DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 131 167 — UD 016 568

AUTHOR   Long, Samuel
TITLE   Psychological Sources of Systematic Rejection Among
                White and Black Adolescents.
SPONS AGENCY   Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
PUB DATE   Sep 76
NOTE   52p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the
                American Psychological Association (Washington, D.C.,
                September 3-7, 1976)

EDRS PRICE   MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS   Activism; Adolescents; Expectation; *High School
                Students; Individual Power; Locus of Control;
                *Political Attitudes; *Psychological Patterns; Racial
                Differences; Self Esteem; Social Differences;
                *Student Alienation; Student Attitudes; *Surveys;
                Violence
IDENTIFIERS   *Connecticut (New Haven)

ABSTRACT
                In this study, individual-oriented and
system-oriented models of systemic rejection among white and black
adolescents are investigated. Systemic rejection is defined as
attitudes of political alienation and political violence
justification. Twelve hypotheses were generated and tested using
survey data collected in May 1976 from a random sample of 480 New
Haven, Connecticut adolescents. It was found that among both white
and black adolescents, attitudes of political alienation and
political violence justification were, when factor analyzed,
statistically independent political orientations. In comparing white
and black adolescents' responses on the five indicators employed in
the model of systematic rejection antecedents, major response
differences did not occur, although the black adolescents did evince
greater political alienation and more critical-threatening
perceptions of the sociopolitical system's functioning. Whereas the
model predicted feelings of political alienation among both racial
groups equally well, it served as a better predictor of political
violence justification among the white adolescents. These findings
are considered to be within the context of extant political
socialization theory and contemporary democratic theory.
(Author/JM)

PSYCHOLOGICAL SOURCES OF SYSTEMIC REJECTION

AMONG WHITE AND BLACK ADOLESCENTS

Samuel Long

Political Psychology Program

Yale University

2

ABSTRACT

In this study, individual- and system-oriented models of systemic rejection among white and black adolescents are investigated. Systemic rejection is defined as attitudes of political alienation and political violence justification.

After the social deprivation and sociopolitical reality models of systemic rejection are outlined and integrated, with a discussion of relevant research, twelve hypotheses are generated and tested using survey data collected in May 1976 from a random sample of 480 New Haven, Connecticut adolescents.

A number of findings emerge from this research. First, among both white and black adolescents, attitudes of political alienation and political violence justification are, when factor analyzed, statistically independent political orientations. Second, in comparing white and black adolescents' responses on the five indicators employed in the model of systemic rejection antecedents, major response differences do not occur, although the black adolescents do evince greater political alienation and more critical-threatening perceptions of the sociopolitical system's functioning. Third, whereas the model predicts feelings of political alienation among both racial groups equally well, it serves as a better predictor of political violence justification among the white adolescents.

These findings are considered within the context of extant political socialization theory and contemporary democratic theory.

Psychological Sources of Systemic Rejection

Among White and Black Adolescents

Frustrated as we are in the face of governmental
treachery and stupidity and heartlessness, we
still have the right to hate our government for
the deeds perpetrated in our name and at our
expense--better, the _freedom_ to hate, the
freedom to be contemptuous, disgusted, and
outraged.   (Roth, 1971: 237)

A.   Introduction

Social scientists, in portraying the alienated, particularly those

experiencing feelings of distrust and powerlessness in relation to the

political system, tend to assume that such individuals are typically

socially isolated, members of the lower class, politically apathetic;

ignorant of sociopolitical affairs, and disinterested in the political

sphere (Koff, 1973; Seeman, 1972; Seeman, 1975; Israel, 1971; Schacht, 1970).

Basic to the model of the politically alienated individual is the further

assumption that such persons involuntarily occupy such a role (Templeton,

1966; Dean, 1960). In blaming the victim, this model dismisses a system-

orientation, suggesting that sociopolitical alienation may result from the

disfunctioning of the sociopolitical system, e.g., through the perpetuation

of inequality, discrimination, and exploitation (Ryan, 1971; Caplan and

Nelson, 1974).

By way of contrast with this conception, the model underlying this

paper asserts that many persons in the sociopolitical system actively reject

the system, its leaders, and the values they symbolize and promulgate.

Moreover, these individuals, rather than being withdrawn and disinterested, when given the opportunity, are quite vociferous in their systemic rejection, basing these sentiments on, among other things, critical perceptions of systemic functioning, as well as on the system's failure to conform to fundamental democratic principles (Long, 1976b).

Within the discipline of political science, two theories have recently been forwarded to account for feelings of political alienation which should be equally applicable to the more dynamic systemic rejection concept (Abramson, 1972). The first of these, the social deprivation explanation, holds that individuals perceiving themselves as being socially deprived are more susceptible to feelings of low self-competence, which, in turn, engender feelings of alienation from the political system. The political reality explanation, on the other hand, offers a simpler, more system-oriented reason for the high levels of political alienation among Americans today: for people who accurately perceive the operations of the sociopolitical system, the response of political alienation follows naturally, particularly if such critical perceptions are accompanied by feelings of political threat or reactance (Long, 1976b; Long, 1976i; Long, 1976k).

These two models of political alienation antecedents will be employed in investigating the precursors of systemic rejection among white and black preadults in this paper. The concept of systemic rejection, as utilized here, is assumed to possess two dimensions, feelings of political alienation and political violence justification sentiments. More specifically, political alienation will be treated as a cluster of seven intercorrelated attitudes: 1) feelings of political powerlessness, 2) feelings of dis-contentment regarding public policy outputs, 3) feelings of political dis-

trust, 4) feelings of estrangement from the political system, 5) feelings of hopelessness concerning the political system's future, 6) feelings of major democratic value-behavior discrepancies in the political system, and 7) feelings of profound disapproval of the political system. Political violence justification will be defined as three interrelated attitudinal components: 1) the justification of violence to attain political objectives on functional grounds, 2) the justification of violence to achieve political ends on moral grounds, and 3) the approval of assassination to effect political change.

Four specific objectives have been set for this paper. First, the structure of the two dimensions of the systemic rejection concept will be investigated for both white and black adolescents. Second, possible racial response differences on the indicators employed in the social deprivation and political reality models will be ascertained. Third, the hypothesized associations in the social deprivation and political reality models will be tested for each racial group. Last, for both white and black adolescents, the causal assumptions in an integrated social deprivation-political reality model of systemic rejection will be subjected to a path analysis.

B.   Social Deprivation Model

This model of political alienation antecedents rests on five assumptions, the first of which being that a lack of opportunity and respect among individuals generates low levels of self-competence. Second, low self-competence leads to feelings of political alienation. Third, blacks, particularly pre-adults, are deprived of opportunity and denied respect. Fourth, black

pre-adults exhibit lower self-competence than white pre-adults. Last, black pre-adults, compared to white pre-adults, manifest higher levels of political alienation (Abramson, 1972).

Considerable empirical support can be marshalled for the contention that blacks suffer greater social, economic, and political deprivation than whites in the United States (Coleman, 1971; Duncan, 1969; Feagin and Hahn, 1973; Miller, 1974), but less unequivocal support exists for the posited linkage between social deprivation and self-competence. One position argues, for example, that the social environment of blacks fosters low self-esteem, feelings of hopelessness, and identity conflict (Clark, 1965; Pettigrew, 1964; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Proshansky and Newton, 1968; Poussaint and Atkinson, 1972; Silberman, 1964; Erikson, 1966); whereas, a second position holds that this deprived environment need not detrimentally effect the black family (McCarthy and Yancey, 1971; Perry and Feagin, 1972; TenHouten, 1970; Scanzoni, 1971) and that race may be irrelevant in self-esteem formation or that the effects of deprivation will occur subsequent to the formation of self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967; Baughman, 1971). Moreover, the development of self-esteem, if race is germane, may be intra-racial in nature (Festinger, 1953; Thibaut and Kelley, 1959), although recent research refutes this notion (Long, 1976f; Long, 1976g). It is also possible that black pre-adults can protect their self-esteem by subscribing to a system-blame ideology when faced with personal frustration and failure (Baughman, 1971; Heinz, 1971); similarly, since self-esteem develops through interpersonal interaction, it is possible that self-esteem can also be protected by the attitudes of black pre-adults toward significant others, especially whites (Rosenberg, 1973). Finally, although the social

deprivation model treats the self-competence concept as being primarily evaluational and normative in character, recent research suggests that such normative elements in self-evaluation are atypical among pre-adults (McGuire and Padawer-Singer, 1976).

The nexus between social deprivation and self-competence is also not firmly established by the research on this topic (Hauser, 1971; Porter, 1971; Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968; Christmas, 1973; Baughman, 1971), with studies reporting higher self-esteem levels among white pre-adults (Morland, 1962; Brody, 1963; Brody, 1964; Coles, 1967; Cottle, 1974), higher self-esteem among black pre-adults (Soares and Soares, 1969; McDonald and Gynther, 1965; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971; Wendland, 1967; Bridgette, 1970; Ward and Braun, 1972; Long, 1976e), and no self-esteem differences between white and black pre-adults (Williams and Byars, 1970; Williams and Byars, 1969; Guggenheim, 1969; Rosenberg, 1965; Long, 1974c). Recent research specifically investigating the link between social deprivation and self-competence shows the two variables to be moderately associated, particularly among white pre-adults (Long, 1974c; Long, 1976a; Long, 1976e).

When self-competence is conceptualized as encompassing a locus of control component (Smith, 1968; White, 1972), with low self-competence including a belief in external control of reinforcement (Rotter, 1954; Rotter, 1966), racial differences typically appear, with blacks usually evincing higher levels of external locus of control beliefs than whites (Joe, 1971; Phares, 1976). However, even here, recent research indicates little or no difference appearing between white and black pre-adults on different locus of control dimensions (Long, 1976a; Long, 1976l). In addition, weak or nonsignificant associations have appeared between social

deprivation and external control beliefs for both white and black preadults
(Long, 1974c; Long, 1975a; Long, 1976a; Long, 1976e).

By way of contrast, more consistent theoretical and empirical support
exists for the second causal link in the social deprivation model, that
between self-competence and political alienation. In this case, low self-
esteem has been held to generate political apathy and feelings of political
alienation because of generalized feelings of personal hopelessness
(Lasswell, 1962), because of low psychic energy levels (Goldhamer, 1950;
Lane, 1959), and because of an exaggerated egocentric concern with personal
problems (Horney, 1950). Empirically, low self-esteem correlates with
isolationist foreign policy attitudes (McClosky, 1967; Sniderman and Citrin,
1971); political cynicism, political distrust, and perceptions of political
corruption and dishonesty (Sniderman, 1975); low political interest levels,
low media attendance to public affairs, low levels of political knowledge,
and infrequent political discussion (Rosenberg, 1965). Furthermore, low
self-esteem has been repeatedly shown to correlate moderately with feelings
of political alienation for both white and black pre-adults (Long, 1974c;
Long, 1976a; Long, 1976e).

Research on the relationship between locus of control beliefs and
political behavior indicates a rather consistent association between internal
control beliefs and a commitment to social activism (Gore and Rotter, 1963),
involvement in civil rights activities (Strickland, 1965), feelings of
political efficacy and trust (Sigel, 1971), a belief in individual-blame
for the state of the political system (Renshon, 1974), and a rejection of
irresponsible and rebellious behavior (Crain and Weisman, 1972). Furthermore,
research on black militants shows a relationship between internal control

beliefs and realistic perceptions of racial discrimination, prejudice, and exploitation (Gurin, et al., 1969; Forward and Williams, 1970). Conversely, research on urban riot participants shows an association between external control beliefs and actual involvement in riot activity (Ransford, 1968; Tomlinson, 1968; Tomlinson, 1970a; Tomlinson, 1970b; Crawford and Naditch, 1970). Finally, modest correlations have occurred between external control beliefs and feelings of political alienation among both white and black pre-adults (Long, 1974c; Long, 1975a; Long, 1976a; Long, 1976e).

In addition to the self-esteem and locus of control dimensions, the self-competence concept has also been construed as embodying a rationality component, since the individual must accurately perceive and reason about his personal and political world if he is to effectively cope with it (Merelman, 1971). Furthermore, if he fails to make realistic demands on himself, others, and society and if he fails to realistically perceive his environment, he will be unable to maximize his self-interest (Sarat, 1975); politically, therefore, the irrationally perfectionistic person should be more prone to feelings of political alienation. Both theoretically (Ellis, 1962; Lazarus, 1971; Friedman, 1975) and empirically (Ellis, 1971; Ellis and Harper, 1975), these assumptions regarding personal rationality and personal achievement and functioning can be supported; moreover, there is some empirical evidence linking political rationality with functional political behavior (Long, 1976a; Long, 1976b; Long, 1976c; Long, 1976d; Long, 1976m).

While less research has been conducted on the second dimension of systemic rejection, political violence justification, considerable theoretical support exists for social deprivation serving as an antecedent of such un-

10

conventional political behavior (Homans, 1961; Adams, 1965; Blau, 1964; Festinger, 1954; Thibaut and Kelley, 1959; Davies, 1963; Pettigrew, 1967; Dollard, et al., 1939; Berkowitz, 1962; Gurr, 1970). Moreover, empirical research also indicates a relationship between social deprivation, especially relative deprivation, and a predilection for the acceptance of violence to effect political ends (Geschwender and Geschwender, 1973; Bowen, et al., 1968; Crawford and Naditch, 1970). However, research on white and black pre-adults has shown either meagre or nonexistent correlations between the two variables (Long, 1974c; Long, 1975a; Long, 1976f; Long, 1976g).

Although considerable attention has been directed at the relation between personality and aggression (Buss, 1961; Berkowitz, 1962; Lane, 1959), specific research on the association between self-competence and political violence justification has been limited (Blumenthal, et al., 1972). Research on urban riot participants, however, shows that these individuals typically manifested external control beliefs; and research on pre-adults indicates that political violence justification among both whites and blacks is preceded by low self-esteem and external control beliefs (Long, 1974b; Long, 1974c).

From a theoretical vantagepoint, feelings of political alienation should contribute to political violence justification, both normatively and functionally based (Gurr, 1970). Here, too, research indicates a consistent association between these two factors (Schwartz, 1973; Cole, 1973; Olsen, 1968; Aberbach and Walker, 1973; Long, 1974a; Long, 1974b; Long, 1974c; Long, 1975c).

In summary, the social deprivation model of systemic rejection ante-cedents posits a causal association between social deprivation and self-

competence, political alienation, and political violence justification.
Moreover, low self-competence should generate feelings of political alien-
ation and an acceptance of political violence. Finally, feelings of
political alienation should also contribute to political violence
justification.

According to the social deprivation model of systemic rejection two
other patterns of behavior should occur. First, black pre-adults, relative
to white pre-adults, should exhibit higher levels of social deprivation,
political alienation, and political violence justification, and lower levels
of self-competence. Second, the strength of the causal connections between
the variables in the social deprivation model should be significantly
greater for black pre-adults, compared to white pre-adults.

C. Sociopolitical Reality Model

The sociopolitical reality explanation of systemic rejection rests on
three assumptions. First, economically impoverished and racial minorities
are objectively detached from the sociopolitical system, being unrepresented
in the political system, discriminated against, exploited, and powerless.
Second, black pre-adults, through the political socialization process, both
directly and indirectly, are cognizant of the sociopolitical situation.
Last, such critical perceptions of sociopolitical reality are, for these
black pre-adults, accompanied by perceptions of personal threat because of
the operations of the sociopolitical system (Matthews and Prothro, 1966;
Salamon and Van Evera, 1973; Kornberg, et al., 1970), first, due to direct
noxious contact with the system, and, second, because of an awareness of

others' noxious contacts with the system and its agents (Brehm, 1972; Brehm, 1966).

Discussions of this model of systemic reject⁻⁻ⁿ ⁿⁿᵗᵉ⁻ ᵈents can be found in the social science literature (Cole   1960; Laurence, 1970; Prestage, 1969), but, until recently, tᵢ.   ᵈe, was not subjected to empirical test. When investigated, the sociopolitical reality model was found to predict feelings of political alienation among both white and black pre-adults, as well as among adult samples (Greenberg, 1969; Greenberg, 1970a; Greenberg, 1970b; Rodgers, 1974; Long, 1975b; Long, 1976a; Long, 1976e; Long, 1976h; Long, 1976j; Long, 1976m; Citrin, et al., 1975); and critical perceptions of sociopolitical reality have also been found to correlate at a modest level with political violence justification among white and black pre-adults (Long, 1975c).

In summary, the sociopolitical reality model of systemic rejection asserts a direct causal link between critical-threatening perceptions of systemic functioning and feelings of political alienation and sentiments of political violence justification. In addition, the model also predicts that black pre-adults will manifest higher levels of critical-threatening perceptions than white pre-adults; and that the association between critical-threatening perceptions and systemic rejection will be higher for the former group.

D. Model Integration

The social deprivation and sociopolitical reality models of systemic rejection need not be treated as independent explanations (Abramson, 1972;

13

Long, 1976a; Long, 1976e). Thus, social deprivation might be correlated with critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, in addition to self-competence, political alienation, and political violence justification. Similarly, besides being related to political alienation and political violence justification, self-competence might also be assoct ' with critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality The complete integrated social deprivation-sociopolitical reality model of systemic rejection appears in Figure 1.

Twelve hypotheses emerge from this integrated model:

H_1 Compared to white pre-adults, black pre-adults will exhibit lower self-competence levels and higher levels of social deprivation, critical-threatening sociopolitical reality perceptions, political alienation, and political violence justification.

H_2 Social deprivation will correlate negatively with self-competence.

H_3 Social deprivation will correlate positively with critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality.

H_4 Social deprivation will correlate positively with political alienation.

H_5 Social deprivation will correlate positively with political violence justification.

H_6 Self-competence will correlate negatively with critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality.

H_7 Self-competence will correlate negatively with political alienation.

FIGURE 1. HYPOTHETICAL MODEL OF SYSTEMIC REJECTION ANTECEDENTS

Political Violence
Justification

(+)

Political
Alienation

Self-Competence

(-)

(-)

(+)

(+)

Critical-Threatening
Perceptions

(-)

(+)

(+)

Social
Deprivation

(-)

(+)
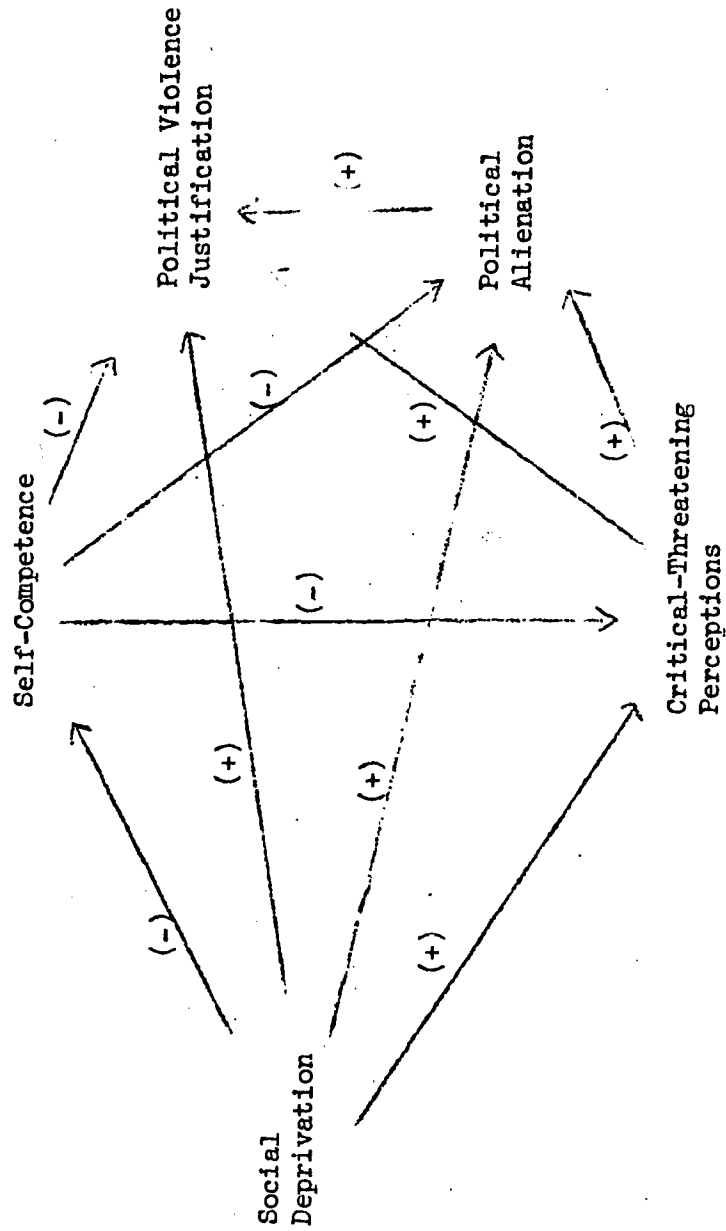
H_8 Self-competence will correlate negatively with political

violence justification.

H_9 Critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality

will correlate positively with political alienation.

H_{10} Critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality

will correlate positively with political violence justification.

H_{11} Political alienation wi   correlate positively with political

violence ju.   .tion.

H_{12} The integrated social deprivation-sociopolitical reality model

will prove a better predictor of systemic rejection among

black pre-adults than among white pre-adults.

E. Sample

Data for this research were collected by means of a written
questionnaire which was self-administered by a random sample of 48 ew
Haven, Connecticut high school students in May 1976. The students ere
guaranteed personal anonymity and response confidentiality.

A majority of the sample was female (70%) and black (65%). Thirty-
eight percent of the students' parents had received less than twelve years
of formal education, 34 percent were high school graduates, 11 percent had
attended college, 10 percent were college graduates, and 6 percent had
acquired a post-graduate education. Fifteen percent of the students were
freshmen, 18 percent were sophomores, 57 percent were juniors, and 10 percent
were seniors. Nineteen percent of the students reported earning grade-
point-averages of A, 53 percent reported GPAs of B, 25 percent reported GPAs

of C, and 3 percent reported earning Ds or Fs.

Regarding political interest level, most students reported attending to political affairs "some of the time." Most students indicated that they discussed public affairs, current events, and politics "somewhat frequently" and that they attended to such subject matter in the mass media "somewhat frequently."

F. Conceptual Indicators

In operationalizing the social deprivation concept, a twelve-item gratification level scale was employed. This measure tapped four aspects of gratification: 1) expectations regarding the attainment of job-related and material life goals; 2) expectations regarding societal and political restrictions on the attainment of such life goals; 3) perceptions of life satisfaction for the past, present, and future; and 4) perceptions of deserved life satisfaction for the past, present, and future. This scale manifested a response range of 12 (low gratification) to 93 (high gratification) and a mean response of 33. With a mean item-scale total correlation, corrected for overlap, of 0.23, this measure attained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.57. The items for this indicator, as well as the others utilized in this study, appear in the Appendix.

The self-competence concept was operationalized through the use of the 27-item psychological maladjustment scale, which was comprised of attitudinal items assessing overt and covert hostility (Buss, 1961), paranoia (Rokeach and Fruchter, 1956), misanthropy (Rosenberg, 1956), machiavellianism (Christie and Geis, 1970), anomy (McClosky and Schaar, 1965), dogmatism (Trodahl and Powell, 1965), authoritarianism (Adorno, et al., 1950), self-esteem (Rosenberg,

17

1965), powerful others control and chance control (Levenson, 1973), personal irrationality (Bard, 1973; Fox and Davies, 1971; MacDonald and Games, 1972), and political irrationality (Long, 1976c; Long, 1976d). This scale exhibited a response range of 27 (low psychological maladjustment to 189 (high psychological maladjustment) and a mean response of 117. Corrected for overlap, the mean item-scale total correlation for this measure was 0.35 and its alpha was 0.82.

The critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality concept was operationalized by a 21-item scale assessing perceptions of racial discrimination, economic discrimination, black political inefficacy and distrust, political inefficacy and distrust among the impoverished (Long, 1976b), feelings of political sensitivity, feelings of political reactance, and feelings of political fear (Long, 1976h). The response range for this scale was 21 (low critical-threatening perceptions) to 147 (high critical-threatening perceptions), with a mean response of 92. The mean item-scale total correlation, corrected for overlap, for this measure was 0.32, and it registered an alpha of 0.76.

A 24-item scale served as the operationalization of the political alienation concept. Attitudinal items on this measure tapped feelings of political powerlessness and political discontentment (Olsen, 1969), feelings of political cynicism (Agger, et al., 1961), feelings of political estrangement (Long, 1976e), political hopelessness (Long, 1976j), political disapproval, and political dissonance. With a response range of 24 (low political alienation to 168 (high political alienation), this measure manifested a mean response of 109, a mean item-scale correlation of 0.34, and an alpha coefficient of 0.80.

The second systemic rejection indicator, political violence justification, was operationalized through the use of a 16-item scale measuring normative and utilitarian justification for political violence (Long, 1974c) and the approval of political assassination to effect change (Long, 1974b). Responses on this measure ranged from 16 (low violence justification) to 112 (high violence justification) and the mean response was 54. The scale showed a mean item-total correlation of 0.37 and an alpha of 0.78.

G. Results

The first question to be addressed concerns the dimensionality of the systemic rejection concept. To this point in the discussion, it has been assumed that the concept is composed of two independent dimensions, political alienation and political violence justification. As a means of testing this assumption, the forty items comprising the two scales were subjected to a principal components factor analysis, with orthogonal rotation and varimax criterion. This factor analysis, with a two-factor solution, appears in Table 1.

In general, two conclusions can be drawn from the factors appearing in this table. First, the attitudinal items appearing on the political alienation and political violence justification measures are relatively independent of each other, as was initially assumed. Second, the factor loadings also suggest that this distinction between the two measures holds for both white and black pre-adults, although, with the exception of the political assassination items, this independence seems slightly more patent for the white pre-adults.

To what extent do the white and black adolescents respond differentially

TABLE 1. PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS FACTOR ANALYSES OF POLITICAL ALIENATION
AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE JUSTIFICATION INDICATOR ITEMS BY RACE

	Factor 1	Factor 2	h^2
Political Alienation Items			
This country is becoming less democratic every day.	0.58	0.00	0.33
	0.23	0.17	0.08
Although our government is supposed to be based on justice for everyone, it really isn't just at all.	0.57	-0.07	0.33
	0.45	-0.12	0.22
No matter what the civics books say, all people are not treated politically equally.	0.48	-0.34	0.34
	0.48	-0.19	0.27
Although I wish it were otherwise, no one in this country today has as much freedom as the Constitution says they should have.	0.37	0.02	0.14
	0.39	-0.08	0.16
In the United States, very wealthy people, such as leaders in industry and banking, have much more influence over what the government does than do most other Americans.	0.39	-0.34	0.27
	0.41	-0.08	0.18
In the United States, the major decisions made in each of the major areas of the society, such as industry, foreign affairs, race relations, and so on, are made by the same group of people.	0.51	-0.05	0.26
	0.30	0.06	0.09
As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today.	0.50	0.14	0.27
	0.39	0.18	0.19
It seems to me that the government often fails to take necessary actions on important matters, even when people favor such actions.	0.41	0.02	0.08
	0.48	-0.01	0.23
These days the government is trying to do too many things, including some activities that I don't think it has the right to do.	0.24	0.16	0.08
	0.44	0.07	0.20

TABLE 1. (Cont.)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	h^2
For the most part, the government serves the interests of a few organized groups, such as business or labor, and isn't very concerned about the needs of people like my parents and me.	0.37 0.36	0.00 0.09	0.14 C :
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that I can't really understand what's going on.	0.35 0.50	-0.28 -0.06	0.20 0.25
I believe public officials don't care much what people like me and my parents think.	0.51 0.47	0.21 -0.03	0.30 0.22
Money is the most important factor influencing public policies.	0.61 0.44	-0.15 -0.05	0.40 0.20
In order to get nominated, most candidates for political office have to make basic compromises and undesirable commitments.	0.48 0.30	-0.14 -0.26	0.25 0.16
Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or re-appointed.	0.50 0.43	-0.12 -0.14	0.26 0.21
People are very frequently manipulated by politicians.	0.41 0.31	-0.05 -0.02	0.17 0.10
A large number of city and county politicians are political hacks.	0.36 0.38	0.07 -0.03	0.14 0.14
When I think about politics and government in the United States, I consider myself an outsider.	0.53 0.39	0.00 0.06	0.28 0.16
When I think about the government in Washington, I don't feel as if it's my government.	0.47 0.46	0.10 -0.14	0.23 0.23
The future of this country seems dark to me.	0.29 0.40	0.16 0.18	0.11 0.20
All I can see ahead for the United States is unpleasantness, rather than pleasantness.	0.43 0.49	0.08 0.18	0.19 0.27
The future of the U.S. seems vague and uncertain to me.	0.37 0.41	0.04 0.07	0.14 0.18

TABLE 1. (Cont.)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	h^2
These days any real American would have to feel disgust for the government and its leaders.	0.36 0.46	0.12 0.06	0.14 0.22
Sometimes I wonder how anyone could feel loyal to the government in Washington and its leaders.	0.49 0.46	0.10 0.20	0.25 0.25

Political Violence Justification Items

	Factor 1	Factor 2	h^2
Nothing can be gained politically through the use of violent methods which could not be gotten by more peaceful means. (Reflected)	0.24 0.36	−0.60 −0.23	0.42 0.18
What this country needs is more violence to bring major social problems to the attention of our political leaders.	0.07 −0.03	0.41 0.49	0.17 0.24
The easiest way to get government officials to do what you want is to threaten to use violence.	0.19 0.01	0.52 0.50	0.31 0.25
The use of violence is never an effective way of influencing the government. (Reflected)	−0.15 0.15	−0.36 −0.27	0.15 0.10
In the long run, the use of violent tactics in politics just does not pay. (Reflected)	0.15 0.24	−0.44 −0.27	0.21 0.13
A lot more could be gained politically by violence than by voting or attempting to influence the leaders of our government through other peaceful means.	−0.28 −0.12	0.70 0.48	0.57 0.25
Under certain circumstances, the people have the right to use violence against the government and its leaders.	0.20 0.12	0.48 0.35	0.27 0.14
There's nothing immoral about using violent means to bring about political change.	0.04 0.08	0.70 0.47	0.50 0.23
The use of violence to change the government is evil. (Reflected)	0.17 0.27	−0.48 −0.33	0.26 0.18

TABLE 1. (Cont.)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	h^2
Even if violence does work in politics, it	0.03	-0.51	0.26
just isn't right. (Reflected)	0.25	-0.39	0.22
Nothing justifies the use of violence to	-0.02	-0.49	0.24
achieve political ends. (Reflected).	0.24	-0.17	0.09
There'd be a lot more justice in this	0.24	0.50	0.31
country if a few political leaders	0.17	0.54	0.32
were killed.			
The United States would be much more	0.06	0.57	0.33
democratic if some political leaders were	0.05	0.61	0.38
killed.			
This would be a much better country if some	0.19	0.59	0.39
politicians were killed.	0.17	0.60	0.38
Sometimes I have felt that the best thing	0.08	0.48	0.23
for our country might be the death of some	0.05	0.58	0.34
of our political leaders.			
Equality in this country demands the killing	0.11	0.55	0.32
of some politicians.	0.08	0.66	0.44

	Factor 1	Factor 2	
Eigenvalue	5.30	5.07	
	4.65	3.76	

	Factor 1	Factor 2	
Percent of Variance	13.3	12.7	
	11.6	9.4	

NOTE: Whites on first row; blacks on second row.

to the social deprivation and sociopolitical reality model indicators?
The first hypothesis predicts that the black adolescents will score lower
on the gratification measure and higher on the psychological maladjustment,
sociopolitical reality perception, political alienation, and political
violence justification measures. The single-classification analysis of
variance results in Table 2 show that three of these five predictions are
met. Thus, the black adolescents do manifest higher levels of psychological
maladjustment, critical-threatening perceptions, and political violence
justification. On the remaining two measures, however, no inter-racial
differences appear.

A more powerful statistical test of the initial hypothesis appears in
Table 3, where all five indicators have been simultaneously entered into a
step-wise multiple discriminant analysis to determine the degree to which
they, in combination, serve as predictors of the adolescents' races. A
number of findings are of interest in this table. First, gratification
level has not entered the discriminant analysis because of its lack of
predictive power. Second, of the four remaining variables, critical-
threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality and political alienation
are clearly the best predictors of race. Third, the canonical correlation
of 0.22 indicates that these four variables are only weakly associated with
the racial variable. Last, the third conclusion is reinforced by the pre-
dictive power of the four variables in combination, which is only nine percent
better than chance. Therefore, it must be concluded that although racial
differences appear on these four variables, especially regarding perceptions
of systemic functioning and feelings of political alienation, great dif-
ferences in the responses of white and black adolescents do not occur on

24

TABLE 2. SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND SOCIOPOLITICAL REALITY MEAN INDICATOR SCORES BY RACE

	M		SD		t	p
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks		
Gratification Level	50.72	49.98	9.98	10.11	0.74	0.458
Psychological Maladjustment	48.45	51.02	10.28	9.90	2.59	0.011
Critical-Threatening Perceptions	47.99	50.87	9.70	10.24	2.91	0.003
Political Alienation	49.94	50.13	10.42	9.92	0.20	0.847
Political Violence Justification	48.46	50.74	11.32	9.34	2.30	0.030

NOTE: All scores have been standardized.

TABLE 3. STEP-WISE MULTIPLE DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND SOCIOPOLITICAL REALITY INDICATORS AS PREDICTORS OF RACE

Step Number	Variable Entered	F to Enter	Wilks' Lambda	Significance	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients
1	Critical-Threatening Perceptions	8.59	0.98	0.004	0.95
2	Political Alienation	6.06	0.97	0.001	-0.81
3	Psychological Maladjustment	4.22	0.96	0.0001	0.44
4	Political Violence Justification	2.79	0.95	0.0001	0.36

Canonical Correlation

0.22

Centroids of Groups in Reduced Space

Whites   -0.29
Blacks   0.16

Eigenvalue

0.05

Correct Classifications

59.02%

NOTE: All scores have been standardized.

these variables. Hypothesis one, then, is only weakly supported.

Hypotheses two through eleven predict various relationships between the five indicators employed in the integrated social deprivation-sociopolitical reality model. The bivariate correlations appearing in Table 4 will serve as the initial test of these predictions. Gratification level, for instance, should correlate negatively with psychological maladjustment, negatively with critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, negatively with feelings of political alienation, and negatively with political violence justification. As the correlations show, only the gratification level-political violence justification nexus is supported, and the association is weak to moderate. In the remaining cases, either the correlation is insignificant or, more importantly, the relationship is reversed, with gratification associated with higher levels of psychological maladjustment, critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, and feelings of political alienation. Although relatively weak, the latter two findings suggest that a certain level of life satisfaction must be present for an individual to either find the sociopolitical world salient or to be capable of evaluating it in a critical light. In any case, these correlations show that the role of social deprivation or gratification is comparatively slight in the integrated model of systemic rejection.

The integrated systemic rejection model would further predict that psychological maladjustment would contribute to greater sociopolitical perceptions of a critical and personally threatening nature, to greater feelings of political alienation, and to greater sentiments of political violence justification. With one exception, these hypotheses receive moderate levels of support in Table 4. Thus, psychological maladjustment

27

TABLE 4.   INTERCORRELATIONS (r) BETWEEN SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND SOCIOPOLITICAL
REALITY MODEL INDICATORS BY RACE

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) Gratification Level	1.00	-0.12 0.15	0.08 0.17	0.16 0.18	-0.37 -0.23
(2) Psychological Maladjustment		1.00	0.36 0.57	0.51 0.52	0.29 0.06
(3) Critical-Threatening Perceptions			1.00	0.62 0.73	0.09 -0.02
(4) Political Alienation				1.00	0.01 -0.09
(5) Political Violence Justification					1.00

NOTE: Whites on first row (r= 0.13, p= 0.05);
blacks on second row (r= 0.10, p= 0.05).
All scores have been standardized.

may either sensitize the individual to the sociopolitical arena's operations and/or critically distort the individual's perceptions and evaluations of those operations. Hypotheses six, seven, and eight, in general, receive empirical support among New Haven adolescents.

To an extent, this notion of sensitization-distortion can be investigated further through testing hypotheses nine and ten, which posit a relationship between perceptions of systemic functioning and systemic rejection. If, in fact, these hypotheses are confirmed, then it might be argued that a degree of psychological maladjustment may foster greater perspicacity with regard to the operations of the social and political systems, rather than simply reflecting the individual's intrapsychic disturbance. The hypothesized link between critical-threatening perceptions and political alienation derives support from the correlations in Table 4; political violence justification, though, is uncorrelated with such perceptions. These findings strengthen the earlier factor analytic results which indicated the independence of the two systemic rejection dimensions; these findings also suggest that the sensitization-perspicacity notion may only be applicable to feelings of political alienation, not to political violence justification, which, given the gratification level and psychological maladjustment correlations, may be founded more on the psychological attributes of the individual.

Hypothesis eleven predicts a positive correlation between political alienation and political violence justification. On the basis of the results reported above, it is not surprising that the two variables are unassociated. The eleventh hypothesis is not supported.

Partial correlations, controlling for the extraneous effects of sex,

grade level, grade-point-average, political involvement, and parental

education level on the correlations in Table 4, indicated that these

demographic-categoric variables had a negligible influence on the

relationships reported.

The bivariate correlations cited to this point in the discussion

provide insights concerning relationships between variables, but they do not

furnish information regarding either the multiple effects of variables or

the causal relations between variables. The path analysis results in

Figure 2 supply information on both these points, and permit a more

rigorous testing of the hypotheses guiding this study.

The path coefficients in Figure 2 clarify the rather complex multivariate

relationships outlined in the integrated model of systemic rejection ante-

cedents. First, no differences appear between the two races regarding the

predictive power of the model concerning political alienation. In viewing

the dynamics of the model, however, it is clear that gratification level and

psychological maladjustment play a much greater role in the model for the

white adolescents, whereas critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical

reality are more important in the fostering of political alienation among

the black adolescents. In considering the sources of sociopolitical reality

perceptions, though, psychological maladjustment is more important for the

black adolescents, relative to their white counterparts.

Major racial differences do occur in predicting political violence

justification, with the model being three times more powerful in explaining

these sentiments among the white group, compared to the blacks. Here, too,

both gratification level and psychological maladjustment exert much more

effect for the whites than for the blacks. In this regard, equivocal results

FIGURE 2. PATH MODELS OF SYSTEM REJECTION ANTECEDENTS BY RACE

Whites
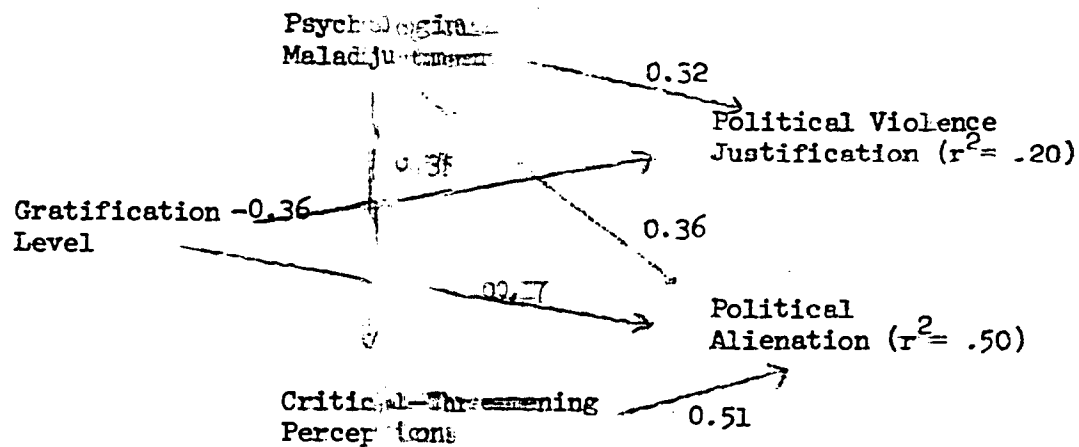
Blacks
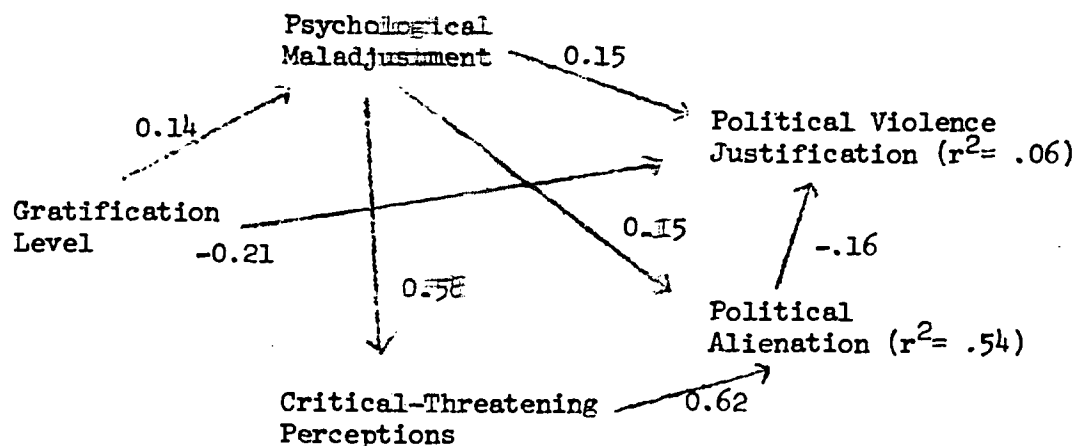
NOTE: All unstandardized path coefficients are equal to twice their standard errors. All scores have been standardized.

pertain to the final hypothesis concerning the predictive power of the model in accounting for systemic rejection among white and black pre-adults.: in predicting political alienation, the model does not significantly differentiate between white and black adolescents., although it does indicate that different political alienation sources apply for the two groups; in predicting political violence justification, the model clearly serves as a better predictor of these sentiments among white adolescents, and it indicates different sources of such attitudes for the two races.

In reconsidering hypotheses two through eleven, the path analytic results seem to provide the strongest support for the positive association between psychological maladjustment and critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, the negative relationship between gratification level and political violence justification, and the positive correlation between systemic perceptions and political alienation. This analysis furnishes weaker support for the psychological maladjustment-political alienation and -political violence justification linkages.

It is also noteworthy that three theoretically significant causal connections did not occur in Figure 2: 1) gratification level exerting a strong effect on psychological maladjustment, 2) gratification level in-fluencing perceptions of systemic functioning, and 3) political alienation determining the approbation of violence to produce political change. The sociological literature would lead one to expect all three of these causal paths to be strongly evidenced by the New Haven data (Long, 1976f; Long, 1976g). All three relations, however, may rest on a model of sociopolitical behavior founded on the assumption that individuals are far more ideologically sophisticated than they may be (Converse, 1964). Related to this notion is

the assumption that such perceptions and attitudes are more politicized than
they may well be. Thus, without strong environmental intervention inter-
jecting these ideological and political concerns into the individual's
awareness, the individual probably does not achieve such cognitive closure
himself (Edelman, 1964; Edelman, 1971).

E. Conclusion

Much of the early literature on political socialization objectives
stressed respect for political authority, obedience to the law, and involve-
ment in conventional modes of political participation (Greenstein, 1965;
Hess and Torney, 1967; Easton and Dennis, 1969). Such objectives were based
on a static model of the sociopolitical system characterized by consensus,
compliance, and passivity (Litt, 1963). These goals benefitted the white
middle-class and those in positions of power, but did not contribute to the
well-being of the impoverished, racial minorities, or the powerless (Gamson,
1968). Furthermore, given the recent history of the political system,
particularly regarding the events in Southeast Asia, Watergate-related
corruption, and the role of the government in the violation of citizens'
constitutional rights, it would appear that this model of democratic
citizenship does not meet the demands of the times.

As has been argued elsewhere (Long and Strong, 1976a; Long and Strong,
1976b), the peoples' representatives in the political system may prove more
responsive to demands from the masses, and more cautious in independently
implementing public policy outputs, knowing that political alienation among
Americans is atypically high at the present time (Wright, 1976), and

knowing that, in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, today's emerging citizens may be more receptive to political reform through violent means if necessary.

This change in the conceptualization of democratic citizenship is reflected in a recent study of civic education on an international level, which transcends the traditional model of political socialization to suggest the development of new stages in the political learning process, in which the pre-adult's view of society expands beyond "sheltered" or "sophisticated" views:

> Stage 1: Very vague, inarticulate notions, with emergent images of one or two institutions, e.g., the police.
> Stage 2: What may be called the "sheltered" view, in which primarily the harmonizing values and processes become established.
> Stage 3: An intermediate stage of growing awareness of social conflict, of economic forces, of the UN, of multiple institutional roles, etc., but essentially still with a sheltered orientation.
> Stage 4: What has been called the sophisticated or realistic view above, with less stress on fairmindedness and understanding, clear awareness of both cohesive and divisive functions of many institutions, of overlap between institutional functions, of social bias, low participation, oppressive potential, etc.
> Stage 5: Scepticism, a general contempt for institutions and lack of belief in their efficacy, an emphasis on discordant functions, unfairness, and class bias, denial of participation and of improved understanding (Torney, et al., 1975: 318-319).

From the evidence found among New Haven adolescents, both white and black, it would seem they have, along with Mr. Roth, in his introduction to this paper, reached Stage 5.

Gratification Level Scale (Alpha= 0.57)

After you graduate from high school, if you want to get a really
enjoyable job, what are the chances of your getting the kind of
job you really deserve?

After you graduate from high school, if you want to earn a really
good income, what are the chances of your earning the kind of
income you really deserve?

After you graduate from high school, if you want to find a really
nice place to live, what are the chances of your finding the kind
of home you really deserve?

(Five-point Poor-Excellent response option)

To what extent will the government and society keep you from getting
the kind of job you really deserve?

To what extent will the government and society keep you from earning
the kind of income you really deserve?

To what extent will the government and society keep you from finding
the kind of home you really deserve?

(Five-point Completely-None response option)

Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose that the top of the ladder (Step
9) represents the best possible life for a person and the bottom (Step 1)
represents the worst possible life for a person.

Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?

Where on the ladder do you feel you personally deserve to stand at the
present time?

Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stood five years ago?

Where on the ladder do you feel you personally deserved to stand five
years ago?

Where on the ladder do you feel you personally will stand five years
from now?

Where on the ladder do you feel you personally will deserve to stand
five years from now?

Psychological Maladjustment Scale (Alpha= 0.82)

I have known people who pushed me so far that we came to blows.

I often feel like a powder keg ready to explode.

I do many things that make me feel remorseful afterwards.

I am irritated a great deal more than people are aware of.

I often feel that I have not lived the right kind of life.

I commonly wonder what hidden reason another person may have for doing something nice for me.

I have often felt that strangers were looking at me critically.

I am sure I am being talked about.

I have often felt that people say insulting and vulgar things about me.

Although some people say that most people can be trusted, you can't be too careful in your dealings with people.

The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

I often feel awkward and out of place.

People were better off in the old days when everyone knew just how he was expected to act.

With everything in such a state of disorder, it's hard for a person to know where he stands from one day to the next.

Everything changes so quickly these days that I often have trouble deciding which are the right rules to follow.

My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.

Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.

I certainly feel useless at times.

People like myself have very little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups.

36

To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings.

It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune.

Often there is no chance of protecting my personal interest from bad luck happenings.

I find it difficult to take criticism without feeling hurt.

I worry about little things.

I get terribly upset and miserable when things are not the way I would like them to be.

It is a terrible catastrophe when affairs in this country do not work out as we want them to.

(Seven-point Disagree Strongly-Agree Strongly response option)

Critical-Threatening Perceptions of Sociopolitical Reality Scale (Alpha= 0.76)

When they both commit the same crimes, black people get longer sentences than white people.

Political leaders take advantage of black people more than they do white people.

Police treat black people worse than white people.

When they both commit the same crimes, poor people get longer sentences than rich people.

Police treat poor people worse than rich people.

Political leaders take advantage of poor people more than they do rich people.

Most politicians don't really represent the interests of black people.

A white man has a better chance of influencing our political leaders than does a black man.

A rich man has a better chance of influencing our political leaders than does a poor man.

Most politicians don't really represent the interests of poor people.

I become afraid when I hear what some of our political leaders have been doing recently.

When I read about what the government is doing to some people these days, I become frightened for my own safety.

Some of the government's recent activities make me afraid for my personal well-being.

The way our leaders are running the country these days, I really feel threatened.

Sometimes I feel that the poor political leadership we've had in this country recently is going to somehow threaten the kind of life I'd like to live.

I'm not going to be able to live the kind of life I'd like to live because of the way this country is being run.

I'm not as free to do some of the things I'd like to do because of the political situation in this country today.

I feel personally threatened when I hear how our government is managing the economy these days.

With the recent wiretapping and spying activities of the government coming to light, it's obvious that the personal privacy of all of us is threatened.

I would feel very threatened if the government prohibited me from reading certain books or watching certain television programs.

I would feel very frustrated if the government wouldn't allow me to associate with or talk to certain people.

(Seven-point Disagree Strongly-Agree Strongly response option)

REFERENCES

ABERBACH, J. and J. WALKER (1973) Race in the City. Boston: Little, Brown.

ABRAMSON, P. (1972) "Political efficacy and political trust among black

schoolchildren: two explanations." Journal of Politics 34 (November):

1243-1275.

ADAMS, J. (1965) "Inequity in social exchange," pp. 267-299 in L. Berkowitz

(ed.) Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Volume 2. New York:

Academic.

ADORNO, T., E. FRENKEL-BRUNSWICK, D. LEVINSON, and R. SANFORD (1950) The

Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper.

AGGER, R., M. GOLDSTEIN, and S. PEARL (1961) "Political cynicism: measure-

ment and meaning." Journal of Politics 23 (May): 477-506.

BARD, J. (1973) "A self-rating scale for rationality." Rational Living

8 (Spring): 19.

BAUGHMAN, E. (1971) Black Americans: A Psychological Analysis. New York:

Academic Press.

- - - and W. DAHLSTROM (1968) Negro and White Children: A Psychological

Study in the Rural South. New York: Academic Press.

BERKOWITZ, L. (1962) Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis. New York:

McGraw-Hill.

BLAU, P. (1964) Exchange and Power in Social Life. New York: Wiley.

BLUMENTHAL, M., R. KAHN, F. ANDREWS, and K. HEAD (1972) Justifying Violence:

Attitudes of American Men. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social

Research.

39

BOWEN, D., E. BOWEN, S. GAWISER, and L. MASOTTI (1958) "Deprivation, mobility, and orientation toward protest of the urban poor," pp. 187-200 in L. Masotti and D. Bowen (eds.) Riots and Rebellion: Civil Violence in the Urban Community. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.

BREHM, J. (1972) Responses to Loss of Freedom: A Theory of Psychological Reactance. Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press.

- - - (1966) A Theory of Psychological Reactance. New York: Academic Press.

BRIDGETTE, R. (1970) "Self-esteem in Negro and white southern adolescents." Ph.D. dissertation. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

BRODY, E. (1964) "Color and identity conflict in young boys, II." Archives of General Psychiatry 10 (April): 354-360.

- - - (1963) "Color and identity conflict in young boys." Psychiatry 26 (May): 188-201.

BUSS, A. (1961) The Psychology of Aggression. New York: Wiley.

CAPLAN, N. and S. NELSON (1974) "Who's to blame." Psychology Today 8 (November): 99-104.

CHRISTIE, R. and F. GEIS (1970) Studies in Machiavellianism. New York: Academic.

CHRISTMAS, J. (1973) "Self-concept and attitudes," pp. 249-272 in K. Miller and R. Dreger (eds.) Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States. New York: Seminar Press.

CITRIN, J., H. McCLOSKY, J. SHANKS, and P. SNIDERMAN (1975) "Personal and political sources of political alienation." British Journal of Political Science 5 (January): 1-31.

CLARK, K. (1965) Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. New York: Harper and Row.

COLE, R. (1973) "Toward a model of political trust: a causal analysis."
American Journal of Political Science 17 (November): 809-817.

COLEMAN, J. (1971) Resources for Social Change: Race in the United States.
New York: Wiley.

COLES, R. (1975) The Mind's Fate: Ways of Seeing Psychiatry and Psycho-
analysis. Boston: Little, Brown.

- - - (1967) Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear. Boston:
Little, Brown.

CONVERSE, P. (1964) "The nature of belief systems in mass publics,"
pp. 206-261 in D. Apter (ed.) Ideology and Discontent. New York: Free
Press.

COOPERSMITH, S. (1967) The Antecedents of Self-Esteem. San Francisco:
W. H. Freeman.

COTTLE, T. (1974) Black Children, White Dreams. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

CRAIN, R. and C. WEISMAN (1972) Discrimination, Personality, and Achieve-
ment: A Survey of Northern Blacks. New York: Seminar Press.

CRAWFORD, T. and M. NADITCH (1970) "Relative deprivation, powerlessness,
and militancy: the psychology of social protest." Psychiatry 33 (May):
208-223.

DAVIES, J. (1973) "Aggression, violence, revolution, and war," pp. 234-
260 in J. Knutson (ed.) Handbook of Political Psychology. San
Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

DEAN, D. (1960) "Alienation and political apathy." Social Forces 38
(March): 185-189.

DOLLARD, J., L. DOOB, N. MILLER, O. MOWRAR, and R. SEARS (1939) Frustration
and Aggression. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

DUNCAN, O. (1969) "Discrimination against Negroes," pp. 352-374 in B.
Gross (ed.) Social Intelligence for America's Future: Explorations
in Societal Problems. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

EASTON, D. and J. DENNIS (1969) Children in the Political System. New
York: McGraw-Hill.

EDELMAN, M. (1971) Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence.
Chicago: Markham.

- - - (1964) The Symbolic Uses of Politics. Urbana, Ill.: University of
Illinois Press.

ELLIS, A. (1971) Growth Through Reason: Verbatim Cases in Rational-Emotive
Therapy. Palo Alto, Calif.: Science and Behavior Books.

- - - (1962) Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy. Secaucus, New Jersey:
Lyle Stuart.

- - - and R. HARPER (1975) A New Guide to Rational Living. Englewood
Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

ERIKSON, E. (1966) "The concept of identity in race relations: notes and
queries," pp. 227-253 in T. Parsons and K. Clark (eds.) The Negro
American. Boston: Beacon Press.

FEAGIN, J. and H. HAHN (1973) Ghetto Revolts: The Politics of Violence in
American Cities. New York: Macmillan.

FESTINGER, L. (1954) "A theory of social comparison processes." Human
Relations 7 (2): 117-140.

FORWARD, J. and J. WILLIAMS (1970) "Internal-external control and black
militancy." Journal of Social Issues 26 (Winter): 72-95.

FOX, E. and R. DAVIES (1971) "Test your rationality." Rational Living
5 (Spring): 23-25.

FRIEDMAN, M. (1975) Rational Behavior: An Explanation of Behavior That Is
Especially Human. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina.

GAMSON, W. (1968) "Stable unrepresentation in American society." American
Behavioral Scientist 12 (November-December): 15-21.

GESCHWENDER, B. and J. GESCHWENDER (1973) "Relative deprivation and
participation in the civil rights movement." Social Science Quarterly
54 (September): 403-411.

GOLDHAMER, H. (1950) "Public opinion and personality." American Journal
of Sociology 55 (January): 346-354.

GORE, P. and J. ROTTER (1963) "A personality correlate of social action."
Journal of Personality 31 (March): 58-64.

GREENBERG, E. (1970a) "Children and government: a comparison across racial
lines." Midwest Journal of Political Science 14 (May): 249-275.

- - - (1970b) "Orientations of black and white children to political author-
ity figures." Social Science Quarterly 51 (December): 561-571.

- - - (1969) "Children and the political community: a comparison across
racial lines." Canadian Journal of Political Science 2 (December):
471-492.

GREENSTEIN, F. (1965) Children and Politics. New Haven, Conn.: Yale
University Press.

GRIER, W. and P. COBBS (1968) Black Rage. New York: Basic Books.

GUGGENHEIM, F. (1969) "Self-esteem and achievement for white and Negro
children." Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment
33 (February): 63-71.

GURIN, P., G. GURIN, R. LAO, and M. BEATTIE (1969) "Internal-external
control in the motivational dynamics of Negro youth." Journal of
Social Issues 25 (Summer): 29-53.

GURR, T. (1970) Why Men Rebel. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

HAUSER, S. (1971) Black and White Identity Formation: Studies in the Psychosocial Development of Lower Socioeconomic Class Adolescent Boys. New York: Wiley.

HEINZ, A. (1971) "Black pride as a system-transforming variable: its impact on self-image and attitudes toward authority." Ph.D. dissertation. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University.

HESS, R. and J. TORNEY (1967) The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldine.

HOMANS, G. (1961) Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms. New York: Harcourt, Brace, World.

HORNEY, K. (1950) Neurosis and Human Growth. New York: Norton.

ISRAEL, J. (1971) Alienation: From Marx to Modern Sociology. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

JOE, V. (1971) "Review of the internal-external control construct as a personality variable." Psychology Reports 28 (April): 619-640.

KOFF, S. (1973) "The political use of the concept of alienation," pp. 269-293 in F. Johnson (ed.) Alienation: Concept, Term, and Meanings. New York: Academic Press.

KORNBERG, A., D. LINDER, and J. COOPER (1970) "Understanding political behavior: the relevance of reactance theory." Midwest Journal of Political Science 14 (February): 131-138.

LANE, R. (1959) Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics. New York: Free Press.

LASSWELL, H. (1962) Power and Personality. New York: Viking.

LAURENCE, J. (1970) "White socialization: black reality." Psychiatry 33 (May): 174-194.

LAZARUS, A. (1971) Behavior Therapy and Beyond. New York: McGraw-Hill.

LEVIN, M. (1960) The Alienated Voter. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

LEVENSON, H. (1973) "Activism and powerful others: distinctions within the concept of internal-external control." Journal of Personality Assessment 38 (August): 377-383.

LITT, E. (1963) "Civic education, community norms, and political indoctrination." American Sociological Review 28 (February): 69-75.

LONG, S. (1976a) "An integrated social deprivation-political reality model of political alienation: black-white adolescent comparisons." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976b) "Cognitive-perceptual factors in the political alienation process: a test of six models." Delivered at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

- - - (1976c) "Irrational ideation and political reality: a theory of political alienation." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976d) "Irrationality and systemic rejection: insights from Ellis' rational behavior theory." Delivered at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

- - - (1976e) "Political alienation among black and white adolescents: a test of the social deprivation and political reality models." American Politics Quarterly 4 (July): 267-304.

- - - (1976f) "Perceived psychosocial comparison level and systemic rejection among white and black youth." Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York.

- - - (1976g) "Perceived relative deprivation and political orientation: a study of white and black adolescents." Journal of Political and Military Sociology. (In press).

- - - (1976h) "Political alienation: reality and reactance." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976i) "Political disenchantment: a cognitive-perceptual theory of political alienation." Delivered at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Dallas.

- - - (1976j) "Political hopelessness: youth's prognosis for the system's future." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976k) "Political reactance and political reality: a theory of political alienation." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976l) "Psychopolitical orientations of white and black youth: a test of five models." Social Science Quarterly. (In press).

- - - (1976m) "Systemic disaffection: a three-factor theory of political alienation." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1975a) "Personality and systemic rejection: a study of white and black adolescents." Youth and Society 7 (December): 99-129.

- - - (1975b) "Sociopolitical reality and political alienation: a comparison of white and black adolescents." Delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle.

- - - (1975c) "Young revolutionaries: psychopolitical sources of political violence justification among white and black adolescents." Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago.

- - - (1974a) "Correlates of adolescents' condonation of unconventional
political behavior." Delivered at the annual meeting of the South-
western Political Science Association, Dallas.

- - - (1974b) "Personality and political socialization: political revenge
attitudes among black and white youth." Delivered at the annual
meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans.

- - - (1974c) "Socialization to revolt: political alienation and political
violence justification among white and black youth." Delivered at the
annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago.

- - - . and M. STRONG (1976a) "Adolescents' political views--are they
naive?" Phi Delta Kappan. (In press).

- - - and - - - (1976m) "The political system as youth see it: a research
note." Phi Delta Kappan. (In press).

MacDONALD, A. and R. GAMES (1972) "Ellis' irrational values." Rational
Living 7 (Fall): 25-28.

MATTHEWS, D. and J. PROTHRO (1966) Negroes and the New Southern Politics.
New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.

McCARTHY, J. and W. YANCEY (1971) "Uncle Tom and Mr. Charlie: metaphysical
pathos in the study of racism and personal disorganization." American
Journal of Sociology 76 (January): 648-672.

McCLOSKY, H. (1967) "Personality and attitude correlates of foreign policy
orientation," pp. 51-109 in J. Rosenau (ed.) Domestic Sources of
Foreign Policy. New York: Free Press.

- - - and J. SCHAAR (1965) "Psychological dimensions of anomy."
American Sociological Review 30 (February): 14-40.

McDONALD, R. and R. GYNTHER (1965) "Relationship of self and ideal self

descriptions with sex, race, and class in southern adolescents."

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 1 (January): 85-88.

McGUIRE, W. and A. PADAWER-SINGER (1976) "Trait salience in the spontaneous

self-concept." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 33 (June):

743-754.

MEREIMAN, R. (1971) "The development of policy thinking in adolescence."

American Political Science Review 65 (December): 1033-1047.

MILLER, A. (1974) "Political issues and trust in government: 1964-1970."

American Political Science Review 68 (September): 951-972.

MORLAND, J. (1962) "Racial acceptance and preference of nursery school

children in a southern city." Merrill Palmer Quarterly 8 (October):

271-280.

OLSEN, M. (1969) "Two categories of political alienation." Social Forces

47 (March): 288-299.

PERRY, D. and J. FEAGIN (1972) "Stereotyping in black and white," pp. 433-

463 in H. Hahn (ed.) People and Politics in Urban Society. Beverly

Hills, California: Sage.

PETTIGREW, T. (1967) "Social evaluation theory: congruences and evaluations,"

pp. 241-315 in D. Levine (ed.) Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 1967.

Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press.

- - - (1964) A Profile of the Negro American. Princeton, New Jersey:

Van Nostrand.

PHARES, E. (1976) Locus of Control in Personality. Morristown, N.J.:

General Learning Press.

48

PORTER, J. (1971) Black Child, White Child. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

POUSSAINT, A. and C. ATKINSON (1972) "Black youth and motivation," pp. 55-69 in J. Banks and J. Grambs (eds.) Black Self-Concept: Implications for Education and Social Science. New York: McGraw-Hill.

PRESTAGE, J. (1969) "Black politics and the Kerner Report: concerns and direction," pp. 538-543 in N. Glenn and C. Bonjean (eds.) Blacks in the United States. San Francisco: Chandler.

PROSHANSKY, H. and P. NEWTON (1968) "The nature and meaning of Negro self-identity," pp. 178-218 in M. Deutsch, I. Katz, and A. Jensen (eds.) Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

RANSFORD, H. (1968) "Isolation, powerlessness and violence: a study of attitudes and participation in the Watts riot." American Journal of Sociology 73 (March): 581-591.

RENSHON, S. (1974) Psychological Needs and Political Behavior: A Theory of Personality and Political Efficacy. New York: Free Press.

RODGERS, H. (1974) "Toward explanation of the political efficacy and political cynicism of black adolescents: an exploratory study." American Journal of Political Science 18 (May): 257-282.

ROKEACH, M. and B. FRUCHTER (1956) "A factorial study of dogmatism and related concepts." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 53 (November): 356-360.

ROSENBERG, M. (1973) "Which significant others?" American Behavioral Scientist 16 (July/August): 829-860.

- - - (1965) Society and the Adolescent Self-Image. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- - - (1956) "Misanthropy and political ideology." American Sociological Review 21 (December): 690-695.

- - - and R. SIMMONS (1971) Black and White Self-Esteem: The Urban School Child. Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association.

ROTH, P. (1971) Our Gang (Starring Tricky and His Friends). New York: Random House.

ROTTER, J. (1966) "Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement." Psychology Monographs 80 (Whole No. 609): 1-28.

- - - (1954) Social Learning and Clinical Psychology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

RYAN, W. (1971) Blaming the Victim. New York: Random House.

SALAMON, L. and S. VAN EVERA (1973) "Fear, apathy, and discrimination: a test of three explanations of political participation. American Political Science Review 67 (December): 1288-1306.

SARAT, A. (1975) "Reasoning in politics: the social, political, and psychological bases of principled thought." American Journal of Political Science 19 (May): 247-261.

SCANZONI, J. (1971) The Black Family in Modern Society. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

SCHACHT, R. (1970) Alienation. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

SCHWARTZ, D. (1973) Political Alienation and Political Behavior. Chicago: Aldine.

SEEMAN, M. (1975) "Alienation studies," pp. 91-123 in A. Inkeles (ed.) Annual Review of Sociology. Palo Alto, Calif.: Annual Reviews.

- - - (1972) "Alienation and estrangement," pp. 467-527 in A. Campbell
and P. Converse (eds.) The Human Meaning of Social Change. New York:
Russell Sage.

SIGEL, R. (1971) "Bases of political and civic involvement among rural
high school youths--internal/external control and involvement."
Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science
Association, Chicago.

SILBERMAN, C. (1964) Crisis in Black and White. New York: Random House.

SMITH, M. (1968) "Competence and socialization," pp. 270-320 in J.
Clausen (ed.) Socialization and Society. Boston: Little, Brown.

SNIDERMAN, P. (1975) Personality and Democratic Politics. Berkeley,
Calif.: University of California.

- - - and J. CITRIN (1971) "Psychological sources of political belief:
self-esteem and isolationist attitudes." American Political Science
Review 65 (June): 401-417.

SOARES, A. and L. SOARES (1969) "Self-perceptions of culturally dis-
advantaged children." American Educational Research Journal 6
(January): 31-45.

STRICKLAND, B. (1965) "The prediction of social action from a dimension
of internal-external control." Journal of Social Psychology 66
(August): 353-358.

TEMPLETON, F. (1966) "Alienation and political participation: some
research findings." Public Opinion Quarterly 30 (Summer): 249-261.

TENHOUTEN, W. (1970) "The black family: myth and reality." Psychiatry
33 (May): 145-173.

THIBAUT, J. and H. KELLEY (1959) The Social Psychology of Groups. New York: Wiley.

TOMLINSON, T. (1970a) "Determinants of black politics: riots and the growth of militancy." Psychiatry 33 (May): 247-264.

- - - (1970b) "Ideological foundations for Negro action: a comparative analysis of militant and non-militant views of the Los Angeles riots." Journal of Social Issues 26 (Winter): 93-119.

- - - (1968) "The development of a riot ideology among urban Negroes." American Behavioral Scientist 11 (March-April): 27-31.

TORNEY, J., A. OPPENHEIM, and R. FARNEN (1975) Civic Education in Ten Countries: An Empirical Study. New York: Wiley.

TRODAHL, V. and F. POWELL (1965) "A short-form dogmatism scale for use in field studies." Social Forces 44 (December): 211-214.

WARD, S. and J. BRAUN (1972) "Self-esteem and racial preference in black children." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 42 (July): 644-647.

WENDLAND, M. (1967) "Self-concept in southern Negro and white adolescents as related to rural-urban residence." Ph.D. dissertation. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

WHITE, R. (1972) The Enterprise of Living: Growth and Organization in Personality. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

WILLIAMS, R. and H. BYARS (1970) "The effects of academic integration on the self-esteem of southern Negro students." Journal of Social Psychology 80 (April): 183-188.

- - - (1969) "Negro self-esteem in a transitional society." Personnel and Guidance Journal 47 (October): 120-125.

WRIGHT, J. (1976) The Dissent of the Governed: Alienation and Democracy in America. New York: Academic.