responsible. We predict they would accept more self-blame for failure and consequently display better assessment for future choices. That the LOA behavior can be affected by such social manipulations has been shown in earlier experimentation by Preston and Bayton (33), Chapman and Volkmann (5), and MacIntosh (27).

In the study by Preston and Bayton, the experimental manipulation involved providing white Ss' norms to Negro Ss who, as a consequence,
lowered their estimates of least possible achievement. Thus, the
sensitivity of the LOA task to social manipulations has already been
demonstrated.

Besides the aforementioned measurements, all the Ss in these
three groups were called back to participate in a two-person zero-sum
game with an unidentified white S who was a confederate of the
experimenter.

Displays of masculinity are of prime value in the reformatory.
To be outwitted and beaten by another man through one's own lack of
cleverness is an affront to one's sense of competence and adequacy. We
structured the second situation in such a way as to accentuate competi-
tion and stressed the idea that it was a game of wits, a test of who
could outsmart whom. Either player had the option to quit at any time,
declaring himself the loser. This game, referred to as Nim by Harvard
mathematician C. L. Bonton in 1901, is not really a fair game. By
acting upon a set of memorized combinations one player can control the
outcome and win each time. The stooges were directed to control the
games in their favor. Each S's performance in Nim was evaluated in
terms of his persistence in the face of continuous failure threatening
his adequacy.

The alternatives available for each S were to quit and risk
little or to persist and so risk all of the chips with which he had
begun. An immediate withdrawal from the game may be compared to Patterns
2 and 7 from the LOA situation, both of which stress failure-avoidance
through minimal or defensively low aspirations. Persistence in the face
of continual failure, on the other hand, may be construed as similar to
Patterns 5, 6, and 8. Pattern 5 is characterized as the stubborn and persistent pattern in which the S refuses to lower his estimates despite failure. Pattern 6 refers to performance where the S sets unrealistically high goals and refuses to compromise with his failures. Pattern 8 refers to the rigid pattern in which the S maintains his original estimate regardless of achievement.

Patterns 1 and 3, described as the more realistic and responsible patterns in the LOA task, may be seen as analogous to playing a few trials, accurately assessing the improbability of winning, and deciding to quit while still ahead monetarily.

It is hypothesized that the less defensive person, the individual with an alternative role to that of "Negro," will try his hand at the game several times and then quit with admission of defeat. On the other hand, the more defensive Negro with no alternative roles will be more guarded, will quit after very few trials or will play too long, denying defeat and losing all the chips with which he had begun.

Specifically, it is predicted that the J group will play, on the average, more than the minimal number of games (zero), but considerably less than the maximum of fifteen. The Q and C groups, contrarily, are predicted to play more defensively, quitting immediately, or playing the maximum allowable, taking little cognizance of their failures.

Quitting with the acknowledgment that one is "inadequate" in a particular situation seems analogous to being a "good-sport," a person who can realistically evaluate his performance and tolerate failure without excessive defensiveness. The Nim situation may therefore be interpreted similarly to the LOA situation in its emphasis on response to previous failures.
CHAPTER III

METHODS

The Rotter Level of Aspiration Board

This is one of several techniques which have been used to study level of aspiration. Rotter has described the task in detail (38). In this test the S is given 20 trials which consist of 5 hits of the ball per trial. Before each trial the S is asked to estimate what the sum of his 5 hits will be for that trial. If the S's actual score goes over his estimate, he is credited only with his estimate; if his actual score falls below the estimate, two points are subtracted from his estimate for each point he falls below it. This scoring system is designed to insure that the S will report accurate expectancies rather than wishes. Both to assure involvement and to increase the pressure for accuracy in estimations, the Ss' earned scores, which take accuracy into account, were tallied. The S was given a pack of cigarettes for each 50 points he had at the conclusion of the task.

Four indices of performance are scored for each S. These have been described in the preceding chapter, so they will be listed only briefly here: 1) D-score; 2) number of shifts; 3) unusual shifts; and 4) patterns. Pattern numbers 1 through 9 each represents a different pattern of response. The scoring utilized Rotter's definition of these indices and his descriptions of the patterns (41).
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The measure of internal-external control

Use was made of the I-E Scale developed by Liverant et al. within the framework of Social Learning Theory (41) to assess the internal-external control dimension. By internal-external control, Liverant refers to an expectancy construct by means of which an individual categorizes events as within or beyond the bounds of his personal understanding and responsibility (42).

In its present form, the scale consists of 23 forced choice pairs of items, with 6 additional buffer items. (The I-E Scale and instructions for administration appear in Appendix D.) The possible range of total I-E scores is 0 to 23. High scores on the scale are interpreted as belief in external control; low scores signify belief in internal control.

The measures of powerlessness-isolation-normlessness

These three alienation variables were measured by the "Public Opinion Questionnaire" devised by D. Dean (10) in accord with M. Seeman's theorizing on alienation. By powerlessness, Dean refers to an expectancy of an individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes he seeks.

Isolation refers to the assignment of low reward value to goals and beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society. This variable reflects the degree to which an individual is committed to conventional values.
Normlessness refers to the high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals. This variable focuses on the efficacy of means to attain goals as opposed to the previous two which deal with one's competence or valuation of the goals in question.

The scale devised to measure these constructs consists of 24 Likert scale items. (Reproduction of the alienation scales appears in Appendix C.) There are 9 items in the powerlessness scale, the range of scores being from 0 to 36. The isolation measure also consists of 9 items, the range of scores being from 0 to 36. The normlessness scale is composed of 6 items, the range of scores being from 0 to 24. High scores in each scale are interpreted as belief in powerlessness, isolation and normlessness respectively. Low scores are interpreted as the reverse of these beliefs.

Nim

Since there are no references to this game in psychological literature, the procedure will be described in detail. Nim appears simple, and from superficial observation appears to be an easily mastered game. It consists of picking up matches until one player is left with the last match, this player being the loser. Nim has received some publicity in the French movie "Last Year at Marienbad." Time Magazine (48) devoted coverage to Nim a year ago and cited the combinations necessary for winning.

In brief, 16 matches are initially laid out in rows of 7, 5, 3, and 1. Each player can remove as many matches as he wishes during each
turn. However, those he chooses must be from the same row during that particular play. The game is such that if a player finds himself facing any one of 17 particular combinations which can easily emerge during the course of play, then the probability of his winning is close to zero unless the opponent fails to follow up his advantage. These combinations are as follows:

For Four rows: $7-5-3-1$, $7-4-2-1$, $6-5-2-1$, $6-4-3-1$
$5-5-1-1$, $4-4-1-1$, $3-3-1-1$, $2-2-1-1$

For Three rows: $6-5-3$, $6-4-2$, $5-4-1$, $3-2-1$, $1-1-1$

For Two rows: $5-5$, $4-4$, $3-3$, $2-2$.

At the start of this game each player was supplied with $2.00 worth of chips. For each game played the Ss had to wager $.10. They were instructed that they could quit at any time after beginning although their chips would be redeemed at only 50 percent of their value if they were the first to quit. The chips were said to be worth cigarettes at $.25 a pack.

Each S played against a stooge who was well-practiced in the use of the combinations. The stooge won each game including the practice game at the start to provide the S with a continuous failure experience. The S and the stooge were separated from each other by a screen to preserve the stooge's anonymity. We described the stooge as "just another inmate who was not a jazz musician." Only the hands were visible as they manipulated the match sticks.

S was allowed a maximum of 15 plays since time limitations forbade extending the games any further. From initial experimentation it was concluded that if a player persisted through 15 trials he would usually
go on to 20 and use up all his chips. The resulting scores ranged therefore from 0 to 15.

Scores around 0 were interpreted as cautious and defensive. They revealed low expectancies of success in a task requiring cleverness. High scores approaching 15 were interpreted as denial of failure with inflexibility in revising self-estimations. Scores near 7, the midpoint of the possible range, were interpreted as success-striving with flexible self-assessment; the individual was able to declare himself a loser without defensiveness.

Subjects

Two samples were used within the study. The first, two groups of 25 Negroes and 25 whites, was drawn from the patient population at the U. S. Public Health Service Hospital at Lexington, Kentucky and the inmate population at the Chillicothe Federal Reformatory at Chillicothe, Ohio. Seventeen of the 50 Ss were drawn from the Lexington hospital. These Ss were selected on the basis of similar social class and comparable intelligence estimates. For the most part, the Ss were of lower class origin while intelligence levels were all within the average range (IQ between 90 and 110). The second sample was comprised of 60 Negro Ss drawn from the population at the Chillicothe Federal Reformatory. Twenty of the Ss had shown a persistent interest in jazz by maintaining membership in the Band and Music Club for at least six months. Another twenty Ss were drawn from a list of persons who had joined the music club but stopped attending after a brief period. A third group which
had never had any affiliation with music-interest groups was chosen at random from the population.

"F" tests revealed no differences between the three groups in intelligence (Beta IQ and Stanford Achievement Tests), age, grade-level in school, social class, types of crime leading to commitment and length of time spent at the reformatory. The mean age of the total sample was 21.6 years. Mean Beta IQ was 98.5, Stanford Achievement Test, 7.35 (grade equivalence). The average school grade achieved was 9.2, and the mean length of stay at the reformatory was 17.7 months. Car theft was the modal crime of all groups. Mail and check thefts were second in frequency.

Procedure

The first sample of 50 were instructed that they had been picked at random from their respective institutions to participate in a research study that was independent of the interests of the institution. They were told that they would be able to earn some cigarettes for themselves in the investigations. For the most part the Ss were cooperative, especially after this information was given. We first presented each S with the LOA Board using Rotter's standard instructions (38). After he had finished participating in the LOA task, the S was given the I-E and alienation scales.

In the second sample, each S from the jazz-musician (J) and jazz-club quitter (Q) groups was informed that he had been chosen to be a subject in an experiment because of his known interest in jazz. We explained that the study concerned the interests, opinions, and skills
of jazz musicians. Each S was then questioned about his interests in the music field, about the musicians on the "compound," etc. (The interview schedule used to provide the jazz cues is located in Appendix A.) The LOA task was then administered with the standard instructions. Following that, the Ss were given a scale eliciting their ratings of known jazz musicians (Appendix B). This scale was used to further accentuate the jazz cues. The I-E and alienation scales were presented afterward. At the end of this session each S was informed that he would be called in again for a second session. The control group (C) went through the identical procedure without the jazz cues. Since these Ss had never displayed interest in jazz, the cues would have been inappropriate.

The second session was spent playing Nim. All 60 Ss were called in on a Friday afternoon and the following Saturday morning. The games were run as quickly as possible to offset the spread of rumors about the game's difficulty. Two white jazz musicians and two "extra" Negro Ss were allowed to win on the first day so that information leaks would not be uniformly discouraging.

Each S was led into an empty room and seated on the far side of a table that held a screen across the center. We instructed the S that the screen was for the players' protection and that by preserving anonymity no hard feelings would carry over to the compound. Each S was then informed that he would play in a game with an opponent who was not a jazz musician but just another inmate who knew nothing about music. At this point the E would leave the room to call in the stooge. The stooge was then seated and also instructed about the screen. Both stooge and S
were advised not to speak so as to better maintain their anonymity. No peeking occurred and there is good evidence that the Ss did not know with whom they were playing.

The C group was instructed similarly except that the jazz cues were omitted. The screen was placed just high enough above the table to reveal only the match sticks and hands. The S and stooge were enjoined to signal the E silently when either wished to quit. The instructions for this situation are to be found in Appendix E. After completion of the experiment, the stooge was led out first as he was nearest the door and S was left to wait for the return of E. S was then led out to the exit to prevent him from talking to the next group of Ss who were in the waiting room.

In total, only 52 of the original 60 Ss were participants in the Nim situation. Disciplinary actions had isolated the remaining eight from the rest of the population. Three experimenters with four stooges helped to complete this part of the experiment.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of the present study will be presented variable by variable. That is, each dependent variable will be evaluated for differences between whites and Negroes, differences within the three Negro samples (j, Q, and C), and differences between the white controls and the aforementioned three Negro groups. The correlational relationships among the various measures will then be presented.

Hypotheses about level-of-aspiration behavior

The first hypothesis concerned the number of shifts on the LOA Board. For the first sample of 25 Negroes and 25 whites, it was predicted that Negroes would make more shifts than whites. There were no mean differences found between Negro and white samples in frequency of shifts. However, the standard deviation of the Negro sample was significantly greater than that of the white sample ($t = 2.33$, $p < .05$) (see Table 1). When a subsequent comparison is made of the proportions of whites and Negroes who gave an infrequent number of shifts (less than 4 and more than 12), the difference is significant in the predicted direction (Table 2).

For the second sample of 60 Negroes we hypothesized that there would be differences among the J, Q, and C groups. Specifically, it
TABLE 1

"t" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE NUMBER OF SHIFTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2

"t" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCE IN PROPORTIONS OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE MAKING OF AN INFREQUENT NUMBER OF SHIFTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than 4 and more than 12.

was expected that the J sample would show fewer extremes in shifting than either the Q or C groups and the Q group would show fewer than the C group. As demonstrated in Tables 3 and 4 no differences were found among the three groups in either number of shifts or proportion of Ss showing an infrequent number of shifts.

TABLE 3

"F" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE J, Q, AND C GROUPS IN THE FREQUENCY OF SHIFTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.25</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td></td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.25</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4

CONTINGENCY TABLE COMPARING THE NUMBER OF J, Q, AND C Ss MAKING
AN INFREQUENT VERSUS A FREQUENT NUMBER OF SHIFTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Usual #</th>
<th>Unusual #</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparing the white Ss in the first sample and the 60 Negro Ss of the second, replication is found for the proportion of Ss making an unusual number of shifts. Negroes were also found to make a higher mean number of shifts than whites. Since both sample size and standard deviations were different, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was performed instead of the parametric t test (3).

TABLE 5

MANN-WHITNEY U-TEST OF THE DIFFERENCES IN NUMBER OF SHIFTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Mean Rank</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9.08</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.76</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 6

"t" TEST BETWEEN PROPORTIONS OF NEGRO AND WHITE Ss MAKING AN UNUSUAL NUMBER OF SHIFTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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## CONTENTS

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<td>II. BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES</td>
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<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second hypothesis predicted that Negroes would make more unusual shifts than whites. First, the proportion of Ss making none and one or more unusual shifts were compared; second, a comparison was made of the proportions of Ss making none or one unusual shift and those making two or more unusual shifts. The second comparison minimizes the effects of the occasionally justifiable unusual shift. Such shifts may occur when a previous failure was almost a success, or when the S realizes that the play is the last in the series and he attempts to make one last high score. In both comparisons, a greater proportion of Negroes made unusual shifts than whites (see Tables 7 and 8).

**TABLE 7**

"t" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCES IN PROPORTIONS BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE MAKING OF UNUSUAL SHIFTS (WHERE COMPARISON IS BETWEEN ZERO AND ONE OR MORE UNUSUAL SHIFTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 8**

"t" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCES IN PROPORTIONS BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE MAKING OF UNUSUAL SHIFTS (WHERE COMPARISON IS BETWEEN ZERO AND ONE, AND TWO OR MORE UNUSUAL SHIFTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the second sample, the prediction was that the number of unusual shifts would decrease in order from the C to the Q to the J group. The results did not confirm this hypothesis; there were no significant differences among the three samples (see Tables 9 and 10).

**TABLE 9**

CONTINGENCY TABLE COMPARING THE FREQUENCY OF UNUSUAL SHIFTS FOR EACH OF THE THREE GROUPS (WHERE COMPARISON IS BETWEEN ZERO, AND ONE OR MORE UNUSUAL SHIFTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Usual</th>
<th>Unusual</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 10**

CONTINGENCY TABLE COMPARING THE FREQUENCY OF UNUSUAL SHIFTS FOR EACH OF THE THREE GROUPS (WHERE COMPARISON IS BETWEEN ZERO AND ONE, AND TWO OR MORE UNUSUAL SHIFTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Usual</th>
<th>Unusual</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a comparison of the white Ss from the first sample with the 60 Negro Ss in the second sample, the differences approached significance though to a lesser magnitude than in the first comparative finding (Tables 11 and 12).
TABLE 11
"t" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCES IN PROPORTION OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE MAKING OF UNUSUAL SHIFTS (WHERE COMPARISON IS BETWEEN ZERO, AND ONE OR MORE UNUSUAL SHIFTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 12
"t" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCES IN PROPORTION OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE MAKING OF UNUSUAL SHIFTS (WHERE COMPARISON IS BETWEEN ZERO AND ONE, AND TWO OR MORE UNUSUAL SHIFTS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third hypothesis concerned the incidence of Patterns 1 and 3. It was predicted that fewer Negroes than whites would perform in the combined 1 and 3 patterns. In the initial comparative samples this hypothesis is borne out, whites having 1 and 3 patterns significantly more often than Negroes (Table 13).

TABLE 13
"t" TEST OF THE PROPORTION OF SUBJECTS PERFORMING IN PATTERNS 1 AND 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the second sample, it was predicted that the J group would show a greater frequency of 1 and 3 patterns than either the Q or C groups. The hypothesis was not validated; no significant differences were found among the groups (Table 14).

**TABLE 14**

**CONTINGENCY TABLE COMPARING THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH THE J, Q, AND C GROUPS PERFORM IN THE 1 AND 3 PATTERNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>1 and 3</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the sample of 60 Negroes is compared with the white sample of 25, the differences noted originally in the pattern frequencies were replicated. Whites showed significantly greater incidence of Patterns 1 and 3 (Table 15).

**TABLE 15**

"t" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCE IN PROPORTIONS OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE PERFORMING OF 1 AND 3 PATTERNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although no specific hypotheses were formulated for the prediction of D-scores, the groups were compared on this measure. No differences were found between Negro and white samples ($t = .45, ns$) or between the J, Q, and C groups ($F = .83, ns$).
Hypotheses concerning I-E, powerlessness, isolation, and normlessness

Table 16 gives the mean scores for Negroes and whites on the I-E scale and the powerlessness, isolation and normlessness measures. The t values for the significance of the differences between group means are also presented in Table 16. It can be seen that, in this sample, only the I-E scale tended to differentiate Negroes from whites and, then, only at the .10 level (Table 16).

**Table 16**

"t" TESTS OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NEGROES (N=25) AND WHITES (N=25) IN MEAN SCORES ON THE I-E SCALE, POWERLESSNESS, ISOLATION, AND NORMLESSNESS SCALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Negro Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>White Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>t*</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-E</td>
<td>8.52</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>7.28</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>16.68</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>14.52</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isol</td>
<td>15.68</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>18.16</td>
<td>6.84</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norm</td>
<td>10.88</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>9.88</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Two tailed tests of significance.

Comparisons between groups J, Q, and C reveal a similar lack of differences except for the social-isolation variable. An F value approximating the .06 probability level is found in Table 17. The greatest significance derives from a difference in a mean value of 3.7 between the J and C groups which produces a t-ratio of 2.46 that is significant at the .05 level.
**TABLE 17**

"F" TEST OF MEAN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE J, Q, AND C GROUPS ON I-E, POWERLESSNESS, ISOLATION, AND NORMLESSNESS SCALES (N=60)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Jazz Music</th>
<th>Quitters</th>
<th>Controls</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-E</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isol</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norm</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 displays comparisons between the white Ss and the 60 Negro Ss. In this enlarged sample, although there are different Ns for the Negro and white samples, the standard deviations were not significantly different so that "t" tests were performed for differences between the means. Significant differences are found in the expected directions; Negroes scored higher in three of the four test measures.

**TABLE 18**

"t" TESTS OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NEGROES (N=60) AND WHITES (N=25) IN MEAN SCORES ON THE I-E, POWERLESSNESS, ISOLATION, AND NORMLESSNESS SCALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-E</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isol</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norm</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypotheses concerning Nim

The original predictions for Nim were that the J group would play more than the minimal number of games, but considerably less than the maximum. On the other hand, it was predicted that the Q and C groups would behave more defensively by quitting immediately or playing the maximum allowable.

The findings reported in Tables 19 and 20, however, demonstrate that although there are significant differences among the three groups with regard to the number of trials played, few Ss in each of the groups played an intermediate number of trials; most Ss either quit after two plays or persisted beyond 13. As shown in both tables, the J group persisted considerably longer than either the Q or C groups. While the difference between the Q and C group fails to reach the .10 level of significance, the direction of the differences places the Q group between the C and J groups, the Q group being more nearly evenly split between "quitters" and "persisters."

**TABLE 19**

"F" TEST OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE J, Q, AND C GROUPS IN THE NUMBER OF GAMES PLAYED IN NIM*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.47</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>6.68</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Corrected for unequal Ns (29).
TABLE 20

CONTINGENCY TABLE COMPARING THE NUMBER OF Ss IN THE J, Q, AND C GROUPS WHO MADE 0-2 PLAYS, 3-12 PLAYS, AND 13-15 PLAYS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>0-2</th>
<th>3-12</th>
<th>13-15</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.21</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the data do not appear normally distributed and there are differences in variability, the non-parametric equivalent of the "F," the Kruskal-Wallis H, was computed on the same data. Results indicated an H value of 11.36, p < .01.

To better demonstrate the Nim findings, Table 20 displays the frequency of occurrence of the number of plays for each group.

Correlational relationships among personality measures

The purpose of this part of the data analysis is to explore the possible relationships among the paper-and-pencil measures and the behavioral indices derived from the LOA and Nim tasks. The correlations are presented in Tables 21 and 22.

Table 21 gives the correlations among the four test measures. As was expected, the correlations suggest the similarity in the nature of these different constructs. Although the relationships among the alienation measures are all of lesser magnitude than those reported by Dean (10), they are all significant and in the expected directions.
TABLE 21

CORRELATIONS AMONG THE I-E AND ALIENATION MEASURES (N=60)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I-E</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Soc-Iso</th>
<th>Norm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-E</td>
<td>.39**</td>
<td></td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td></td>
<td>.44**</td>
<td></td>
<td>.48**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc-Iso</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.44**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.28*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05.

**p < .01.

Table 22 presents the correlations between the four paper-and-pencil measures and the behavioral indices. Six measures were drawn from the IOA task. In order, as they appear in the table, they are:

1. **Unusual shifts**: This measure compares Ss who make none vs. those who make one or more unusual shifts.
2. **Unusual shifts**: This division contrasts Ss making 0-1 vs. Ss making 2+ unusual shifts.
3. **Number of shifts**: The number of shifts made, regardless of direction or appropriateness.
4. **Infrequent number of shifts**: This division refers to Ss who make either 3 or less or 13 or more shifts vs. those who make between 4 and 12 shifts (based on Rotter's norms reported on p. 12).
5. **Patterns**: Here the division lies between Ss performing in 1 and 3 Patterns and all others.
6. **D-scores**: This is the direct relationship between D-scores and personality measures.

The last column [7] in Table 16, displays the relationships between the number of games played in Nim and the I-E and alienation measures.

Of the correlations reported, only two reach statistical significance. These two are reversals of theoretical expectations. For one,
TABLE 22
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERSONALITY MEASURES, LOA, AND NIM BEHAVIOR INDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1a</th>
<th>2a</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4b</th>
<th>5a</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-E</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.37*</td>
<td>-.31**</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc-Iso</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norm</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aPoint-biserial correlations.  
*bBiserial correlations.  
* p < .05.  
** p < .02.

the correlation between I-E and infrequent number of shifts is negative; the "infrequent-shifters" score more internal than the "usual-shifters" on the I-E scale. Similarly, Pattern 1 and 3 players seem more external than the "other-pattern" players. However, since only two of the 28 correlations are significant these could be chance findings.

Normlessness approached significance in its relation with Nim, the r of .25 falling short of the .05 level but within the .10 level of significance.

A two-way classification analysis of variance was done comparing powerlessness, experimental grouping and number of shifts in the LOA task. Although the interaction term fails to reach significance (see Table 23), the relationship between powerlessness and number of shifts (3) is considerably greater when the Q group is omitted, the r reaching .49, p < .01.
TABLE 23

"F" TEST OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POWERLESSNESS, EXPERIMENTAL GROUPINGS AND NUMBER OF SHIFTS IN THE LOA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Powerlessness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td>6.97</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exptl. Grp.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.11</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Corrected for unequal Ns (49).
### TABLES

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<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test of the Differences between Negroes and Whites in the Number of Shifts</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test of the Difference in Proportions of Negroes and Whites in the Making of an Infrequent Number of Shifts</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>&quot;F&quot; Test of the Differences among the J, Q, and C Groups in the Frequency of Shifts</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Contingency Table Comparing the Number of J, Q, and C Ss Making an Infrequent Versus a Frequent Number of Shifts</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mann-Whitney U-test of the Differences in Number of Shifts</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test between Proportions of Negro and White Ss Making an Unusual Number of Shifts</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test of the Differences in Proportions between Negroes and Whites in the Making of Unusual Shifts (Where Comparison Is between Zero and One or More Unusual Shifts)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test of the Differences in Proportions between Negroes and Whites in the Making of Unusual Shifts (Where Comparison Is between Zero and One, and Two or More Unusual Shifts)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Contingency Table Comparing the Frequency of Unusual Shifts for Each of the Three Groups (Where Comparison Is between Zero, and One or More Unusual Shifts)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Contingency Table Comparing the Frequency of Unusual Shifts for Each of the Three Groups (Where Comparison Is between Zero and One, and Two or More Unusual Shifts)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test of the Differences in Proportion of Negroes and Whites in the Making of Unusual Shifts (Where Comparison Is between Zero, and One or More Unusual Shifts)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test of the Differences in Proportion of Negroes and Whites in the Making of Unusual Shifts (Where Comparison Is between Zero and One, and Two or More Unusual Shifts)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test of the Proportion of Subjects Performing in Patterns 1 and 3</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Negro-white differences in the level-of-aspiration

The results of the present research with the Level of Aspiration Board tend to agree with theorizing about Negro behavior. Differences between Negroes and whites in their responses to skilled, achievement tasks (LOA Board) demonstrate that the Negro is more defensive or failure-avoidant than the white. The latter performs in ways that suggest active commitment to the tasks with more "realistic" self-evaluations than the Negro. In the LOA task personality factors were assessed by the following variables: number of shifts, unusual frequencies of shifts, number of unusual shifts, and pattern-types.

The significantly greater tendency of Negroes to shift either very little or very frequently is interpreted as the Negroes' failure to establish some consistent, success-maximizing estimate of performance. While few shifts suggest failure to readjust self-estimates in line with successes and failures, excessive shifting indicates an inability to construct reliable estimates of performance. Both extremes further suggest that the Negro perceives his achievements as chance or externally-controlled events rather than the direct result of any stable skills of his own. This interpretation is strengthened by the finding

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that Negroes make more unusual shifts (up after failure, down after success) than whites.

It may be inferred from the significantly greater frequency with which whites displayed LOA patterns described as stable and ambitious that the whites are more confident of themselves and esteem themselves more highly than do Negroes. In contrast, by the significantly greater frequency with which they have displayed LOA patterns described as cautious, protective, and failure-avoidant, the Negroes, as a group, seem to lack this self-confidence.

Thus, in skilled, achievement tasks, the Negro seems failure-avoidant and has lower expectancies of success and a concomitant dis-belief that achievements are under internal control.

Differences between Negro groups in the level-of-aspiration

In the experimental manipulation an attempt was made to structure the situation so that Negroes might perform with a higher "freedom of movement" than they would in the Negro-role. As the results indicate, this manipulation failed to alter Negroes' behavior in the LOA task. In nearly all of the above mentioned indices drawn from the LOA, Negroes remained more failure-avoidant and defensive than the comparative white Ss. There were no differences between Negroes treated as jazz musicians and Negroes treated as Ss drawn at random from the available population. The failure of such manipulations to change expectations of Negro Ss may be due to several causes. First, the role of jazz musician, which was accentuated to grant the S distinction and "a name," may be too race-related in and of itself to mitigate the generalized low freedom of movement for achievement that is characteristic of Negro Ss.
A second explanation for the failure in manipulation may lie in the source of the research sample. At the Federal Reformatory inmates are dressed alike, share a subordinate status to the staff, and generally have low freedom of movement for obtaining positive reinforcements from authorities. This very position of inmate is, in a sense, analogous to the Negro role. Both involve "namelessness," low freedom of movement for reinforcements from authorities, and a passive-dependent facade which masks aggressive intents. As suggested by Elkins (14), the prisoner and Negro slave are similar in adaptation to limited choices. The prisoner role, then, may strengthen the Negro role so that a minor manipulative attempt to change behavior as tried here may be insufficient.

A third difficulty may have arisen from what Kardiner and Ovesey (22) have described as the Negroes' tendency to be vigilant and suspicious of others, particularly of whites. One subject in the jazz-musician group challenged the experimenter by registering disbelief in E's interest in jazz musicians. If there was such distrust of this white E, although no other subject voiced such suspicion, it would have served to defeat the attempted manipulation. However, the results from the Nim situation shed doubt on this possible explanation.

The fourth and perhaps most plausible explanation for the failure involved the fact that only two members of the musician group had any experience in music beyond the confines of the institution. The experience of these two was minimal since each had played in only two or three engagements as part of extemporaneously formed bands in small nightclubs. If the identification as jazz musician is marginal, then the jazz cues might arouse defensiveness rather than feelings of adequacy. The
defensiveness in this situation may involve avoidance of failure as a jazz musician rather than as a Negro. In support of this argument, it was found that of the six musicians who were mentioned most frequently in the interview situation as the most involved in music, only one performed in a non-defensive manner; the remaining Ss played in Patterns 6, 7, 8, and 9. Briefly, the jazz cues may have threatened the musician group, especially those who enjoyed status within that group. They may have believed that their tenuous identity as jazz musicians was to be tested against some objective, outside criterion. Consequently, this group would not have performed differently than unselected Negroes who are also defensive against highly expected failure.

Results obtained with internal-external control and the alienation scales

As level-of-aspiration behavior reveals external control and powerlessness in the Negro samples, similar findings were obtained from the scales devised to measure these constructs. Comparisons between whites and an enlarged sample of Negroes support three of the four hypotheses. In brief, Negroes endorsed belief in external control, powerlessness, and normlessness more than whites. On the other hand, social-isolation failed to distinguish between the two racial groups.

The experimental manipulations, however, failed to create differences among the three Negro samples on these test measures. Only social-isolation revealed any differences. Within the Negro groups, the jazz musicians scored higher on the measure of social-isolation than the controls. As social-isolation refers to a low reward value for those
goals and beliefs typically valued in society, the higher scores of the jazz musicians may reveal dyssocial standards that set them apart from other Negro youths.

Within the group of 60 Negro Ss there were few correlations of significance between scale scores and behavior in the Nim and LOA situations. The low intercorrelations may be partially explained by the fact that data from a Negro-inmate population yields a skewed distribution of scores in alienation type variables. That the Negro inmate sample does represent an extreme in the distribution of such variables can be seen in the very large t-ratios obtained between this sample and Dean's normative group (11). The t values are 8.36 (p < .01) for social-isolation, 7.73 (p < .01) for normlessness, and 4.35 (p < .01) for powerlessness. The white sample also showed strong differences from Dean's norms in social isolation (t = 6.67, p < .01) and normlessness (t = 2.48, p < .05). However, white Ss did not score higher on the powerlessness scale than Dean's normative sample (t = .71, n.s.).

Two reversals of theoretical expectations were found in correlations between scale scores and behavioral measures on the LOA Board. Internal-control Ss made infrequent numbers of shifts and displayed fewer Patterns 1 and 3 than external-control Ss in the LOA task. This reversal of previously found relationships suggests the presence of what Rotter has referred to as false internality. The example of the "hipster" who denies external control but whose behavior appears fatalistic and chance-determined is a case in point.

The one finding between test scores and LOA behavior that conforms to theory occurred in only two of the three Negro groups. While the jazz-club-quitter group showed no differences, the musician and control
groups both demonstrated a positive relationship between powerlessness and number of shifts in the LOA task. Since a "powerless" person is one who feels that his reinforcements are unrelated to his efforts, such a person would not be expected to be able to measure his own skills reliably. However, since this significant finding is one out of many insignificant relationships within a skewed distribution, it is possible that the finding was a chance event. This argument gains weight since there is no theoretical reason for the jazz-quitter group to differ from the other two groups in this relationship.

**Results obtained with the Nim situation**

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the hypothesized "rational," non-defensive behavior of admitting defeat after a few trials at Nim was a relatively rare event. Ss either quit almost immediately or persisted beyond reasonable expectations. Consequently, the original hypothesis which contrasted the musicians with the "quitters" and controls was not confirmed. The findings reveal, however, that the musicians persisted for a longer number of trials than did the other groups.

Most of the behavior observed in Nim suggested defensiveness. Those Ss who quit almost immediately admitted their inadequacy and left the situation, thus avoiding further failure experience. On the other hand, the Ss who persisted regardless of losses denied their obvious failure and refused to admit their inadequacy. It was previously conjectured that musicians became defensive in the LOA task due to fear of failure as musicians rather than as Negroes. If this is true, then
the persistence of the musician group may be interpreted as refusal, even at a price, to acknowledge their inadequacy as musicians. To summarize, the other Negro groups (Q and C) held low expectancies of success in Nim and settled for a few packs of cigarettes as compensation for admission of defeat. The musicians, who also feared failure, were unwilling to admit defeat and, consequently, sacrificed their monetary reward to protect their valued role.

It might also be possible to explain the difference in persistence by following N. T. Feather's reasoning. A study by Feather (15) demonstrated that Ss in whom the motive to achieve success was stronger than a motive to avoid failure were more persistent when initial expectancy of success was high. Contrarily, Ss whose motives to avoid failure were greater than their motives to succeed were more persistent when initial expectations of success were low. The Nim game appears easy and the probability of success seems high or at least at the .50 level. The musician group, by virtue of the cues provided, may have become motivated to succeed in this valued role. On the other hand, the control subjects who had no prestigious, gratifying role to defend, and who operated as Negroes with low freedom of movement for obtaining reinforcements from authorities, may have become more motivated to avoid failure and the loss of cigarettes. These two groups, faced with a seemingly simple task, would have shown, according to Feather, the differences in persistence that were obtained.

Regardless of which explanation is accepted, the musicians still appear to have been less concerned with monetary rewards than were the controls. In subsequent interviews with the Ss, the control group
members frequently mentioned maxims such as "bird in the hand . . ." to explain their early quitting. The musicians, however, explained their persistence in playing Nim as due to curiosity rather than concern for cigarettes. Such comments can be interpreted in either of two ways: First, they show achievement motivation and success-striving and, second, they display defensive rationalizations for failure to live up to the jazz-musician role.

One possible contamination in the Nim procedure, which provides a more parsimonious if less significant and interesting explanation for the obtained differences, lies in the order in which the Ss participated in Nim. Since the task was run on two consecutive days, the possibility of information leaks had to be considered. Although it might have been a better procedure to randomize the three groups so that one-third of the first day's Ss were from each group, it was decided to test as many of the jazz musicians as time allowed on the first day. To offset the possibility that all discussions of the experiment would describe it as a losing game, four rather talkative persons were chosen to win on the first day. This strategy seemed effective as the remaining five musicians tested on the second day averaged nearly 15 games. If we assume that the non-musicians tested on the second day were exposed to the same information as these five musicians, then the differences in their performance in Nim should not be a reflection of their information. However, information leaks cannot be completely ignored as one possible explanation of these results.

There were no significant relationships between Nim and the other measured variables although there was a weak correlation between
normlessness and persistence in Nim. The magnitude of this relationship failed to reach the .05 level of significance. No relationship was found between Nim and LOA variables.

Although the results and conclusions of this investigation, for the most part, fall short of providing an adequate test of the theoretical predictions, the two behavioral tests, Level of Aspiration Board and Nim, seem useful as tools for the measurement of certain behaviors. In situations with naive Ss Nim may prove a fruitful technique especially since schedules of reinforcement can be controlled by the experimenter. The Level of Aspiration Board, used in previous personality research, seems again a useful technique to study problems related to feelings of inadequacy.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the present research was to investigate some of the difficulties that confront the American Negro as his opportunities for individual advancement increase. Part of this study focused on Negroes' difficulties in developing what has been called responsible behavior. Secondly, an attempt was made to alter Negroes' behavior patterns by raising their expectancies of success.

Evidence derived from literary and psychological sources that describe Negroes' experiences illuminates a problem of central importance. This is the problem of "being nobody," of having low self-esteem and confidence, and of having little expectancy that one can determine his own fate. Several defense mechanisms which result in irresponsible behavior were noted and interpreted as the consequences of low self-esteem or low expectation of being able to control one's reinforcements.

To test out this description of the Negro as a person who is externally-controlled and has low self-esteem, white and Negro samples were administered the Internal-External Control and Alienation scales. These paper-and-pencil tests purport to measure the degree to which one perceives the values of this culture as obtainable or desirable. Secondly, the subjects were given the Level of Aspiration Board task. Several indices drawn from the LOA were interpreted as reflecting the
### TABLES (contd.)

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<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Contingency Table Comparing the Frequency with Which the J, Q, and C Groups Perform in the 1 and 3 Patterns</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Test of the Difference in Proportions of Negroes and Whites in the Performing of 1 and 3 Patterns</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>&quot;t&quot; Tests of the Differences between Negroes (N=25) and Whites (N=25) in Mean Scores on the I-E Scale, Powerlessness, Isolation, and Normlessness Scales</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>&quot;F&quot; Test of Mean Differences between the J, Q, and C Groups on I-E, Powerlessness, Isolation, and Normlessness Scales (N=60)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
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internal-external control dimension and success-striving versus failure-avoidant behaviors. The indices used were number of shifts, infrequent number of shifts, number of unusual shifts, and patterns. In most of the LOA and paper-and-pencil measures Negroes revealed significantly lower expectancies for obtaining reinforcements through their own efforts. In the LOA task they were more defensive and failure-avoidant than whites, and on the alienation and I-E measures Negroes seemed more "alienated" and externally-controlled.

Thus, Negroes' irresponsible behavior is interpreted as reflecting a hopeless pessimism in regard to their ability to control their own reinforcements. As discussed in several sources, this hopelessness seems to derive largely from an internalization of others' low evaluations of Negroes.

With the assumption that Negroes' low expectations for success are firmly anchored in the Negro-role, an attempt was made to alter expectancies by varying the role in which the Negro could act. Three groups of subjects were used for this purpose: first, a group of amateur jazz musicians who had remained members of a jazz club for six months or more; second, a group of subjects who had joined but quickly quit the jazz club; and third, a group that was uninterested in jazz. The first two groups completed a scale about jazz musicians and were interviewed concerning their interests in music. It was explained that the investigation concerned musicians and persons interested in jazz. The subjects in the control group, however, were told that they had been picked at random from the general population.

The I-E and alienation scales and the LOA Board were then administered to all of the subjects. It had been predicted that the Ss
who had strong non-racial roles, the jazz musicians, would behave less as external controls and more like the success-striving white subjects. No differences of any significance were found with this manipulation except that musicians scored higher on the scale of social-isolation. This scale measures the degree to which an individual rejects commonly accepted values in our culture. It was posited that this finding relates to the dyssocial character of the jazz-musician group.

In another experimental situation, 52 of the 60 subjects from these three groups performed in a two-person zero-sum game called Nim. The outcome of this game is readily controlled by knowledge of certain combinations for playing. Each subject played opposite a stooge who had memorized the necessary combinations and who provided the subjects with a continuous experience of failure. It was originally hypothesized that the group with higher self-esteem (J group) would be less task-avoidant and less defensive about admitting defeat, but it was found that most of the subjects in each group played defensively, either quitting immediately or persisting beyond reasonable limits. However, differences among the groups were evident: the musicians persisted longer than the other two groups. Two interpretations were offered to explain this finding. One emphasized the subjects' wish to protect the valued musician role and the other dealt with the hope for success versus the fear of failure dimension.

The empirical findings obtained in this study suggest that the "Negro-problem" is similar in some ways to what has been called the "psychology of poverty." Economically deprived persons who commonly have few success experiences tend to develop fatalistic, external
control perceptions (26). These perceptions, in turn, may overdetermine further failures by increasing failure-avoidant and defensive behaviors. Even when social class and intelligence is controlled, in adequacy-testing situations, Negroes seem less confident than whites that they can control their reinforcements.

Although this attempt at altering expectancies failed to create differences in LOA behavior and test responses, several explanations were offered which suggest that greater success may be found if the roles made salient have no relevance to race and the subjects are more secure in these roles. Future researchers, for example, might consider using occupational groups such as postal employees, a large number of whom are Negroes.

The game of Nim which discriminated among the Negro groups may have demonstrated that the jazz-cues elicited more task involvement for the musicians. If other Negroes were allowed distinction for whatever particular skills they, as individuals, might possess, they too might demonstrate more involvement and pride in their roles without the defensiveness found among the more marginal jazz-musician group. Thus, responsible behavior, called for by some spirited Americans, may result from raised expectations of self-control. This change, however, would require the elimination of discrimination by which individuals are denied their distinction and are rejected despite their accomplishments.
APPENDIX A

JAZZ INTEREST INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
As a member of the Band and Music Club I have picked you to be a subject in an experiment. I am particularly interested in musicians, their interests, opinions, and their skills. First off, do you know many of the musicians here on the compound by name?

Could you name me some of the fellows who you consider the most interested and earnest about music?

What instruments do they play?

What instruments do you play?

How interested in music would you say you are?

Who are your favorite musicians?

Now I'm going to give you some tests. I am interested in how musicians do on them.
APPENDIX B

JAZZ MUSICIANS PREFERENCES SCALE
**JAZZ MUSICIAN PREFERENCES SCALE**

Below are the names of several jazz musicians, some of whom are better known than others. Next to each name, in the space provided, mark a check if you are familiar with that musician's playing. Secondly, of those who you have checked, in the next space, rate them according to whether you consider them first, second, or third rate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Check here if you are familiar with his music</th>
<th>Rank you would assign him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Cannonball Adderley</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Louis Armstrong</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dave Brubeck</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ornette Coleman</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Wild Bill Davidson</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Duke Ellington</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Stan Getz</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Dizzie Gillespie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Benny Goodman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Gene Krupa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Charlie Mingus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Thelonious Monk</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Gerry Mulligan</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Charlie Parker</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Buddy Rich</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Sonny Rollins</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Cecil Taylor</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Pee Wee Thomas</td>
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<td>19.</td>
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<td>20.</td>
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If you should feel that there are other names that should be included on this list of first class musicians, please fill in their names above and rate them like the others.
APPENDIX C

DEAN'S ALIENATION SCALE
A SCALE FOR MEASURING ALIENATION

Below is the Alienation scale with scoring key. The letter to the right of each item indicates whether it belongs to the Powerlessness, Normlessness, or Isolation sub-scales.

PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

Below are some statements regarding public issues, with which some people agree and others disagree. Please give us your own opinion about these items, i.e., whether you agree or disagree with the items as they stand.

Please check in the appropriate blank, as follows:

_____A (Strongly Agree)
_____a (Agree)
_____U (Uncertain)
_____d (Disagree)
_____D (Strongly Disagree)

1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world. 4_A 3_a 2_U 1_d 0_D* I
2. I worry about the future facing today's children. 4_A 3_a 2_U 1_d 0_D* I
3. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like. 4_A 3_a 2_U 1_d 0_D* I
4. The end often justifies the means. 4_A 3_a 2_U 1_d 0_D* I
5. Most people today seldom feel lonely. 0_A 1_a 2_U 3_d 4_D I
6. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me. 4_A 3_a 2_U 1_d 0_D* I
7. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on. 4_A 3_a 2_U 1_d 0_D* I
8. Real friends are as easy as ever to find. 0_A 1_a 2_U 3_d 4_D I
9. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child. 4_A 3_a 2_U 1_d 0_D* I
10. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by. 4_A 3_a 2_U 1_d 0_D* I

*Obviously, scores would be omitted when administered.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

John Fischer, Editor of Harper's Magazine, decried, in a recent article, what he has referred to as Negro irresponsibility and failure to assume the posture of a first-class citizenry despite the increasing opportunities for Negroes to participate economically, politically, and socially in American culture (17). Responses to his editorial were both numerous and vehement in denunciation of his assertions. Some questioned why our society, as it slowly moves toward integration of the races, should expect all Negroes to display infinite patience, tolerance, and good will in light of their long history of maltreatment by white men and of continuous though hopefully diminishing white hostility. In short, why expect more from the Negro than from the white? Others spoke of the difficulties for the Negro in assuming more "responsible" behavior as he shifts roles from serf to citizen.

It is toward exploration of the latter argument that this study is focused. The prominent questions to be asked are: how being a Negro in American society affects the development of responsible behavior; and how, if there are obstructions to the Negroes assuming first-class citizenry, they may be removed.

That the Negro has been and still is subject to harassment and abuse when he does seek to achieve or actively compete in society is indisputable. Twenty-five years ago John Dollard, in his classic,
11. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.

12. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.

13. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major "shooting" war.

14. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.

15. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."

16. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.

17. There are few dependable ties between people any more.

18. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.

19. With so many religions abroad, one doesn't really know which to believe.

20. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.

21. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.

22. People are just naturally friendly and thankful.

23. The future looks very dismal.

24. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.
DATA OF ALIENATION SCORES IN SEVERAL SAMPLES:

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<tr>
<td><strong>POWERLESSNESS:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>13.65</td>
<td>13.65</td>
<td>12.73</td>
<td>10.90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>3.50</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NORMLESSNESS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>8.63</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>7.63</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>SOCIAL ISOLATION:</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>11.76</td>
<td>14.85</td>
<td>15.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>4.6</td>
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(1) Columbus, Ohio, N = 384 (men), stratified sample, 1955.
(2) Protestant Liberal Arts College, N = 135 (women), random sample, 1960.
(3) Catholic Women's College, N = 121 (women), random sample, 1960.
(4) Protestant Liberal Arts College, N = 75 (women), random sample, 1955.
(5) Catholic Women's College, N = 65 (women), random sample, 1955.
APPENDIX D

THE INTERNAL-EXTERNAL CONTROL SCALE
SOCIAL REACTION INVENTORY

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered a or b. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you’re concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. This is a measure of personal belief; obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

Your answers to the items on this inventory are to be recorded on a separate answer sheet which is loosely inserted in the booklet. Remove THIS ANSWER SHEET NOW. Print your name and any other information requested by the examiner on the answer sheet, then finish reading these directions. Do not open the booklet until you are told to do so.

Please answer these items carefully but do not spend too much time on any one item. Be sure to find an answer for every choice. Find the number of the item on the answer sheet and black-in the space under the number 1 or 2 which you choose as the statement most true.

In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you’re concerned. Also try to respond to each item independently when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices.

REMEMBER

Select that alternative which you personally believe to be more true.
I More Strongly Believe That:

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
   b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2. (a.) Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
   b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
   (b.) There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
   (b.) Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
   (b.) Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6. (a.) Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
   b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7. (a.) No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
   b. People who can't get others to like them, don't understand how to get along with others.

8. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
   b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

*The choices circled are responses scored as external-control. Items with neither choice circled are buffer items.*
I More Strongly Believe That:

9. (a.) I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
   (b.) Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10. (a.) In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
    (b.) Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work, that studying is really useless.

11. (a.) Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
    (b.) Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12. (a.) The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
    (b.) This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13. (a.) When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
    (b.) It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14. (a.) There are certain people who are just no good.
    (b.) There is some good in everybody.

15. (a.) In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
    (b.) Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16. (a.) Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
    (b.) Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17. (a.) As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
    (b.) By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
I More Strongly Believe That:

18. (a.) Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
   b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19. a. One should always be willing to admit his mistakes.
   b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20. (a.) It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
   b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

21. (a.) In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
   b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
   (b.) It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23. (a.) Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
   b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
   b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25. (a.) Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
   b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
   (b.) There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
I More Strongly Believe That:

27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
   b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28. a. What happens to me is my own doing.
   (b.) Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29. (a.) Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
   b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.
APPENDIX E

INSTRUCTIONS FOR NIM
INSTRUCTIONS FOR NIM

Now I've got a kind of game I want you to play in. Your opponent won't be a jazz musician. He's just another inmate. I'll see if he's here now. (Leave to get stooge.) I've put up this screen so that you won't know who you're playing. In that way we'll avoid bad feelings out on the compound. The game requires a lot of cleverness and skill at out-smarting your opponent. The game looks simple. Each of you will take turns picking up matches. You can each take as few or as many matches as you wish, even a whole row. But all the matches you take in any one turn must be taken from one row. The player who picks up the last remaining match loses. Try one game for practice so you can see how it works.

Both of you are starting off with chips worth $2.00. You have 20 chips, each worth ten cents. You will bet ten cents in each game that you play, and you can play any number of games you want. Either of you can call it quits at any time. However, if you are the one to give in first then you will only get credit for half the value of your chips. The chips can buy cigarettes at 25 cents a pack, so you can see it is worth your while to win as many chips from each other as possible. The one who doesn't give in will get paid the full amount that he has won.
Caste and Class in a Southern Town (12), described the male Negro population as one that had to be submissive to whites to insure work, health, and even safety of family. The Negro could not directly compete with whites. If he were successful, and even inadvertently threatened a white competitor, he could easily have become the victim of a lynch mob, the excuse for mob action being that the Negro in question had lurid intentions toward the white man's wife.

More recently, in a study by Katz and Cohen, when Negro subjects were "trained" to be assertive and showed ability in problem-solving, white partners tended to reject them as future partners. "The findings suggest that the confident show of ability by Negroes in assertion training was ego threatening to whites" (23).

Through this span of twenty-five years the generalization may be drawn that when Negroes have displayed aspirations and behaviors that typify middle-class success-striving, they have been usually reinforced negatively.

The emphasis of this paper, however, is not directly concerned with external obstructions to Negro achievement behaviors, as important as they may be. Rather, the focus of interest is on some of the personality characteristics that develop from a long history of negative reinforcement which may impede the Negroes' growth into first-class citizenry.

James Baldwin, the Negro novelist and essayist, has provided what are probably the keenest insights into what it means to be a Negro trying to become aware of new possibilities. Baldwin describes the Negro's condition in Nobody Knows My Name (1) as a state of not being
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I, Herbert Michael Lefcourt, was born in Brooklyn, New York, March 13, 1936. I received my secondary-school education in the public schools of Brooklyn, New York; and my undergraduate training at Antioch College, which granted me the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1958. From the Ohio State University, I received the Master of Arts degree in 1960. While in residence there, I was a U. S. Public Health Service Fellow and an assistant to Professor Alvin Scodel in the Department of Psychology. I completed a two-year internship in clinical psychology from 1960-1962 at the U. S. Public Health Service Hospital at Lexington, Kentucky. I remained in the Public Health Service as a commissioned officer while completing the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

I have accepted a position as Assistant Professor in Psychology at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
oneself, of being nobody. That is, he depicts the Negro as not having what E. Erickson has referred to as a self-identity or unique self that is dissociated from being Negro. Baldwin seems to say that the Negro is never able to function simply on the basis of expectancies derived from his own personal experience, but that he more often operates from expectancies of how Negroes are to act. Negroes, therefore, appear "other-directed," "role-fixated," or "externally-controlled" by expected demands of others for Negro-behavior. Baldwin aptly described the difficulty he experienced in Europe where he had to begin bearing the onus himself for responses made to him, rather than to him-as-a-Negro.

Arnold Rose, in his condensation of Myrdal's *The American Dilemma*, makes the same point:

The Negro leader, the Negro social scientist, the Negro man of arts and letters is likely to view all social, economic, political, indeed, even aesthetic and philosophical issues from the Negro angle. What is more, he is expected to do so. He would seem entirely out of place if he spoke simply as a member of a community, a citizen of America, or as a man of the world. In the existing American civilization he can attain some degree of distinction, but always as a representative of "his people," not as an ordinary American. Even if he had originally had the interests and aptitudes for wider knowledge and a broader career, the pressure from society conditions his personality and forces him willy-nilly into the role of Negro champion. The Negro genius is imprisoned in the Negro problem. (36, pp. 11-12)

The inference to be drawn from these works is that to be a Negro means not to be a particular, specific person. One possible consequence of this de-individuation is that the Negro learns not to perceive failures in many of his life experiences as the result of particular personal inadequacies. He would instead see the behavior of others toward him as determined primarily by his identity as a Negro rather