

RACE, CLASS AND THE QUALITY OF

LIFE OF BLACK PEOPLE

by

Melvin E. Thomas

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APPROVED:

Michael Hughes Chair

George A. Hillery Jr., Chair

Alan E. Bayer

James K. Skipper

Bradley Hertel

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ABSTRACT

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Committee Chairpersons: Michael Hughes and George Hillery

Jr.

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Wilson (1980) argued that social class has superseded race as the most important determinant of life chances for black Americans. His statements have sparked a heated debate in the sociology of race relations. This dissertation is an empirical test of the "declining significance of race" thesis in relation to the quality of life of black Americans. It assumes that "life chances" include not only economic criteria but also the possibility of attaining a happy, satisfying, and healthy life. Two perspectives on the relationship between race and well-being were distinguished. The "class" perspective identifies the source of the problems blacks face as increasingly a class phenomena rather than one of race. The "race" perspective sees race as increasingly the source of the problems blacks face. These two perspectives were tested using data from three different

sources: the NORC General Social Survey; the Quality of American Life, 1971 and 1978 (Campbell and Converse, 1971, 1978); and Americans View Their Mental Health, 1957 and 1976: Selected Variables (Veroff, Douvan and Kulka, 1978). The effects of race and class (and other demographic variables) were compared across the years of each survey on selected measures of subjective well-being. The results revealed a persistent race effect on all of the quality of life measures except for the scales measuring psychiatric symptoms. Most of the race effects persisted even when controlling for social class, sex, marital status, and age across all the years examined. These results support the "race" perspective that "being black" is detrimental to the psychological well-being of blacks regardless of their social class status. There was, however, no discernible trend of race increasing or declining in significance--only its continuing significance.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

A. Introduction

Over the past 25 years, blacks in the United States have experienced significant changes in their social status. Numerous laws have been enacted which have made most forms of discrimination and de jure segregation illegal. Opportunities have been opened for blacks that did not exist previously in American history. Studies have indicated that there has been a decline in racist ideology and racist attitudes toward blacks on the part of whites (e. g. Bullock and Rodgers 1975). Blacks have made significant economic progress to the point where we have witnessed the emergence of a black middle-class (Wattenberg and Scammon, 1973; Alsop 1980). Politically, blacks have been amassing the power of the vote to elect black politicians to key offices. There are now black mayors in major cities such as Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Atlanta. Yet, in spite of all these social and legal changes, blacks still represent an oppressed and disadvantaged group in America. On most key measures of well-being (e.g. income, education, health, and housing) blacks still rate lower than whites. Blacks are more likely to be in poverty, live in substandard housing, have poorer health and higher mortality rates, have less

formal education and higher rates of unemployment than whites. Explaining this apparent contradiction in American society is an important problem for sociology in general, but especially for the sociology of race and stratification.

B. Problem Statement

William Julius Wilson, in his book, The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks in Changing American Institutions (1978, 1980 2nd ed.) argued that social class has superseded race as the most important determinant of life chances for black Americans. His statements have sparked a heated debate in the sociology of race relations. The present study is an empirical test of the "declining significance of race" thesis in relation to the quality of life of black Americans. This dissertation assumes that "life chances" include not only economic criteria, but, also the possibility of attaining a happy, satisfying, and healthy life. If race is declining in its impact on the life chances of black Americans, then this should be reflected in their reports of life satisfaction, happiness, and other measures of psychological well-being and quality of life. There are basically two perspectives on the relationship between race and well being. The "class" perspective identifies the source of the problems blacks face as increasingly a class phenomenon rather than a racial one. The "race" perspective sees race as continuing to be the source of the problems blacks face,

perhaps even increasingly so (e. g. Willie, 1978,1979). Much of the debate between proponents of these two perspectives has been ideological in nature with very little empirical research. This dissertation will test hypotheses derived from these two perspectives by analyzing the effects of race controlling for the effects of social class with data collected over 28 years from three different sources: the NORC General Social Survey; the Quality of American Life, 1971 and 1978 (Campbell and Converse, 1971, 1978); and Americans View Their Mental Health, 1957 and 1976: Selected Variables (Veroff, Douvan and Kulka, 1978).

C. Outline of Chapters

Chapter II will review the literature on race, social class, and quality of life. In the first section (B) following the introduction, Wilson's (1978,1980) controversial "declining significance of race thesis" will be presented. The next two sections of this chapter will review the literature that (C) supports Wilson and that is (D) critical of his position.

Chapter III will examine the literature on race, class, and psychological well-being in which there is a disagreement which parallels the debate concerning the relative significance of race and class in determining psychological well-being.

The first section after the introduction in chapter IV discusses the important concepts in this study. The first three parts of this section deal with the concept of subjective well-being: (1) its importance as an object of sociological study; (2) its nature; and (3) its determinants. The final part of this section (4) will analyze the concept of social class. The concluding section will present the two theoretical perspectives reflected in the literature and the hypotheses derived from them which will be tested in this study.

Chapter V is divided into two major sections. The first describes the data used in the study. The second section describes variables used from each of the three data sets and how they are coded.

Chapter VI presents the effects of race on well-being not considering any other variables. The second part of this chapter examines race, sex, age, marital status and provides a test for interaction.

In chapter VII, the effect of race on well-being scores controlling for social class in addition to controlling for the effects of age, sex, and marital status will be examined. The concluding section of this chapter examines significance of any race-class interaction.

Chapter VIII examines the effects of race controlling for social class across the years of each study to determine

whether race is declining or increasing in significance relative to social class as a determinant of well-being for blacks. Evidence for an historical trend will be examined.

Chapter IX summarizes the findings and discusses their theoretical significance.

Chapter II

THE DECLINING SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE DEBATE

A. Introduction

This chapter will review the literature on the race-class debate in the field of sociology. In the first section (B), Wilson's (1978,1980) controversial "declining significance of race thesis" will be presented.

The next two sections of this chapter will review the literature that has (C) supported Wilson and is (D) critical of his position.

B. Wilson's (1978,1980) Thesis

Wilson (1978,1980) argued that class has superseded race as the most important factor explaining the differences in the quality of life and life chances for black Americans. He (1978,1980:153) states:

The factors that most severely affected black life-chances in previous years were the racial oppression and antagonism in the economic sector. As race declined in importance in the economic sector, the Negro class structure became more differentiated and black life chances became increasingly a consequence of class affiliation.

Wilson's (1978,1980:2-3) basic thesis is that American society has gone through three stages of race relations between blacks and whites, representing different forms of racial stratification structured by the particular arrangements of both the economy and the polity. The first stage was the

antebellum slavery and early postbellum era--the period of plantation economy and racial-caste oppression. The second stage was the period from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the New Deal era--the period of industrial expansion, class conflict, and racial oppression. The third and present stage is the modern industrial, post-World War II period--characterized as a period of progressive transition from racial inequities to class inequities. His (1978,1980:3) central argument is that:

. . . different systems of production and/or different arrangements of the polity have imposed different constraints on the way in which racial groups have interacted in the United States, constraints that have structured the relations between racial groups and that have produced dissimilar contexts not only for the manifestation of racial antagonisms but also for racial group access to rewards and privileges.

Most of the controversy over Wilson's (1978,1980) argument concerns his analysis of the modern industrial period. In this period, he argues (1978,1980:150-151), economic growth and state intervention in the form of civil rights legislation, administrative action to improve civil rights, and the implementation of affirmative action policies have created a large black middle class primarily through the creation of job opportunities and the removal of racial barriers in education and in employment in government and corporate jobs. At the same time, segmentation of labor markets, the movement of industries out of central cities, and

the decline in the production of goods relative to the production of services have created a social and economic situation that perpetuates black poverty. Low status jobs which pay low wages are all that are available for many ghetto-dwelling blacks who do not have the economic and cultural resources to take advantage of opportunities for upward mobility. Stated simply, this argument maintains that disadvantage continues for members of a growing black lower class, but current racial discrimination is not the primary determinant of their economic situation; past discrimination created the large black lower class which continues today primarily because of economic and social structural reasons.

Thus, he argues that race is declining in significance relative to class as the most important determinant of well-being for blacks. That is, the problems of blacks are not so much due to the fact that they are black and face racism and discrimination from the white dominated society as to the fact that they are overrepresented in the lower-class. He claims that there is a growing cleavage in black America between lower-class blacks--who, because of past discrimination, are oppressed because they are poor--and a growing number of middle-class blacks who are able to take advantage of the recently developed opportunities. In Wilson's (1978,1980:151) words:

On the one hand, poorly trained and educationally limited blacks of the inner city, including that growing number of black teenagers and young

adults, see their job prospects increasingly restricted to the low wage sector, their unemployment rates soaring, their movement out of poverty slowing, and their welfare roles increasing. On the other hand, talented and educated blacks are experiencing unprecedented job opportunities in the growing government and corporate sectors, opportunities that are at least comparable to those of whites with equivalent qualifications. The improved job situation for the more privileged blacks in the corporate and government sectors is related both to the expansion of salaried white-collar positions and to the pressures of state affirmative action programs.

C. Works Supporting Wilson (1978,1980)

Since the publication of Wilson's work, numerous book reviews (e.g. Edwards 1979, Margolis 1979, and Pettigrew 1979), journal articles (e.g. Willie, 1978, Williams 1981, De Lone 1981, Newman 1979, Payne 1979, Kramer 1979, and Collins 1983), and a book (Willie, 1979) have been published attacking it directly or indirectly, sometimes quite vehemently. On the other hand, Wilson's (1978,1980) work has received some very favorable reviews (e.g. Banton, 1980; Martin, 1980 and Williams, 1978). Banton (1980), for example, acclaims The Declining Significance of Race as ". . . probably the best study in fifteen years on the position of blacks in the United States (1980:138)." Wilson's work is similarly described by Martin (1980:523) as ". . . an incisive and impressive analysis of the role of race and class in American society and their impact on race relations." Scholars such as these generally welcome Wilson's emphasis on economic factors in determining the social status of

blacks as opposed to race and racism. They condemn the emphasis on the latter in other sociological research (see Williams, 1978 for an example of this).

In a recent empirical study that has supported Wilson's work, Hout (1984) analyzed data on intergenerational and intragenerational mobility to test Wilson's contention that the advances some blacks attained in the late 1960's resulted in a class stratification in the black community that had not existed previously. According to Hout (1984:308) "the extent to which class can be said to be the arbiter of blacks economic opportunities hinges on the strength of the association between class positions of fathers' and sons' occupations and on the association between a man's occupational class at different points in his career." He (1984:308-321) found that 1) class effects--the association between origins and destinations--on intragenerational mobility between 1962 and 1973 were significant for blacks and were similar to the class effects for whites; 2) class differences in intergenerational mobility increased for blacks between 1962 and 1973 such that socioeconomic criteria were more important in determining their occupational status in 1973 than in 1962; and 3) upward mobility between 1962 and 1973 was greatest among black men of upper socioeconomic origins--indicating that those who benefitted most from the new opportunities available to blacks because of the civil

rights movement and its aftermath were those who were already relatively advantaged. Also, Hout (1984:321) found that the public sector of the employment market provided more higher status and stable jobs and was more selective in recruiting blacks from middle class and skilled nonmanual backgrounds than the private sector. It was, therefore, a more important factor than the private sector in the occupational upgrading of blacks and in precipitating the growing class differences in the black community.

Farley's (1984) study gives mixed support for some of Wilson's statements. His (1984) analysis indicates that through the 1960's and 1970's blacks improved their standing relative to whites in education, occupational status and personal income. For example, similar to Wilson, he (1984:184) states:

Without a doubt blacks now hold more prestigious and higher paying jobs than they have in the past. Since 1960 there has been only a little upgrading of the occupational distribution among and thus the proportion of whites with white-collar jobs has risen only slightly. Among blacks meanwhile, the proportion with white-collar positions has gone up rapidly. Back in 1960 the 10 percent of all workers who were black held only 3 percent of the professional and managerial jobs. In 1980 blacks still made up about 10 percent of the work force, but they held 6 percent of the managerial and professional jobs.

However, Farley notes no improvement in family income, a result that can be traced to unemployment or to an increase in the number of families headed by a single female. In levels

of unemployment, he (1984:198) notes that blacks "were as far behind in 1979 as in 1959."

D. Critical Works

The literature cited above is, however, the exception. The bulk of the sociological literature is highly critical of Wilson. One of Wilson's strongest critics, Charles V. Willie (1978,1979), takes a totally opposite position on this issue and counter-proposes that race has not been declining in significance but is "inclining" in significance as a determinant of the quality of life for blacks. Basing his argument on income, education, and housing data which highlight the large differences between blacks and whites in these areas, he argues that racism and discrimination are still a fact of life for the majority of blacks regardless of social class and the resulting problems of "being black" are becoming increasingly salient.

Wilson (1978,1980) responded to this criticism by arguing that Willie's analysis ignores the importance of the legacy of past discrimination because it attributes the overall black-white gap to present discrimination. For example, Wilson (1978:17) contends

. . . there is still a significant income gap between all college educated whites and all college educated blacks because of the substantially lower income of older educated blacks. But is this mainly a consequence of present-day discrimination as Willie wants to believe? No, the comparatively low incomes of older blacks is one of the legacies of past discrimination.

Thus, differences in measures of well-being across social classes for blacks and whites, for Wilson (1978, 1980) are attributed to the low life chances of older blacks, victims of past discrimination.

Willie (1979:44) criticizes Wilson for not differentiating what Willie (1979:44) conceptualized as the vertical stratification system--race-- from social class, which is differentiated horizontally. Willie (1979:44) claims that Wilson's (1978) analysis is incomplete because "he focused largely on blacks and did not comprehend the different patterns of variations of social class variables among majority and minority members of racial populations" and because he "misunderstood the caste-like character of the vertical dimension of the stratification system." Willie (1979:45) faults Wilson (1978) for implying that increased opportunities for racial minorities "almost automatically resulted in a decrease in the amount of the discrimination they experience." Willie (1979:45) argues that "discrimination due to caste is not the same as differentiation due to social class. . . . A population may experience increased differentiation by social class without experiencing decreased differentiation by social caste."

Willie (1979:53) also contends that an analysis that only looks at income distributions differentiated by occupations within racial groups is inadequate to assess whether blacks

and whites are rewarded (e. g. paid, promoted) when they pursue the same occupations. Analysis of these rewards "is essential in determining the relative effects of race (as measured by minority/majority status) and social class (as measured by occupation) on life-chance (as measured by income)." He (1979:53-54) points out that black professional and managerial workers are better off compared to whites than black service workers. Black service workers can expect to earn 67% of what white service workers can expect to earn while black professional and managerial workers can expect to earn 80% of what white professional and managerial workers can expect to earn. Regarding this differential, Willie (1979:53-54) remarks:

I consider it to be a cruel white trick to urge blacks and other minorities to stay in school and improve themselves by becoming educated, to give them the responsibilities inherent in professional and managerial work, and then to pay them only 80% of what they should get. One could call this a racial tax that is assessed on all citizens of the United States who are not white.

In answering Wilson's (1978:17) contention that ". . . there is still an income gap between all college educated blacks and all college educated whites because of the substantially lower income of older educated blacks . . . because of a legacy of past discrimination," Willie (1979:55) utilizes statistics provided by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission entitled Social Indicators of Equality of Minorities and Women. This study presented statistical adjustments using

multiple regression for each minority groups' educational level, job prestige, income level in the State of residence, weeks worked, hours recently worked, and age. According to this study (U.S. Civil Rights Comm., 1978:53):

The hypothetical annual income earning figures calculated for each minority and female group can be interpreted as the earnings that would be received by a member of each group if the person had the same level of education, occupational prestige, etc. as the average majority male. The hypothetical annual earnings can then be compared to the expected earnings of majority males with the same characteristics. Because any difference in the resulting adjusted earnings cannot be due to differences in education, occupational prestige . . . [age] . . . etc. . . the resulting differences in earnings are considered here to be the cost of being female or minority, or both. This is inequality of income.

According to Willie (1979:55), based on this study, "one may conclude that even when all things are equal (including age, education and occupation), blacks and other minorities receive an annual income that is 15 to 20 percent less than that received by majority males. These findings indicate that racism is alive and well in the United States."

Reinforcing his argument, Willie (1979:56) refers to his own research on the teaching profession which involved similarly educated men and women, blacks and whites. He found that blacks earned 1/4 less income. This is also interpreted by him as a "tax for not being white" (1979:56). The above analyses Willie (1979:56) presents to refute Wilson's (1978:110) contention that

. . . political changes leading, first to the passage of protective union legislation during the New Deal era and, second, to the equal employment legislation in the early sixties have virtually eliminated the tendency of employers to create a split labor market in which black labor is deemed cheaper than white labor regardless of the work performed

Asks Willie (1979:64),

With the gains in education that blacks have made since the mid-point of the century, why do poorly educated whites whose education is comparable to that of blacks continue to get better jobs than blacks, so much so that the ratio of blacks to whites in poverty is the same today as it was in 1959, when a greater discrepancy in schooling existed between the races?

In sum Willie (1979:64) states:

Until William Wilson can explain this, he would be wise to drop his contention that social differentiation is consigning blacks to poverty. There is social differentiation to be sure, among blacks as well as whites. Although professionals who are white receive approximately twice as much income as poor whites, only one out of 10 whites is poor. Professionals who are black also receive about twice as much income as do poor blacks; yet three out of every 10 blacks are poor. The stratification pattern between the two races is similar. What accounts for this difference if race is not significant? William Wilson has not given us a satisfying answer.

Another radical condemnation of Wilson's work came in the form of a statement issued by the Association of Black Sociologists which stated that Wilson's book: 1) ". . . clearly omits significant data regarding the continuing discrimination at all class levels;" 2) misinterprets the facts it presents; 3) "denies the overwhelming evidence regarding the significance of race and the literature that speaks to the

contrary" and; 4) misrepresents the black experience (cited in Willie 1979:230). The statement also expressed a strong concern about the policy implications that may result from Wilson's work; i. e., that it may be seized upon by certain reactionary groups to further suppress blacks.

Shulman (1981), like Willie (1979), criticizes Wilson's argument about the relationship between class and racial antagonism. Wilson's class categories, Shulman (1981:22) argues, defined in terms of income groups, are presented to be in a simple correspondence to racial oppression. That is, "the more blacks are distributed throughout the income spectrum, the less operative is racism" (1981:22). For Wilson, then, the class stratification of blacks and racial oppression are inversely related because racism means a common economic experience of the oppressed group. Shulman (1981:23) contends that although there is greater diversity of jobs and income of blacks which represents a real improvement, this does not necessarily mean that racism is on the decline. "It may merely signify that the forces of oppression have been set back by other factors (such as political struggle) and may reassert themselves if those factors weaken" (1981:23). For Shulman (1981:23), Wilson's conclusions stem from the fact that he never develops a theory of race and class interaction "beyond discussing the economic basis of racial antagonism." This "basis" represents a conceptual

collapse of the social relations of race to those of class so that the "extent of racism becomes entirely captured by the degree of income stratification, which is itself a function of class relations" (1981:23).

Shulman (1981:23) criticizes Wilson's view of racism itself which Wilson (1978:151) defined as "the explicit and overt effort to keep blacks subjugated." This means that there must be a deliberate and conscious effort to subjugate blacks in order for there to be racism. But Shulman (1981:23) argues:

Even if white people bear no ill will toward blacks, they are generally unwilling to act against a system which distributes rewards disproportionately to themselves. Whites as a group merely have to acquiesce in a racist system for racism to be perpetuated. The failure to oppose racism is as reasonable a criterion as conscious discrimination in categorizing practices as racist.

Shulman accuses Wilson of economic determinism because he believes that economic racism entirely originates and is manifest in the system of production. Shulman (1981:24) states that "race relations are not merely the passive by-product of the system of production: they affect the path of economic development and hence become self-sustaining."

Shulman (1981:24) strongly criticize Wilson for separating the economic realm from the "sociopolitical." Wilson (1978:2) states:

. . . the presence of blacks is still firmly resisted in various institutions and social arrangements, for example, residential areas and private

social clubs. However, in the economic sphere, class has become more important than race in determining black access to privilege and power.

And (1980:153) that racial antagonism in the sociopolitical order

. . . has far less effect on individual or group access to those opportunities and resources that are centrally important for life survival than antagonism in the economic sector.

Shulman (1981:24) questions Wilson's separating housing from the economic sphere. He argues that "as a commodity with significant influence on the labor supply pattern, it is a highly economic entity. Wilson's argument depends on definitional exclusion."

Shulman (1981:24) similarly faults Wilson's concept of "polity" as suffering from an "artificial restrictiveness." Wilson (1978:150) argued that "state intervention in the modern period has been designed to promote racial equality." Wilson's view of polity, says Shulman (1981:24), is limited to certain aspects of federal legislation and economic intervention. Shulman (1981:24) contends that there is really no reason to restrict the concept of the state to these activities or even to the federal level. If, says Shulman (1981:24), the concept of the state is expanded to include the state and local governments or the current actions of the Reagan administration, Wilson's case would be much harder to make.

Payne (1979:135) also faults Wilson's reasoning in separating the economic realm from the "sociopolitical," and argues that aside from that questionable separation, the problem with it is that "given the recent tendency for new jobs to be located away from residential concentrations of blacks . . . any restriction on residential choice may easily translate into restrictions on job access" (1979:135). Also, restrictions on residential choice can make the perpetuation of inferior inner-city schools more likely--making problematic Wilson's arguments about impersonal class barriers, because they emphasize the low educational credentials among lower-class blacks (1979:135).

Pettigrew (1979:114-115), like Willie (1979) and Shulman (1981), criticizes Wilson for reasoning that the "increasing importance of class must signify the decreasing importance of race." Other observers, Pettigrew (1979:114-115) contends, have noted the increasing stratification within black America, but none have argued for the declining significance of race, but rather for the changing significance of race. None of the data that Wilson presents (of which only two of the book's 15 tables are relevant because they combine race and class effects), Pettigrew (1979:115) argues, show any decline in the significance of race. They do, he (1979:115) contends, reveal "strong main effects for both class and race variables, moderate interaction, and no evidence of the

declining significance of race whatsoever." The source of Wilson's (1978) fallacy, Pettigrew (1979:1150) contends, is that of believing that the predictive value of one set of variables--class--necessarily means the decrease in the predictive power of another--race.

Edwards (1979:99-100) argues that the validity of Wilson's (1978) contentions depend upon the viability of a series of explicitly stated circumstances which Edwards (1979:99) contends have been highly questionable for some time and further, show signs of deteriorating. These represent the foundation of Wilson's arguments:

1) The existence of expanding high-wage, high-status job opportunities in both the corporate and government sectors.

2) The forceful intervention of the state to remove contemporary racist obstacles and to rectify the historical legacy of artificially discriminatory barriers to employment opportunities through court action, occupational rights legislation, and legislative orders.

3) The existence of a powerful political and social movement against job discrimination.

The deterioration of any of these critical circumstances, says Edwards (1979:99), would question the integrity of Wilson's work--by his own admission--yet he does not cite, much less address, the "widely published and acknowledged evidence to the effect that all three circumstances have deteriorated significantly."

Another serious flaw that Edwards (1979:102) found with Wilson's work was his (1980:135) assertion that "Lower-class Blacks had little involvement in the civil rights politics up to the mid-1960's" which Edwards (1979:102) calls "almost too ludicrous to comment upon." This statement, says Edwards (1979:102), serves Wilson's (1978:135) contention that black protest tends to be a by-product of economic class position verses racial circumstance, but "flies in the face of documented historical fact."

Pettigrew (1979:116) concludes with some not very flattering statements:

. . . I believe that the chief conclusion of this volume--The Declining Significance of Race--to be premature at best, dangerously wrong at worst. The unqualified title attracts attention to the book. But it unwittingly risks adding unsubstantiated support to the dominant ideological myth of the current "post-Reconstruction" phase of American race relations: namely, that racial problems were solved during the 1960's, and thus there is no continuing need for such measures as affirmative action and metropolitan approaches to public school desegregation.

In a recent empirical study, Oliver and Glick (1982) sought to test the doctrines of what they termed the "new orthodoxy" on black mobility--of which Wilson is considered a representative--using data on black and white mobility from 1962 to 1973. This doctrine contains three arguments:

- 1) The 1960's were an era of expanding occupational opportunities for blacks.

- 2) Any remaining discrimination in hiring or mobility is essentially a remnant of the past and

does not represent the actual, ongoing operation of the labor market today.

3) Since race is no longer relevant as an inhibiting factor in securing jobs and social mobility for blacks, social policy should be geared to remedying any pernicious effects of the class system without any reference to race or any other group characteristics.

Using a Markov-chain model which provided probabilities of movement from occupation to occupation and between generations, Oliver and Glick (1982:520) found that:

1) While there were occupational gains during the 1960s for black males, they were not very significant when compared to those of white males.

2) Present rates of black mobility are woefully inadequate in moving blacks and whites toward occupational equality.

3) The differences in occupational mobility observed between blacks and whites are related more to the fact that blacks are involved in a mobility process that is qualitatively different from whites than to any differences in social origins of the two groups. Racial criterion is still an important factor in differentiating the experience of blacks and whites in the labor market.

Oliver and Glick (1982:520) conclude by stating that the new orthodoxy has overstated the gains made by blacks in the 1960s. They (1982:520) state that the "amount of progress from the caste status of blacks during slavery through the 1973 trends in mobility, while significant in its absolute increase, only indicates that, given present trends in mobility, another 200 years of striving with the same commitment and determination that blacks showed in the 1960s will

be necessary to achieve occupational equality between the races."

D. Summary of Criticisms

In sum, the literature on Wilson's thesis is overwhelmingly negative. The more important of the criticisms are listed below:

a. Wilson mistakenly assumes that the increasing stratification of blacks means that race is declining in significance.

b. Wilson failed to understand that racial discrimination and oppression is more than just "the explicit and overt effort to keep blacks subjugated" economically.

c. Wilson illegitimately separates the economic dimension from the "sociopolitical."

d. Wilson failed to use adequate data to support his thesis.

e. Wilson over-estimated the so called "powerful political and social movement against job discrimination."

f. Wilson misunderstood race relations by making them merely a by-product of the system of production.

Chapter III

RACE, CLASS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

A. Introduction

This chapter will review the literature on race, class, and psychological well-being in which there is a disagreement which parallels the "declining significance of race" debate concerning the relative significance of race and class in determining economic well-being.

Very similar to the "Declining Significance of Race" debate is the controversy concerning the relative significance of race and class in determining psychological well-being. These two "controversies" are not unrelated because "well-being" and "quality of life" include more than simply economic well-being, important as it is. The race versus class debate has implications not only in terms of access to economic resources, but also in the attainment of psychological well-being and a generally happy and satisfying life. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the relative impact of race and class on measures of well-being and quality of life as well as on economic measures (i.e. income, employment etc.) if we are to understand fully the race-class effect in the lives of blacks. Although Wilson's (1978,1980) study is not an examination of psychological well-being and quality of life, but is a study of one's life chances as defined by

Weber with reference to the possession of goods and opportunities for income (Wilson 1980:ix-x; Weber [1922] 1946:181-83). However, in discussing the components of life chances, Wilson, following Weber, also emphasizes what they both refer somewhat ambiguously to as one's "personal life experiences" (Wilson 1980:ix; Weber [1922] 1946:181). It is not unreasonable to assume that this phrase refers in part to a subjective experiential dimension of life which may be positive or negative, and which in contemporary sociological literature is referred to as "quality of life" or "psychological well-being." As Campbell (1981:1-9) emphasizes, in modern industrial societies there is a good deal more to life quality than material well-being. That is, concern with material well-being in modern society is not just a concern with the accumulation of goods and money per se, but is, in large part, a concern with the life experience that can be realized given material security and well-being. Thus, a decline in the significance of race as a determinant of life chances should include, at least in part, a decline in the negative experience of life associated with race. The following sections will review studies that have examined the issue of race, class, and psychological well-being (B) and race, class, and psychopathology (C).

B. Studies on Race, Class, and Well-being

Campbell (1981) argues that low income blacks suffer a double bind of being black and poor. When compared to poor whites, who also have low feelings of well-being, low income blacks have even worse feelings. In fact, Campbell (1981:232-233) found that blacks of every income group described their lives in less positive terms than whites. Blacks with high income did report higher levels of well-being than blacks with lower incomes but not equal to that of whites with similar incomes. Also, blacks were twice as likely as whites to feel they have had less than their share of the happiness a person can reasonably expect in life. According to Campbell (1981:233), "black people lack what income alone won't give them, equal social and political status". Their sense of inequality is reflected in their well-being scores. In concluding this discussion, Campbell (1981:233) states:

Being black does not bring the disadvantages it once did in this country, but they are still sufficient to depress the psychological well-being of the black population.

Bracy (1976), in a study of differences in quality of life between white and black people which was done as part of the larger study by Campbell et al. (1976), showed that blacks generally report lower happiness and satisfaction levels than white people. Reviewing four studies done from 1957 to 1972, he showed that over the years blacks have been consistently less happy than whites. Although in 1957

blacks were about as satisfied as whites, by 1971 they appeared to be somewhat less satisfied. Bracy also (1976:456-458) showed that most of the differences on indicators of general well-being between blacks and whites in 1971 could be accounted for by differences between blacks and whites in family income, educational level, occupation, northern vs. southern residence, size of residence, and age. However, Bracy (1976:458-464) also looked at a scale of satisfaction covering eleven different domains of life. On this scale there were substantial differences between blacks and whites, indicating less satisfaction for blacks, which persisted when the above controls were introduced.

Clemente and Sauer (1976) presented analyses which are consistent with Bracy (1976). Using the General Social Survey for 1973, they found that race was a significant predictor of a scale of life satisfaction (satisfaction with residence, family, friendships and activities). Their analyses showed that blacks were less satisfied than whites even after controls were introduced into the analysis for demographic and socioeconomic status variables.

In a study of subjective well-being in older age, Herzog et al. (1982) used race as a control variable in a number of analyses predicting life satisfaction and happiness. Using data originally collected as part of Andrews and Withey's (1976) study, Herzog and her colleagues showed that

blacks were significantly less happy than whites, even after controls were introduced for gender, marital status, age, income, education and employment status. For life satisfaction, the differences were not significant when controls were included. Herzog and her colleagues also analyzed data from the Campbell et al. (1976) study. These data are the same as those presented by Bracy (1976) in his report published in Campbell et al. (1976). However, Herzog et al. (1982) dropped region, occupation, and size of place as control variables but included marital status, employment status, and health, which Bracy did not. In these analyses with controls (gender, income, education, marital status, employment status and health), Herzog and her colleagues showed again that blacks were less happy than whites and that this was particularly true of younger blacks. There was, however, no difference between blacks and whites in overall life satisfaction. Herzog et al. (1982) produced identical results when they analyzed the data from the Campbell and Converse (1980) study--race had no effect on satisfaction, but there was a main effect of race on happiness and significant interaction between race and age predicting happiness. This latter finding for happiness was replicated when Herzog and her colleagues analyzed data from the General Social Surveys and included the same controls noted above.

C. Studies on Race, Class, and Psychiatric Symptoms

Psychopathology

Unlike the studies on race, class and subjective well-being, studies on race, class and psychiatric symptoms have generally found that the effects of race can be accounted for by social class. Warheit et al. (1975) examined the relationship between race and mental health utilizing five scales of psychological disorder. They found significant and sometimes quite large differences between blacks and whites when presented without controls on all five scales (indicating higher rates of psychological disorder for blacks). On the general psychopathology scale, blacks were twice as likely to be in the "high" category as whites and three times more likely to be in the high category of the phobia scale. But when age, sex, and socio-economic status are controlled, "the variable 'black' is barely significant in the equation for general psychopathology, and not significant in any other of the equations with the exception of the one designed to measure phobias" (1975:254). Their results suggest that "race" is not an important predictor of mental illness because of its lack of statistical significance in the regression equation with other socio-demographic variables and it explained little of the variance. On the one scale (the phobia scale) for which there was still a significant black-white difference, Warheit et al. (1975:254) give the following explanation:

The scores were particularly high for black females. A careful analysis of the items included in this scale suggest that black affirmative responses to them may be an accurate assessment of the reality in which they live.

This study, in contrast to Campbell (1981), gives at least some evidence that social class is more important than race in determining at least some measures of well-being for blacks.

Veroff et al. (1981) included blacks in their study of the psychological well-being of Americans from 1957 to 1976. They found that there were minor differences in worries and future morale between blacks and whites indicating a worsening of life-conditions for the black population but they were not significant. They also found that even when education was controlled there were differences between blacks and whites in life experience and satisfaction; however, there were no consistent or large differences in strain-in-long-term psychological consequences of life-stress. In fact, even though stress was evident in the response of blacks to all of the major life roles studied, these stresses did not convert to major psychic strain (1981:435). Veroff et al. (1981:435) give the following explanation for this:

Through internal psychological strength and social supports, blacks manage to assign problems accurately to the reality in which they lie or at least limit their disruptive effects to certain roles and relationships without allowing them to pervade the sense of self and identity. No signs of demoralization mark the picture that develops

from black respondents' self-assessment and experience in life.

Veroff et al. (1981:435) give evidence that at least one aspect of psychological well-being--worry--is due to "class" rather than "race." They found that blacks admit worrying more than whites. However, this finding disappears when controls for education and income were imposed. This was not the case in regard to overall happiness. Whites reported greater happiness about the way their lives are going. This finding is quite strong and remains even when age, education, sex, and year of survey are controlled. However, there was a significant interaction with age. Young blacks were dramatically less happy than young whites, middle-aged blacks were less happy than young whites--but less so, and older blacks are just about as happy as older whites (1981:436). Veroff et al. (1981:436) offer the following as the most plausible explanation:

. . . given the higher mortality of blacks in the United States, surviving blacks have been especially resourceful in being able to cope with the differential opportunities afforded blacks in American society. Their resourcefulness accentuates their well-being. They are true "survivors." Young blacks most directly come up against the obstacles for fashioning the good life. Some lower their aspirations as they get older, but some may literally not survive. This is not because of their relatively lower level of education. These results hold up controlling for education.

Self-esteem.

On the issue of blacks and self-esteem, McCarthy and Yancey (1971:670) argue against the view that blacks, because of the long history of racism and racist ideology, uniformly have lower levels of self-esteem than whites. They argue that it depends upon who blacks use as their frame of reference in developing their self-evaluations--blacks or whites--and social class (because it influences the selection of the comparison group). They (1971:670) present two alternative hypotheses:

1. To the degree that Negroes do not use biased white evaluators in developing a self-evaluation, the process of development of self-identity within the black community will parallel the development process in the white community, and to that degree when social class is controlled, Negroes and whites should not differ in levels of self-esteem.
2. Lower-class blacks will manifest higher self-esteem than lower-class whites, and middle-class blacks will manifest lower self-esteem than middle-class whites.

McCarthy and Yancey (1971:670) present the second of the above hypotheses based on the argument that lower-class blacks will use other lower-class blacks as their comparison group from which they will develop their self-evaluation, while middle-class blacks will use the biased evaluations of the white middle-class.

Kessler and Neighbors's (1986) study of race, class, and psychological distress was highly critical of previous re-

search in this area which purported to show that the relationship between race and psychological distress is due entirely to social class. These studies have found that the initial disparity between blacks and whites--with blacks indicating higher levels of psychological distress--disappeared when controls for social class were introduced. Based on these studies, Kessler and Neighbors (1986:107) contend, "it is now widely believed that race is not an independent determinant of psychological distress but, rather, serves as a proxy for socio-economic position." These studies, they (1986:107-108) claim, fail to consider the interactive effects of race and class. In a re-analysis of data from eight of these studies, they (1986:113) conclude that:

Although it appears that race has no effects on distress net of socioeconomic position when additivity is assumed, we have demonstrated here that a more accurate analysis of joint effects shows blacks to be more distressed than whites at low levels of income.

Kessler and Neighbors (1986:113) offer three possible explanations for this: 1) there may be greater levels of distress among lower-class blacks because of "thwarted mobility aspirations;" 2) poverty and discrimination may have synergistic effects and; 3) lower-class blacks may have less resources for coping with stress than lower-class whites.

Chapter IV
THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

A. Introduction

The first section (B) will discuss the important concepts in this study. The first three parts of this section will deal with the concept of subjective well-being: (1) its importance as an object of sociological study; (2) its nature; and (3) its determinants. The final part of this section (4) analyzes the concept of social class.

The second and concluding section (C) will present the two theoretical perspectives reflected in the literature and the hypotheses derived from them which will be tested in this study.

B. Concepts

1. The Importance of Subjective Well-being

Since the Second World War, there has been a growing interest in the the psychological quality of life in America. This has been accompanied by a growing realization of the failure of traditional measures of psychological well-being, i.e. economic indicators. It was assumed that economic prosperity necessarily produced a happy, satisfied populace. As Campbell (1981:2) states: "Economic indicators have become so much a part of our thinking that we tend to equate rising material income with well-being." What caused the

rising doubts about this simple equation was the rapid economic growth from about 1945 through the early seventies which coincided with a decline in well-being. It seemed that as economic welfare increased, psychological well-being declined. Campbell (1981:5) states:

Sometime during the 30 years following the Second World War . . . something went wrong with this simple tie between welfare and well-being. During this period, Americans experienced one of the most dazzling rises in economic affluence in the nation's history. Average family income went up by about two-thirds in constant dollars between 1945 and 1973. The proportion of people living below the poverty line dropped from a prewar high of near one in three to closer to one in eight. It was a remarkable achievement. But in increasing the number of families whose income was sufficient to purchase an adequate diet and the associated necessities, we did not increase the sense of confidence with which Americans walked the streets of their cities, we did not increase the feeling of attachment to one's community or the feeling of satisfaction working people found in their jobs, we did not strengthen the bond that held families together, we did not prevent the alienation of a generation of young people, or the development of a small army of people dependent on drugs, and, least of all, did we increase the citizenry's trust in its elected officials.

How can we account for this paradox? The least this means is that economic indicators alone are an inadequate measure of well-being. The evaluations that individuals have of their lives must be studied in their own right if we are to understand their well-being.

2. What is Subjective Well-being?

Following the dictionary which defines well-being as "the state of being healthy, happy or prosperous," Horley (1984:125) proposed that "subjective well-being can be described as the state of being happy, or at least one's belief that one is happy" (Horley, 1984:125). Subjective well-being is an abstract concept. Defining it is a difficult task and there is no uniform usage of the concept in the subjective well-being literature. Nevertheless, there seems to be a growing consensus concerning its general nature. Shin and Johnson (1978:478) have defined happiness as "a global assessment of a person's quality of life according to his own chosen criteria" and Veenhoven (1984:22) defines it as "the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of his life-as-a-whole favorably." Similarly, Dahmann (1981:97) states: "Quality of life is viewed here as comprised of the collective assessment made by individuals of the various domains of the life experience." The assessment, according to Campbell (1981:14), is totally subjective--"known directly to the individual person and known to others only through that person's behavior or verbal reports." Campbell (1981:23) states that the "sense of well-being is an attribute of human experience that derives from peoples perception of their contemporary situation. It is always dependent on the subjective characteristic of that person and the objective characteristics of the situation."

Some scholars such as Bradburn (1969), emphasize the affective component of well-being. He conceptualizes psychological well-being as having two aspects: positive and negative. He states (1969:9):

A person's position on the dimension of psychological well-being is seen as a resultant of the individual's position on two independent dimensions--one of positive affect and the other of negative affect. The model specifies that an individual will be high on psychological well-being in the degree to which he has an excess of positive over negative affect and will be low in well-being in the degree to which negative affect predominates over positive.

Campbell (1981:23-24) further differentiates between the positive affect and negative affect component and the satisfaction-dissatisfaction component of well-being:

Satisfaction-dissatisfaction is a function of the gap the individual perceives between his or her present situation or status and the situation or status he or she aspires to, expects, or feels entitled to. Change in satisfaction level may result from a change in perceived situation or a change in aspiration level or both.

Affect, on the other hand, refers to "spontaneous feelings of pleasure or misery associated with events in the individual's immediate experience. These events are both positively and negatively intoned, and their sum determines the individual's affect balance" (1981:24). Both satisfaction or dissatisfaction and positive or negative affect may be felt toward various specific domains as well as toward life generally. Both affect and satisfaction are useful concepts because they reveal aspects of how individuals evaluate their lives. Both will be used in this study.

3. What Determines Well-being?

W. I. Thomas proposed that if men define something as real, it is real its consequences. This idea can be helpful in understanding something about subjective well-being. People act toward objects in their social world based on the meaning these objects have for them. It is not necessarily the objective circumstances that determines how people evaluate their lives, it is how they perceive their circumstances. Improvement in objective condition can improve well-being, but there is no necessary causal relationship between the two. As Campbell (1981:19) states:

We assume that the accumulation of goods and services commonly serves as an instrument through which people enhance their feelings of well-being, but we do not assume there is a strong and necessary relationship between the affluence of their objective circumstances and the quality of their subjective well-being. People respond to their world around them not as it objectively is but as they perceive it, and it is our belief that they strive to perceive it as positively as possible.

Thus, subjective well-being is a result of an interplay between the objective situation and the individual's perception of the situation. People live in different social circumstances, and these circumstances undoubtedly serve to help or hinder their well-being. However, people differ in their ability to see their situations positively. That is, some people have a psychological predisposition toward eval-

uating their life circumstances more favorably than others. But some life circumstances (e.g. poverty, serious illness) can effect the subjective well-being of even the most optimistic person. Such conditions act as facilitators or inhibitors of psychological well-being, making it easy or difficult for an individual to view his/her life positively (Campbell, 1981:19). As Campbell (1981:19) states:

The ultimate level of perceived well-being which any individual will achieve will depend in part on the balance of facilitating and inhibiting conditions within which that person lives and in part on the success of that person's impulse to see his or her world positively.

It also follows from this that changes in well-being can result from either a change in a person's objective circumstances, or the perspective from which a person views those circumstances or both (Campbell 1981:24). The concern of the dissertation is how the circumstances of race and social class impact (i.e. act as facilitators or inhibitors) on the subjective well-being of blacks.

4. Social Class

Max Weber (1978:302) defined "class situation" as the typical probability of:

1. procuring goods
2. gaining a position in life and
3. finding inner satisfactions, a probability which derives from relative control over goods and skills and from their income-producing uses within a given economic order.

Wilson (1980:ix), uses a modified Weberian concept of class and similarly defines it as

. . . any group of people who have more or less similar goods, services, or skills to offer for income in a given economic order and who therefore receive similar financial remuneration in the marketplace. One's economic class position determines in major measure one's life chances, including the chances for external living conditions and personal life experiences.

Wilson (1980:x) considers those who are employed in white-collar jobs, craftsmen and foremen to be middle-class and those in semi-skilled and unskilled positions to be lower-class.

In order to insure the comparability of findings, Wilson's conception of social class will be followed in this study with some modifications because of the problem Wilson (1980:x) has (which he admits) in including all white-collar occupations in his conception of the middle-class. Some of these jobs are relatively low-paying and low-skill positions (e. g. receptionists, clerks, sales workers). In defining social class as ". . . any group of people who have more or less similar goods, services, or skills to offer for income in a given economic order and who therefore receive similar financial remuneration in the marketplace," this dissertation takes the position that occupational status is inadequate as an indicator of social class by itself. Income, education, and employment status must also be considered as dimensions of social class because they reflect one's remun-

eration in the market place and skills to offer for income. Income will be considered as a measure of "financial remuneration in the marketplace" and the ability to procure goods and services. Education and occupation will be interpreted as measures of "skills to offer for income." Those who occupy similar positions on these three dimensions of social stratification share a similar "class situation" and economic life chances. Employment status will also be considered an aspect of social class because high unemployment (and underemployment) is a major characteristic of the lower-class--particularly the black lower class of Wilson's thesis.

In sum, social class will be conceptualized as one's relative position to the market place. This position is determined by a person's occupational status, income, education, and employment status. When it becomes necessary to divide the samples into lower-class and middle-class categories, those employed in white-collar occupations, craftsmen, and foremen will be considered middle-class provided they receive at least the median income and have the median level of education for that survey. All others will be considered lower-class. Thus white-collar workers with lower family incomes, for example, will be considered lower-class, accurately reflecting their economic life-chances.

C. Hypotheses

From the race vs. class debate and the literature on race, class and well-being we can see that there are two clearly distinguishable theoretical perspectives. The "class" perspective identifies the source of the problems blacks face as increasingly a class phenomena rather than race. In this perspective, social class is seen as the primary inhibitor/facilitator of subjective well-being for blacks. The other perspective which we will call the "race" perspective sees race as continuing to be the source of the problems blacks face. This perspective would see race as the primary inhibitor of well-being for blacks due to continuing race discrimination. Racism and discrimination in the "class" position are viewed as having been virtually eliminated and class barriers are seen as delimiting life-chances for blacks. In contrast, the "race" perspective sees racism and discrimination as a persistent if not increasing problem for blacks, negatively affecting their quality of life whatever their social class.

Both perspectives imply change over time. For the class position, the change is the declining significance of race relative to social class in determining life-chances for blacks. Conversely, at least one scholar of "race" perspective, Willie (1978), has argued that race is increasing in significance in determining well-being for blacks.

From the above perspectives, several competing hypotheses may be derived:

"Class"

1. The relationship between race and quality of life indicators will disappear when social class and age are controlled.
2. The significance of race is continuing to decline relative to class variables as a predictor of well being.

"Race"

1. Race will continue to be significantly and negatively related to quality of life regardless of what variables are controlled.
2. The significance of race is increasing as a predictor of the quality of life regardless of social class status.

Chapter V

DATA AND METHODS

A. Introduction

The data for this study come from three different sources: the NORC General Social Survey; the Quality of American Life, 1971 and 1978 (Campbell and Converse, 1971, 1978); and Americans View Their Mental Health, 1957 and 1976: Selected Variables (Veroff, Douvan and Kulka, 1978).

Measures of well-being were selected based on whether there was a significant difference between the scores of blacks and whites on that measure. Other racial groups were eliminated from the analysis. Primary emphasis will be given to items asked on more than one year of that particular study.

B. Data

1. General Social Survey

a. Sample

The NORC General Social Survey (hereafter referred to as the GSS data) is a national survey conducted in 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984, and 1985. Each survey is an independently drawn sample of non-institutionalized, English speaking persons 18 years of age and older living in the U. S. Block quota sampling was used in the 1972, 1973, and 1974 surveys and for half of the 1975

and 1976 surveys. Full probability sampling was used in half of the 1975 and 1976 surveys and the 1977, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1985 surveys. The 1982 survey includes a special over-sample of 354 blacks. Table 1 presents the sample size for each year of the GSS broken down by race.

The effects of race and class will be compared as predictors of the selected measures of well-being across these years.

b. Variables

The measures of well-being from the GSS data will include: general condition of health, general happiness, general life satisfaction, trust-in-people, happiness of marriage, and anomie.

General life satisfaction is an additive scale consisting of items asking the respondent how much satisfaction did they get from their: family life, health and physical condition, friendships, non-working activities--hobbies etc., and their city or place in which they live. Each of the five items is scored from 1 (low satisfaction) to 7 (high satisfaction). The scale has possible scores from a low of 5 to a high of 35. The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha = .6728$.

The trust-in-people scale is an additive scale constructed from three items asking the respondent: 1) if they would say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly looking out for themselves; 2) if they

TABLE 1

The Sample Size For Each Year of the GSS Data
Broken Down By Race

	YEAR											
RACE	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1984	1985	Total
White	1348	1308	1304	1323	1361	1339	1358	1318	1323	1251	1338	15987
Black	261	183	173	163	129	176	158	140	510	170	152	2380
Total	1609	1491	1477	1486	1490	1515	1516	1458	1833	1421	1490	18367

thought most people would try to take advantage of them if they got a chance, or would try to be fair and; 3) if they would generally say that most people could be trusted or that you could not be too careful in dealing with people. The trusting response on each item is coded 3 and the mistrusting response is coded 1. Possible scores on the scale are from 3 to 9. The reliability coefficient for the trust-in-people scale was .6742.

The anomie scale is an additive scale constructed from three items asking the respondent: 1) if in spite of what some people say, the lot (situation/condition) of the average man is getting worse, not better; 2) if it is hardly fair to bring a child into the world with the way things look for the future and; 3) if most public officials (people in public office) are not really interested in the problems of the average man. The anomic answer on each item is coded 0 the non-anomic answer was coded 1. Possible scores on the scale are from 0 to 3. The reliability coefficient for the anomie scale was $\alpha = .5629$.

General happiness, happiness of marriage, and general condition of health are self-reported. General happiness is a single item asking the respondent: "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days -- would you say you are very happy, pretty happy or not too happy?" Marital happiness is a single item asking the respondent: "Taking

all things together, how would you describe your marriage? Would you say that your marriage is very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" Both general happiness and marital happiness are coded as follows: 1=not too happy, 2=pretty happy, and 3=very happy.

Self-reported physical health is a single item which asks: "Would you say your own health, in general, is excellent, good, fair, or poor?" Responses are coded: 1=poor, 2=fair, 3=good, and 4=excellent.

All variables are coded so that a higher score indicates greater life satisfaction, happiness, health, etc., except for anomie where a lower score indicates greater anomie. Missing data is not included in the analysis.

Social class in the GSS data will be analyzed in terms of total family income, and number of years of education and occupational status. The family income item asks the respondent their total family income from all sources last year. It is coded: under \$1,000=1, \$1,000 to 2,999=2, \$3,000 to 3,999=3, \$4,000 to 4,999=4, \$5,000 to 5,999=5, \$6,000 to 6,999=6, \$7,000 to 7,999=7, \$8,000 to 9,999=8, \$10,000 to 14,999=9, \$15,000 to 19,999=10, \$20,000 to 24,999=11 and 25,000 and over=12. For the year 1972, a slightly different code was used: under \$2,000=1, \$2,000 to 3,999=2, \$4,000 to 5,999=3, \$6,000 to 7,999=4, \$8,000 to 9,999=5, \$10,000 to 12,499=6, \$12,500 to 14,999=7, \$15,000

to 17,499=8, \$17,500 to 19,999=9, \$20,000 to 24,999=10, \$25,000 to 29,999=11 and 30,000 and over=12.

Education reports the respondents actual number of years of formal education and ranges from 0 indicating no formal education to 20 indicating 8 years of college (i. e. 20 years of school).

Occupation is an ordinal grouping of occupations from the unemployed and low status, low skill jobs to high status, high skill positions. Occupations are grouped and coded as follows: 0=unemployed, 1=farmers, farm laborers, 2=service workers, 3=operatives, 4=craftsmen, 5=clerical, sales, 6=managers, administrators, 7=professionals, technical. For housewives, their spouses occupational classification will be used. This will result in them being included in the analysis and provide a more accurate indication of their class status.

Other demographic variables used include: age (coded in actual number of years), sex (male=1, female=2), and marital status (married=1, not married=2).

2. Quality of American Life

a. Sample

The Quality of American Life study was conducted in 1971 and replicated in 1978 by the Survey Research Center and the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. The principal inves-

tigators were Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, and Willard L. Rodgers (hereafter referred to as the Campbell data). The purpose of this survey was to measure subjective mental health of adult Americans age 21 and older and living in private households and to determine how they cope with problems of adjustment. The data were collected through personal interviews using a national multistage area probability sample conducted in 1971 and 1978. Data from both studies will be used in this analysis. The effects of race and class will be compared as predictors of the selected measures of well-being across these two years. Table 2 presents the sample size for both years of the Campbell data broken down by race.

b. Variables

Measures of well-being from the Campbell and Converse (1981) survey will include: general happiness, satisfaction with marriage, domain satisfaction index, satisfaction with residence, satisfaction with social relations, satisfaction with standard of living, trust-in-people, general affect, and personal competence.

The domain satisfaction index is the mean on 12 items asking the respondents how satisfied/dissatisfied are they with their: 1) community; 2) neighborhood; 3) dwelling unit; 4) life in the U. S.; 5) amount of education; 6) health; 7) friends; 8) family life; 9) standard of living;

TABLE 2

The Sample Size For Both Years of the Campbell
Data Broken Down by Race.

RACE	YEAR		Total
	1971	1978	
White	1881	3151	5032
Black	222	375	597
Total	2103	3526	5629

10) savings; 11) spare time and; 12) life. Each of the 12 items is scored from 1 (low satisfaction) to 7 (high satisfaction). Thus, the scale has possible scores from a low of 1 to a high of 7. The reliability coefficient for general domain satisfaction was $\alpha=.8124$. No fewer than 9 non-missing responses on any items were allowed for valid cases. A factor analysis of these items revealed three factors which were used to create three separate scales: satisfaction with place of residence, satisfaction with social relations, and satisfaction with standard of living. Table 3 presents the results of the factor analysis.

Means are used on satisfaction scales so they may be compared with each other. The satisfaction with residence scale is the mean on 4 items asking the respondent how satisfied/dissatisfied are they with their: 1) dwelling; 2) neighborhood; 3) community and; 4) life in the U.S. The scale has possible scores from a low of 1 (highly dissatisfied) to a high of 7 (highly satisfied). The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha=.7007$.

The satisfaction with social relations subscale is the mean of items asking the respondent how satisfied/dissatisfied they were with their: 1) family life; 2) friends; 3) spare time and; 4) life. The scale has possible scores from a low of 1 (highly dissatisfied) to a high of 7 (highly satisfied). The reliability coefficient for this subscale was $\alpha=.7288$.

TABLE 3

Factor Analysis of The Domain Satisfaction Index of
the Campbell Data

Variable	Relationships Factor 1	Residence Factor 2	Soc. Status Factor 3
Satisfaction w/Friends	.68369	.16116	.06228
Satisfaction w/Family	.72422	.14231	.10246
Satisfaction w/Spare Time	.67786	.10424	.31637
Satisfaction w/Life as a Whole	.67088	.16400	.37408
Satisfaction w/Community	.14104	.78652	.11342
Satisfaction w/Neighborhood	.08524	.79898	.18672
Satisfaction w/Dwelling	.12727	.62082	.36992
Satisfaction w/Life in U. S.	.27567	.58593	-.06084
Satisfaction w/Std. of Living	.26481	.26163	.74413
Satisfaction w/Savings	.19092	.13581	.77469
Satisfaction w/Amount of Educ.	.09356	.07362	.62533
Eigenvalue	4.03328	1.21240	1.01754

The satisfaction with standard of living subscale is the mean of items asking the respondent how satisfied/dissatisfied they were with their: 1) standard of living; 2) amount of education and; 3) savings. The scale has possible scores from a low of 1 (highly dissatisfied) to a high of 7 (highly satisfied). The reliability coefficient for this subscale was $\alpha=.6462$.

The trust-in-people scale is an additive scale consisting of items asking the respondent if they felt people were: 1) trustworthy; 2) helpful and; 3) fair. The trusting response on each item is coded 1 and the mistrusting response is coded 0. Possible scores on the scale are from 0 to 3. The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha=.7287$.

Personal competence is an additive scale consisting of six items asking the respondent if they felt: 1) always sure life would work out as planned; 2) it is better to plan life or leave it to luck; 3) usually able to carry out plans; 4) they had a fair opportunity to make the most of self; 5) capable of running their own life and; 6) able to satisfy ambitions. The response indicating high personal competence on each item is coded 1 and the response indicating low personal competence is coded 0. Possible scores on the scale are from 0 to 6. The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha=.6012$.

The index of general affect is an additive scale which consists of a series of items which asked the respondent to indicate which word or phrase in a range of two extremes on each item described how they felt about their present life. They had to put an "X" in a box right next to the word or somewhere between the two extremes. The items asked if the respondent saw their life as: 1) boring/interesting; 2) enjoyable/miserable; 3) useless/worthwhile; 4) friendly/lonely; 5) full/empty; 6) discouraging/hopeful; 7) bring out the best/doesn't give me much chance and; 8) disappointing/rewarding. Each of the eight items is scored from 1 (negative affect) to 7 (positive affect). The scale has possible scores from a low of 8 to a high of 56. The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha=.8889$.

Social class in the Campbell data will be analyzed in terms of total family income, and number of years of education and occupational status. The family income item asks the respondent their total family income from all sources last year. The family income item in 1971 is different from that item in 1978. In 1978 family income is coded: nothing or loss=1, \$1 to 1,999=2, \$2,000 to 2,999=3, \$3,000 to 3,999=4, \$4,000 to 4,999=5, \$5,000 to 5,999=6, \$6,000 to 6,999=7, \$7,000 to 7,999=8, \$8,000 to 8,999=9, \$9,000 to 9,999=10, \$10,000 to 11,999=11, \$12,000 to 13,999=12, \$14,000 to 15,999=13, \$16,000 to 17,999=14, \$18,000 to

19,999=15, \$20,000 to 22,999=16, \$23,000 to 25,999=17, \$26,000 to 29,999=18, \$30,000 to 34,999=19, \$35,000 to 39,999=20, \$40,000 to 44,999=21, \$45,000 to 49,999=22, \$50,000 to 56,999=23, \$57,000 to 63,999=24, \$64,000 to 79,999=25, 80,000 and over=26.

In 1971 family income is coded: nothing or loss=0, \$1 to 1,999=1, \$2,000 to 2,999=2, \$3,000 to 3,999=3, \$4,000 to 4,999=4, \$5,000 to 5,999=5, \$6,000 to 6,999=6, \$7,000 to 7,999=7, \$8,000 to 8,999=8, \$9,000 to 9,999=9, \$10,000 to 10,999=10, \$11,000 to 11,999=11, \$12,000 to 13,999=12, \$14,000 to 16,999=13, \$17,000 to 19,999=14, \$20,000 to 24,999=15, \$25,000 to 34,999=16, \$35,000 and over=17.

Education reports the respondents actual number of years of formal education and ranges from 0 indicating no formal education to 17 indicating over 16 years of college.

Occupation is an ordinal grouping of occupations from the unemployed and low status, low skill jobs to high status, high skill positions. Occupations are grouped and coded as follows: 0=unemployed, 1=farmers, farm laborers, 2=service workers, 3=operatives, 4=craftsmen, foremen, 5=clerical, sales, 6=proprietor, business, 7=managers, administrators, 8=professionals, technical. For housewives, their spouses occupational classification will be used. For the retired, their previous occupational classification will be used.

Other demographic variables used include: age (coded in actual number of years), sex (male=1, female=2), and marital status (married=1, not married=2).

3. Americans View Their Mental Health

a. Sample

The Americans View Their Mental Health study was conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan with Joseph Veroff, Elizabeth Donovan, and Richard A. Kulka (1981) as the principal investigators (hereafter referred to as the Veroff data). Its purpose was to assess the subjective mental health of Americans age 21 and over and to determine how they cope with problems of adjustment. The study was first conducted in 1957 and replicated in 1976. Both were national samples drawn by a multistage probability area design. The effects of race and class will be compared as predictors of the selected measures of well-being across these two years. Table 4 presents the sample size for both years of the Veroff data broken down by race.

2. Variables

Measures of well-being from the "Veroff data" will include: general happiness, twenty item symptom scale, ill health subscale, psychological anxiety subscale, immobility subscale, happiness of marriage, and an acceptance scale.

The twenty item symptom scale is an additive scale consisting of items asking the respondent how often have they:

TABLE 4

The Sample Size For Both Years Of The Veroff Data
Broken Down By Race

RACE	YEAR		Total
	1957	1976	
White	2170	1953	4123
Black	190	245	435
Total	2360	2198	4558

1) had trouble sleeping; 2) been bothered by nervousness; 3) have headaches; 4) loss of appetite; 5) been bothered by having an upset stomach; 6) had difficulty getting up in the morning; 7) had ill-health affect work; 8) shortness of breath; 9) been bothered by their heart beating hard; 10) drink more than they should; 11) had spells of dizziness; 12) been bothered by nightmares; 13) lose weight worrying; 14) hands tremble; 15) hands sweating; 16) just couldn't get going; 17) been bothered by pain; 18) feel healthy enough to do things; 19) felt they were going to have a nervous breakdown; and 20) if they have any physical or health problem.

The sleep, nervousness, headaches, loss of appetite, upset stomach, and difficulty getting up items are coded: 1=nearly all the time, 2=pretty often, 3=not very much, 5=never. The ill health, shortness of breath, heart beating hard, drinking, dizziness, nightmares, weight loss, hands trembling, hands sweating, and couldn't get going items are coded: 1=many times, 2=sometimes, 4=hardly ever, 5=never. The pains, healthy enough to do things, nervous breakdown, and health trouble items are coded 1=yes, 5=no. Thus, all of the item have a range of from 1, indicating the presence of that symptom, to 5, indicating its absence. The scale has a range of scores from 20 to 100. The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha=.8399$. A factor analysis of these items revealed three factors which was the basis for con-

structuring three subscales: 1) ill-health; 2) anxiety and; 3) immobility. Table 5 presents the results of the factor analysis.

The health subscale is an additive scale consisting of items asking the respondent if they ever: 1) have ill-health affect work; 2) have shortness of breath; 3) been bothered by their heart beating hard; 4) had dizzy spells; 5) have any health problems; 6) bothered by pain and; 7) if they feel healthy enough to do things. The scale has a range of codes from 7 (all symptoms) to 35 (no symptoms). The reliability coefficient for this subscale was $\alpha=.7825$.

The psychological anxiety subscale consists of items asking the respondent if they ever have: 1) any trouble sleeping or getting to sleep; 2) been bothered by nervousness, feeling fidgety and tense; 3) been troubled by headaches or pains in the head; 4) loss of appetite; 5) been bothered by having an upset stomach; 6) lose weight worrying and; 7) expected a nervous breakdown. The scale has a range of codes from 7 (all anxiety symptoms) to 35 (no symptoms). The reliability coefficient for this subscale was $\alpha=.6969$.

The immobility subscale is an additive scale consisting of items asking the respondent if they: 1) have problems getting up; 2) ever drink too much; 3) ever have nightmares; 4) hand ever sweat too much; 5) just couldn't get going and; 6) hands ever tremble. The scale has a range of codes from

TABLE 5

Factor Analysis of Twenty Item Symptom Scale of the
Veroff Data

Variable	Ill. Health Factor 1	Anxiety Factor 2	Immobility Factor 3
Ill Health Affect Work	.69887	.28317	.04801
Shortness of Breath	.68133	.12794	.20771
Heart Beat Hard	.62089	.15796	.28077
Dizziness	.49364	.41060	.14348
Physical/Health Problem	.65563	.19412	-.15789
Bothered by Pain	.57335	.19968	-.00549
Healthy Enough to Do Things	.63721	-.00457	-.06523
Problem Sleeping	.27567	.58593	-.06084
Nervous, Tense	.29427	.62944	.18032
Headaches	.20960	.58955	.01031
Lose Appetite	.09889	.59879	.08146
Freq. Have Upset Stomach	.13592	.49321	.15787
Lose Weight Worrying	-.05891	.54123	.19733
Expct. Nervous Breakdown	.17731	.46980	.11294
Problem Getting Up	-.03138	.17308	.54709
Drink Too Much	-.10213	-.11116	.61829
Nightmares	.11865	.33997	.34199
Hands Sweat Much	.18270	.25299	.54397
Slow to Get Going	.42751	.30976	.40574
Hands Tremble	.31705	.36082	.38584
Eigenvalue	5.40676	1.60881	1.06254

6 (all immobility symptoms) to 30 (no symptoms). The reliability coefficient for this subscale was $\alpha=.5713$.

The acceptance scale consists of two items asking the respondent: 1) if they wished people would listen to them more and; 2) if they wished people like them more. The two items in this scale are coded 1=very true, 2=pretty true, 3=not very true and 4=not true at all. The acceptance scale has a range of codes from 2 (low acceptance) to 8 (high acceptance). The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha=.5490$.

Happiness and happiness of marriage are self-reported. Both are coded: 1=not too happy, 2=pretty happy and, 3=very happy.

Social class in the Veroff data will be analyzed in terms of total family income, and number of years of education and occupational status. The family income item asks the respondent what did they think their total family income would be this year for themselves and their immediate family. Family income is coded: under \$1,000=1, \$1,000 to 1,999=2, \$2,000 to 2,999=3, \$3,000 to 3,999=4, \$4,000 to 4,999=5, \$5,000 to 5,999=6, \$6,000 to 6,999=7, \$7,000 to 7,999=8, \$8,000 to 9,999=9, \$10,000 to 14,999=10, \$15,000 or more=11.

Education is reported according to the following code: 0=no schooling, 1=attended some grammar school (1-6 years), 2=attended grammar school (7-8 years), 3=attended high

school (9-11 years), 4=attended high school (9-11 years), other non-college schooling, 5=completed high school (12 years), 6=completed high school (12 years), other non-college schooling, 7=attended college; no degree, 8=has a college degree.

Occupation is an ordinal grouping of occupations from the unemployed and low status, low skill jobs to high status, high skill positions. Occupations are grouped and coded as follows: 0=unemployed, 1=farmers, farm laborers, 2=service workers, 3=laborers 4=operatives, 5=craftsmen, foremen, 6=clerical, sales, 7=managers, administrators, 8=professionals, technical. For housewives, their spouses occupational classification will be used.

Other demographic variables used include age, sex and marital status. Age is coded 1=21 to 24, 2=25 to 29, 3=30 to 34, 4=35 to 39, 5=40 to 44, 6=45 to 49, 7=50 to 54, 8=55 to 59, 9=60 to 64, 10=65 years old and over.

Sex is coded males=1, and females=2, and marital status is coded married=1, and not married=2.

All dependent variables on all three data sets have been intentionally coded so that a higher score will indicate greater well-being.

C. Mode of Analysis

The initial part (chapter V) of the analysis consists of a breakdown of mean scores of blacks and whites on the vari-

ous measures of well-being. The eta statistic will be used to measure the strength of the association, and an f-test will be used as a test of the statistical significance of the relationship.

In the second part of the analysis (chapter VI), an analysis of variance statistical test will be conducted using the well-being measures as dependent variables and race, marital status, age, sex, as independent variables. The adjusted mean scores of blacks and whites controlling for these demographic variables will be computed using Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) (Andrews et al. 1969). The beta statistic will be used to measure the strength of the association and an f-test will be used to measure its statistical significance. The analysis of variance will also be used to test the significance of the variance associated with the interaction between race and each of the demographic variables. If the interaction is significant, the adjusted means of blacks and whites on the measures of well-being will be examined within categories of that variable using the MCA method.

In the third part of this analysis (chapter VII), an analysis of variance statistical test will be conducted using the well-being measures as dependent variables and race and the social class variables along with marital status, age, and sex as independent variables. The adjusted mean

scores of blacks and whites controlling for social class and the demographic variables will be computed using MCA. The beta statistic will be used to measure the strength of the association and an f-test will be used to measure its statistical significance. The analysis of variance will also be used to test the significance of the variance associated with the interaction between race and social class and any three-way interaction between race, class, and any of the three demographic variables. For this part of the analysis, the measures of social class will be combined into a single dummy variable. Those respondents whose occupational classification are professions or technical, managerial, clerical or sales, or craftsmen or foremen, and receive at least the median family income and have at least the median educational level will be classified as middle-class (coded 1). All other cases will be classified as lower-class (coded 0). If the race-class interaction is significant, the adjusted means of blacks and whites on the measures of well-being will be examined within both categories of social class using the MCA analysis. If there is any significant three-way interaction between race, class, and any of the three demographic variables, then the adjusted means of blacks and whites will be examined within categories of the demographic variable within categories of social class also using MCA.

In the fourth part of this analysis (chapter VIII), the adjusted mean scores of whites and blacks on each dependent variable be compared across the years of each study using MCA, adjusting for the effects of social class, age, sex, and marital status. The race by year interaction will be tested using the analysis of variance to see if the effects of race on well-being changes significantly across the years of each study.

For the GSS data only, a regression analysis will be used in order to further evaluate general trends in differences in psychological well-being between blacks and whites over the years. In this regression analysis, race will be coded 0=white and 1=black. Year will be coded from 0 to 13 to represent the number of years from 1972. Thus, 1972 will be coded 0, 1973 coded 1, 1974 will be coded 2, and so on. Nineteen eighty five will be coded 13. All of the other independent and control variables will be transformed so that they will be in standard deviational form. Deviations will be from mean values calculated over the entire set of 12 samples taken together.

For each dependent variable a regression analysis will be performed using the following variables: race, year, income, education, occupational status, age, sex, marital status, and a race by year interaction term (i.e. the dummy variable for race multiplied by the year variable coded 0 to

13). The purpose of the race by year interaction term is to see if the effect of year on the various dependent variables is the same for blacks and whites. If the effect of year is different for blacks than it is for whites, this would indicate that the psychological well-being of blacks is, over time, becoming more like that of whites, or that it is diverging. In the regression analyses, a weighting scheme will be used to adjust for the over-sampling of blacks in 1982 noted above.

If at any point in the analysis, the difference between blacks and whites is no longer statistically significant (either before or after controls), that variable will be dropped from further analysis--it will be considered accounted for by the control variables. The exception will be made for variables in which there is significant interaction with race and any of the measures of well-being.

Chapter VI

RACE AND WELL-BEING

A. Introduction

This chapter will, first of all, present (section B) the effects of race apart from social class on well-being. The key question to be answered here is the extent of the difference between blacks and whites on the selected measures of well-being not considering any other variables.

The second part of this chapter (section C) will examine race, sex, age, marital status and well-being. The question to be answered here is whether the effect of race varies by sex, age, or marital status. Of these demographic variables, age is particularly important because Wilson (1978, 1980) has argued that differences in measures of well-being across social classes for blacks and whites are attributed the low life chances of older blacks, victims of past discrimination, while Veroff (1981) has described older blacks as being better off than their younger counterparts.

B. Race and Well-being

The findings reveal significant differences between blacks and whites on all of the main variables in the GSS data, the Campbell data and mixed results in the Veroff data. Blacks report lower levels of well-being than whites on all of the selected variables of the GSS and Campbell data and on some of the variables of the Veroff data.

In the GSS data, the mean for whites on the life-satisfaction scale was 27.8 compared to 25.7 for blacks ($\eta^2=.1460$, $f=327.1602$, sig. of $f=.0000$) indicating that blacks were significantly less satisfied with their lives than whites. In the anomie scale (where a higher score indicates less anomie) the mean for whites was 4.4 compared to 3.9 for blacks ($\eta^2=.1518$, $f=264.4186$, sig. of $f=.0000$) which means that blacks report a higher level of anomie than whites. In the trust-in-people scale, the means for whites was 6.4 compared to 4.8 for blacks ($\eta^2=.2289$, $f=611.4756$, sig. of $f=.0000$) indicating that black were much less trusting of people than whites. The mean on the general happiness item for whites was 2.2 compared to 1.9 for blacks ($\eta^2=.1368$, $f=348.0559$, sig. of $f=.0000$) indicating that whites were significantly more happy than blacks. On self-reported general condition of health, the mean for whites was 3.0 compared to 2.7 for blacks ($\eta^2=.1062$, $f=173.9110$, sig. of $f=.0000$) which means that blacks were more likely to report being in poorer health than whites. The mean on the happiness of marriage item for whites was 2.6 compared to 2.4 for blacks ($\eta^2=.1067$, $f=119.7142$, sig. of $f=.0000$) indicating that blacks were less happy than whites with their marriages. Table 6 presents the results from the GSS data.

In the Campbell data, blacks score lower than whites on the domain satisfaction index which indicates that they are

TABLE 6

Unadjusted Mean Scores For Blacks and Whites
On Measures Of Well-being From The GSS Data

Variable	Mean Score		Eta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
General Life Satisfaction	27.8107 N= 13103	25.7442 1927	.1460 sd. = 4.7335	327.5467	.0000
Trust-in-People Scale	6.4370 N= 9804	4.8145 1256	.2289 sd. = 2.2489	611.4756	.0000
General Happiness	2.2370 N= 15913	1.9724 2352	.1368 sd. = .6481	348.0559	.0000
*Happiness of Marriage	2.6431 N= 9465	2.4400 925	.1067 sd. = .5419	119.7142	.0000
Anomie Scale	4.4113 N= 9748	3.9329 1460	.1518 sd. = 1.0606	264.4186	.0000
Health	3.0238 N= 13194	2.7496 2045	.1062 sd. = .8797	173.9110	.0000

*Item asked only of married respondents.

overall less satisfied than whites with the various domains encompassed in this scale. The mean for whites was 5.4 compared to 4.9 for blacks ($\eta^2=.1765$, $f=180.0591$, sig. of $f=.0000$). On the personal competence scale, the mean for whites was 3.7 compared to 2.8 for blacks ($\eta^2=.1619$, $f=135.1703$, sig. of $f=.0000$) indicating that blacks feel less competent than whites. The mean on the trust-in-people scale for whites was 1.8 compared to .9 for blacks ($\eta^2=.2255$, $f=283.1585$, sig. of $f=.0000$) which, like the GSS data, indicates that blacks are much less trusting than whites. The mean on the happiness item for whites was 2.2 for whites and 2.0 for blacks ($\eta^2=.0932$, $f=48.9327$, sig. of $f=.0000$), indicating that blacks are less happy than whites. The difference between blacks and whites on the general affect scale was not very large with 45.7 being the mean for whites and 44.3 the mean for blacks ($\eta^2=.0492$, $f=13.3518$, sig. of $f=.0003$) indicating that blacks report slightly less positive affect than whites.

There were significant differences between blacks and whites on the three domain satisfaction subscales. On the satisfaction with residence subscale, blacks indicated greater dissatisfaction. The mean for whites was 5.7 and 5.1 for blacks ($\eta^2=.1721$, $f=169.5823$, sig. of $f=.0000$). The difference between blacks and whites on the satisfaction with social relations subscale was small with blacks report-

ing only slightly more satisfaction. The mean for whites was 5.6 and 5.5 for blacks ($\eta=.0435$, $f=10.2497$, sig. of $f=.0014$). The mean for whites on the satisfaction with standard of living subscale was 4.7 and 3.8 for blacks ($\eta=.2082$ $f=221.0604$, sig. of $f=.0000$) indicating that blacks were significantly more dissatisfied than whites. Table 7 presents the results from the Campbell data.

In the Veroff data, the mean for whites on the happiness item was 2.2 and 1.9 for blacks ($\eta=.1273$, $f=74.2915$, sig. of $f=.0000$) indicating as in the other two data sets that blacks report less happiness than whites. On the happiness of marriage indicator, the mean for whites was 3.2 compared to 2.9 for blacks ($\eta=.0755$, $f=18.1382$, sig. of $f=.0000$) indicating that were somewhat less happy with their marriages than whites. On the acceptance scale, the mean for whites was 5.6 and 4.9 for blacks ($\eta=.1261$, $f=72.5109$, sig. of $f=.0000$) which indicates that blacks feel a greater need for acceptances than whites. There was no significant difference between blacks and whites on the twenty item symptom scale. Neither was there a significant difference between blacks and whites on any of the symptom subscales. The anxiety subscale almost reached significance: the mean for whites was 28.5 and 28.0 for blacks ($\eta=.0264$, $f=3.0401$, sig. of $f=.0813$). Table 8 presents the results from the Veroff data.

TABLE 7

Unadjusted Mean Scores For Blacks and Whites
On Measures Of Well-being From The Campbell Data

Variable	Mean Score		Eta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
Domain Satisfaction Index	5.4702 N= 5008	4.9662 594	.1765 sd. = .8792	180.0591	.0000
Satisfaction w/Residence	5.7087 N= 5975	5.1160 584	.1721 sd. = 1.0561	169.5823	.0000
Satisfaction w/Relations	5.6489 N= 4842	5.5078 578	.0435 sd. = 1.0021	10.2497	.0014
Satisfaction w/Status	4.7896 N= 4378	3.8125 505	.2082 sd. = 1.4280	221.0604	.0000
General Affect Scale	45.7664 N= 4922	44.3530 575	.0492 sd. = 8.7861	13.3518	.0003
Personal Competence	3.7080 N= 4469	2.8641 552	.1619 sd. = 1.6302	135.1703	.0000
Trust-in-People Scale	1.8461 N= 4730	.9820 556	.2255 sd. = 1.1755	283.1585	.0000
General Happiness	2.2188 N= 4996	2.0424 590	.0932 sd. = .5818	48.9327	.0000
*Satisfaction w/Marriage	6.2598 N= 3225	6.0192 261	.0543 sd. = 1.1452	10.3137	.0013

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

TABLE 8

Unadjusted Mean Scores For Blacks and Whites
On Measures Of Well-being From The Veroff Data

Variable	Mean Score		Eta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
Happiness	2.2499 N. = 4082	1.9791 430	.1273 sd. =	74.2915 .6247	.0000
*Happiness of Marriage	3.2216 N. = 2956	2.9519 208	.0755 sd. =	18.1382 .8850	.0000
Acceptance Scale	5.6307 N. = 4056	4.9698 430	.1261 sd. =	72.5109 1.5425	.0000
Twenty Item Symptom Scale	82.4746 N. = 3744	81.8394 386	.0149 sd. =	.9142 12.4279	.3390
Health Subscale	28.6736 N. = 3934	28.1211 413	.0248 sd. =	2.6682 6.5409	.1024
Anxiety Subscale	28.5274 N. = 3953	28.0920 413	.0264 sd. =	3.0401 4.8303	.0813
Immobility Subscale	25.2048 N. = 3979	25.3707 410	.0124 sd. =	.6729 3.8990	.4121

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

On all the measures of well-being on all three surveys, where there was a significant difference between blacks and whites, blacks reported lower levels of subjective well-being. In the GSS data, the largest differences between blacks and whites occurred on the trust-in-people scale, followed by the anomie scale and the life satisfaction scale with blacks indicating less trust, higher anomie, and lower satisfaction than whites. The smallest difference between blacks and whites occurred on the health and happiness of marriage items--the differences, however, on both of these items was significant beyond the .0001 level.

In the Campbell data, the largest difference between blacks and whites occurred on the trust-in-people scale (as in the GSS data), followed by the satisfaction with social status subscale, the index of domain satisfaction, and the satisfaction with residence subscale. The smallest difference between the scores of blacks and whites occurred on the satisfaction with residence subscale, followed by the general affect scale and the satisfaction with marriage item. The differences between blacks and whites on all these, however, were significant beyond the .01 level.

The items on the Veroff data which revealed the largest differences between blacks and whites were happiness and the acceptance scale. On the 20 item psychiatric symptom scale and the health, anxiety, and immobility symptom subscales,

there were no significant differences between blacks and whites--indicating that blacks are no more likely to display these symptoms than whites. The difference between blacks and whites on the happiness of marriage item was small but significant beyond the .0001 level. In all three data sets, on the items that deal with marriage, the differences between blacks and whites are not very large.

C. Race, Sex, Age, and Marital Status and Well-being.

Adjusting for sex, age, and marital status, has virtually no effect on the original distribution of mean scores. The differences between the adjusted mean scores of blacks and whites were generally smaller than the unadjusted mean scores, but not by very much. Table 9 presents the adjusted mean scores for the GSS data.

Two items, however, in the Campbell data reflected no significant difference between blacks and whites after age, sex and marital status were controlled: satisfaction with social relationships and affect. The difference between blacks and whites on these items was small originally and apparently can be explained by age, sex, and marital status differences between blacks and whites. Table 10 presents the adjusted mean scores for the Campbell data.

All of the marriage items were basically unaffected by controlling for age and sex. Table 11 presents the adjusted mean scores for the Veroff data.

TABLE 9

Means Of Blacks And Whites On Measures of Well-being
Adjusted for Age, Sex, and Marital Status
For The GSS Data

Variable	Adj. Mean Score		beta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
General Life Satisfaction	27.77	26.03	.12	234.476	.0000
	N. = 13051	1913			
Trust-in-People Scale	6.43	4.86	.22	568.616	.0000
	N. = 9768	1246			
General Happiness	2.23	2.02	.11	227.835	.0000
	N. = 15851	2335			
*Happiness of Marriage	2.65	2.44	.11	122.002	.0000
	N. = 9442	924			
Anomie Scale	4.41	3.95	.15	243.328	.0000
	N. = 9715	1448			
Health	3.03	2.76	.10	177.986	.0000
	N. = 13145	2028			

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

TABLE 10

Means Of Blacks And Whites On Measures of Well-being
Adjusted for Age, Sex, and Marital Status
For The Campbell Data

Variable	Mean Score		Beta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
Domain Satisfaction Index	5.47	5.03	.15	141.289	.000
	N. = 5004	591			
Satisfaction w/Residence	5.71	5.17	.16	146.268	.000
	N. = 4970	580			
Satisfaction w/Relationships	5.64	5.58	.02	1.758	.185
	N. = 4838	575			
Satisfaction w/Social Status	4.78	3.91	.18	179.965	.000
	N. = 4376	502			
*Satisfaction w/Marriage	6.26	6.05	.05	7.463	.006
	N. = 3224	259			
General Affect Scale	45.69	45.05	.02	2.734	.098
	N. = 4918	575			
Personal Competence	3.70	2.96	.15	108.281	.000
	N. = 4467	549			
Trust-in-People Scale	1.85	1.01	.22	263.092	.000
	N. = 4727	553			
General Happiness	2.21	2.08	.07	26.858	.000
	N. = 4992	587			

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

TABLE 11

Means Of Blacks And Whites On Measures of Well-being
Adjusted for Age, Sex, and Marital Status
For The Veroff Data

Variable	Adj. Mean Score		Beta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
Happiness	2.25	2.04	.10	44.481	.0000
	N. = 4073	428			
*Happiness of Marriage	3.22	2.95	.07	17.735	.0000
	N. = 2952	207			
Acceptance Scale	5.64	4.95	.13	75.791	.0000
	N. = 4047	428			

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

The test for interaction between race and age, sex, and marital status revealed a clear and consistent pattern. In cases where there was a significant race by sex interaction, the interaction was caused by the substantially lower well-being scores of black females. Although in almost all cases, black males scored lower than white males, black females were much worse off than their white counterparts. While white females tended to score as high or higher than white males, black males in all these cases scored higher than black females. The race by sex interaction can be most clearly seen in the case of the satisfaction with social relationships subscale. Black males were more satisfied with their social relationships than white males, but black females were less satisfied with their social relationships than white females. Thus, the effect of race upon satisfaction with social relationships depends, in part, upon sex. Generally, however, the effects of race, where the interaction was significant, differed by sex only by degree: black males scored lower than white males on measures of well-being, and black females scored lower than white females, but more so. Table 12 presents the GSS adjusted mean scores for variables in which there was significant interaction of race with age, sex, or marital status beyond the .05 level.

The interaction of race and age also showed a consistent pattern. Generally, where the race by age interaction was

TABLE 12

GSS Adjusted Mean Scores Of Blacks And Whites For Variables
In Which There Was Significant Interaction of
Race With Age, Sex, or Marital Status

Variable	Adjusted Means	N	Signif. of Interact.	
General Life Satisfaction (Race by Sex)	White Males:	27.58	5812	.000
	Black Males:	26.15	759	
	White Females:	27.93	7239	
	Black Females:	25.96	1154	
(Race by Marital Status)	Married Whites:	28.37	8616	.023
	Married Blacks:	26.37	868	
	Unmarried Whites:	26.74	4435	
	Unmarried Blacks:	25.23	1045	
General Happiness (Race by Sex)	White Males:	2.19	7139	.026
	Black Males:	2.01	959	
	White Females:	2.26	8712	
	Black Females:	2.03	1376	
(Race by Marital Status)	Married Whites:	2.33	10460	.002
	Married Blacks:	2.08	1087	
	Unmarried Whites:	2.05	5391	
	Unmarried Blacks:	1.87	1248	
(Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32:	2.23	5032	.000
	Blacks 18 to 32:	1.94	847	
	Whites 32 to 50:	2.21	4828	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	2.00	685	
	Whites over 50:	2.25	5991	
	Blacks over 50:	2.10	803	
*Happiness of Marriage (Race by Sex)	White Males:	2.67	4484	.008
	Black Males:	2.51	439	
	White Females:	2.63	4960	
	Black Females:	2.38	485	
(Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32:	2.67	2615	.030
	Blacks 18 to 32:	2.47	290	
	Whites 33 to 50:	2.61	3377	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	2.35	317	
	Whites over 50:	2.67	3450	
	Blacks over 50:	2.52	317	

TABLE 12 Continued

Condition of Health (Race by Sex)	White Males:	3.06	5976	.003
	Black Males:	2.86	846	
	White Females:	3.00	7169	
	Black Females:	2.68	1182	
(Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32:	3.29	4131	.002
	Blacks 18 to 32:	3.13	711	
	Whites 33 to 50:	3.15	4019	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	2.83	598	
	Whites over 50:	2.70	4995	
	Blacks over 50:	2.38	719	

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

significant, the significance was due to substantially lower scores of younger black males and the relatively higher scores of older blacks. As a whole, younger blacks, middle-aged blacks, and older blacks scored lower on measures of well-being than their white counterparts. However, the disparity between blacks and whites decreased with age. This effect can be clearly seen in the satisfaction with social relationships subscale and the satisfaction with marriage item in the Campbell data where blacks in the 50 and over age group reported higher satisfaction than similarly aged whites. In those two items, blacks in two other age groups score lower than their white counterparts. Table 13 presents the Campbell data adjusted mean scores for variables in which there was significant interaction of race with age, sex, or marital status beyond the .05 level.

In sum, on those items where the race by age interaction was significant (which was the most frequent form of interaction), it was due to older blacks reporting higher well-being scores than younger blacks. The one exception was with the acceptance scale of the Veroff data in which the felt need for acceptance increases with age for blacks, but decreases with age for whites. Table 14 presents the Veroff data adjusted mean scores for variables in which there was significant interaction of race with age, sex, or marital status beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 13

Campbell Adjusted Mean Scores Of Blacks And Whites For
Variables In Which There Was Significant Interaction of
Race With Age, Sex, or Marital Status

Variable	Adjusted Means	N	Signif. of Interaction
Domain Satisfaction Index (Race by Sex)	White Males:	5.46 2109	.010
	Black Males:	5.17 299	
	White Females:	5.47 2914	
	Black Females:	4.97 364	
Domain Satisfaction (Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32:	5.30 1394	.002
	Blacks 18 to 32:	4.75 184	
	Whites 32 to 50:	5.38 1648	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	4.85 241	
	Whites over 50:	5.66 1981	
	Blacks over 50:	5.43 194	
Satisfaction w/Residence (Race by Sex)	White Males:	5.67 2108	.003
	Black Males:	5.34 229	
	White Females:	5.73 2841	
	Black Females:	5.07 364	
Satisfaction w/Residence (Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32:	5.37 1394	.000
	Blacks 18 to 32:	4.66 184	
	Whites 32 to 50:	5.66 1648	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	5.01 214	
	Whites over 50:	5.99 1980	
	Blacks over 50:	5.74 194	
Satis. w/Soc. Relations (Race by Sex)	White Males:	5.63 2108	.012
	Black Males:	5.71 228	
	White Females:	5.66 2911	
	Black Females:	5.50 364	
Satis. w/Soc. Relations (Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32:	5.54 1394	.000
	Blacks 18 to 32:	5.23 185	
	Whites 32 to 50:	5.54 1648	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	5.48 214	
	Whites over 50:	5.82 1977	
	Blacks over 50:	5.98 193	
Happiness (Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32:	3.68 1390	.037
	Blacks 18 to 32:	3.10 182	
	Whites 32 to 50:	3.77 1637	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	2.96 213	
	Whites over 50:	3.65 1965	
	Blacks over 50:	3.13 192	

TABLE 13 Continued

Personal Competence	Whites 18 to 32:	3.68	1264	.017
	Blacks 18 to 32:	3.00	176	
(Race by Age)	Whites 32 to 50:	3.78	1485	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	2.69	196	
	Whites over 50:	3.66	1718	
	Blacks over 50:	3.17	177	
*Satisfaction w/Marriage	Whites 18 to 32:	6.20	778	.048
	Blacks 18 to 32:	5.85	66	
(Race by Age)	Whites 32 to 50:	6.16	1317	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	5.84	116	
	Whites over 50:	6.41	1131	
	Blacks over 50:	6.50	77	

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

TABLE 14

Veroff Adjusted Mean Scores Of Blacks And Whites For
Variables In Which There Was Significant Interaction of
Race With Age, Sex, or Marital Status

Variable	Adjusted Means	N	Signif. of Interaction
Happiness (Race by Marital Status)	Married Whites: 2.35	2947	.000
	Married Blacks: 2.02	205	
	Unmarried Whites: 2.02	1126	
	Unmarried Blacks: 1.94	223	
(Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32: 2.32	1346	.004
	Blacks 18 to 32: 1.99	147	
	Whites 32 to 50: 2.25	1143	
	Blacks 32 to 50: 2.00	132	
	Whites over 50: 2.19	1584	
	Blacks over 50: 2.13	149	
Acceptance Scale (Race by Age)	Whites 18 to 32: 5.53	1339	.008
	Blacks 18 to 32: 5.11	148	
	Whites 32 to 50: 5.58	1138	
	Blacks 32 to 50: 4.94	133	
	Whites over 50: 5.76	1570	
	Blacks over 50: 4.78	147	

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

On the few items where the race by marital status interaction was significant (i.e., the GSS and Veroff happiness items and the GSS life satisfaction item), the interaction was due primarily to the substantially higher happiness and life satisfaction scores of whites who are married. For whites, marriage does more to increase well-being than for blacks. In these cases, however, the black unmarried scored lower than the white unmarried and black married scored lower than white married only more so because being married increased the well-being of whites to a greater degree.

In sum, there were significant interaction effects between race and sex, age, and marital status on specific measures of well-being, but they only modified rather than determined the effects of race on well-being. Generally, blacks regardless of age, sex, and marital status scored lower on measures of well-being than whites of similar characteristics. The main effects of race were strong regardless of the interaction. Also significant was the finding that older blacks tended to be more happy and satisfied with their lives than younger blacks and the level of well-being of older blacks was generally closer to their white counterparts than younger blacks. This supports Veroff's et al. (1981) findings but casts doubt on Wilson's position in regard to well-being. If older blacks are worse off socio-economically because of past discrimination, it is not reflected in their reports of well-being.

Chapter VII

RACE, CLASS, AND WELL-BEING

A. Introduction

In this chapter, the effect of race on well-being scores controlling for social class and age, sex, and marital status will be examined. The important question here is whether the discrepancy in well-being scores can be accounted for by social class differences. If social class explains the difference between blacks and whites, then this would support the view that the quality of life of black people is determined by their social class position rather than anything tied to their "being black" alone. If, on the other hand, race continues to be significant, then this would support the view that "being black" has a detrimental effect on well-being due to the continuing presence of racial discrimination, prejudice etc. regardless of social class status. The concluding section of this chapter will examine significance of any race-class interaction.

B. Race, Social Class, and Well-being

Controlling for social class operationalized as income, occupational status, and education, in addition to controlling for age, sex, and marital status, reduced to some degree almost all of the beta scores. All of the differences between blacks and whites, however, remain significant at

the .05 level and in all but one case (the Veroff data happiness of marriage item), remained significant at least at the .001 level.

In the GSS data, the largest difference between blacks and whites remains in the trust-in-people scale, followed by the happiness of marriage item--which was relatively unaffected by the statistical controls--and the life satisfaction and anomie scales. The health item had the smallest difference between blacks and whites. Table 15 presents the adjusted mean scores for the GSS data controlling for sex, age, marital status, income, occupation and education.

In the Campbell data, similarly, the beta scores were reduced somewhat by controlling for social class. However, all of the differences between blacks and whites remain significant at least at the .001 level. The item in which there was the greatest difference between blacks and whites was still the trust-in-people scale, followed by the satisfaction with residence subscale, the satisfaction with standard of living subscale, and the domain satisfaction index. It is interesting that blacks were relatively dissatisfied with their standard of living even after controlling for social class. This means that regardless of their income, education level and occupation, blacks are more dissatisfied about their standard of living than whites. The happiness and satisfaction with marriage item showed the smallest

TABLE 15

The Adjusted Mean Scores Of Blacks And Whites
For The GSS Data Controlling For Sex, Age, Marital Status,
Income, Occupation and Education

Variable	Adj. Mean Score		beta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
General Life Satisfaction	27.89	26.64	.09	98.236	.0000
	N. = 11178	1440			
Trust-in-People Scale	6.43	5.23	.16	268.847	.0000
	N. = 8384	961			
General Happiness	2.24	2.07	.09	115.197	.0000
	N. = 13549	1768			
*Happiness of Marriage	2.65	2.46	.10	94.993	.0000
	N. = 8748	844			
Anomie Scale	4.41	4.12	.09	79.565	.0000
	N. = 8422	1091			
Health	3.06	2.96	.05	35.467	.0000
	N. = 11246	1526			

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

black-white difference. The satisfaction with marriage item, like the GSS happiness of marriage item, was relatively unaffected by the statistical controls and, in fact, the beta very slightly increased. Table 16 presents the adjusted mean scores for the Campbell data.

For the Veroff data, as with the other two data sets, the beta scores for the items remaining in the analysis were reduced but remained significant. The item with the largest difference between blacks and whites was the acceptance scale, followed by the happiness item. On the happiness of marriage item, the difference between blacks and whites was very small but significant at the .05 level. Table 17 presents the adjusted mean scores for the Veroff data.

In sum, controlling for social class generally reduced the black-white difference in well-being somewhat, but the difference that remains is significant. This means that even in taking into account differences between blacks and whites in age, sex, marital status, income, occupation, and education, blacks report significantly lower levels of subjective well-being. Thus, race effects cannot be accounted for by social class. "Being black" as opposed to "being white" independent of social class is associated with lower subjective well-being.

C. Race-Class Interaction

TABLE 16

The Adjusted Mean Scores Of Blacks And Whites
For The Campbell Data Controlling For Sex, Age, Marital
Status, Income, Occupation and Education

Variable	Mean Score		Beta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
Domain Satisfaction Index	5.44	5.09	.13	74.066	.000
	N. = 4021	478			
Satisfaction w/Residence	5.67	5.17	.15	102.656	.000
	N. = 3988	469			
Satisfaction w/Social Status	4.71	4.11	.13	78.438	.000
	N. = 3603	424			
*Satisfaction w/Marriage	6.24	5.97	.06	11.587	.001
	N. = 2805	234			
Personal Competence	3.67	3.30	.07	22.253	.000
	N. = 3635	445			
Trust-in-People Scale	1.83	1.18	.17	125.699	.000
	N. = 3814	454			
General Happiness	2.22	2.12	.06	13.548	.000
	N. = 3814	454			

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

TABLE 17

The Adjusted Mean Scores Of Blacks And Whites
 For The Campbell Data Controlling For Sex, Age, Marital Sta-
 tus,
 Income, Occupation and Education

Variable	Adj. Mean Score		Beta	f	Signif. of f
	Whites	Blacks			
Present Happiness	2.28	2.11	.08	22.779	.000
	N. = 3153	321			
*Happiness of Marriage	3.20	3.05	.04	4.947	.026
	N. = 2550	184			
Acceptance Scale	5.56	5.11	.09	25.314	.000
	N. = 3135	321			

*Item asked only if respondent was married.

There was no race-class interaction on any of the variables examined except for the anomie scale in the GSS data. The interaction on this scale was due to the gap between middle-class blacks and whites being larger than the gap between lower-class blacks and whites. Middle-class status did more to reduce feelings of anomie for whites than for blacks. Appendix A, B, and C present summary statistics for each dependent variable in the analysis from all three data sets for blacks and whites within lower-class and middle-class categories. Table 18 presents the adjusted mean scores of blacks and whites on the anomie scale within class categories.

This finding is important because it means that the relationship between race and quality of life does not vary across categories of social class. Middle-class blacks and whites are no closer to each other in well-being than lower-class blacks and whites. This is contrary to the pattern that Kessler and Neighbors (1986) found in regard to race, class, and psychological distress. There was no convergence at the middle-class status between blacks and whites and no divergence at the lower-class status. In fact, the opposite pattern was found in the only variable on which there was a significant race-class interaction--the anomie scale--where there the gap between blacks and whites was greater for the middle-class and smaller for the lower-class.

TABLE 18

The Adjusted Mean Scores Of Blacks and Whites On The Anomie Scale Within Class Categories.

Anomie Scale		N	Signif. of Interact.
Middle-Class Whites:	4.74	3859	.000
Middle-Class Blacks:	4.18	274	
Lower-Class Whites:	4.17	4583	
Lower-Class Blacks:	3.88	913	

There was, however, some three-way interaction between race, class and some of the demographic variables. Table 19 presents the GSS adjusted mean scores for variables in which there was significant interaction between race, social class and marital status.

The interaction effects were small, but they show a definite pattern. For those variables where there was a significant race, class, and marital status interaction, the gap between lower-class blacks and whites who were married was larger than the gap between unmarried blacks and whites. On the other hand, the reverse tended to be true for the middle-class--the gap was larger for the unmarried blacks and whites. Table 20 presents the adjusted mean scores of blacks and whites on the satisfaction with standard of living subscale of the Campbell data within categories of class and marital status.

This pattern was true for all of the variables (which come from all three data sets) in which the interaction was significant. Table 21 presents the adjusted mean scores of blacks and whites on the acceptance scale of the Veroff data within categories of class and marital status.

For those variables where the race, class and age interaction was significant, the interaction tended to be the result of the gap between lower-class blacks and whites getting larger with age. The gap between middle-class whites

TABLE 19

GSS Adjusted Mean Scores For Variables In Which There
Was Significant Interaction Between Race, Social Class
And Marital Status

	Life Satisfaction Scale	N	Signif. of Interact.
Lower Class	Married Whites:	27.87 3792	.006
	Married Blacks:	25.88 538	
	Unmarried Whites:	26.30 2507	
	Unmarried Blacks:	25.35 694	
Middle Class	Married Whites:	29.13 3696	
	Married Blacks:	27.62 209	
	Unmarried Whites:	27.84 1202	
	Unmarried Blacks:	26.04 123	
Happiness			
Lower Class	Married Whites:	2.28 4581	.028
	Married Blacks:	2.05 682	
	Unmarried Whites:	2.00 2999	
	Unmarried Blacks:	1.88 823	
Middle Class	Married Whites:	2.39 4504	
	Married Blacks:	2.14 254	
	Unmarried Whites:	2.17 1482	
	Unmarried Blacks:	1.89 147	

TABLE 20

Campbell Data Satisfaction With Standard Of Living
 Subscale Broken Down By Race, Class, And Marital Status

			N	Signif. of Interact.
	Married Whites:	5.56	1498	.048
	Married Blacks:	3.74	174	
Lower Class	Unmarried Whites:	4.39	892	
	Unmarried Blacks:	3.70	220	
	Married Whites:	5.13	1320	
	Married Blacks:	4.65	63	
Middle Class	Unmarried Whites:	5.02	316	
	Unmarried Blacks:	3.54	22	

TABLE 21

The Adjusted Mean Scores Of Blacks And Whites On
The Acceptance Scale Of The Veroff Data Within Categories
Of Class, And Marital Status.

	Acceptance Scale	N	Signif. of Interact.
Lower Class	Married Whites:	5.42 1394	.043
	Married Blacks:	4.63 148	
	Unmarried Whites:	5.51 408	
	Unmarried Blacks:	5.10 123	
Middle Class	Married Whites:	5.78 1135	
	Married Blacks:	5.68 34	
	Unmarried Whites:	5.69 198	
	Unmarried Blacks:	4.91 16	

and blacks, on the other hand, decreased with age. There were no significant race, class, and sex interactions. Table 22 presents the GSS adjusted mean scores for variables in which there was significant interaction between race, social class and age.

Table 23 presents the Campbell data adjusted mean scores for variables in which there was significant interaction between race, class and age.

In sum, the effects of race on well-being generally did not vary across lower-class and middle-class categories. On the one variable where this interaction occurred (anomie), it was due to middle-class blacks being relatively worse off compared to whites than lower-class blacks. Social class did, however, interact with race indirectly through age and marital status. But even in these cases, race remained a strong determinant of well-being across the various class, age, and marital status configurations.

TABLE 22

The GSS Adjusted Mean Scores For Blacks and Whites
On Self-reported Condition of Health Broken Down By
Social Class And Age

	Health	N	Signif. of. Interact.	
Lower Class	Whites 18 to 32:	3.21	1947	.035
	Blacks 18 to 32:	3.10	415	
	Whites 32 to 50:	2.99	1619	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	2.74	382	
	Whites over 50:	2.60	2795	
	Blacks over 50:	2.30	510	
Middle Class	Whites 18 to 32:	3.42	1529	
	Blacks 18 to 32:	3.21	145	
	Whites 32 to 50:	3.32	2020	
	Blacks 32 to 50:	3.14	130	
	Whites over 50:	3.04	1321	
	Blacks over 50:	3.04	67	

TABLE 23

The Campbell Adjusted Mean Scores For Blacks and Whites
For Variables In Which There Was Significant
Interaction Between Race, Social Class And Age

	Satisf. w/Marriage	N	Signif. of Interact.
Lower Class	Whites 18 to 30: 6.17	403	.039
	Blacks 18 to 30: 5.97	41	
	Whites 31 to 50: 6.19	523	
	Blacks 31 to 50: 5.68	73	
	Whites over 50: 6.40	562	
	Blacks over 50: 6.51	58	
Middle Class	Whites 18 to 30: 6.28	314	
	Blacks 18 to 30: 5.49	20	
	Whites 31 to 50: 6.12	684	
	Blacks 31 to 50: 5.96	33	
	Whites over 50: 6.34	319	
	Blacks over 50: 5.90	9	
Trust-in-People Scale			
Lower Class	Whites 18 to 30: 1.56	680	.007
	Blacks 18 to 30: .80	109	
	Whites 31 to 50: 1.71	663	
	Blacks 31 to 50: 1.06	144	
	Whites over 50: 1.80	922	
	Blacks over 50: .86	124	
Middle Class	Whites 18 to 30: 1.73	433	
	Blacks 18 to 30: 1.36	28	
	Whites 31 to 50: 2.22	757	
	Blacks 31 to 50: 1.19	38	
	Whites over 50: 2.17	359	
	Blacks over 50: 2.05	11	
Happiness			
Lower Class	Whites 18 to 30: 2.22	701	.041
	Blacks 18 to 30: 2.03	111	
	Whites 31 to 50: 2.14	696	
	Blacks 31 to 50: 1.95	146	
	Whites over 50: 2.17	982	
	Blacks over 50: 2.24	133	

TABLE 23 Continued

	Whites 18 to 30:	2.33	457
	Blacks 18 to 30:	2.23	29
Middle Class	Whites 31 to 50:	2.28	787
	Blacks 31 to 50:	2.09	43
	Whites over 50:	2.28	390
	Blacks over 50:	1.91	13

Chapter VIII
HISTORICAL EFFECTS

A. Introduction

Wilson (1978,1980) has argued that in the modern industrial period, race is declining in significance relative to social class as the most important determinant well-being for black Americans. He claims that there is a growing cleavage in black America between lower-class blacks who, because of past discrimination, are oppressed because they are poor, and a growing number of relatively advantaged middle-class blacks. Thus, for Wilson (1978,1980), the life chances for blacks are increasingly becoming determined by socio-economic position rather than by race. Willie (1978), on the other hand, has argued that racism and discrimination are still problems for most blacks regardless of social class and that the problems associated with "being black" are increasing--especially for the black middle-class who are coming in significant contact with whites for the first time. Both Willie's "race" and Wilson's "class" perspective make historical statements concerning the nature of the relationship between race, class, and life chances. The important question is whether the changes which began in the 1960's and resulted in affirmative action and other government programs in the 1970's were significant enough to re-

sult in the elimination of "race" as the source of the problems blacks face. If Wilson is correct, the post-1960's period is the period when class has replaced race as the determinant of life chances for blacks. This trend would be expected to continue to the present.

If, on the other hand, Willie is correct, the changes which were initiated during the 1960's and the social programs of the 1970's resulted in some improvement for blacks but because of continuing subtle forms of institutionalized discrimination, race is still a factor which adversely affects the well-being of blacks, and is increasing in significance.

This chapter will examine evidence for the declining versus the increasing significance of race in the quality of life of black people. If race is declining in significance relative to social class in determining life chances for blacks, this should be reflected in their reports of happiness, life satisfaction, anomie, etc. There should be a convergence in the well-being scores of blacks and whites over time. If, on the other hand, race is increasing in significance, then the well-being scores of blacks and whites should diverge over time with blacks becoming relatively worse off. The time period examined will be from 1957 to 1985 which encompasses the time period most relevant to the race-class debate. The effects of race will be exam-

ined controlling for social class and age, sex, and marital status across the years of each study. Evidence for an historical trend will be examined.

B. Historical Trends

When yearly differences were compared, blacks consistently scored lower than whites across all years, on all three data sets, on all measures of well-being remaining in the analysis adjusting for all control variables. There was some race-year interaction on some of the variables and some differences between the data sets.

The Veroff data provides the earliest year in which there is data--1957. It also has data from 1976. Across these two years, there was no definite trend. Blacks score lower than whites on measures of well-being in both 1957 and 1976 while controlling for the demographic and social class variables. On the only variable in which there was a significant race by year interaction was the happiness of marriage item. On this item there was almost no difference between blacks and whites in 1957, but in 1978, there is a significant difference because the blacks become less happy with their marriages. In sum, blacks are not significantly better off in 1976 compared to whites in terms of these measures of well-being than they were in 1957--before the changes in their status which resulted from the civil rights movement of the 1960's. In terms of the happiness of mar-

riages, they are worse off. Table 24 presents the adjusted mean scores for the Veroff data across both years controlling for age, sex, marital status and social class variables.

The Campbell data provides information from the second earliest time period--1971. The other year of the data was 1978 so the time frame ranges from the early to late 1970's. During this period, legalized discrimination was no longer a barrier for blacks and there was a dramatic increase in college enrollment and movement of blacks into traditionally "white" occupations.

In the Campbell data, a definite trend can be seen when comparing the effects of race in 1971 and 1978 controlling for the demographic and social class variables. On the domain satisfaction index, the satisfaction with residence subscale, and the satisfaction with social relationships subscale, the difference between blacks and whites in 1978 is smaller than the difference in 1971. This occurs primarily because whites become less satisfied in 1978, and secondly because blacks become more satisfied in 1978. This interaction can be seen more radically in the satisfaction with social relationships subscale. In 1971, whites are more satisfied than blacks with their social relationships, but in 1978, blacks become more satisfied. However, this is the exception. On all of the other variables, blacks score

TABLE 24

The Adjusted Mean Scores For The Veroff Data
Across Both Years Controlling For Age, Sex, Marital
Status, And Social Class Variables

	General Happiness		Significance of Year-Race Interact.
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1957	1976	
Whites	2.34	2.19	.594
N	1717	1436	
Blacks	2.20	2.05	
N	146	175	
	Acceptance Scale		
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1957	1976	
Whites	5.53	5.60	.163
N	1710	1425	
Blacks	4.90	5.27	
N	146	175	
	Happiness of Marriage		
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1957	1976	
Whites	3.18	3.22	.021
N	1478	1072	
Blacks	3.17	2.90	
N	101	83	

lower than whites on measures of well-being in 1971 and also score lower than whites in 1978, but less so because their well-being scores remain the same or slightly improve in 1978, while all of the well-being scores for whites decline from 1971 to 1978. Table 25 presents the adjusted mean scores for the Campbell data across both years controlling for age, sex, marital status and social class variables.

In the GSS data, there was a consistent disparity between blacks and whites across all years with blacks scoring lower on all measures of well-being. Although there were year by year fluctuations, the year by race interaction was only significant for general life satisfaction (sig. of $f=.002$), general happiness (sig. of $f=.043$), and the anomie scale (sig. of $f=.023$). Even on these variables it is difficult to discern a definite trend. In fact, significance of the race by year interaction is probably due to the yearly fluctuations rather than to a definite trend. There is, however, a pattern that can be seen on the GSS variables. On most variables, the adjusted mean scores of blacks relative to whites is lower in 1973, 1976, 1980, 1983, and 1984. On the other hand, generally the best years for blacks relative to whites--although there were still significant differences--were 1977, 1982 and, on some variables, 1975. Overall, 1973 appears to be the worst year for blacks relative to whites on well-being scores with the differences being quite

TABLE 25

The Adjusted Mean Scores For The Campbell Data
Across Both Years Controlling For Age, Sex, Marital
Status, And Social Class Variables

	Domain Satisfaction		Significance of Race-Year Interact.
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1971	1978	
Whites	5.58	5.35	.000
N	1510	2511	
Blacks	5.06	5.12	
N	178	300	
Satisfaction With Residence			
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1971	1978	
Whites	5.76	5.62	.003
N	1492	2496	
Blacks	5.08	5.23	
N	172	297	
Satisfaction With Social Relationships			
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1971	1978	
Whites	5.73	5.58	.003
N	1431	2472	
Blacks	5.51	5.64	
N	171	298	
Satisfaction With Standard of Living			
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1971	1978	
Whites	4.99	4.53	.131
N	1426	2177	
Blacks	4.28	4.03	
N	168	256	

TABLE 25 Continued

Satisfaction With Marriage			
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1971	1978	
Whites	6.25	6.23	.977
N	1155	1650	
Blacks	6.00	5.95	
N	103	131	
Trust-in-People Scale			
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1971	1978	
Whites	1.91	1.78	.188
N	1408	2406	
Blacks	1.20	1.20	
N	171	283	
Personal Competence			
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1971	1978	
Whites	3.83	3.57	.188
N	1360	2275	
Blacks	3.31	3.32	
N	171	274	
General Happiness			
	Adj. Mean Score		
	Year		
	1971	1978	
Whites	2.24	2.21	.058
N	1504	2509	
Blacks	2.06	2.15	
N	177	298	

large. On life satisfaction, happiness, and happiness of marriage there is a similar pattern from 1977 to 1982. In 1977, which was the best year for blacks generally, the gap between the adjusted mean scores of blacks and whites narrows. From 1977 the gap widens in 1978 and more so in 1980. From 1980 the gap narrows again in 1982. From 1982, that gap widens again in 1983 and remains wide through 1984. On variables where data was available in 1985, there seemed to be no consistency. For anomie, the gap between blacks and whites narrowed significantly from 1984, but for the other variables the gap stayed about the same or increased slightly from 1985. The fact that the year by year changes are greatest for blacks gives evidence for the possibility that some of these changes are due to sampling error caused by the relatively small number of blacks in each year. Given the year by year fluctuations, it is impossible to see any definite trend other than the consistent disparity between blacks and whites.

Figures 1 through 6 display the adjusted mean scores for blacks and whites over the years of the GSS survey and the regression analysis of the year by race interaction for each of the quality of life measures. The results of the regression analysis confirm the results of the MCA method: there was no significance convergence or divergence between the well-being scores of blacks and whites across the years.

None of the year by race interaction terms were significant at the .05 level. Because the regression analysis is not as sensitive to year by year changes, this provides evidence that significant race by year interaction found in the analysis of variance on some of the variables was due to yearly differences, not to a definite trend. However, the year by race interaction term on the trust-in-people scale ($b = -.280$, sig. of $t = .0878$) was almost significant at the .05 level, indicating a slight trend of blacks becoming less trusting than whites over time. Table 26 presents the adjusted mean scores for the GSS data across all years controlling for age, sex, marital status and social class variables.

TABLE 26

The Adjusted Mean Scores For The GSS Data
Across All Years Controlling For Age, Sex, Marital
Status, And Social Class Variables

General Life Satisfaction Scale											
Year											
1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
Whites											
28.15	27.84	27.91	28.02	27.80	27.71	28.42	27.43	27.34	28.35		
1091	1113	1143	1133	1130	1149	1110	1092	1166	1051		
Blacks											
25.71	26.72	26.90	26.48	27.37	27.22	27.25	26.82	25.36	26.53		
140	132	119	101	127	121	94	359	126	121		

Race and Year Interaction sig. of $f=.002$

Trust-In-People Scale											
Year											
1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
Whites											
6.72	6.39		6.55	6.26		6.58	6.29		6.17	6.34	
1124	1102		1134	1140		1147	1100		586	1022	
Blacks											
5.78	5.12		5.65	4.88		5.18	4.97		4.70	5.12	
202	139		117	99		122	96		64	122	

Race and Year Interaction: .345

Anomie Scale											
Year											
1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
Whites											
	4.65	4.49		4.42	4.49		4.11	4.31		4.36	4.47
	1054	1047		1081	1073		1061	1009		1017	1080
Blacks											
	4.19	4.23		4.05	4.29		3.92	4.16		3.85	4.20
	131	122		92	118		89	321		118	100

Race and Year Interaction sig. of $f=.023$

TABLE 26 Continued

General Happiness											
Year											
1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
Whites											
2.23	2.29	2.27	2.23	2.27	2.26	2.28	2.23	2.23	2.20	2.24	2.17
1148	1111	1116	1154	1149	1142	1153	1120	1097	1172	1047	1140
Blacks											
2.03	2.01	2.22	2.04	1.98	2.21	2.10	2.01	2.08	2.01	2.09	2.02
211	142	132	119	101	130	120	97	363	120	121	112

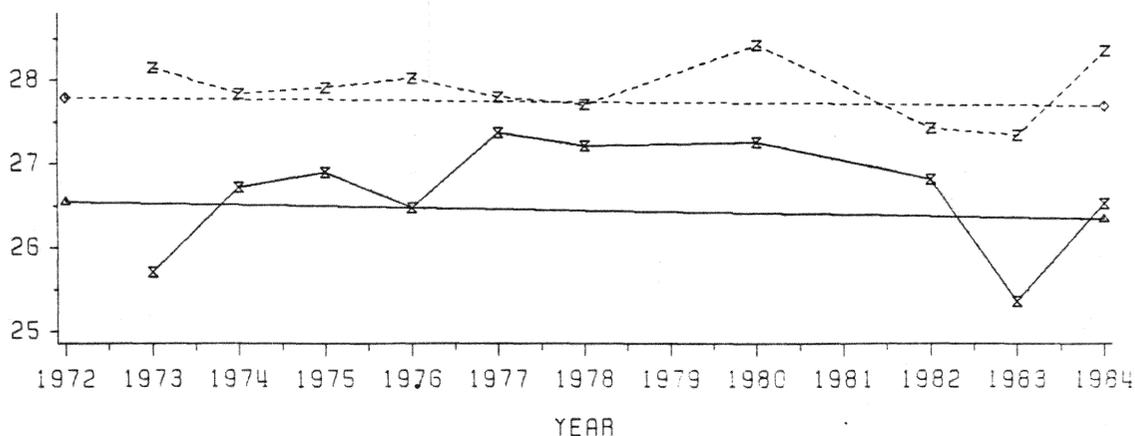
Race and Year Interaction sig. of $f=.043$

Happiness of Marriage											
Year											
1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
Whites											
2.69	2.67	2.68	2.68	2.67	2.65	2.66	2.67	2.62	2.60	2.64	2.54
880	881	861	855	818	809	753	703	804	659	725	
Blacks											
2.44	2.58	2.48	2.53	2.49	2.35	2.46	2.48	2.38	2.45	2.38	
100	81	75	48	68	67	52	175	59	65	54	

Race and Year Interaction: .530

General Condition of Health											
Year											
1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
Whites											
3.22	3.07	3.10	3.06	3.06	3.04		3.00	3.01		2.99	2.99
1151	1111	1117	1157	1148	1142		1122	1097		1060	1141
Blacks											
3.08	2.90	2.89	2.90	2.95	3.01		2.77	2.91		2.97	2.95
212	142	131	119	101	130		97	364		118	112

Race and Year Interaction: .592



----- Whites
 _____ Blacks

Selected Statistics From The Regression Analysis:

a (constant--Y' for whites in 1972)	27.85	
b ₁ (year slope for whites)	-.0082	ns
b ₂ (race effects--difference between Y' for whites and Y' for blacks)	-1.2366	***
b ₃ (year by race interaction--difference slope for whites and slope for blacks)	-.0092	ns

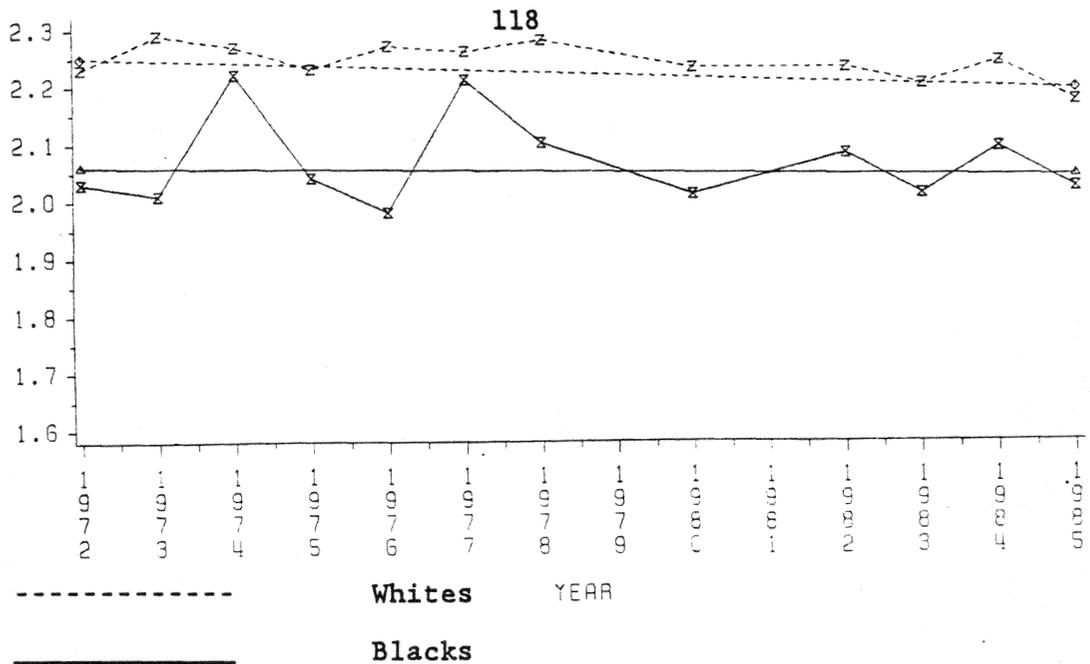
Derived Values:

year slope for blacks	-.0174	* = p <.05
Y' for blacks in 1972	26.55	** = p <.01
Y' for whites in 1984	27.69	*** = p <.001
Y' for blacks in 1984	26.34	

²
 R = .077

LIFE SATISFACTION SCALE BY YEAR BY RACE

FIGURE 1



Selected Statistics From The Regression Analysis:

a (constant--Y' for whites in 1972)	2.25	
b ₁ (year slope for whites)	-.0044	**
b ₂ (race effects--difference between Y' for whites and Y' for blacks)	-.1907	***
b ₃ (year by race interaction--difference slope for whites and slope for blacks)	.003	ns

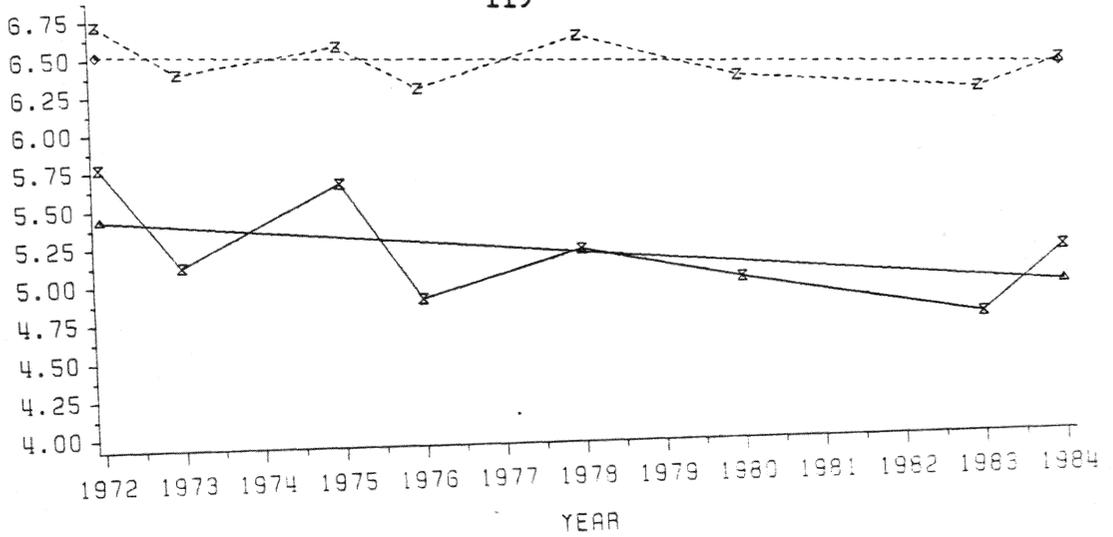
Derived Values:

year slope for blacks	-.0012	* = p < .05
Y' for blacks in 1972	2.06	** = p < .01
Y' for whites in 1985	2.19	*** = p < .001
Y' for blacks in 1985	2.04	

²
R = .071

HAPPINESS BY YEAR BY RACE

FIGURE 2



----- Whites
 _____ Blacks

Selected Statistics From The Regression Analysis:

a (constant--Y' for whites in 1972)	6.524	
b (year slope for whites)		**
1	-.0167	
b (race effects--difference between Y' 2 for whites and Y' for blacks)	-1.0925	***
b (year by race interaction--difference 3 slope for whites and slope for blacks)	-.0280	ns

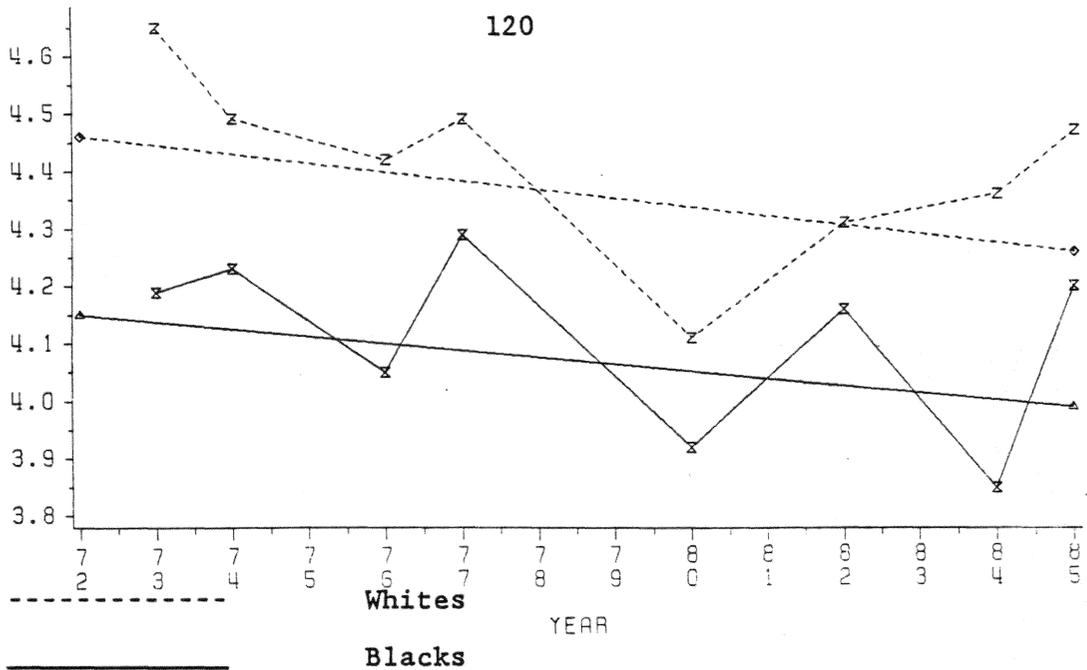
Derived Values:

year slope for blacks	-.0447	* = p <.05
Y' for blacks in 1972	5.43	** = p <.01
Y' for whites in 1984	6.32	*** = p <.001
Y' for blacks in 1984	4.89	

²
 R = .141

TRUST IN PEOPLE BY YEAR BY RACE

FIGURE 3



Selected Statistics From The Regression Analysis:

a (constant--Y' for whites in 1972)	4.46	
b (year slope for whites)	-	**
1	.0517	
b (race effects--difference between Y'		***
2 for whites and Y' for blacks)	-.3085	
b (year by race interaction--difference		ns
3 slope for whites and slope for blacks)	.0034	

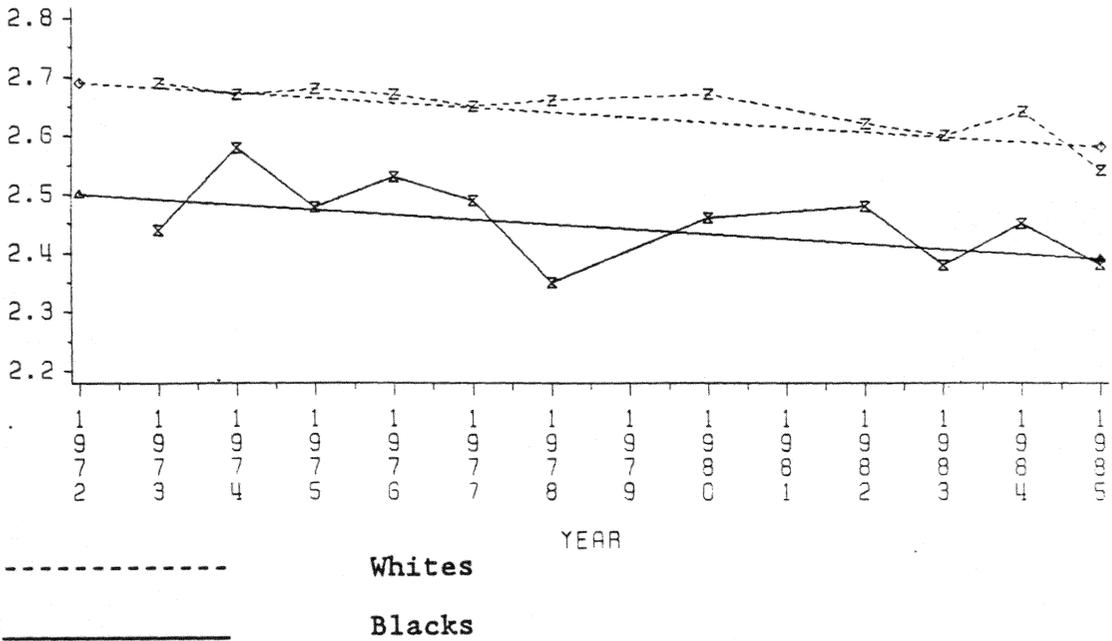
Derived Values:

year slope for blacks	-.0123	* = p <.05
Y' for blacks in 1972	4.15	** = p <.01
Y' for whites in 1984	4.26	*** = p <.001
Y' for blacks in 1984	3.99	

²
R = .130

ANOMIE SCALE BY YEAR BY RACE

FIGURE 4



Selected Statistics From The Regression Analysis:

a (constant--Y' for whites in 1972)	2.69	
b (year slope for whites)		***
1	-.0086	
b (race effects--difference between Y' 2 for whites and Y' for blacks)	-.1869	***
b (year by race interaction--difference 3 slope for whites and slope for blacks)	.0000	ns

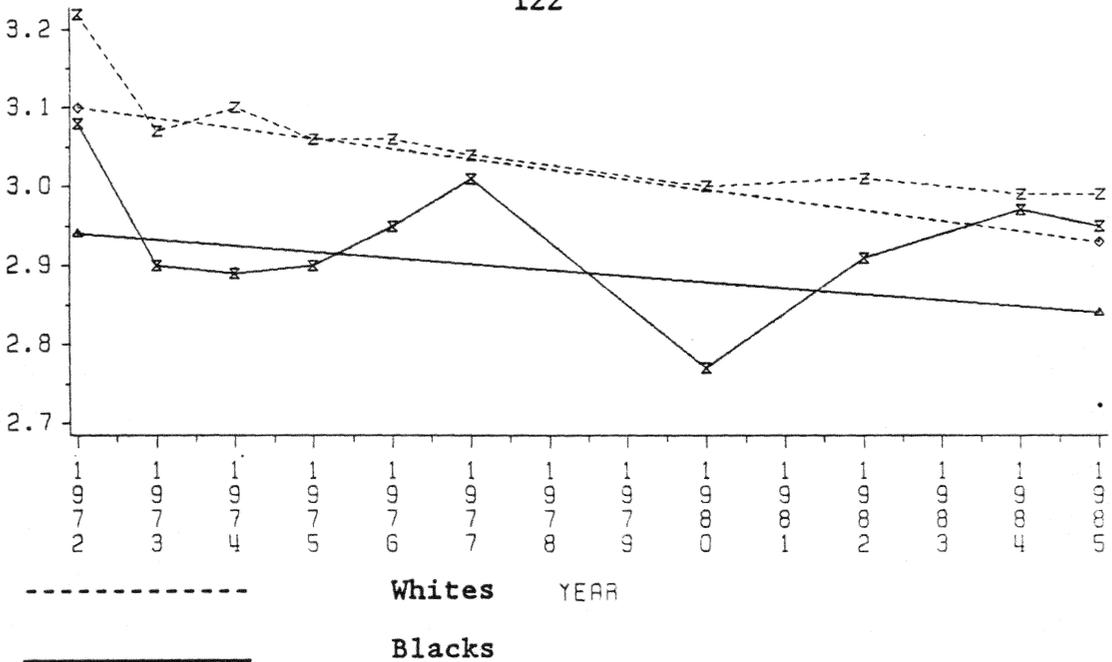
Derived Values:

year slope for blacks	-.0086	* = p <.05
Y' for blacks in 1972	2.50	** = p <.01
Y' for whites in 1985	2.58	*** = p <.001
Y' for blacks in 1985	2.39	

²
R = .020

MARITAL HAPPINESS BY YEAR BY RACE

FIGURE 5



Selected Statistics From The Regression Analysis:

a (constant--Y' for whites in 1972)	3.10	
b ₁ (year slope for whites)	-.0132	***
b ₂ (race effects--difference between Y' for whites and Y' for blacks)	-.1593	***
b ₃ (year by race interaction--difference slope for whites and slope for blacks)	.0051	ns

Derived Values:

year slope for blacks	-.0081	* = p <.05
Y' for blacks in 1972	2.94	** = p <.01
Y' for whites in 1985	2.93	*** = p <.001
Y' for blacks in 1985	2.84	

²
R = .167

PHYSICAL HEALTH BY YEAR BY RACE

FIGURE 6

In sum, this study provides no conclusive evidence concerning the declining or increasing significance of race. The consistent finding is that blacks report lower well-being scores across all years on all of the variables remaining in the analysis, except for the satisfaction with social relationship subscale (which is still in the analysis because of the race, age, marital status and year interaction). In the GSS and Veroff data, there was no consistent trend in terms of race increasing or declining in significance. However, in the Campbell data, blacks and whites appear to be becoming more similar primarily because of the declining well-being scores of whites.

Chapter IX
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A. Summary

The initial analysis reveals significant differences between blacks and whites on all of the main variables in GSS data, the Campbell data and mixed results in the Veroff data. Blacks report lower levels of well-being than whites on all of the selected variables of the GSS and Campbell data and on some of the variables of the Veroff data. In the GSS data, blacks reported lower scores than whites on the general life satisfaction scale, general happiness, happiness of marriage, anomie scale (indicating higher anomie), and self-reported condition of health. In the Campbell data, blacks reported lower scores than whites on the domain satisfaction index, the satisfaction with residence, standard of living, and social relationships subscales, the general affect scale, the personal competence scale, the trust-in-people scale, general happiness, and satisfaction with marriage. The differences on the satisfaction with social relationships subscale, the general affect scale, and the satisfaction with marriage scale were small. In the Veroff data, there was no significant difference between blacks and whites on the 20 item psychiatric symptom scale, or the component anxiety, health, and immobility symptom

subscales. They were, therefore, dropped from subsequent analysis. There were significant differences between blacks and whites on the acceptance scale, and the happiness, and happiness of marriage items. The contrast in the findings showing racial differences on quality of life variables and no difference on indicators of psychiatric symptoms suggests that these are two different dimensions of life experience.

When statistical controls were introduced for age, sex, and marital status, the initial differences remained significant though reduced slightly. The general affect and satisfaction with social relationships scales, however, no longer revealed any significant differences between blacks and whites. The general affects scale was dropped from further examination, but the satisfaction with social relationships continued to be examined because significant race, age, marital status, and year interaction was found. When these demographic variables were tested for interaction, significant interaction was found between race and sex, age, and marital status on specific measures of well-being, but they only modified rather than determined the effects of race on well-being. Specifically, when there was significant race, sex, and well-being interaction, it was caused by the substantially lower well-being scores of black females. When there was significant race, age, and well-being interaction, it was usually caused by the relatively higher

well-being of older blacks compared to younger blacks. On the two items where there was significant race, marital status, and well-being interaction it was because of the substantially higher well-being scores of married whites. However, blacks regardless of age, sex, and marital status scored lower on measures of well-being than whites of similar characteristics in almost all cases.

Controlling for social class as operationalized as income, occupational status, and education, in addition to controlling for age, sex, and marital status, reduced to some degree almost all of the beta scores. All of the differences between blacks and whites, however, remain significant. There was no race, class, and well-being interaction on any of the variables except for the anomie scale where middle-class blacks showed greater anomie.

Examining yearly differences provided no conclusive evidence concerning the declining or increasing significance of race. The consistent finding is that blacks report lower well-being scores across all years on all of the variables remaining in the analysis. In the GSS and Veroff data, there was no consistent trend in terms of race increasing or declining in significance. However, in the Campbell data, blacks and whites appear to be becoming more similar primarily because of the declining well-being scores of whites.

B. Conclusion

This study does not support the contention that class has replaced race in determining life chances for blacks--in so far as "life chances" includes social psychological and physical well-being. Blacks have lower life satisfaction, trust in people, are less happy generally, less happy with their marriages, are less satisfied with where they live, less satisfied with their standard of living, feel less accepted, more anomic, feel less personally competent, in poorer health than whites regardless of social class, age or marital status. Blacks, however, do not significantly differ from whites in terms of psychiatric symptoms, general affect, and generally in satisfaction with social relationships (different subgroups do differ).

"Being black" then, is not related to psychopathology or spontaneous feelings of misery "associated with events in the individual's immediate experience (Campbell 1981:24)" (i. e. negative affect), but it is associated with a less positive perceptions of life experience than "being white." A positive evaluation of these dimension of life is essential for a positive sense of well-being as defined in this thesis. The relatively negative evaluation of blacks of their lives compared to whites has continued from 1957, the earliest survey used in this study, through 1985, the latest year, and shows little sign of improving--with the possible exception of the well-being of whites declining to the level of blacks.

These findings are particularly impressive given that the analysis has been weighted in favor of finding that class and other variables will remove some of the effects of race. That is, education, income, and occupational status are indicators of more than just socioeconomic status. An argument can be made that some of the differences between blacks and other Americans on social class variables are due to racism and discrimination. Thus, by controlling such variables, some of the differences between blacks and whites on the dependent variables which are actually due to race are removed. Similarly, it can be argued that some of the advantage whites have over blacks in the probability of being in stable marriages is due to the stresses that American society puts on black as opposed to white marriages. Thus controlling marital status also, in part, controls the effects of race. Therefore, the effect of race on quality of life and psychological well-being is probably even stronger than shown in this dissertation.

In regard to the original hypotheses, the results clearly contradict the hypotheses derived from the "class" perspective. The significance of race is not eliminated when social class and age are controlled and there seems to be no consistent trend toward the declining significance of race. There is a negative effect of "being black" regardless of social class or age which continues to be significant across the years examined.

The data does support the first proposition of the "race" perspective that: "Race will continue to be significantly and negatively related to quality of life regardless of what variables are controlled for." However, it does not support the second proposition which states that the significance of race is increasing.

There are at six reasons why we could observe continuing differences between blacks and whites in psychological well-being and quality of life while controlling for social class. First of all, there is the view of those who hold to the race perspective that widespread institutional discrimination and racism across class levels continues to depress the well-being of blacks. That is, the lower well-being scores of blacks reflect their second class citizenship in contemporary American society. The aspirations of blacks are seen as constantly being blocked, and their desires unfulfilled, causing them to be less happy, satisfied etc. Whether the findings provide proof of contemporary racial discrimination is difficult to determine. Because of difficulties in determining with certainty the causes of differences between blacks and whites in social and economic status (Farley 1984:11-13), controversy remains over whether or to what degree these differences are due to contemporary discrimination. Farley (1984:57-81,195-98) concludes, however, that while there has been much improvement for blacks,

including near parity in earnings for black women, relative to white women, and more rapid improvement in earnings for black men than for white men between 1959 and 1979, earnings differences remain between black men and white men across age and class categories that imply "the persistence of discrimination" (Farley 1984:197). Similarly, the continuing disparity between blacks and whites across all age, sex, marital status, and class categories could imply continuing racial discrimination, but not necessarily. There are some possible alternative explanations.

A second possible explanation is that there could be a significant lag, perhaps as great as a generation or more, between the time significant changes are made in the economic and social position of an ethnic group and the time that such changes are reflected in the degree of psychological well-being members of the group experience. The changes, should the significance of race be declining, may require changes in the infrastructure of society and in culture (i.e. the way that members of a group learn to interpret and evaluate their life experience) that have yet to be fully realized. Perhaps a longer period of time than the period covered in this study needs to be analyzed before the institutional changes will be reflected in the observed well-being scores of blacks.

Third, social and economic changes over the years in the status of black Americans may have created a climate of rising expectations in the black community. To the extent that these heightened expectations have not been fulfilled, the psychological benefit of the real social and economic changes which have occurred may have been negated. This may help explain why it appears from our analysis that there has been no significant change in the black-white gap in well-being even in the middle class which would contain blacks able to benefit from newly created opportunities. In fact, if the social and economic changes that have occurred are widely recognized across the black social class hierarchy as an inadequate fulfillment of the promise of the civil rights movement, it is reasonable that a general sense of dissatisfaction not only persists, but is perpetuated in part by subcultural forces. Therefore, not only social and economic improvement will be required before there is improvement in the well-being of black Americans, but also that there must be a widespread perception among blacks that adequate improvement has actually occurred.

Fourth, the impact of the decline in the significance of race may not have been great enough to change how black people evaluate their lives. In studies of the economic and social status of blacks and whites in the United States, including those that show a decline in the importance of race,

authors take pains to indicate that significant racial differences persist in education, occupational status, personal and family income, unemployment and labor force participation (e. g. Wilson 1980; Farley 1984; Hout 1984). Clearly the simple passage of civil rights legislation, the issuance of Supreme Court decisions favorable to blacks, and the subsequent improvement on some dimensions of social and economic status were not enough to improve the quality of life of blacks as we have measured that here. Such improvements may require more than awareness of symbolic, impending, or even partial change, but may instead require actual change to the point of parity with whites.

Fifth, the well-being scores of middle-class blacks may be depressed because of empathetic extended family and community ties. While a black middle-class family unit may be as well off socio-economically as a white middle-class family, the black middle-class family will be more likely to have relatives and friends who are at or near the poverty level. Because even the black middle-class tends to live in segregated lower income communities, they are more likely to experience social problems that tend to be associated with lower socioeconomic status (e. g. higher crime rates, more drug traffic). Thus, while the black middle-class may be socio-economically differentiated from the black lower-class, they may not be as familially and communally distinct.

Finally, what causes dissatisfaction in the black middle-class may be different than what causes dissatisfaction in the black lower-class. Lower-class blacks may be dissatisfied because of a lack of economic opportunities and the problems they face in maintaining a decent standard of living. The black middle-class, on the other hand, although they are without much difficulty able to maintain a decent standard of living, they are in a much better position to observe the superior standard of living that the white middle-class enjoys and see their status as inferior by comparison. The black lower-class, therefore, report lower levels of well-being because of actual socioeconomic deprivation, while the black middle-class report lower well-being scores because they compare themselves to the white middle-class.

The data of this study cannot prove for certain which of the above possible explanations is the most "true". Further research is needed to evaluate the validity of each. Perhaps each contain a measure of truth, they are not mutually exclusive possibilities. However, there appears to be a special concern regarding the time-lag explanation: the 28 year period from 1957 to 1985 is enough time to observe an improvement in the psychological well-being of blacks due to the socioeconomic changes in their status resulting from the civil rights movement if any were forthcoming.

What this study has accomplished is to question strongly the application of Wilson's (1978,1980) declining significance of race thesis to the subjective well-being of black Americans. Race continues to have a significant detrimental impact on the well-being of blacks regardless of social class.

Appendix A

Table 27

Summary Statistics For Each Variable In The Analysis
From The GSS Data For Blacks And Whites And Lower-class
And Middle-class Within Each Category Of Race

Variable	Black			White		
	Total	LC	MC	Total	LC	MC
Life Satisfaction Index	$\bar{X}=25.88$ sd= 5.14 N= 1572	25.57 5.25 1240	27.03 4.56 336	27.93 4.51 11217	27.26 4.79 6312	28.79 3.95 4905
Happiness	$\bar{X}= 1.97$ sd= .66 N= 1914	1.95 .68 1513	2.04 .59 401	2.24 .63 13593	2.17 .66 7595	2.33 .59 5998
Trust -in- People	$\bar{X}= 4.81$ sd= 1.86 N= 1036	4.67 1.79 842	5.43 2.03 194	6.48 2.23 8366	6.10 2.23 4786	6.99 2.13 3580
Anomie	$\bar{X}= 3.94$ sd= .95 N= 1194	3.87 .94 920	4.14 .97 274	4.43 1.06 8455	4.17 1.03 4590	4.73 1.02 3865
Happiness of Marriage	$\bar{X}= 2.44$ sd= .62 N= 799	2.42 .63 571	2.48 .58 228	2.65 .53 8238	2.62 .54 4110	2.68 .51 4128
Condition of Health	$\bar{X}= 2.77$ sd= .89 N= 1657	2.67 .91 1315	3.15 .69 342	3.05 .86 11250	2.88 .90 6371	3.28 .75 4879

Appendix B

Table 28

Summary Statistics For Each Variable In The Analysis
From The Campbell Data For Blacks And Whites And Lower-class
And Middle-class Within Each Category Of Race

Variable	Black			White		
	Total	LC	MC	Total	LC	MC
Domain	\bar{X} = 4.97	4.95	5.06	5.45	5.37	5.57
Satisfaction	sd= .94	.94	.90	.83	.88	.74
Index	N= 481	396	85	4028	2390	1638
Satisfaction	\bar{X} = 5.12	5.16	4.94	5.68	5.66	5.70
with	sd= 1.22	1.23	1.11	1.00	1.06	.91
Residence	N= 481	396	85	4028	2390	1638
Satisfaction	\bar{X} = 3.83	3.72	4.34	4.75	4.54	5.06
with	sd= 1.51	1.51	1.42	1.36	1.42	1.22
Std of Living	N= 481	396	85	4027	2390	1637
Satisfaction	\bar{X} = 5.51	5.51	5.48	5.64	5.62	5.68
with	sd= 1.05	1.06	.96	.97	1.02	.88
Relationships	N= 481	396	85	4027	2389	1638
Satisfaction	\bar{X} = 5.94	6.00	5.77	6.24	6.27	6.21
with	sd= 1.42	1.44	1.37	1.15	1.19	1.09
Marriage	N= 235	173	62	2806	1488	1318
Happiness	\bar{X} = 2.04	2.02	2.13	2.23	2.17	2.33
	sd= .62	.61	.63	.57	.57	.55
	N= 477	392	85	4014	2379	1635
General	\bar{X} =44.49	44.08	46.36	45.95	45.16	47.08
Affect	sd= 9.40	9.47	8.87	8.47	9.02	7.48
Scale	N=					
Personal	\bar{X} = 2.90	2.75	3.64	3.71	3.39	4.20
Competence	sd= 1.64	1.60	1.61	1.58	1.60	1.42
Scale	N= 447	370	77	3635	2173	1.42
Trust	\bar{X} = .99	.91	1.40	1.86	1.70	2.09
in	sd= 1.11	1.07	1.21	1.15	1.15	1.11
People	N= 456	379	77	3815	2265	1550

Appendix C

Table 29

Summary Statistics For Each Variable In The Analysis
From The Veroff Data For Blacks And Whites And Lower-class
And Middle-class Within Each Category Of Race

Variable	Black			White			
	Total	LC	MC	Total	LC	MC	
Happiness	\bar{X} =	1.98	1.97	2.08	2.29	2.21	2.40
	sd=	.64	.65	.61	.60	.61	.57
	N=	322	273	49	3162	1819	1343
Acceptance Scale	\bar{X} =	4.94	4.86	5.40	5.78	5.46	5.75
	sd=	1.77	1.75	1.83	1.48	1.54	1.39
	N=	322	272	50	3141	1805	1336
Happiness of Marriage	\bar{X} =	2.91	2.87	3.09	3.21	3.05	3.4
	sd=	.93	.96	.70	.89	.93	.78
	N=	185	151	34	2555	1409	1146
Twenty Item Symptom Scale	\bar{X} =	83.82	83.58	85.09	83.62	82.43	85.18
	sd=	12.22	12.44	12.18	11.32	12.18	9.87
	N=	292	246	46	2911	1646	1265
Anxiety Subscale	\bar{X} =	28.55	28.56	28.52	28.71	28.34	29.20
	sd=	5.00	4.90	5.57	4.65	4.98	4.11
	N=	312	264	48	3070	1758	1312
Immobility Subscale	\bar{X} =	25.54	25.58	25.32	25.16	25.15	25.17
	sd=	3.84	3.83	3.92	3.85	3.96	3.68
	N=	309	262	47	3085	1761	1324
Health Subscale	\bar{X} =	29.59	29.29	31.20	29.67	28.81	30.80
	sd=	6.09	6.37	4.10	5.58	6.11	4.54
	N=	311	261	50	3053	1737	1316

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