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PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF PERSONAL IDENTITY IN BLACK
CHILDREN

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PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF PERSONAL IDENTITY
IN BLACK CHILDREN

by


SANDRA SCOTT

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Abstract

Personality Correlates of Personal Identity in Black Children

by

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This study investigated the relationship between personal identity (self-esteem) and the variables of scholastic competence, locus of control and racial group identity. The sample consisted of 50 black children, 7-11 years of age who reflected significantly high (n=35) or low (n=15) personal identity as measured by the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale. In addition to this measure, subjects were administered the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test - Revised (PPVT-R, Form M), a pictorially modified form of the Preschool and Primary Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External Scale (PPNSIE) and the Personal Social Biological Inventory (PSBI). Teacher ratings of classroom competence were obtained. Where available verbal scores for the California Achievement Test and personal and family demographic information were also reported for the subjects.

High and low personal identity groups showed no significant differences on the dimensions of scholastic competence (teacher ratings) and locus of control (revised PPNSIE). The group identity (PSBI) scores for racial preference and combined racial attitudes/preference were, however, significantly different for the two groups, with high personal identity being related to more favorable group identity.

Although locus of control was not related to overall personal identity, a significant positive relationship was obtained between the Piers-Harris factor cluster score for Intellectual/School Status self and locus of control. Significant positive correlations were also found between locus of control, P.P.V.T.-R. scores and teacher ratings. Such findings indicate that locus of control may serve as a mediator between more circumscribed aspects of self-esteem and school functioning.

Demographic variables were found to be insignificantly related to personal identity.

It is suggested that future self-concept research focus on continued construct validation regarding the relationships between personal and group identity subdimensions and other indicants of psychological and behavioral functioning.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Self-identity is a complex, psychological construct which is often seen as representative of the core of personality. It has been studied extensively, throughout the social sciences, since favorable self-concepts have been found to be related to other positive psychological consequences and overall behavioral adjustment.

A considerable body of literature concerning black personality, identity formation, and self-concept has been generated since the 1940's. The majority of such has reiterated conceptions of black self-hatred, negative self-esteem, and in general, deficient personality development.

The bulk of empirical evidence supporting notions of "negative self-concept" amongst Blacks was obtained from studies of children (the prototype being the Clark and Clark investigations). Recently, however, much of the research has been criticized on both conceptual and methodological grounds (Brand, Ruiz, and Padilla, 1974; Banks, 1976; Christmas, 1973; Kambon, 1977; Semaj, 1980; Spencer, 1982). Noteworthy amongst the criticisms is the fact that numerous early studies evaluated different aspects of personality and social development which were all placed under the rubric of self-concept. Constructs such as self-esteem, self-regard, self-image, self-attitudes were used interchangeably, while

group and personal identity findings were also deemed synonymous.

Comparisons among these divergent studies have resulted in a body of literature which, although confusing and contradictory, has served as the basis for much educational and social policy regarding the development of the Black child in America.

Similarly, the construct of locus of control and related notions (e.g., powerlessness) have been explored as they relate to the psychological well-being and behavioral functioning of the Black child. This concept has largely been examined in school settings in an attempt to understand racial differences in achievement and achievement motivation (Coleman, et al., 1966).

In general, many studies regarding personal control have likewise posited a pathology or deficit model regarding the Black child.

Study Rationale

The present investigation will attempt to identify those personality factors and behavioral outcomes which are associated with personal self-worth. It is the contention of the current examiner that far too much research, regarding the Black child, has been directed toward emphasizing his or her presumed maladaptive functioning.

Authors have cited numerous instances of the poor

psychological management of the socially stigmatized black role presented the child by society at large. Little attention has been paid to the normal Black child, the intellectually gifted Black child, the resilient Black child, and those Blacks in general, who despite everpresent obstacles (i.e., political, economic, and social) reflect positive self-concepts, have managed to attain certain personal successes, and have gone on to be productive adults who assume desirable (occupational) roles in society.

As previously mentioned, favorable self-concepts have been found to be associated with other positive psychological outcomes and general adaptive functioning. Scholastic functioning and eventual educational attainment have also been found to be major predictors of a host of factors including occupational achievement, economic successes, physical well-being, and mental health in adults (Blau, 1981).

For a given people to survive in society, it is imperative that their upcoming generations be socialized in a manner which produces psychologically healthy and competent individuals. Toward this end, those variables which are associated with competence must be clearly identified.

In view of the overwhelming history of Black self-hatred and pathology literature, it remains the responsibility of contemporary and future researchers to

both explore aspects of healthy and adaptive functioning in the Black child and to propose modes of facilitating such development.

The experimental design and sampling procedures employed in the present investigation will permit the study of both pathological and healthy outcomes regarding self-esteem.

Statement of the Problem

This study will concern itself with the Black child's developing sense of personal identity (self-esteem) as it relates to scholastic competence, locus of control, and group identity.

It is anticipated that favorable personal identity will be associated with a healthy degree of control over one's environment and higher levels of scholastic functioning and group identity.

Conversely, it is expected that lower levels of personal identity will be related to poorer functioning on the other dimensions.

Hypotheses

1. Children with positive personal identity will tend to have competence in the scholastic area.
2. Children with positive personal identity will tend to have a sense of personal control of life's outcomes.
3. Children with positive personal identity will tend to have positive group identity.

Definition of Terms

1. Global Self-Concept: A composite view of oneself which involves an organized, multidimensional constellation of attitudes about oneself. An algebraic sum of numerous subordinate self-concept dimensions, reflecting more circumscribed areas of the self.
2. Subordinate Self-Concept Dimension: An organized multidimensional constellation of attitudes about a more circumscribed area of the self, such as appearance, family relations, peer relations, achievements, and racial membership.
3. Attitude: An opinion, or belief system, which includes an evaluative and an emotional component.
4. Personal Identity: Personal self-concept or self-esteem; one's basic sense of personal worth and adequacy, defined in the present study by performance on The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale.
5. Group Identity: An individual's feelings about one's self as a member of a racial group. Operationally defined, in the current investigation, by performance on tasks assessing racial attitudes, racial preferences, and color connotations.
6. Racial Attitudes: Attitudes expressed regarding own and opposite racial group. Such attitudes may reflect acceptance, rejection, or ambivalence.

7. Racial Preference: Attitudes reflecting like or desirability of a chosen race as opposed to another.
8. Color Connotations: Aesthetic preferences or dislike of colors, black or white, in a nonracial context. Also, expressed meaning and associations attached to these colors.
9. Locus of Control: Attributional direction of control over reinforcing events and outcomes in one's environment. An individual may exhibit an internal or external orientation.
10. Internal Locus of Control (Internality): Orientation wherein an individual perceives reinforcements, rewards, and gratification as contingent on his own behavior and personal attributes.
11. External Locus of Control (Externality): Orientation wherein an individual perceives reinforcements, rewards, and gratification as contingent on external factors (i.e., luck, chance, fate, the control of powerful others, or unpredictable circumstances) and not the results of one's own actions and personal attributes.
12. Competence: The demonstration of effectiveness and mastery in one's environment; the capacity to be effective and to have effects on one's world. This concept can be subdivided into more circumscribed areas of environmental functioning (i.e., scholastic, social and psychological).

13. Scholastic Competence: Competence, or effective functioning, as demonstrated in the school setting. Operationalized in this study by teacher ratings of classroom functioning.

Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

This investigation has been restricted to Black youngsters from New York City, who are of working class and lower income backgrounds. Additionally, the subjects are limited to the age range of 7 to 11 years. Consequently, care should be exercised in extrapolating, the findings of this study to other socioeconomic populations, developmental age groups, and geographic locations.

Those subjects participating in the investigation also required parental consent. This requirement and its potential effects, which were beyond the examiner's control, further limited the sample.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

As an entry into discussion of the Black child's self-concept and psychological functioning, theoretical perspectives regarding general cognitive development and social learning will be presented. There will also be an overview of social interaction theories of self-concept development. Reviews of research regarding personal identity, group identity, locus of control, and scholastic competence will follow.

The Self-Concept

Self-influences have traditionally been conceptualized under the rubric of self-concept (Rogers, 1959; Wylie, 1974). The self-concept can be described as a composite view of oneself, which involves an organized, multidimensional constellation of attitudes about oneself (Proshansky and Newton, 1967). An attitude is an opinion, or belief system, which includes an evaluative and an emotional component (Aronson, 1972). The self-concept is established by virtue of an individual's ability to perceive himself or herself as a separate object among a world of objects, having knowledge about oneself, and to form attitudes about oneself that will exert influence upon behavior and personal adjustment (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Rogers, 1959).

It is the consensus of the literature that healthy self-concepts tend to be associated with basic trust, self-confidence, and effective adjustment, while poor self-concepts are related to self-doubt, feelings of inadequacy, anxiety, guilt, shame, depression, and other aspects of maladaptive functioning.

At first, from a developmental point of view the self-concept is rudimentary and poorly differentiated. As the individual develops, possesses greater cognitive skills, and has increasing social experience, it becomes more elaborate with many sub-dimensions.

In general, overall self-concept is an algebraic whole consisting of numerous subordinate self-concept dimensions, reflecting more circumscribed areas of the self.

The self-concept is learned. For this reason, it is important to review aspects of cognitive development in the child. Toward this end, the cognitive stage theory proposed by Jean Piaget will be delineated (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969; Flavell, 1963). Furthermore, since learning about the self (personal and group identity) relates to knowledge and understanding in the affective domain, social cognition will be briefly mentioned. Lastly, the development of self-concept will be viewed from an interpersonal conceptual framework. In this regard, the major proponents of such theories will be discussed.

Cognitive Development

In general, the notion of a self-concept presumes a certain level of cognition, however, rudimentary. Cognitive skills are necessary in order for an organism to differentiate itself from other objects in the environment and to make judgments regarding a sense of "goodness" and "badness" about oneself in relation to others. Several investigators have also found certain aspects of impersonal cognition to be related to a child's ability to perceive skin color differences, recognize skin color as invariant, to develop a conceptual sense of racial group, and present with valid preferences and attitudes (Semaj, 1980; Clark, 1980).

Piagetian Theory

The organism regulates its life processes so as to maintain mental and physical states within certain limits. According to Piaget, equilibration is the process of achieving that state of balance. Equilibration involves two complimentary processes through which the person moves toward more complex levels of organization--assimilation and accommodation. The former refers to the taking in of an environmental information and the latter is the adapting of the individual's internal schemas to external circumstances. The schema, or concept, in question in the present study is the self-concept.

Piaget delineated four stages of cognitive development: the sensorimotor, the preoperational, the concrete, and the formal level of operations. The stages progress from a perceptual-motor level of functioning to the most abstract level. The youngsters evaluated in the present investigation will range from preoperational to predominantly concrete operations. Therefore, this overview will confine itself to the first three stages of development.

During the sensorimotor stage, from birth to approximately eighteen months, adaptation occurs through perceptual and motor activity (in the form of action-schemas). The infant, during this period, develops a schema of object permanence. It also learns to control its body in space. Toward the end of this period the infant begins to use language to imitate and make internal representations of reality. This stage of development is further differentiated into six subphases.

The next stage, labeled preoperational, extends from 2 to about 7 or 8 years of age. It is marked by the acquisition of the symbolic function wherein the child is capable of recognizing mental symbols (i.e., images and words) as distinct from those persons, objects, and events which they represent. Such new representational abilities are behaviorally demonstrated by the child's use of deferred imitation (i.e., imitation which commences after the model has disappeared), symbolic play, drawings,

mental images, and verbal representations. Thinking during this stage is initially very concrete and gradually progresses in a more abstract direction. The preoperational child's thinking tends to be characterized by egocentrism. That is, the child reflects an inability to take the role of the other person or to appreciate viewpoints other than its own. The tendency to center is also noted during this period. This refers to the child's, "attention on a single, striking feature of the object of its reasoning to the neglect of other important aspects, and by so doing, to distort the reasoning" (Flavell, 1963; p. 157). The child is unable to decenter (i.e., attend to multiple aspects which could balance and compensate for the distorting effects of considering a single feature).

The final stage under consideration within this overview is that of concrete operations. This stage lasts from about 7 or 8 to 11 years, and is essentially the time when the child is able to think about real, concrete things in a systematic fashion. The child, however, continues to manifest problems with abstract reasoning. The youngster is able to seriate, count, classify, and think in terms of causal relationships. The child also comes to realize that certain properties are invariant despite superficial transformations. Conservation (the realization that amount, weight, volume, and number remain the same when outward appearances are altered) is achieved

during this stage. The child's thinking, overall, becomes more socialized in that egocentrism is decreased. Increasing decentration, reflected in the ability to interrelate greater numbers of mental elements, is also apparent.

In summation, Piaget's stages represent his conceptualization as to how the child develops knowledge and understanding of the world. The acquisition of information about one's environment, however, includes impersonal and social cognitive skills. It is Piaget's contention that social cognition parallels physical cognition in its evolution and that the two are interdependent. He, however, elaborates very little on the latter. Although he acknowledges that issues of affect and interpersonal functioning have some importance as objects of study, such areas have not been of primary professional concern to him (Flavell, 1963).

Social Cognition

The term "social cognition" generally refers to two types of cognition--that regarding people, groups, and social events and that colored by attitudes, feelings, motives, and emotional states (Kosslyn and Kagan, 1981).

The majority of cognitive-developmental research has traditionally focused on the child's knowledge and reasoning regarding the physical world. In recent years, however, many researchers have sought to better understand

the nature and origins of the child's thinking about the social environment (Flavell et. al., 1968; Flavell & Ross, 1981. Flavell, et al. (1968) studied the ontogenetic development of two forms of social-cognitive behavior: role taking and communication skills. Role taking activity, according to this model, was defined as the attempted discrimination of another person's role attributes. Such abilities help a child to better understand feelings, thinking, and motives of others.

In general, Flavell's data and other research suggest that the preschool child has not yet achieved a solid sense of perspective variation. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence indicating that the school age child possesses some understanding of the existence of various perspectives. As is apparent from the previous discussion of Piagetian stages of cognitive development, role taking activity involves a moving away from preoperational thought, with the development of nonegocentrism and decentration.

Such social cognitive considerations have been evaluated by Spencer (1982a, 1982b) and found to be related to the Black child's cultural cognition (i.e., race awareness), which serves as a precursor for group identity formation. Additionally, it has been posited by several investigators that developmental changes in social cognitive skills and perception will cause corresponding changes in a child's self-concept (Fu, 1979).

Social Interaction Theories of Self-Concept Development

The symbolic interaction approach to the understanding of self-concept development was first proposed by Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934). The basic assumption of this theoretical framework is that self-concept is earned and arises out of one's interaction with other persons. It is a dynamic formulation with one's self-conceptions as the continual product of such social interaction.

Cooley (1902) conceptualized the relationship between society and mind by means of his notion of the "Looking-glass self." According to this theory, "what an organism internalized as his own was based on information about oneself which one received from others" (Nobles, 1973, p.15)

Mead's views regarding the self were presented in his book, Mind, Self and Society (1934). In this work, he conceived of the self as a social and cognitive product. He explained that the individual becomes aware of self through social interaction. Furthermore, the content of his awareness is reinforced and shaped by the reactions of others to oneself. The self-concept is derived from "the attitude of the whole community" which, according to Mead's terminology, is the "generalized other".

Sullivan (1953) offered a similar orientation in his proposal that self-dynamism of the child is a function of the reflections of "Significant Others."

In conclusion, the individual (whose self-concept is

in question) holds the attitudes and evaluations (of him) by the "significant other" in high regard. Such evaluations by both the community at large and a specific significant person can be either positive or negative and therefore, may influence the individual's self-concept accordingly (Manns, 1981). During early childhood, the parents, specifically the mother, serve as major self-influencers. As time progresses, the system of significant others becomes more complex, revealing a variety of persons, social referent groups and institutions which potentially affect one's self-appraisals.

Personal Identity

Personal identity, or self-esteem, refers to one's basic sense of worth and adequacy. According to Coopersmith (1967), "Self-esteem" is the evaluation which an individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy. "Self-acceptance and self-esteem tend to be associated with inner integration and effective adjustment, whereas, self-rejection and devaluation are commonly associated with seriously maladaptive behavior." (Coleman and Broen, 1972).

Social background factors, parental characteristics

and parental socialization strategies are some of the determinants which contribute to one's self-evaluation of personal worth and adequacy.

The preponderance of social science literature up until the late 1960's reflected notions of Black self-hatred. Such was believed to be the inevitable product of white discrimination and segregation (Taylor and Walsh, 1979). It was concluded that white racism, and the attitudes espoused by the dominant culture, not only resulted in negative group identity, but irreparably damaged the psyches of blacks on a more personal level as well (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951; Porter, 1971; Deutch, 1960). Although this assumption of poor self-esteem amongst blacks has recently been subject to a wide range of criticism (Gray-Little and Appelbaum, 1979; McAdoo, 1976; Spencer, 1982b, 1983; Taylor, 1976), the findings regarding racial comparisons of personal self-esteem remain inconsistent.

According to Gray-Little and Appelbaum (1979), some research has reflected support for this contention (Bridgette, 1970; Long & Henderson, 1968), but just as often a lack of support (Gibby and Gobler, 1969; Rosenberg, 1965) or findings to the opposite (Baughman & Dahlstrom, 1968; McDonald & Gynther, 1965; Powell, 1973; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971; Wendland, 1969).

Negative Personal Identity Findings

In a study of Northern black and white preschool children, Porter (1971) evaluated both personal and group identity. Her results revealed that in addition to negative group identity, the black subjects tended to reflect poor self-esteem in contrast to whites. Analysis of personal identity involved a projective (self-portrait/story) technique. The drawings and pictures were scored for emotional indicators and the thematic content respectively. Overall, the picture ratings showed that 63 percent of the whites as opposed to 31 percent of the blacks had high personal identity. This racial distinction in self-esteem still remained apparent with the social class variable controlled.

Gibby and Gabler (1967), in their investigation involving 6th grade subjects, similarly found significant racial differences in self-concept as measured by self-ratings of intelligence. Self-esteem, within the literature, has often been operationalized as the discrepancy between self and ideal-self. These investigators utilized three dimensions: the self as it is perceived by the individual, the self as it is thought by the individual to be perceived by others, and the self as the individual would ideally like to be. These self-ratings were related to the subjects actual level of intellectual functioning. The results showed blacks and whites to be significantly different on both the

reality-discrepancy and the self-discrepancy scores, while the differences between the ideal-discrepancy, although in the predicted direction, failed to attain significance.

The authors' conclusion was that, "there are significant differences in self-concept between similar groups of Negro and white children but that these differences are dependent on the sex and I.Q. level of the children as well as on the specific measures being used. (p.147).

A longitudinal study of the global self-concepts of Euro-American, Afro-American, and Mexican-American preadolescent girls was conducted by Fu (1979). The examiner evaluated 260 preadolescents from six southern states over a three-year period (in 1974, 1975 and 1976). At the beginning of the project, the subjects ranged in age from 8.5 to 9.5 years. The measure employed to assess self-concept was an adaptation of the Self Concept-Self Report scale (SC-SC). This modified self-concept ratio scale involved 18 positive and 18 negative statements (e.g., some positive items were, "I feel happy most of the time," "People usually like me," "I look pretty good," and "I feel worthwhile", while their negative counterparts were, "I feel sad a lot," "People don't like me very well," "I don't like my looks," and "I don't amount to much"). In general a variety of subordinate self-concept dimensions were tapped by this test.

The overall results suggested an increase in

self-concept over time. Such change was attributed to developmental factors. Moreover, ethnic membership was found to influence self-concept. The Euro-Americans scored more favorably than either the Afro-Americans or the Mexican Americans. Fu explained that the lower concepts of the minority group children may be due to powerlessness, discrimination, and lack of prestige in comparison to the dominant culture.

Several researchers have also found that black adolescents are characterized by low self-esteem (Bridgette, 1968; Williams and Byers, 1968). Their studies explored the effects of racial segregation, and integration, and the role of social comparison processes in determining one's self-evaluation.

Bridgette, whose study is cited in Baughman (1972), assessed the self-esteem of black and white, southern high school students by means of Coopersmith's self-esteem inventory. The SEI consists of 50 items, which the subject must respond to as either like or unlike himself. There is also a "lie scale" to detect the extent of defensiveness in the respondent. Bridgette's results showed that the white youth of both sexes scored higher on the inventory than their black counterparts. Such findings, however, must be considered in conjunction with intellectual factors. The mean I.Q. score for the black students was approximately 20 points below that of the whites. Although I.Q. and self-esteem were not highly

correlated for the overall sample, the two measures were more highly correlated for the black students. When the effect due to I.Q. was statistically removed, the racial difference in self-esteem scores was no longer significant. Hence, this additional evidence indirectly suggests that the black students may have been sensitive to the fact that they were performing at a lower academic level than the whites. As a consequence of such awareness, they suffered a loss in self-esteem.

Williams and Byers (1968) investigated the magnitude of self-esteem among black and white high school students from both urban and rural schools in Georgia. The black group consisted of persons from both integrated and segregated schools. The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale was used to assess the levels of self-esteem. This scale provides submeasures of physical self, moral-ethical self, personal self, family self, social self, and total positive self. Also included are assessments of defensiveness, general maladjustment and psychopathology. Analyses of the data revealed major differences between the black and white subjects, but not between the blacks attending integrated and segregated schools. Those blacks in the integrated setting reflected only slightly higher scores.

In general, the findings indicated that blacks scored below the whites on 12 of the 17 dimensions. The black youths scored best on the physical self-dimension, which

was only slightly above the mean for the white students. The black subjects attained significantly lower scores on the basic dimensions of self-perception, moral-ethical, personal and social evaluation. Furthermore, these findings showed that blacks were low in self-confidence, defensive in their self-evaluations, confused about self-identity, and similar in their perceptions to neurotic and psychotic persons.

In summation, the investigators concluded that ...

While the past decade has brought dramatic change in the social status of the southern negro, it has by no means totally remedied the ills of the past. The negro students in recently integrated schools compared to those in the segregated setting evidenced some trend toward improvement in self-esteem, however at present such improvement is minimal. (P. 125).

Studies Refuting Negative Personal Identity Findings

Many researchers have found that despite the influences of white racism and discrimination, blacks, as a group, are not characterized by poor self-esteem.

The relationship between personal and group identity as they are affected by cognitive-developmental factors was studied by Spencer (1982b). The investigator's black sample included southern preschool and primary school-age children. Comparisons between these subjects and previously evaluated northern preschoolers were made by the examiner. The instrument utilized to assess personal identity was The Thomas Self-concept Values test which

contains four referents: self as viewed by (A) self, (B) mother, (C) peer, (D) teacher. Bipolar questions are asked in relation to the child's own polaroid snapshot.

Although group identity tended to be negative throughout the sample, positive global self-concepts were obtained by the overwhelming majority of youngsters (i.e., 87% of the northern preschoolers, 81% of the southern pre-schoolers, and 93% of the primary age subjects).

McAdoo (1976) similarly employed The Thomas Self-concept measure to test self-esteem among three regionally different groups of black preschool children. In addition, the Engel self-concept procedures were used. This instrument involved showing the child an illustration of two stick figures standing at both ends of a five-step ladder. One figure was cited as having positive characteristics (happy) and the other identified as negative (sad). The youngsters' self-evaluation regarding seven dimensions was rated by placement of a mark on one of the rungs of the pictured ladder. Although some regional differences were noted, the results showed that, on the average, all of the samples have positive self-concept scores.

Follow-up assessments, one and five years later, generally revealed improved or maintained levels of self-esteem.

McDonald and Gynther (1965) conducted a comparative study of self-esteem with high school students from

racially segregated schools. Self-evaluations were obtained by means of the Interpersonal Check List, which was administered by same-race counselors. Dominance and Love were the primary dimensions assessed by this test. Each subject rated each item twice, first to describe perceived self and second to described ideal self. An analysis of variance revealed that race and sex had marked influence on one's self and ideal self-concepts, whereas socioeconomic class had no effect. The mean "perceived self" score for the black youths was higher than than of the whites, but the mean "ideal self" score was comparatively low. The love scores evidenced a similar pattern. Consequently, on both dimensions, the black adolescents were closer to their ideals than the whites to theirs.

As previously mentioned, the discrepancy between self and ideal-self is often used as an index of self-esteem with increased discrepancy inferring lower self-esteem. If this inference is valid, then one may conclude from the above findings that the black subjects, on the average, demonstrated a higher level of self-esteem than the white subjects.

Wendland, whose findings are described in Baughman (1972), also analyzed the self-esteem levels of youngsters in a segregated school setting. The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale was used by this investigator to assess black and white eighth graders. She additionally had her

subjects to respond to scales designed to measure feelings of estrangement and degree of cynicism toward one's environment. The P score, on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, served as an indicant of self-appraisal (with high P scores reflecting positive self-esteem and low ones reflecting negative self-esteem). The results showed that the black children evidenced significantly higher P scores than did their white counterparts. The estrangement and cynicism scores, however, indicated that the black subjects felt more alienated from others in their environment than the white youths. The black students also tended to externalize blame more so than the whites.

In general, the existence of disparate findings regarding personal identity has prompted researchers to scrutinize the differences amongst instruments employed to assess this psychological construct. (Gray-Little and Appelbaum, 1979; Nobles, 1973; Jackson, et al., 1981.)

Gray-Little and Appelbaum (1979), in their critical analysis, highlighted the research of Bridgette (1968) and Wendland (1967). Such investigations involved usage of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale respectively. Gray-Little and Appelbaum took both measures and correlated them with relevant demographic and academic variables. They found that although both tests purport to assess the same construct, their relation to other variables was strikingly different. That is, while the SEI was highly

related to demographic factors and demonstrated racial differences, the TSCS showed a weaker correlation with such variables and did not reveal racial differences.

Others have likewise noted that black youngsters may perform differently on self-esteem measures which focus on highly individualistic and competitive orientations as opposed to those which emphasize judgments regarding cooperation, helping behavior, and social dimensions of the self (Jackson, et al., 1981). They speculate that instruments which include more highly individualistic, achievement related, and western value-dominated orientations could be viewed as antithetical to group images of survival and the inculcation of black pride.

In summation, findings regarding personal self-esteem and the black child are inconclusive. Moreover, recent critiques suggest that instrumentality effects may in part account for the disparity in results.

Group Identity

Although the social malady of white racism has plagued American society for numerous years, it is not until recent decades that it has been acknowledged as a legitimate problem necessitating nationwide concern and investigation.

In 1967, such racism was cited by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder as a major causative

factor in black rioting behavior. Wrote the
aforementioned commission:

This is our basic conclusion. Our nation is moving toward two societies one white, one black separate and unequal ... the most fundamental (cause of the riots) is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans Racial prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future ... white racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. (Cited in Banks, 1972; p.6)

The racist political, economic, and social climate of this nation provides the social atmosphere in which the black child develops. In view of this social reality, it is not surprising that group identity has been the subject of considerable research and serves as an important aspect of the self-concepts of blacks.

For the purpose of this review, group identity will refer to one's feeling about oneself as a member of a racial group (including racial identification, racial attitudes, racial preference, and/or color connotations).

Many of the works concerning black personality, self-concept, and group identity formation have reiterated conceptions of black self-hatred (see reviews Nobles, 1973; Baldwin, 1979). Baldwin (1979), in a critical review of the literature, notes that, "most conceptions of black self-hatred have grown out of the general framework of self-concept theory that emphasizes the primary importance of social interaction" (p.52). As previously

stated, the major proponents of the symbolic interaction approach include Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934). Such theorists generally proposed that a person's conception of self arises out of one's interaction with other human beings ("significant others") in the environment.

According to Cooley's notion of the "looking glass self" a person's self-concept is dependent on the reactions and opinions of others toward the individual (Cooley, 1902).

Many researchers have argued that in terms of such theory, the larger white community represents the looking-glass for blacks.

This looking-glass thereby reflects that blacks are inferior, "bad", and generally detestable. This phenomenon then is assumed to influence black people to regard themselves in similar fashion through their internalization of the generalized racist attitude toward themselves. (Baldwin, 1979; p.53)

Other derivations of this basic notion, employing principles of psychoanalytic theory and defense mechanisms, have likewise been applied to the understanding of black own-race attitudes (Maliver, 1965; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Pettigrew, 1964; Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951).

In their book, The Mark of Oppression, Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) maintain that the black American's "basic personality" has been irreparably deformed by the stress of racism in America. From a psychoanalytic standpoint,

they propose that the low self-esteem of Negroes results in the idealization of the white and frantic efforts to be white. The unattainable white ideal eventuates in hostility toward whites, self-hatred, and (projected) hatred of other Negroes.

The authors conclude that; "The Negro has no possible basis for a healthy self-esteem and every incentive for self-hatred." (p.297).

Such notions have similarly been applied to the study of black children.

Race awareness and racial attitudes were found to emerge during the preschool years (Clark and Clark, 1939, 1947; Horowitz, 1939; Morland, 1972; Radke, Trager and Davis, 1949; Kambon, 1977). Many investigators established that ethnic group awareness usually occurs at the nursery school age as part of the process by which the child establishes self-concept (Clark and Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971).

According to Banks (1976), "White preference behavior as evaluative choice of opposite race characteristics, was conceived as an operationalization of racial self-rejection in blacks." (p. 1179)

That is, a negative self-concept was thought to be indicated by a tendency to express white evaluative and self-identification preferences for dolls, puppets, pictures, and photos.

Numerous criticisms have been made regarding the

majority of research prior to the 1970's. Complaints have primarily revolved around the poor definition of terms, inadequate separation of personal and group identity findings, lack of developmental frameworks, and overall faulty methodology. Such studies will, however, be reviewed here with a detailed explanation of their limitations and distortions to follow.

Research Reflecting Negative Group Identity Findings

Horowitz (1939) investigated the racial aspects of self-identification in black and white nursery age children in New York City. She assessed such by means of a line drawing technique which required the subjects to identify themselves with one of several pictures--a black child, a white child, a lion and a clown. On the basis of children's identification choices, and other pertinent racial comments, the experimenter concluded that children as young as 3 years of age showed evidence of race awareness and that such awareness increased with age. Additionally, misidentifications were found in black children to a significant degree. The examiner interpreted black misidentification as a "wish to be white."

Much of the early work on racial identification and preference was conducted by Clark and Clark (1939, 1940, 1947, 1950). It is their technique which served largely as the prototype for many investigators to follow.

In 1939, the authors modified the Horowitz picture technique to assess the development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in 150 black preschoolers. Like Horowitz, the Clarks found race awareness present as early as 3 years of age.

Clark and Clark (1947) conducted a study geared toward the examination of racial identification as a function of ego development and self-awareness in black children ages 3 to 7 years. The procedure involved the presentation of 4 black and white dolls, identical in every respect except for skin and hair color.

The subjects were asked to respond to the following questions by choosing one doll:

1. Give me the doll that you like to play with - (like best).
2. Give me the doll that is a nice doll.
3. Give me the doll that looks bad.
4. Give me the doll that is a nice color.
5. Give me the doll that looks like a white child.
6. Give me the doll that looks like a colored child.
8. Give me the doll that looks like you.

Questions 1-4 and 5-7 were designed to tap racial preference and race awareness respectively. The final item was included to assess identification.

The results revealed that although the vast majority of children were cognitively capable of perceiving skin color differences, misidentifications were highly prevalent. This was particularly true of the three year old group. The attitudinal data showed that the majority of the black children studied preferred the white doll and

rejected the black doll. It was noted that many of the children also offered negative responses regarding the appearance of the black dolls. In terms of regional differences, Northern subjects reflected a decided preference for the white doll.

Clark and Clark (1940, 1947) studies also revealed that light complexioned black children tend to misidentify and demonstrate higher levels of white preference than medium or dark complexioned youngsters. The examiners speculated that such misidentifications may have been due to their identification on the basis of perceptual accuracy rather than higher level social knowledge of racial group categories. For the medium brown and dark youngsters the experimenters considered the possibilities of ambivalence and the "wish-to-be-white".

In a study of emotional factors in racial identification and preference, the Clarks (1950) evaluated 160 Southern and Northern black children ranging in age from 5 through 7 years. The investigators, in addition to the "doll test," employed a technique wherein each subject was asked to color a picture of the same sex "the color you are" and an opposite sex picture "the color you like a little boy or girl to be." A full range of colored crayons was supplied to each subject.

In order to assess adequate and stable knowledge of color concepts, the children were pretested on nonhuman objects (i.e., a leaf, an orange, an apple, and a mouse).

Rejection of the brown color (as evidenced by white or unrealistic color choice) was most pronounced among the darker children, but appeared in all complexion groups and at all ages. Escapist tendencies, utilizing unrealistic colors, were noted more among Northern children and at the age of 5 years. By age 7, however, unrealistic and bizarre responses were virtually nonexistent. The examiners maintained that such findings suggest that by age 7 realistic identification is certainly possible and that emotional conflict regarding racial status is already present (since many in this age group reflected white preferences).

In terms of the issue of brown color rejection and emotional turmoil in black children, Clark and Clark (1963) contend that ...

The early rejection of the color brown by the negro children is part of the combination of attitudes and ideas of the child who knows that he must be identified with something that he himself rejects. This pattern introduces, early in the formation of the personality of these children, a fundamental conflict about themselves.

(p.46)

Additional researchers have obtained comparable findings on black children reflecting high levels of racial misidentification (Gitter, Mastofsky, and Satow, 1972; Crooks, 1970; Moreland, 1963, 1966; Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971), low own-race preference (Asher and Allen, 1969; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Porter, 1971), white preference (Trager and Yarrow, 1952; Asher and Allen,

1969; Crooks, 1970; Morland, 1962, 1963; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Porter, 1971), own-race hostility, rejection, and/or negative stereotyping (Goodman, 1952; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; and Trager and Yarrow, 1952).

Goodman (1952) analyzed the degree of race awareness and racial attitudes in black and white preschool children in the New England area. The techniques employed by this cultural anthropologist were the Clarks' "doll test", interviews, and observations. Goodman defined race awareness as, "knowledge of both the visible differences between racial categories and the perceptual cues by which one classified people into these divisions" (p. 1) She maintained that the extent of such awareness is largely dependent upon the physical attributes of the child, the child's rate of cognitive development, and the child's opportunity to interact within interracial settings. On the basis of her findings, she divided her subjects into three categories reflecting race awareness - attitude developmental levels: low, medium, and high. Some of the dimensions explored in terms of in-group versus out-group orientation were group affinity, group preference, superiority-inferiority, and friendliness-antagonism. The response results revealed black children to reflect lower in-group affinity and in-group preference than whites. Conversely, higher levels of out-group affinity and out-group preference were also noted amongst the black subjects.

Based inferentially on clinical impressions, the author found white children to generally respond to blacks with passive neutrality, on the superiority-inferiority continuum. Although approximately 40% of the black nursery school children expressed neutrality, over half of the black children demonstrated a sense of inferiority to whites. According to the experimenter's experience, black children felt superior only to one another and never assumed such a position toward whites. Observations also revealed striking differences between blacks and whites on the dimension of in-group friendliness - antagonism. White subjects were always either friendly or indifferent toward white as a kind (with very few exhibiting indifference). Blacks, on the other hand, showed a friendly orientation towards others of their race in only a little more than half of the cases.

The validity of the researcher's findings were greatest amongst the sample of high awareness youngsters. Goodman concluded ...

For the Negro children high awareness brings an increasing sense of insecurity in respect to racial status, heightened emotionality, and a greater sense of personal involvement and personal threat. (p.79)

Trager and Radke - Yarrow (1952). conducted a research project designed to examine the development of prejudice in young children. Their sample included 250 black and white children in Kindergarten through second grade. The

subjects' reactions to racial and religious groups were obtained through their interpretations of a series of social situational pictures (The Social Episodes Test). A doll test (The Social Roles Test) was employed to determine both the children's awareness of social and economic differences between the races and how such knowledge affects racial attitudes. The results revealed that derogatory stereotypes and discriminatory behavior most frequently occurred with respect to the black group. Additionally, the expectations of low social status for blacks (i.e., inferior status, money, and homes) was prevalent, and an inferiority which was viewed as both "natural" and "inevitable."

The authors discovered that . . .

the Negro children, too, ascribe many undesirable stereotypes to their own group. The discussion of race frequently brings reactions of discomfort and expressions of ambivalent feelings toward whites and Negroes. Seldom do Negro children give responses of unmixed positive feelings toward their own group. (p.346).

In regard to the child's image of himself, they concluded that group membership has an abasing or enhancing effect, depending on whether the group has high or low social status.

Asher and Allen (1969) conducted a partial replication and extension of the Clarks' (1947) investigation. The investigators studied both black and white children and also analyzed the impact of social class, sex, and age variables. A comparison between these findings and the

original Clark and Clark (1939) data revealed that there was some evidence of an increase in white preference among black children. That is, on three of the four items (nice puppet, looks bad, and nice color) the percentage of youngsters choosing the white puppet favorably was greater for the 1967 sample. Social class results showed that middle-class black children strongly tended to prefer the white puppet, while lower-class children reflected inconsistent responses. Amongst the black subjects, significant sex differences were observed with the boys demonstrating greater white preference. Lastly, age trends were complex and far less consistent than those findings obtained regarding the other variables under investigation.

The researchers utilized their findings to test out two competing theoretical models: social comparison and individual competence. According to the former theory, economic progress and social mobility should increase comparison with whites, thus eventuating in greater feelings of inferiority. On the basis of this model, the examiners would anticipate findings of increased white preference among black children. More favorable own-race attitudes among lower-class black children, in contrast to middle-class blacks, would also be predicted. On the other, the individual competence model (as espoused by White, 1959, among others) would predict increased feelings of competence and racial pride as a result of

social and economic gains and success experiences in one's environment. Asher and Allen's findings of increased white preference among blacks were interpreted as supportive of the social comparison model.

During the 1960's, Porter (1971) investigated numerous variables (i.e., skin color, social class, age, sex, and segregated vs. integrated environment) as they relate to level of race awareness, attitudes, and racial identification.

Controlling for the variables of sex, class and age, she found significantly more blacks (30%) than whites (15%) displaying misidentification on a consistent basis. Additionally, a significant relationship was observed between racial identification and racial attitudes. That is, children with high own-race preference tended to reflect more accurate self-identifications than those with low own-race preference.

In her explanation of the findings, Porter emphasized the fact that self-identification is by no means a neutral Process.

As the average child learns to judge racial differences in terms of the standards of society, he is at the same time required to identify himself with one or another group. This identification necessarily involves a knowledge of the status attributes connected to the group with which he classifies himself.

(P.112)

Moreland, (1963) with a sample of black and white Preschool children, also obtained results which showed

that black children misidentified and preferred the opposite race more often than did their white counterparts.

A study conducted by Getter, Mastofsky and Satow (1972) similarly found that black children made more incorrect self-identifications than white children, when, in addition to the color variable, physiognomy was included.

Research Reflecting Positive Group Identity Findings and Critiques of Negative Group Identity Studies

Literature reviews (Brand, Ruiz, and Padilla, 1974; Banks, 1976; Christmas, 1973) and recent studies (Semaj, 1980; Spencer, 1983) have criticized much of the former research on both conceptual and methodological grounds.

Brand, Ruiz, and Padilla (1974) criticized the ethnic identification and preference literature in terms of its internal and external validity. They further contended that recent studies (Gregor and McPherson, 1966; Hraba and Grant, 1970) showed blacks expressing a greater degree of same-race preference than was demonstrated in the early research. They attributed such to the changing social climate of increased social equality and black pride.

In his critique of the literature, Banks (1976) described white preference in blacks as a fallacious phenomenon which has never been convincingly demonstrated by the bulk of research. He reviewed the findings of several major studies and concluded that statistically 69%

showed non-preferences (Banks and Rompf, 1973; Brody, 1963; Butts, 1963; Clark and Clark, 1939. 1947, 1950; Goodman, 1952; Helgerson, 1943; Kiesler, unpub.; Kircher and Furby, 1971; Kline, 1971; Morland, 1962; Radke & Trager, 1950; Richardson & Royce, 1968; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958), 25% reflected black Preference (Gregor and McPherson, 1968; Harris and Braun, 1971; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Ogletree, 1969) and only 6% revealed white preference (Asher and Allen, 1969, Morland, 1963).

Since the negative group identity findings have been elaborated on elsewhere in this review, only those studies reflecting black preferences will be discussed in detail below:

Gregor and McPherson (1968), in a study of the racial attitudes of southern black and white youngsters, found that black children demonstrated greater own-race preference than did their white counterparts. Specific responses to the forced choice doll method showed that black children chose the black doll as best liked (59%), as being nice (60%), and as being nice color (59%). Whereas 95% of the white sample picked the black doll as "looking bad", 92% of the black youngsters would not label either doll as "bad".

Hraba and Grant (1971) also employed a revised version of the Clark's doll test to measure the racial identification and preferences of midwestern children 4 - 8 years of age in an interracial nursery setting. They

reported that the black children, regardless of age and complexion, tended to identify correctly and express preference for their own racial group. Although overwhelming black preference was noted in their subjects, this was not necessarily accompanied by out-group rejection, in that 70% of the black children were observed to have white friends.

Ogletree (1969), in his examination of black and white children in a nonsegregated school, similarly found his subjects to be equal in the degree to which they colored drawings of children in their own image.

Ward and Braun (1972) explored the relationship between personal self-esteem and racial preference in black children. The methods which they employed to measure the previously mentioned constructs were an oral adaptation of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale and a modified doll test respectively. The majority of black children within their sample demonstrated decided black preference. Their results also showed that children with greater own-race preference reflected higher self-esteem scores than those with low own-race preference. No significant sex and social class differences were obtained.

The experimenters hypothesized that such positive findings were due to the black child's increasing exposure to an atmosphere of black pride and militancy, which probably fostered black identification and preference.

Other recent studies, not examined by Banks (1976), have likewise yielded results of positive group identity and/or no racial differences in levels of group identification.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) revised the original methodology employed by the Clarks. Instead of using two dolls, the investigators provided a three color choice: brown, white, and mulatto dolls. The findings indicated that white children misidentified themselves to about the same extent as blacks. Although this study showed that changes have occurred in regard to self-identification, both white and black children demonstrated tendencies toward white preference.

The mulatto doll was particularly disliked of the three dolls. The investigators maintained that this may in part have been due to the unappealing color of that doll (a light grayish-brown).

Fox and Jordan (1973) found no significant differences between Black and white New York children's identification and own-race preference. The Chinese-American children in the sample, however, evidenced lower own-race preference than the two other groups evaluated.

In a study investigating the racial/ethnic preferences of Anglo, Black, and Latino children, Telpin (1976) similarly found no significant differences between the black and white youngsters. Both groups evidence considerably higher levels of in-group Preference than their Latino counterparts.

Mahon (1976) administered a modified form of the doll test to black and white Northeastern children. Overall, it was observed that white and black children tended to reflect positive attitudes about themselves and their race. The investigator indicated that this was especially true for those black youngsters who owned black dolls.

An adaptation of the Clark and Clark method was also utilized by Winnick and Taylor (1977), in their study of black and white South Carolinians. The sample included children 3 - 8 years of age. These investigators also looked at previously neglected variables such as social class, sex, age, and experimenter-race.

In general, their findings revealed no significant main effects for sex, socioeconomic class, or experimenter-race. A marked effect for age, however, suggested that children develop racial preferences and attitudes over time. Analysis of the race variable also yielded a significant main effect. That is, white children were more prone to consistently choose same-race stimuli.

Although the black youngsters in the sample were less own-race oriented than the whites, they were decidedly more in-group oriented than their black counterparts in the original Clark and Clark investigation. That is, 68% of the blacks in 1939 chose white stimuli while 64% of the black children in the updated study preferred black stimuli.

Kambon (1977) analyzed the development of sequential, cognitive stages of racial self-images among 3 - 8 year old Afro-American children in Harlem. Broadly, the researcher conceptualized the racial component of self as multifaceted rather than monolithic. In addition to assessing the multiple components of racial self-images, the researcher viewed the sequential acquisition of such self-images as invariant and hypothesized that age 7 is the age at which racial self-images are attained, thus marking a cognitive developmental milestone.

The authors' basic thesis challenged earlier research interpretations reflecting an all-or-none approach to racial self-concept (which when negative, was expressed conceptually by the "wish-to-be-white" theory).

Through the utilization of five original tasks, Kambon assessed various aspects of racial self-images and their developmental precursors. Some of the findings of this investigation were that aesthetic color judgments were made reliably before racial concepts and that irrespective of its race relatedness, concept development for the color "white" preceded all other colors. Furthermore, the majority of children within each age category demonstrated in-group racial identifications. A tendency for such identifications to increase with age was also noted.

Considerable support for the hypothesis that racial self-images are complex and multidimensional was gained from the subjects' response to two different aspects of

racial self-images: Racial Competence (based on intelligence, physical attributes, household skills, autonomy and leadership ability) and social status (based on employment prestige, authority, and material possessions). Overall, the childrens' responses showed a positive self-image of racial competence and a negative self-image of racial status. In-group preference of racial status dropped appreciably at age 7 and remained low at age 8.

In general, such findings seem to suggest that racial self-concept is comprised of both positive and negative self-conceptions which simultaneously coexist. Additionally, it may be speculated that some of these self-images are the product of the black community (e.g., family, neighborhood) as the primary referent, while others relate to the values espoused by the dominant culture and societal limitations.

The prevalence of increasingly more negative racial status conceptions appears to be a function of the black child's increasingly cognizance of social reality limitations imposed by white racism, prejudice, and discrimination in this nation. This social reality, however, does not seem to render the black child psychologically maimed. Positive racial self-images remain in a variety of spheres, thus suggesting that the black community provides a "referent group" for healthy racial self development.

Christmas (1973) in her literature review, noted that much of the early research on "Black self-concept" was unsound in that it contained ambiguous terms and poorly defined concepts. Constructs such as self-esteem, self-regard, self-concept, and self-attitudes were often used interchangeably. Thus, many of the studies assessing dramatically disparate constructs were compared, resulting in misleading interpretations.

In concurrence with Christmas, Spencer (1982b) stated that group identity and personal identity findings were used synonymously. In an even more recent paper (Spencer, 1983), the same researcher delineated the following problems in many studies since the Clarks' work:

1. The research efforts often lack conceptual clarity.
2. A developmental perspective has frequently been absent from investigations involving the black child.
3. Much of the research has espoused a deviancy or genetic inferiority perspective (e.g., the culture-deficit paradigm).
4. Most of the research has assumed that the dominant culture serves as the primary reference group for black Americans.
5. There is a decided lack of literature focusing on the normal development of black children.

Unlike Banks (1976), Spencer (1982) acknowledged the existence of eurocentric response patterns, especially in nursery age black children.

The investigator explored social cognitive abilities and their influence on black children's cultural cognition (i.e., race awareness). The sample studied consisted of 130 black preschool children from predominantly middle income families in Chicago. Those tests administered to the subjects included the California Preschool Social Competency Scale, the Peabody Picture Vocabulary test, a Racial Attitude/Preference Measure, a race awareness measure, and two measures of decentering.

The hypotheses generated by the above-mentioned examiner were as follows:

- H1 Social cognition (decentration and interpersonal competence) should be the most significant predictor of race awareness.
- H2: Racial attitude/preference behavior and social cognitive variables (decentration and interpersonal competence) are unrelated.
- H3 Measures of affectual and conceptual decentering ability and teacher ratings of interpersonal skill will be positively and significantly correlated.

The obtained results supported all of the above hypotheses.

The author concluded that . . .

The study demonstrates, contrary to previous theoretical expectations that racial stereotyping for minority group children during the preoperational period is not necessarily internalized to the affective domain or to one's personal identity.

(p.284)

She maintained that during the cognitive period characterized by egocentrism, there is a compartmentalization of personal (self-concept) and group identity.

To date, studies have reflected conflicting findings regarding the relationship between personal self-esteem and various aspects of racial group concepts.

The Relationship Between Personal and Group Identity

In recent years, several studies have investigated the relationship between personal self-esteem and racial preferences, attitudes, and/or identification. While several researchers (Butts, 1963; Porter, 1971; Ward and Braun, 1972) have found a positive relationship between them, others have not (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972; Rosenberg, 1979; McAdoo, 1978; Clark, 1982; Spencer, 1982a, 1982b; Garner, 1983).

Butts (1963) studied the relationship between self-esteem and skin color perception in black youngsters from New York. The sample consisted of 50 children residing at Bedford Hills Institution for the dependent and neglected. All of the subjects, ranging in age from 9 - 12 years, reflected I.Q. scores above 80 and no clinical evidence of integrative pathology.

Self-esteem was assessed by means of the California Test of Personality, Elementary Series, 1953 revision. A

dichotomous rating scale, based on the clinical judgments of social workers and counselors, was also employed as a measure of personal self-worth. The Clark and Clark coloring task, which has previously been described in detail, was utilized to measure perception of skin color and preference.

Although the clinical evaluations of staff yielded no meaningful relationships with other data, a significant correlation was obtained between the California Test of Personality and the color test.

Thirty-six (72%) of the subjects demonstrated accurate self-identification. The author, however, chose to focus on the remaining 14 who reflected misperceptions. A significant number of these subjects (8 of the 14) showed poor self-esteem on the personality inventory. Thirteen of the 14 youngsters misidentifying also showed a preference for lighter or white skin.

The author thusly concluded that impaired self-esteem tends to be related to inaccurate skin color perceptions. Such misidentifications were also found to be associated with preferences for light skin color.

Porter (1971) similarly found negative racial self-concept to be associated with feelings of inadequacy and worthlessness on a personal level. Her analysis of personal identity involved a projective test (a self-portrait and story technique). The pictures were

rated according to the number of physical features present (the assumption being that the most detailed, colorful, and lively drawings indicate a more favorable personal self-image). The accompanying stories were scored on the basis of their thematic content ("personal efficacy", "powerlessness", and "lively daily descriptions").

In general, the picture scores revealed that 63% of the whites versus 31% of the black subjects had high personal self-esteem. Controlling for social class, the racial distinction was still evident. The story analysis yielded comparable results.

The stories of the whites tended to include significantly more "personal efficacy" themes than those of the black children. Porter's overall self-concept data showed that only 8% of the blacks compared to 42% of the whites evidenced both high personal and racial self-concepts; 49% of the blacks and 21% of the whites were low on both dimensions.

Although Ward and Braun (1972) likewise found the two aspects of self-concept to be significantly related, their black subjects demonstrated an overwhelming tendency toward positive self-evaluations. The authors concluded that their findings of positive self-esteem (as measured by a variant of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-concept Test) and marked in-group preferences (assessed by means of an adaptation of the Clark and Clark doll method) were most probably attributable to the increasing climate of

racial pride amongst Afro-Americans. They explained that, "Personal pride is essentially the expression of group pride". (p. 646)

Other researchers have contended that no such direct relationship exists between racial group concepts and personal self-esteem.

Despite the fact that many of their subjects showed a clear preference for light skin, Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) found a high level of self-esteem among black youngsters in grades 4 - 12. In another study, Rosenberg (1979) similarly observed no relationship between the racial attitudes and global self-concepts of black children, thusly, concluding that group rejection does not necessarily produce black self-hatred.

Clark (1982) investigated the relationship between racial group concepts (racial preference and attitudes) and general and specific (i.e., physical appearance, social, personal academic) self-esteem in black children in the Midwest. The sample consisted of 210 black children, grades 3 to 6, attending integrated and desegregated schools. Self-esteem was measured by a 53-item adaptation of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem inventory and the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale. Racial preferences and attitudes were assessed by a test modeled after the Preschool Racial attitude measure II (Williams, Best, Boswell, Matteson, and Graves, 1975). The test included 13 black and white illustrations: 6 to

assess own-race preference, 6 to assess attitudes about own race, and the final item to measure racial self-identification. A brief descriptive passage including both negative and positive attributes accompanied each picture.

Although the findings revealed complex patterns, no linear relationships between racial group concepts and general or specific self-esteem were obtained. Multiple regression analyses, of racial attitudes and preference with each of the specific self-esteem variables, showed the group composed of racial preference, racial attitudes, and physical appearance to be the most significant group of predictor variables for overall self-esteem. The only single predictor for self-esteem, however, was found to be physical appearance esteem.

Additionally, significant age/grade level differences were found. That is, racial group concepts had a greater effect on the level of general self-esteem in the third/fourth grade when compared with the fifth/sixth grade group.

On the basis of her results, Clark concluded that there exists no direct relationship between racial group concepts and specific or general self-esteem. She, however, suggested that since physical/appearance esteem was such a major determinant, future research should analyze the role racial physiognomy may play in self-esteem development for black children. Cognitive

considerations in the development of racial self-concept were also stressed by the author.

Several studies involving samples of black children from the Midwest, Southern and Northern geographic regions were conducted by Spencer (1973, 1982a, 1982b). Although the initial 1982 paper focused on developmental patterns in social and cultural cognition, the latter investigations were expanded to include analyses of such maturational concerns and their influence on both personal and group identity.

Spencer (1982b) measured self-concept, group identity, race awareness, decentration, and language ability in 384 lower and middle income black children from the South. This sample consisted of preschool and primary grade youngsters (3 - 9 years of age). Additionally, the researcher compared these data with that of a previous sample of 130 Northern black preschool children.

It was found that irrespective of region and age. The majority of children obtained positive self-concepts (as measured by the Thomas Self-Concept Test). Despite such positive personal identity findings, race dissonance (white preference) was characteristic of many youngsters. This was particularly true for the preschool children who consistently demonstrated eurocentric response patterns for group identity as assessed by color concepts, racial attitudes, and racial preferences.

As age increased, greater afrocentrism (in terms of

racial attitudes and preferences) was noted. Performance on the color concepts measure, however, revealed consistent and increasing eurocentrism.

Regarding group identity, a significant main effect was obtained for socioeconomic status amongst the primary aged children. That is, middle income children were decidedly more afrocentric in orientation.

Regional comparisons of the preschoolers yielded no significant differences regarding either personal or group identity.

As was observed in her previous research, social cognition (i.e., measures of decentration and language) and cultural cognition (i.e., race awareness) demonstrated significant developmental patterns, reflecting an increase with age.

In general Spencer's research examined the black child's "meta-identity" or identity in transformation as it is mediated by the youngster's progressive knowledge of cultural and developing social cognitive skills. She concluded that . . .

Development from a state of identity imbalance (between personal and group identity) to a more mature conceptualization requires a cognitive shift from an egocentric or self-centered perspective to a more objective, less stereotypic view of culture or one's group identity. (P. 64)

In a longitudinal study of the development of self-esteem and racial attitudes and preferences, McAdoo

(1976) evaluated black children from the Mid-Atlantic area, Mississippi and Michigan. Her findings likewise revealed positive self-concepts for the majority of subjects often coexisting with negative racial group concepts. She maintained that such results refute the black self-hatred literature, which erroneously assumed that rejection of black stimuli invariably translated into feelings of negative self-worth.

McAdoo, like many other more recent theorists, proposed that self-concept is not a unitary construct. She explained that a child may feel differently (i.e., good, bad, or ambivalent) on a variety of self-dimensions. Specifically, in regard to ethnic identity, McAdoo noted that feelings toward the group are often a complex mixture of positive and negative. The process of identification thusly involves identifying with some aspects of the group and attempting to disassociate oneself from others.

Recent reviews of personal and group identity (Porter and Washington, 1979) have further elaborated on the inconsistency of empirical findings regarding black identity and self-esteem.

In summation, it appears that there is no simple, direct relationship between the two self-dimensions. Overall self-concept is a composite view of oneself, an algebraic whole which encompasses a variety of subordinate self-concept dimensions. Such subordinate dimensions

refer to more circumscribed aspects of the self such as appearance, achievement, peer relations, family relations, and ethnic membership. The work of Kambon (1977) suggests that the subordinate self-concept dimension of race can be further dissected into even more specific areas of racial self-image (i.e., race competence and race status). It is reasonable to assume that other aspects of the self can also be subdivided into component parts.

It is the contention of the current examiner that both level of maturation and social experience determine the complexity, level of differentiation, and degree of interrelatedness within the overall self-concept structure. In addition, the aforementioned factors influence the extent to which the person's attitudes about self (in a given self-sphere) affect behavior and personal adjustment.

As concluded by Jackson, McCullough, and Gurin (1981) it seems that personal and group identity, "are separate phenomena and may be tied under certain, specifiable conditions." (p. 253) Each aspect of the self is a valuable entity unto itself. Research must address those conditions under which they are synchronized and analyze their relationship to other aspects of adaptive functioning in the black child.

Locus of Control

The role of reinforcement, reward, or gratification

has been regarded by many investigators of human nature as a crucial element in the acquisition and performance of skills and knowledge (Rotter, 1966). The significance of its role has been of central concern to social learning theorists who stress the fact that, "the major or basic modes of behavior are learned in social situations and are inextricably fused with needs requiring for their satisfaction the mediation of other persons" (Rotter, 1954; p.84).

The nature and quality of reinforcements alone, however, is inadequate to explain the disparate human response. That is, there is no simple causal relationship since individuals' perceptions of reinforcement value are different. Additionally, and most importantly in terms of the current investigation, there are differences in terms of one's perceptions as to whether a reward is contingent upon his own behavior and attributes versus feelings that a reward is controlled by external forces, independent of the individual and his actions. Studies addressing such issues of generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement have been described as locus of control investigations.

The notion of external control reflects a belief, on the part of the individual, that the occurrence of a reinforcement is not based on his own actions but instead, in our culture, is typically attributed to luck, chance, fate, the control of powerful others, or unpredictable

external forces in the environment. On the other hand, an internal control orientation reflects the expectancy that such reinforcing events are a consequence of one's own actions (Rotter, 1966).

It has been asserted in literature reviews of the area, that this construct is significantly related to a variety of forms of behavioral effectiveness (Lefcourt, 1966, 1982; Phares, 1976; Rotter, 1966). For example, in contrast to external subjects, internal controlled individuals are reported to more likely (A) reflect effective coping behavior on a personal basis (Phares, 1962); (B) have objective information about their present situation (Seeman & Evans, 1962); and (C) obtain higher achievement test scores (Crandall, Katkovsky, and Preston, 1962, Coleman, et al., 1966).

Additional research has revealed higher levels of self-esteem (Epstein & Komorita, 1971) and personal efficacy (Guttentag and Klein, 1976) to also be associated with internal locus of control.

Measurements of Internal-External Control of Children

Three major tests of locus of control in children have been devised (Bialer, 1961; Crandall, Katkovsky, and Preston, 1962; Battle and Rotter, 1963). Most of the tests developed since then have largely been modifications of their technique.

Bialer's scale of locus of control (Bialer, 1961), was

adapted from the James-Phares self-report questionnaire. The modified scale, which was used with both normal and retarded youngsters, consists of 23 items, to be responded to in yes/no fashion for internal control. Younger and limited children are read the questions and permitted to answer verbally. Written responses by older children, utilize an 'F' or 'P' to represent 'Yes' and "No" respectively.

Typical items include ...

- 2.f. Do you really believe a kid can be whatever he wants to be?
- 3.f. When people are mean to you, could it be because you did something to make them be mean?
- 18p. When nice things happen to you, is it only good luck?
- 19p. Do you often feel you get punished when you don't deserve it?

A situation-specific scale measuring "self-responsibility" in an academic context was developed by Crandall, Katkovsky, and Preston (Crandall et al., 1962). Their Intellectual Achievement Responsibility (IAR) Questionnaire assesses whether or not children feel that they, rather than other persons, generally cause the successes and failures they experience in intellectual achievement situations.

The scale is comprised of 34 forced-choice items. Each stem reflects either a positive or negative

achievement experience. The stems are each followed by two alternative statements, one asserting that the event was caused by the child; the other, stating that the event occurred because of the behavior of another.

Sample items are ...

1. If a teacher passes you to the next grade, would it probably be
 - a. because she liked you, or
 - b. because of the work you did?
2. When you do well on a test at school, it is more likely to be
 - a. because you studied for it, or
 - b. because the test was especially easy?

- II. Suppose you study hard to become a teacher, scientist or doctor and you fail. Do you think this would happen
- a. because you didn't work hard enough, or
 - b. because you needed some help, and other people didn't give it to you.

Lastly, a test of a more projective nature was devised by Battle and Rotter (1963). This test involves the presentation of six situations modeled after the Rosenzweig picture frustration technique. On the six item cartoon test, the child indicates "what he would say" in a variety of "lifelike" situations which involve the attribution of responsibility.

The six items included in the Children's Picture Test of Internal-External Control are ...

1. How come you didn't get what you wanted for Christmas?
2. Why is she always hurting herself?
3. When you grow up do you think you could be anything you wanted?
4. Whenever you're involved something goes wrong.
5. That's the third game we've lost this year.
6. Why does her mother always holler at her?

The items are scored along a seven point continuum, with three degrees of "internality, three degrees of "externality", and a nondiscriminatory midpoint. The higher the score, the greater the "externality."

In summation, these tests, and adaptations based on them, have been used to assess the Internal-External Control variable within a variety of samples.

The following section will elaborate on the findings of the aforementioned researchers and other investigators. The survey of literature will include studies of general internal-external orientation and situation-specific responsibility (i.e., academic and racial contexts).

Research on Internal-External Control in Children and Adolescents

Bialer (1961) was one of the first investigators to take into account developmental concerns in the acquisition of a sense of self-responsibility. He devised his method to be appropriate for usage with both normal and retarded children.

The purpose of his study was to present a tentative formulation of the developmental changes in success-failure conceptualization along three dimensions: (a) a shift in perception of locus of control from external to internal, (b) a change from hedonistic cue response to a sensitivity to cues associated with success-failure, and (c) a shift from reliance on immediate gratification to a willingness to accept delayed gratification. It was Bialer's contention that such patterns of behavior are contingent upon both socio-intellectual maturation (MA) and physical maturation (CA). Moreover, he maintained that mentally retarded youngsters do not differ qualitatively from normals but more gradually develop the ability to conceptualize success-failure.

He administered, to his sample of 89 normals and educable retardates, the previously mentioned locus of control measure, a repetition choice task, and three procedures assessing immediate versus delayed gratification.

The results revealed that with increasing age the subjects demonstrated a tendency to (a) perceive internal locus of control, (b) respond more to success-failure cues, and (c) delay gratification with the eventual prospect of greater reward. Furthermore, MA, rather than CA, was found to be more significantly related to the aforementioned dimensions.

In general, the obtained findings were supportive of Bialer's hypothesis that retarded youngsters qualitatively are not different from normals. Their rate of acquisition, however, is significantly slower.

Epstein and Komorita (1971), similarly analyzed the situational parameter of success-failure in Negro Children. In addition, however, they assessed the personality dimension of self-esteem and its relationship to locus of control. The measure utilized by these researchers included matching tasks (after which subjects received falsified feedback of success or failure), a locus of control scale for success-failure, and the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. In accordance with their predictions, they found that failure rather than success experiences were related to beliefs in external control. Moreover, high self-esteem subjects tended to be more internal than those reflecting low or moderate personal self-concepts.

The researchers concluded that such results suggest that feelings of powerlessness, arising from membership in

a socially stigmatized ethnic group, may be mitigated by a positive sense of personal worth and adequacy.

Along similar lines, other investigators have looked at the impact of racial membership on both general and race specific (Individual-System Blame) locus of control dimensions (Guttentag & Klein, 1976; Gurin et al., 1969).

Gurin et al. (1969) investigated Internal-External control as it relates to the motivational dynamics of Black college students. The items on their questionnaire assessing locus of control included factor loadings on four dimensions: control ideology, personal control, system modifiability, and race ideology. The distinction between "self" (success-failure locus of control issues peculiar to the individual's life situation) and "other" (beliefs about what causes success or failure for people in general) was of paramount importance in their study. Additionally, the meaningfulness of an Individual versus system blame orientation was investigated.

They found that ...

When Internal-External control refers to Negroes' conceptions of the cause of their condition as Negroes, and these conceptions are related to more innovative, coping criteria, it is the external rather than the internal orientation that is associated with the more effective behaviors. When an internal orientation implies self-blame as a Negro, it also seems to involve a readiness to accept traditional restraints on Negroes' behavior.

(p.47)

Self-blame was the majority point of view for their sample of black students who also upheld the opinion that

individual self-improvement was the approach of choice for coping with the problems.

Guttentag and Klein (1976) also explored the individual versus system blame orientation in their study of locus of control and achievement in black children. Additionally, other aspects of general and situation-specific self-responsibility were analyzed by these examiners who devised their own scale. Their instrument was a composite of various randomly selected items from The Crandall Intellectual Achievement Responsibility (IAR) Scale, Bialer's locus of control questionnaire, Jessor's version of the Rotter Scale for high school youngsters, Coleman's three questions regarding control of one's environment, and Gurin and Katz's modification of Rotter's Internal-External scale, including seven items designed to assess views regarding the causes for success or failure in blacks. Two alternate scales were developed: Form A (65 items) and Form B (66 items). The subjects tested were 980 black urban children from grades five through eight.

The major findings revealed by their investigation were that black children did not respond differentially to locus of control items reflecting change in person (i.e., first, second, or third). Moreover, race-related items did not elicit a consistent response pattern. Analysis of the overall scale revealed general factors of personal efficacy and interpersonal control. Expectancies

concerning locus of control were significant predictors for both school achievement and social class.

A study conducted by Duke and Lewis (1979) examined racial differences in locus of control attitude amongst pre-school and primary school subjects. The test administered to measure this variable was the Preschool and Primary Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External Scale (PPNSIE), which is a developmentally appropriate instrument based on the previously devised Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control scale for children (Nowicki and Strickland, 1973).

The PPNSIE, which involves the presentation of interacting cartoon figures, was altered to include same-race pictorial representations (PPNSIE-B). Children responded to the task with a "yes" or "no" answer regarding the dialogue of the child cartoon characters.

Sample questions are . . .

"Do people blame you for things you didn't do?"

Can wishing make good things happen?"

The examiners found disparate trends in white and black subjects. Whereas whites evidenced the expected pattern of increasing internality with age, blacks reflected the opposite. Moreover, internal control was found to be significantly related ($r=.54$, $p < .01$) to a preference for delayed reinforcements.

Battle and Rotter (1963) analyzed the effects of

social class and ethnic group on locus of control. Their sample consisted of 80 sixth and eighth grade youngsters which had been selected on the basis of sex, social class, and racial membership. A rough measure of intelligence was obtained by use of the California Mental Maturity Scale. The instrument utilized to assess locus of control for the entire sample was The Children's Picture Test of Internal-External Control. Furthermore, the Bialer test of the same construct was administered to half of the sample to determine its relationship to the then newly devised projective technique. A line matching task was also given to provide a success-failure situation.

The major results showed the following:

(A) The interaction between social class and ethnicity was significantly related to locus of control. That is, lower-class blacks were appreciably more external than middle-class blacks or whites. Middle class youngsters, in general, were much more internal than lower-class children.

(B) Lower class blacks with high I.Q.'s were more external than middle-class whites reflecting lower intelligence. Although the investigators cautiously generated assumptions regarding this finding, since the triple interaction sample size was small, they suggested that bright lower-class blacks may develop extreme externality as a defense reaction to perceived diminished choices for cultural or material rewards.

(C) Sex and age produced no main effects.

(D) The Bialer measure correlated significantly with the picture technique. This measure was also significantly related to social class.

A measure which has been widely used, or adapted, to test self-responsibility in the academic domain was constructed by Crandall et al. (Crandall et al., 1962).

In a later study utilizing this instrument, (Crandall et al., 1965), 923 subjects in grades 3 - 12 were tested. The findings demonstrated that self-responsibility is already evident by third grade. Furthermore, girls gave more self-responsible (internal) responses than boys. Responsibility scores were inconsistently associated with social class factors, while other variables (i.e., intelligence, ordinal position, and family size) were found to be moderately related.

Scholastic Competence

The area of motivation and drives has been a topic of investigation throughout the realm of psychology since its inception. Drive theories have been postulated by psychologists, and other investigators, reflecting diverse orientations. While the major instinctual drives stressed by psychoanalysts have been of a sexual nature, behaviorists have focused on basic hunger drives. White (1959) deemed such conceptualizations inadequate in comprehending an individual's apparent need to strive towards effectance in his world. Thusly, he developed the notion of a competence drive which refers to the organism's strong motivation to master his environment and produce effects within it.

Broadly, competence or effectance, as the end product of this drive, describes one's effectiveness in their given environment. There are, moreover, many definitions

of competence. It has been conceptualized as including numerous aspects of adaptive functioning (i.e., self-concept, locus of control, attributional style, general mastery, effectance, invulnerability, general adaptation, problem solving, coping and adjustment, and social adjustment). (Garmezy et al., 1979; Tyler, 1979).

Although White(1959; 1979) speaks of a basic, innate drive towards mastery, such internal factors alone are inadequate to explain competent functioning. Environmental factors, particularly the family as an agent of socialization, are fundamental to the production of competent individuals within this society. (Baumrind, 1972; Baumrind and Block, 1967; McAdoo, 1979, 1981; Comer, 1980; Jordan, 1980; Blau, 1981).

In his formulation, Kinkels (1966) maintained that ...

In contrast to socialization, then, the concept of competence stresses the end-product, the person as he is after he has been socialized, rather than the formative process itself. Despite the differences, however, the concepts socialization and competence are intimately linked. In general, the objective of socialization is to produce competent people, as competence is defined in any given society. (p. 265)

He concluded that there are children in this society (e.g. disadvantaged minorities) who are vulnerable, and in regard to competence ...

face a situation in which almost everything conspires to insure that most of the more favored positions in society will be closed to them. They will grow up ill-equipped to compete for entrance into the more advantaged roles, and those desirable positions they may acquire they will be unable to hold successfully. (p. 280)

He stressed the tragic fact that although societal injustices, in the form of discrimination and prejudice, preclude entry into certain desirable roles, if and when such impediments are removed, many minority persons may still be ineffective due to their socialization. This fact, he contended, could well be used by bigots to support notions of innate inferiority.

Whereas adults can demonstrate their level of competence in a variety of spheres including maintaining families, effective parenting, occupational strivings, etc., one of the major arenas for display of competence for the child is the school.

The present investigation will confine itself to scholastic competence. Such competence refers to the child's personal efficacy in the school setting--including aspects of social and intellectual competence. It will be operationalized by teacher ratings (of school functioning).

Blau (1981), in an extensive project, analyzed a host of demographic factors and socialization strategies of mothers as they relate to competence in black and white children. Scholastic competence, which was her dependent variable, was defined by performance on I.Q. and achievement measures.

Some of her results showed that race and societal status not only affect the scholastic ability of children thru their influence on I.Q. test performance early in the youngster's academic career, but continue to exert

influence on the children's scholastic ability directly, and independently of the children's early level of intellectual functioning. Furthermore, achievement test scores were more strongly correlated with race than I.Q. She proposed the developmental lag in verbal proficiency skills, found disproportionately among working-class and black children, as demonstrated by early I.Q. tests, becomes compounded as the children advance from one grade to the following.

Socialization attitudes and strategies employed by mothers were found to exert even greater influence than demographic factors on demonstrated competence. The major socialization antecedents of intellectual and scholastic competence were mothers' valuation of education, investment in the child, practice and belief in aversive control, maternal fatalism, maternal authoritarianism, and suppression of autonomy.

Scholastic achievement and its relationship to personality parameters in the child have similarly been investigated (Coleman et al., 1966). In general, numerous researchers have found personality factors, including personal self-worth and locus of control to be related to functioning in the academic realm. (Coleman et al., 1966; Davidson and Greenberg, 1967).

Davidson and Greenberg (1967), in a study of Harlem children, found that lower levels of self-esteem were related to low levels of achievement, while higher

self-esteem was associated with more positive self-evaluations and feelings of self-competence. (Cited in Banks, 1972).

Although Coleman et al. (1966) found no significant differences in the self-concepts of black and white children, expectancy questions yielded appreciable differences. That is, more of the variance in achievement scores of minority children was related to their expectancies for themselves than was true for their white counterparts. Furthermore, the internal-external control dimension accounted for more variance in achievement for black students than any other measure utilized in this massive school survey.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Sample

The initial subjects consisted of 175 minority youngsters enrolled in a public school, a summer recreational program and an after-school Day Care Center in Queens, New York. This sample included children ranging in age from 7 - 11 years. Additionally, such subjects were confined to working and lower class backgrounds.

The aforementioned sample was further limited to include only Black youngsters (of Afro-American and

Caribbean descent) who demonstrated significantly high or low performance on a measure of personal identity (self-esteem), reflected learning capacity above the mentally retarded level, and were judged by the examiner to be of unremarkable color. This final sample included 50 subjects.

Overview

The data for this study involved the following: (1) a teacher rating of classroom functioning, (2) a brief interview of subjects, (3) school record information (including demographic data and available achievement test scores) and (4) measures of receptive language, personal identity, group identity and locus of control.

The investigation procedurally consisted of three major parts. The first two served as screening procedures to assess personal identity and verbal intelligence. Such procedures, (along with demographic data) determined which children would participate in the third and final portion of the study. This final part involved measures of locus of control, group identity and competence in the classroom.

Description of Measures

Part I - Personal Identity Measure

Personal identity, or self-esteem, was assessed by means of The Piers-Harris Children's Self-concept Scale.

This instrument was orally administered, on a group basis, by the present researcher.

The self-concept scale, in its revised form, is a self-report instrument which consists of 80 items. Such items are simple declarative statements, of positive and negative content, to which subjects respond either "yes" or "no" in terms of how they feel about themselves.

Sample items include...

"I am good looking."

"I am a happy person."

I am unhappy."

"I behave badly at home."

"My looks bother me."

Items are scored in the direction of high or adequate self-concept.

The Piers-Harris Self-Concept measure is judged to have good internal consistency (Kuder-Richardson Formula 21 coefficients ranging from .78 to .93) and satisfactory test-retest reliability (original form, .71-.72; revised form, .77). Validity, as determined by correlations with other self-concept measures and related constructs, has likewise been found to be good. Additionally, this self-concept measure has previously been used with Black children.

The standard error of measurement was computed in order to obtain the range around the standardization population mean ($\underline{M}=51.84$) which could distinguish two

mutually exclusive groups. Use of the standardization population mean was valid since the score distribution for the sample was analogous to the population. Such computations yielded a range of 51.84 ± 6.65 . Therefore, subjects scoring above 58.49 and below 45.19, were deemed high and low respectively.

Children attaining significantly high or low scores on the Piers-Harris, were subject to further investigation.

Part II

Interview

The purpose of the brief interview was to prepare each subject for the individual testing procedure and in general, to facilitate a comfortable testing atmosphere. Some basic demographic data, regarding family constellation and ethnicity was obtained. Additionally, screening for racial group and complexion were accomplished at this time.

Skin color classification was made on the basis of the subjective judgment of the current investigator. Only those youngsters with extreme complexions (deemed either "white-like" or very dark brown-black) were deleted from the study. Such exclusion was indicated in order to control for the complexion variable, which in past racial group identity research has been shown to have significant impact on the levels of racial identification, attitudes

and preferences amongst Black children (Clark and Clark, 1940, 1947; Garner, 1983).

School Records

Information gathered through interviewing procedures was used in conjunction with that obtained from the subjects' school record cards. Where available, results of the California Achievement Test (from the Spring of 1984) were also taken from this source.

Verbal Intelligence Measure

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised (form M), which is a test of receptive language that affords the examiner a verbal intelligence estimate, was utilized to briefly screen for intellectual functioning. This instrument involves the oral presentation of words to which the subject responds by selecting the picture that best represents the words' meaning.

Those youngsters who attained PPVT-R scores in the moderately low range or above (standard score \geq 70) and met previous criteria, were included in the final sample.

PART III

Scholastic Competence Measure

Scholastic competence was operationalized as a teacher rating of school behavioral functioning.

Teacher ratings and rankings of achievement level and general classroom functioning have been the subject of considerable research. Such studies have often yielded strong positive relationships between teacher judgments and standardized achievement test scores (Hoge and Butcher, 1984; Pedulla et al., 1980).

Teachers were asked to blindly rate their pupils, preassessed to be of high or low self-esteem, according to their level of demonstrated competence within the classroom environment. This measure, devised by the current examiner in conjunction with a statistician and experienced educator, consists of 4 items rated on a scale of 1-7 (See Appendix E).

Locus of Control Measure

An adaptation of the Preschool and Primary Internal-External Control Scale (PPNSIE) was utilized to determine locus of control attitude (Nowicki and Duke, 1974). The instrument, which reflects a cartoon format, is based on the previously devised Nowicki-Strickland locus of control scale for children (Nowicki and Strickland, 1973).

The PPNSIE-B, which involves the presentation of black interacting cartoon figures, was not utilized. Instead, the pictorial representations of the original PPNSIE were racially altered by the present examiner. This was done as the result of a brief pilot study, which yielded numerous comments regarding the crude and aesthetically unappealing quality of the PPNSIE-B drawings.

The items reflect reinforcement situations in a variety of motivational and interpersonal arenas. There are two parallel forms for males and females. Children respond to the task with a marked "yes" or "no" answer regarding the dialogue of the child cartoon characters. Items are scored in the direction of externality, with higher scores revealing an external orientation.

Sample items include ...

"Do people blame you for things you didn't do?"

"Do you have a good luck charm?"

"Does whether or not your parents like you depend on how you act?"

"Can wishing make good things happen?"

In their discussion of their original PPNSIE standardization study, Nowicki and Duke (1974) concluded that the aforementioned scale, "possesses much of the same pattern of psychometric properties as its comparable forms for older subjects."

(p.6)

Group Identity Measure

The Personal Social Biological Inventory devised by Margaret Beale Spencer, a psychologist and developmentalist, was utilized to assess group identity. The instrument has been used extensively in her research regarding racial group identity and the impact of cognitive factors (Spencer, 1982a., 1982b, 1983).

The PSBI is an attitudinal measure which involves a picture-card procedure. Different sections of the instrument are used to assess color connotations, racial attitudes, racial preference, social class stereotyping, and sex trait stereotyping. The current examiner, who analyzed race and color concepts, confined herself to usage of the color connotations, racial attitudes, and racial preference series.

The first series involves the pictorial presentation of black and white animals with accompanying evaluative statements. This aspect of the measure is designed to assess aesthetic color preference in a nonracial context. The next series of pictures, of black and white children, are each accompanied by three questions relating to a negative description (A), a positive description (B), and actual preference (C). For example, upon presentation of a picture of two boys differing in race, the respondent could be asked the following:

- (A) Here are two boys. Everyone says how mean one behaves. Which is the mean boy?
- (B) Here are two boys. One is very smart. Which is the smart boy?
- (C) Here are two boys. One of the boys would make a very nice playmate. Which one would you choose as a playmate?

Scoring for all of the items is made in the direction of "eurocentric" (majority-culture biased) racial

attitudes and racial preference. That is, one point per item is offered for positive, pro-white evaluations and negative, anti-black choices. Scores for color concepts, attitudes, preference and a combined attitude/preference total are obtained.

The measure, although unpublished, has been used in various regions with black preschool and primary school youngsters of lower and middle class backgrounds.

The internal reliability coefficient for this measure, corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula, is .81.

Procedure

All children attending a summer recreational program and regular classes grades 3 through 5, who met parent consent requirements comprised the initial sample. The Day Care sample likewise included all youngsters with parental permission who attended the After-school Program. They, however, ranged in age from 7 - 11 years. The settings included a large percentage of Black and Hispanic children with many from immigrant families. A vast array of other ethnic backgrounds were also represented in the school population. Nonhispanic white youngsters, however, were absent from all three sample sources.

The youngsters utilized in the project were all deemed to hail from low income backgrounds (i.e., working poor or A.F.D.C. recipients). Such socioeconomic classification was based largely on the Chapter I designation of the

school district in question and some limited information available regarding the SES of children attending the Day Care Center.

In an effort to further clarify the bases for low income classification, the Board of Education poverty criteria for Chapter I target areas will be briefly outlined.

The number of children from low-income families throughout New York City (for each fiscal year) is computed according to two low income indicators--the number of New York City children ages 5-17 receiving A.F.D.C. payments and the number of public school students eligible for free or reduced lunch rates. The above income indicators are weighed (60% and 40% respectively) and divided by the public school register for the given fiscal year. This computation yields the "city wide % low income cut off." Schools are designated Chapter I, "if the percent of low income children in its attendance area is equal to or greater than the city-wide percent of low income children" (J. Pizzo, personal communication, 1984).

The public school which served as the site for the current research project, has an overwhelming majority of youngsters eligible for either free or reduced lunch. In fact, none were found ineligible amongst the subjects in this examiner's final sample.

The Day Care Center is located approximately three blocks from the aforementioned school and demographically presents with a similar population.

Prior to testing, the examiner was introduced by school personnel to those classes from which subjects were to be drawn. At that time, the investigator briefly identified herself and explained that she is working with many children "to get a better understanding of their opinions about different situations." At the culmination of this brief introductory meeting, the permission forms were distributed. Such forms were given to approximately 350 children in all three settings.

In general, parental response and availability of youngsters was poorest within the summer session. Consequently, the vast majority of subjects were obtained from the other sample sources. There were 175 affirmative permission slips, from children of all minority backgrounds, returned to the examiner. An additional 18 forms submitted reflected a desire for non-participation. Eight of the negative responses were received from the guardians of black youngsters.

Upon receipt of parental consent, formal testing procedures commenced.

Part I

As previously mentioned, self-esteem was assessed by means of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale.

This test was administered, on a group basis, to those youngsters who complied with parental permission requirements. Such testing took roughly one-half hour per group. Nine classes or comparable groups of youngsters ages 7 - 11 years were assessed. Of the 175 youngsters, 78 were black.

The test protocols, which were scored and evaluated by the current examiner, revealed 22 of the Black subjects to be of average self-esteem. Those 56 children found to be of significantly high or low self-esteem, who also met demographic criteria (regarding race and complexion), were seen for further evaluation.

Part II

The school records of those Black youngsters assessed to be of high or low self-esteem were reviewed and the subjects scheduled for individual testing sessions. Initially, the children were briefly interviewed. Such interviews served the dual purpose of preparing youngsters for the individual testing and affording the examiner additional scholastic and demographic data.

After the interviewing procedure, one subject was deleted due to remarkable (white-like) complexion.

The remaining subjects were then evaluated to determine if they were minimally above the mental retardation level regarding general learning capacity and I.Q. equivalents, as based on Peabody Picture Vocabulary

Test results. The PPVT-R was individually administered. Three subjects were not included in the final sample because of severe cognitive limitations (as reflected by PPVT-R scores in the extremely low range). An additional two subjects were lost through attrition. Those remaining 50 Black youngsters meeting intellectual criteria were evaluated regarding locus of control and group identity within the same session.

Part III

A revision of the PPNSIE.. and the PSBI were used to measure locus of control and group identity respectively.

Administration of all individual tests, as delineated in Parts II and III of the methodology, took approximately 45-50 minutes per subject.

The teachers of the subjects, who serve as part of the final sample, were approached to obtain information regarding scholastic competence. Such data assumed the form of ratings of classroom competence (as demonstrated by academic and social behavioral functioning).

CHAPTER IV

Results

In this chapter the results regarding the relationship between personal identity, group identity, locus of control and scholastic competence will be presented. The impact of various demographic variables will also be reviewed as they relate to the aforementioned aspects of psychological and behavioral functioning.

In general, hypotheses one (which states that children with positive personal identity will tend to demonstrate scholastic competence) and two (which states that youngsters with positive personal identity will tend to reflect internal locus of control) were not supported.

Hypothesis three (which states that children with positive personal identity will also tend to demonstrate positive group identity) was, however, supported.

There were areas of significant correlation among the component subfactors of group and personal identity. Scholastic competence and locus of control, although unrelated to overall personal or group identity, were found to be significantly correlated with each other. The results suggest two separate domains of function--one "self" or "ego" related and the other achievement.

The current chapter will include a description of the findings for the overall sample, the demographic description of the population performance on each

measure, presentation of comparisons of personal identity results and additional findings regarding scholastic functioning variables.

The statistical techniques employed to analyze the results were the Pearson product-moment correlation and point biserial correlation. Such statistical procedures allowed the investigator to quantitatively express the degree to which any two variables were related (including dichotomous categories in the case of the latter).

All of the test scores, except for the teacher ratings, were intercorrelated in their original form. The teacher rating items were recoded in a positive direction.

Individual t-tests for independent sample means were utilized to analyze the differences between the two experimental (self-esteem) groups. Additionally, a t-test analysis was used to compare Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised functioning of the current sample with that of the standardization population.

Sample Demographics

Table I reflects a summary of the demographic data for the entire sample. It shows the average subject age was 9.3 years. Forty-four percent of the sample were male while 56% were female.

In terms of family status data, the mother was present in 88% of the cases, the father present in 46% of the

Description of Demographic Variables

Demographic Variables	<u>N</u>	High Piers-Harris Group		Low Piers-Harris Group		Total Sample	
Sex	50	M	16	M	6	M	22
		F	19	F	9	F	28
Age	50	<u>M</u>	9.2yrs	<u>M</u>	9.5yrs	<u>M</u>	9.3yrs
		SD	1.13	SD	0.96	SD	1.08
Mother's ^a Birthplace	47	N	9	N	6	N	15
		S	10	S	4	S	14
		C	14	C	4	C	18
Father's ^a Birthplace	38	N	9	N	6	N	15
		S	9	S	1	S	10
		C	10	C	3	C	13
Mother Home ^b	50	Pres	32	Pres	12	Pres	44
		abs	3	abs	3	abs	3
Father Home ^b	50	Pres	15	Pres	8	Pres	23
		abs	20	abs	7	abs	27
Extended ^b Family/Others Home	50	Pres	7	Pres	5	Pres	12
		abs	28	abs	10	abs	38
Only Child	49		8		4		12
First Born	49		8		5		13
# of Siblings	49	<u>M</u>	1.9	<u>M</u>	1.21	<u>M</u>	1.71
		SD	2.08	SD	0.89	SD	1.84

Note: N differs due to availability of information.

a Parental Birthplace coded N = Northern U.S.; S = Southern U.S.; C = Caribbean.

b Family home variables coded pres. = present; abs. = absent.

cases and extended family (or other caretakers) present in the households of 22% of the subjects. In the 21% of the sample where the mother was not present, there was a mother surrogate such as a grandmother, aunt or foster mother (Appendix G).

The maternal birthplace variable showed 30%, 26%, and 38% to be born in the Northeast U.S., Southern U.S. and Caribbean respectively. Of the fathers, 32% were born in the Northeast, 18% in the South and 26% in the Caribbean.

Verbal Intelligence/Receptive Language Screening

The overall sample's functioning on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised (henceforth, referred to as the PPVT-R), revealed a mean standard score of 90.22 (Table 2). Such a mean was found to be significantly below the average of 100 reflected by the test standardization population ($t=5.93$, $p. < .001$).

Verbal Achievement Functioning

California Achievement Test (CAT) scores were available only for those subjects attending the public school. Vocabulary, comprehension and total CAT mean grade scores were 3.5, 3.7 and 3.6 respectively (Table 2).

Summary of Experimental VariablesFor High and Low Piers-Harris (P-H) Group

		Total Sample	High P-H Group	Low P-H Group	t-value
		(n=50)	(n=35)	(n=15)	
Piers-Harris Stable Scores	$\frac{M}{SD}$	61.84 32.42	81.71 11.23	15.47 8.97	
Teacher Rating Sum	$\frac{M}{SD}$	20.78 4.71	21.17 4.36	19.87 5.50	0.90
PPVT-R (Standard Score)	$\frac{M}{SD}$	90.22 11.67	90.71 12.39	89.07 10.10	0.45
PPNSIE	$\frac{M}{SD}$	13.10 2.36	12.89 2.34	13.60 2.41	0.98
PSBI Color	$\frac{M}{SD}$	9.76 1.88	9.69 2.04	9.93 1.49	0.42
Racial Attitudes	$\frac{M}{SD}$	6.74 3.17	6.26 2.97	7.87 3.45	1.67
Racial Preference	$\frac{M}{SD}$	2.66 1.64	2.31 1.28	3.47 2.10	2.39*
TOTAL (COMB.ATT./ PREF.)	$\frac{M}{SD}$	9.40 4.17	8.57 3.50	11.33 5.02	2.23*
Age	$\frac{M}{SD}$	9.3yrs 1.08	9.2yrs 1.13	9.5yrs 0.96	0.85
CAT-VOC. ^a	$\frac{M}{SD}$	3.51 1.14	3.56 1.23	3.40 0.92	0.39
CAT-COMP. ^a	$\frac{M}{SD}$	3.73 1.25	3.68 1.34	3.83 1.05	0.35
CAT-TOTAL ^b	$\frac{M}{SD}$	3.58 1.19	3.60 1.33	3.52 0.88	0.22

Note: PPVT-R = Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised;
PPNSIE = Preschool and Primary Nowicki-Strickland
Internal-External Scale (Revised); PSBI = Personal
Social Biological Inventory. n varies due to
availability of information.

^an = 39,27 and 12 for the three groups respectively.

^bn = 40,27 and 13 for the three groups respectively.

*p<.05

Personal Identity

The entire sample reflected a mean Piers-Harris raw score of 56.72, which is above the average noted for the standardization population (51.84). The scaled score mean was 61.84. Such distributional summary findings are based on two mutually exclusive groups of high and low self-esteem subjects (70% and 30% of the sample respectively). The cut-offs for the high and low groups were made on the basis of the standard error of measurement (as described in the methods section). The raw scores varied from 20-45 and 59-77 for the two groups (Appendix H).

Personal identity, as measured by the Piers-Harris, was found to be unrelated to the personal demographics and family data variables. Such functioning was also found to be insignificantly related to the sum score of the teacher ratings, PPVT-R standard scores, CAT scores, Personal Social Biological Inventory (PSBI) color connotations responses and Preschool and Primary Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External (PPNSIE) scores. Significant positive correlations were, however, obtained with PSBI attitudes, PSBI preference and a combined attitude/preference score (Table 3). That is, higher personal identity scores were associated with lower (less eurocentric) responses on the racial group sub-dimensions of attitudes, preference and combined attitudes/preference.

Table 3

Correlation Matrix of Experimental Variables

	Sex	Age	P.H. %tile	Teacher Ratings Sum	PPVT-R Standard Score	CAT-VOC	CAT-COMP	CAT-TOTAL	PPNSIE	PSBI Color	PSBI Att.	PSBI Pref.
Sex ^a												
Age	-.13											
P.H. %tile	-.07	-.11										
Teacher Rating Sum	-.03	.13	.16									
PPVT-R Standard	-.23	.05	.12	.43***								
CAT-VOC (N = 39)	-.18	.51***	.05	.34*	.38**							
CAT-COMP (N = 39)	-.03	.55***	.02	.54***	.44**	.81***						
CAT-TOTAL (N = 40)	.00	.45**	.07	.43**	.34*	.89***	.90***					
PPNSIE	.25*	-.13	-.17	-.40**	-.34**	-.23	-.11	-.15				
PSBI-COLOR CONNOTATIONS	-.14	.35**	-.08	-.01	-.11	.19	.20	.22	-.13			
ATTITUDES	.02	-.11	-.25*	.21	-.12	-.11	-.03	.06	.00	.03		
PREFERENCE	.16	-.01	-.28*	.19	.08	-.01	.06	.03	.03	-.25*	.44***	
ATT./PREF (TOTAL)	.08	-.08	-.31*	.24*	-.06	-.09	.00	-.03	.01	-.07	.94***	.73***

NOTE: P.H. = Piers-Harris; PPVT-R = Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test - Revised; CAT = California Achievement Test, VOC = Vocabulary; COMP = Comprehension; Rev. PPNSIE = Revised Preschool and Primary Nowicki - Strickland Internal - External Scale; PSBI = Personal Social Biological Inventory; Color = Color Connotations; ATT = Racial Attitudes; Pref. = Racial Preference; Att./Pref = Combined attitudes and preference.

^aSex coded Male = 1, Female = 2 for correlational analyses

* = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001

Although overall personal identity was not related to locus of control, a correlation between functioning on the factor II self-cluster (intellectual/school status) of the Piers-Harris and the PPNSIE revision yielded a significant negative relationship. That is, greater externality was related to less adaptive responses on the school self-dimension of the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale ($r = -.27, p < .05$).

Group Identity

The sample reflected mean PSBI color connotation, attitude, preference, and combined attitude/preference scores of 9.76, 6.74, 2.66 and 9.4 respectively (Table 2).

There was evidence of nonrelationship and significant negative relationship between the color connotations series and the other dimensions of racial group identity. That is, racial attitudes were found to be unrelated to color connotations responses while black racial preference was negatively related to black color choice in a nonhuman domain (Table 2).

A tendency for older youngsters to be more eurocentric in their color choice of animal pictures was also noted (Table 3).

As previously mentioned, aspects of group identity were related to personal identity. Additionally there was an observed positive relationship between the combined

attitude/preference score and scholastic competence (Table 3). Specifically, eurocentric attitude/preference sum scores were associated with higher teacher ratings of classroom competence. These findings suggest that attempts toward overall ratings on personal identity and group identity are not useful for analysis. Instead the subcategories that comprise each of those overall ratings are more informative. The concept of a multidimensional group identity will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

Locus of Control

The average locus of control (Revised PPNSIE) score was 13.10 (Table 2). This is above the mean obtained for 7 and 8 year old white children ($M = 11.45$) from the standardization population for the original measure. There was a significant correlation obtained between locus of control and sex, indicating that females reflected a tendency toward higher (more external) PPNSIE scores than males.

Locus of control was also significantly correlated with verbal intelligence, teacher ratings of scholastic competence and achievement test scores (Table 3). Such results will be discussed in terms of additional findings.

Scholastic Competence

The sample mean for the composite teacher rating

score was 20.78 (Table 2). Correlational analyses revealed this variable to be significantly related to verbal intelligence, achievement test functioning and locus of control. Such results, which will be discussed at length amongst the additional findings, suggest the coherence of a scholastic competence/achievement related factor (Table 3).

HYPOTHESES RELATED FINDINGS/COMPARISON
BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW PERSONAL
IDENTITY GROUPS

Analysis of the personal and family demographic variables revealed no significant difference between the high and low Piers-Harris groups (Table I).

Across personal identity groups, there were no significant differences noted in terms of scholastic competence and other academic related variables including the sum score of the teacher ratings, PPVT-R functioning and CAT scores (Table 2). Correlational analyses likewise showed no significant relationships. Therefore, hypothesis one was not supported.

Correlations between self-esteem and the locus of control variable similarly yielded insignificant results (Table 3). Thus, hypothesis two was not supported.

The third and final hypothesis was, however, supported. Personal identity was found to be significantly related to two aspects of racial group identity. That is, subjects of high personal identity tended to reflect fewer

eurocentric responses on the group identity dimensions of racial attitudes, racial preferences and the combined attitude/preference score (Table 3). Additional t-test findings revealed the high and low Piers-Harris (personal identity) groups to be significantly different in terms of both racial preference and total (attitude/preference) scores (Table 2). No differences between groups were, however, observed in terms of their response to color connotations items. Here, the majority of subjects across groups reflected a tendency toward eurocentric bias (Table 2).

Additional Findings/Relationship
Between Other Aspects of Psychological
and Behavioral Functioning

A correlation matrix of all of the variables in question showed that several were significantly interrelated. Several variables, outside of personal and group identity, which yielded significant correlations are also reflected in Table 3.

The PPVT-R standard scores were positively related to the sum score of the teacher ratings, and the California Achievement tests' vocabulary, comprehension and total scores. That is, youngsters demonstrating high functioning on the PPVT-R also tended to display positive functioning on all of the other above mentioned measures of scholastic competence and verbal achievement.

PPVT-R functioning was also significantly related to locus of control as measured by the PPNSIE. That is, higher PPVT-R scores were associated with lower (more internal) scores on the PPNSIE.

The sum score of the teacher ratings was significantly related, in a positive direction, to verbal intelligence and all other achievement related variables.

Additionally, teacher ratings were negatively correlated with PPNSIE scores. That is, more favorable teacher judgements were related to lower (more internal) locus of control scores.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

The purpose of the current investigation was to explore the relationship between personal identity and other aspects of psychological and behavioral functioning in the black child. The findings, in general, revealed that personal and group identity were positively related. Other aspects evaluated, specifically locus of control and scholastic competence, however, were found to be not significantly related. They varied with each other in the direction of externality inversely related to academic achievement.

The findings regarding the first two hypotheses were contrary to the examiner's expectations. These results can be better understood from the point of view of the multifaceted aspects that together are defined as personal identity or as group identity. Questions are also raised regarding construct validation of self-identity and its component subdimensions with black children.

The present chapter will include a summary of the findings of this investigation, interpretation of the results, discussion of the limitations and problems with the present study, implications for future research and conclusions.

Summary of Findings

1. Hypothesis one was not supported. There were no significant differences found between the high and low personal identity (self-esteem) groups on the dimension of scholastic competence (teacher ratings) nor related verbal functioning variables (PPVT-R and CAT scores).
2. Hypothesis two was not supported in that high and low personal identity groups showed no differences in terms of locus of control. Preschool and Primary Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External (PPNSIE) scores were, however, negatively related to scores on the Piers-Harris factor II cluster. That is, internality was associated with higher functioning on a more specific, school self dimension.
3. Hypothesis three was supported. High and low personal identity (self-esteem) groups differed significantly on the racial identity dimensions assessed in the person series of the Personal Social Biological Inventory (attitudes, preference and combined attitudes/preference). Subjects of high self-esteem tended to reflect more pro-black responses to racial attitude and preference items while their low self-esteem counterparts were markedly more eurocentric in orientation.

4. A eurocentric response bias on the combined racial attitude/preference dimension was associated with more positive teacher ratings. As previously noted, there were no significant correlations, however, between self-esteem scores and teacher ratings.
5. A tendency towards white color choice for nonhuman stimuli was apparent throughout the entire sample and increased with age.
6. The mean Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised (PPVT-R) score for the sample was significantly below the mean for the standardization population.
7. Higher functioning on the PPVT-R was significantly related to more positive teacher ratings of scholastic competence, higher California Achievement Test (CAT) scores and greater internality on the adaptation of the Preschool and Primary Norwicki-Strickland Internal-External Scale.
8. More positive teacher ratings were significantly related to higher achievement test (CAT) scores and internal locus of control.
9. Females tended to be more external than males in terms of locus of control.
10. The majority of subjects assessed reflected positive personal identity.
11. Family demographics were found to be unrelated to those aspects of psychological and behavioral functioning being investigated.

The lack of positive relationship between self-esteem and scholastic competence was a finding which was contrary to the expectations of the investigator. Previous research, however, has reflected mixed results in this regard. While some have found the two aspects of functioning to be significantly related in black children (Davidson and Greenberg, cited in Banks, 1972; Caplin, 1969), others have found self-esteem not to be significantly related to academic achievement (Coleman, et. al., 1966; Marx and Winne, 1975). In fact, the results of the massive school survey described in the Coleman report, cited self-concepts as having minimal effects on the academic achievement of black children while locus of control was a major predicator of school functioning. These findings tend to concur with those of the Coleman report.

Piers (1977) cites numerous studies with predominantly white subjects reflecting correlations between the self-concept scale and measures of intelligence and achievement. The author describes these findings as demonstrating, "considerable variation, ranging from zero to the .50's (significant) with achievement generally correlating higher than I.Q." (p.3) Furthermore, she suggests that specific tests which assess academic self-concept should correlate more highly with school functioning than would a measure of global self-concept such as the Piers-Harris. She also states that there is

some evidence that scores on factor II of the Piers-Harris are more highly related to achievement functioning than are the total Piers-Harris scores.

To determine whether the academic self-concept is significantly related to scholastic competence in our sample, scores on the intellectual/school status cluster of the Piers-Harris were correlated with all of the other variables investigated. The additional correlation however, yielded no significant relationships between the school-self subdimension and scholastic competence.

The lack of significant relationship between academic self-concept and scholastic competence indicates no empirical support for the academic self-construct with this sample. Possible explanations for this finding include problems recently cited regarding the operational definition and construct validation for general/academic self-concept with various techniques (Byrne, 1981). Furthermore, these concerns are even greater regarding the study of black child populations, on whom few measures have been standardized (although frequently employed).

The findings of an insignificant relationship between factor II scores and the group identity measures, and a significant relationship between the factor II score and locus of control, however, do support the finding that subordinate self-concept dimensions do relate differently to other personality and behavioral functioning variables.

The locus of control dimension was also found to be unrelated to general self-esteem. These findings differ from those obtained with Black children by Epstein and Komorita (1971) and for other child and adolescent populations (Friedberg, 1982; Moyal, 1977; Gordon, 1977).

There was a significant relationship, however, between the more specific dimension of academic self-concept and locus of control. These findings again indicate that components that comprise the global self-concept are more useful than is the global result. Furthermore, these findings suggest that perceived control over life's outcomes is the most important factor to be considered in relation to school achievement.

The obtained positive relationship between internal locus of control and greater scholastic competence is one which has been well noted in the literature. In general, according to Lefcourt's most recent literature review (Lefcourt, 1984), low to moderate level correlations have been obtained consistently between locus of control and various measures of achievement. Research has also shown verbal ability as measured by the PPVT (Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test) to be correlated with locus of control. Brown (1980), like the present investigator, found internality to be associated with higher receptive vocabulary scores in high school students.

Lefcourt (1982) describes the frequently obtained relationship between locus of control and academic

achievement as "common sense" suggesting that "disbelief in the contingency between one's efforts and outcomes should preclude achievement striving." (p.81).

Gender was the only demographic variable found to be related to locus of control, with females exhibiting greater externality. Although these findings are contrary to those obtained by Crandal et al. (1962), the literature regarding sex differences remains inconsistent. Many studies do, however, suggest that correlates of locus of control differ for males and females (Lefcourt, 1984).

The results of this investigation supported the hypothesis that youngsters with favorable personal identity would likewise tend to reflect more positive racial group identity. Specifically, personal identity was found to be positively related to racial attitudes and racial preference. It was not related to the separate measure of color choice for nonhuman stimuli.

Although the literature remains contradictory, a relationship between personal identity and group identity was obtained by several researchers (Butts, 1963; Porter, 1971; Ward and Braun, 1972).

Ward and Braun (1972), who like this investigator utilized an oral adaptation of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale, found that the median self-esteem score for that group of Black youngsters who preferred black puppets was significantly higher than those who selected white puppets.

It should be noted that in each of the aforementioned studies, those aspects of group identity measured pertained to racial preference, attitudes and/or identification.

The current investigator utilized a group identity measure (the PSBI) which includes assessment of racial attitudes, racial preference, and the additional, separately scored dimension of color concepts. The color concepts, or color connotations, scale involves black and white color choice of animal pictures. The interpretation of PSBI results involves analyses of the separate dimensions and a composite score of racial attitudes and preference. In general, the three dimensions are viewed as distinctly different, although related aspects of children's cultural values (Spencer, 1983).

The findings of the present study, although clearly supportive of a positive relationship between personal and group identity also raise questions about the validity and usefulness of an overall "group identity" measure. As previously mentioned, color concepts were found to be unrelated to personal identity. Additionally, color concepts were negatively related to preference which is another aspect of racial group identity.

In concurrence with other recent research (Spencer, 1982a, 1982b, 1983), Black children's responses to the color connotations task reflected a developmental pattern of eurocentrism increasing with age. Yet white preference over black with nonhuman choices were often found to

coexist with pronounced afrocentric attitudes/preferences in human choices.

Spencer (1983) maintained that color concepts, which are learned very early in life, seem to be less malleable and more deeply entrenched than racial attitudes and preferences. In her study, she found that the inculcation of parental values through direct teaching and discussion and impact on human racial group identity aspects but not with pure color choice.

She describes only her older children with more social experience as demonstrating afrocentric interpersonal attitudes/preference response patterns.

This study also found that social experience is the critical factor affecting the Black child's capacity to tolerate and express color bias towards "white," while at the same time maintaining positive, black oriented attitudes/preferences in the interpersonal domain. It is speculated that ties with the family and immediate community serve as buffers between the child and the larger society thus mediating the impact of the society's devaluation of their race.

Maturation and increased cognitive development also seemed to play a part in the children's nontest responses to the color concepts task. That is, in the cognitively more sophisticated youngsters this task evoked numerous verbalizations regarding the arbitrary nature in choosing

"good" and "bad" animals on the basis of their color. These comments occurred despite choice of the white color.

An additional finding regarding group identity, which impacts on functioning in the academic realm, was the finding that more favorable teacher ratings were associated with more eurocentric total scores on the PSBI.

The strong correlations between teacher ratings and other scholastic achievement measures suggest that the above cited relationship might be due less to teacher attitudes, that form the child's eurocentric preferences, and more related to children's perception of incongruency between pro-Black attitudes and competitive academic strivings. This notion is speculative and warrants further exploration.

The sample mean on the PPVT-R, although within the low average range, was significantly below that reflected by the standardization population. This may be due to the socioeconomic status of the population (lower income). That is, research has often found lower socioeconomic status to be related to lower I.Q. and achievement scores (Blau, 1981). The findings are also in agreement with literature citing lower intelligence test scores and achievement in Black children, particularly in the verbal sphere (Blau, 1981). Such findings, which may or may not be representative of the abilities of Black children, are discussed throughout the literature in terms of the white middle-class bias of many standardized tests (Sattler,

1974). The newness of the revised measure in question, demands more research to better determine its suitability for use with Black children.

In the present investigation, the majority of subjects evaluated demonstrated positive personal identity. Such findings are in agreement with those obtained by several recent researchers (McAdoo, 1976; Spencer, 1982b, 1983). These results suggest that, despite American racism, Black children as a group are not plagued by negative self-esteem. Of the present sample, 35 subjects were deemed to be of high self-esteem while 15 were low. An additional 22 children, who were not included in the final sample due to the experimental design, attained Piers-Harris self-concept scores in the average range. Therefore, 79% of the Black children initially evaluated reflected average or better personal self-concept. Sampling procedures may have exaggerated the overall positive bias in these self-esteem scores as well as eliminating the most positive and most negative extremes. Specifically, parental consent was required for all children who participated in the project. 175 youngsters approached to participate were Black. Only 78 affirmative parental permission slips were returned. 8 refusals were also returned. These negative responses could be categorized as either protective, from academically invested parents or as suspicious. The "protective" group were more likely to have had children in the classes

designated as "bright." They expressed reservations because they believed that the time required for participation would detract from their child's studies. Thoughtful responses and/or inquiries about the nature of the project and obtained findings often accompanied such forms. The "suspicious" group wrote remarks that seemed hostile and defensive (e.g., one parent who was vehemently opposed scrawled "NO" across the entire form with multiple exclamation marks).

In general, there seemed to be a qualitative difference in many of the youngsters depending on parental response. Casual observation showed several of the children with hostile/negative parental response to reflect behavioral problems in the classroom (i.e., fighting with peers, unresponsive to teacher instruction, oppositional behavior, daydreaming, etc.). One would speculate that such children would probably manifest signs of emotional difficulty on personality tests. Additionally, it could be assumed that a number of children from the group not returning any forms (due to either parental apathy/neglect or the child's resistance) might also show some indications of negative self-concept and/or other problems.

Lastly, demographic family characteristics were not found to be related to self-concept. Such findings may, in part, be due to "instrumentality effects" (Graylittle and Appelbaum, 1979). That is, certain tests purporting

to measure self-esteem have been shown to vary dramatically in terms of their relationship to demographic variables.

Summary of Limitations and Problems with the Study

The small sample size and possible sampling bias eliminating extreme scores (i.e., limitations imposed by parental consent).

Implications for Future Research

Clearly, there is the continued need for ongoing research regarding the self-identity of the Black child and other psychological and behavioral variables associated with the adaptive functioning of Black children. The most striking finding of this research is the multidimensional nature of both personal and group identity. The hypotheses tested did not take into account the diverse and sometimes inconsistent components of identity. Future research regarding the self-concept of the Black child should focus more on identifying and validating the component subdimensions of identity. Toward this end, studies should employ multiple tests of various aspects of personal and group identity or those which include standardized subscales. Both instruments for these purposes should be done with Black children included in the standardization population.

Future research in this regard should take two directions: (1) The identification of those self-factors (if any) that are of most value in predicting successful school functioning. (2) Further study of the locus of control of Black children and the relation of locus control with scholastic achievement and other aspects of functioning should be pursued.

Possible inconsistencies between group identity (attitudes/preferences) and a highly individualistic, achievement-orientation should be investigated to determine if adherence to certain racially related values hinders competence within the classroom.

The findings of lower PPVT-R scores for this sample was of concern to this researcher and should be further studied. Since the PPVT-R is a recently revised measure, it requires more investigation of its usefulness with Black children (Braken and Prasse, 1981).

Lastly, the parental consent problem encountered by this examiner led her to be further interested in the effect of parental personality characteristics and parental child rearing strategies on the general functioning and socialization of the Black child. Recently, several investigators have begun to look at the relationship between parental child rearing strategies and the Black child's sense of personal self-worth (Garner,

1983) and racial group identity (Garner, 1983; Spencer, 1983) but more work is required in this area.

In general, studies requiring consent frequently lose an important segment of the population to be studied. Development of indirect but ethically sound methods of exploring attributes characteristic of this population would contribute greatly to the validity of such studies. Additionally, and even more importantly, we could benefit from community and school liaison efforts with public educators to acquaint parents and others with the need for psychological research.

The practice of providing subjects and parents with research findings that were relevant to them would help in this regard.

CONCLUSION

It is the conclusion of this examiner that there is not a disproportionate tendency for Black children to reflect negative personal identity. In fact, within the present sample 31% of the subjects reflected an average level of personal identity while 49% displayed high scores on the Pier-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale.

The results further suggest that for the Black primary school age child, the group identity aspects of racial attitudes and preference are related to their feelings about themselves on a more personal level. School functioning, however, was not found to be related to any aspect of personal identity. Subcomponents of personal identity, focusing on intellectual/school status self, however, showed promise of being better related to another personality construct, locus of control, which was significantly related to the academic sphere. These results indicate that the locus of control variable might conceivably serve the function of mediating between more circumscribed, subcomponents of self identity and the world of scholastic competence and achievement.

In summation, the current findings are supportive of a multidimensional model of self-identity--both personal and group. That is, there appears to be considerable value in terms of defining the relationship between self-concept subdimensions and other aspects of functioning. In terms

of the obtained insignificant relationships between personal identity and related variables, issues regarding construct validation must also be considered. As previously stated, there is a need for continued research in these areas.

Consent Form

Sandra Scott-McFall
113-15 34th Avenue
Corona, New York

Dear Parents:

I am currently completing my Ph.D. at The City University of New York.

Over the last few years, I have worked as a psychologist in school settings. Much of my work and research has been concerned with the psychological and intellectual development of minority children.

Because I have lived most of my life in the Corona-East Elmhurst Community, I am especially interested in the school functioning and general well-being of the children in our neighborhood. I am now studying this for my doctoral dissertation.

This study will include approximately 200 children from 7 to 11 years of age. I will give the children some simple paper and pencil tests which will ask for their opinions about different situations. The tests take less than an hour and are fun to the children.

I need your help by your giving permission for your child to be part of this study.

All of the findings will be used for my study only. No child will be identified in any way. No names will be used. The findings will be reported according to groups rather than individuals.

When I have completed this study, I will contact the parents of all of the children who participated, and arrange to let them know the findings.

If you agree, please sign the attached permission form and return it to your child's teacher.

I would greatly appreciate your child's participation and your cooperation.

Thank you!

Sincerely,

Sandra Scott-McFall
SANDRA SCOTT-McFALL

I give permission for my child, _____
Child's name
to participate in a study to be conducted by Sandra
McFall at his/her school.

Parent's Signature _____

Date: _____

I give permission for my child, _____
Child's Name
to participate in a study to be conducted by Sandra McFall
at his/her Day Care Center.

Parent's Signature _____

Date _____

Brief Demographic Interview

Subject:

Class/Source:

Ethnicity:

Complexion:

Remember the last time that I met with you and your class? Then, you and your classmates answered many questions for me which had to do with how you feel about yourself.

Well, today I would like to meet with you alone for a while. During this time I will ask you different questions. Most of the questions will be about some pictures and cartoons that I will show you. Some will have to do with your feelings and opinions about things. Others will have to do with words that you know.

In general, I think that you will find our work together fun.

As I explained to you before, this work is part of my learning about children and their ideas about different things and situations. To help me with this, it is also important that I know something about the backgrounds of the children with whom I am working.

Please answer the following questions so that I may know a little more about you and your family. ...

1. How old are you?
2. When were you born?
3. (If indicated) What school do you go to?
4. (If indicated) What is your grade?
5. Now, I would like to ask you a little about your family. Who lives at home?
 - (a) Does your mother live at home with you?
 - (b) Does your father live at home with you?
 - (c) Do any other family members or friends live at home? Who?
 - (d) How many brothers and sisters do you have?
No. _____ How old are they?
 - (e) Are you the oldest child? youngest child?
 - (f) Can you tell me where your mother was born?
 - (g) Can you tell me where your father was born?

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These consist of pages:

118-120, Appendix C : The Piers-Harris Childrens Self-Concept Scale.

121-125, Appendix D ; Racial Attitude (PSBI).

127-141, Appendix F : Revised Pictures, Items & Answer Key for

Preschool and Primary Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External

Scale.

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Demographic Data

Case	Chron. Age (yr - mo.)	Grade	Gender ^a	Family Status ^b Members in Household	First Bora ^c	Mother's Birthplace	Father's ^d Birthplace	No. Siblings
1	9.9	5	F	M	X	NE		1
2	8.9	4	M	M		NE		0
3	7.7	2	M	M-F		NE	NE	0
4	7.5	2	M	M		NE	NE	0
5	11.4		M	M-O		C	S	3
6	8.0	3	F	M-F-O		C	NE	0
7	10.0	5	M	M-F				
8	10.6	5	M	O		NE	NE	1
9	11.0	5	F	M-O		C	C	1
10	11.0	5	M	M-F		C	C	4
11	10.0	5	M	M		S	S	2
12	10.3	5	F	M		S		0
13	11.7	5	F	M		S		9
14	11.6	5	M	M-F		NE	NE	2
15	10.3	5	F	M-F		C	C	1
16	9.4	4	M	M-F		S	S	2
17	9.6	4	M	M-F	X	C	C	1
18	8.10	4	M	M-F	X	C	C	2
19	9.9	4	M	M-F	X	C	C	2
20	9.2	4	F	M		C	NE	1
21	9.8	4	F	M		S	S	1
22	8.9	4	M	M-F		C	NE	2
23	9.11	4	M	M-F	X	NE	NE	2
24	9.1	4	F	O	X	S		2
25	9.9	4	F	F-M		S		0
26	11.3	6	M	M	X	C	NE	1
27	8.10	4	F	M		C	NE	1
28	8.0	3	F	M-F	X	NE		3

Demographic Data (continues)

Case	Chron. Age (yr. - mo.)	Grade	Gender ^a	Family Status ^b Members in Household	First Born ^c	Mother's Birthplace ^d	Father's Birthplace	No. of Sib
29	8.11	4	M	M		C	C	1
30	9.4	4	F	M-F-O		C	C	2
31	9.2	4	M	M-F		C	C	2
32	8.8	3	F	O			NE	5
33	8.4	3	F	M-F		S	C	3
34	8.6	3	M	M-O		NE	NE	0
35	8.4	3	F	M-F		NE	NE	2
36	8.8	3	F	M-F		S	C	8
37	9.7	3	M	M		C		0
38	8.1	3	F	M-O	X	C	C	1
39	8.0	3	F	M-F		C		1
40	8.1	3	F	M		S		0
41	8.1	3	F	M		NE	S	2
42	8.6	3	F	M-F	X	NE	S	1
43	8.11	3	F	M-F		C	C	4
44	8.5	3	M	O				1
45	8.0	3	M	M	X	NE	NE	3
46	8.3	3	F	M-F		NE	S	1
47	10.2	4	F	M-F	X	S	NE	2
48	10.3	5	F	O		S	S	0
49	9.5	4	F	M	X	S	S	1
50	10.6	4	F	O		NE	NE	0

^a Gender coded F = female; M = male.

^b Members in household coded M = mother; F = father; O = other.

^c X indicates First Born Status.

^d Parental Birthplace coded NE = Northeast U.S.; S = Southern U.S.; C = Caribbean.

Experimental Test Findings for Individual Subjects

Case	Stille Piers- Harris Factor II	Piers- Harris	PPNSIE ^f	Color ^c	Att. ^d	Prof. ^e	Att./ Prof. Total ^f	PPVT-R Standard Score	CAT VOC	CAT COMP	CAT TOT.
1	29	10	11	12	12	6	18	87			
2	96	17	11	10	3	1	4	103			
3	96	18	16	10	4	3	7	100			
4	91	15	11	11	0	0	0	103			
5	98	18	9	10	6	2	8	129			
6	10	10	16	10	7	3	10	88	2.4	2.7	2.6
7	6	8	12	12	12	6	18	94			
8	23	8	12	10	8	4	12	99	5.0	5.5	5.3
9	79	15	14	9	3	3	6	93	4.6	4.8	4.7
10	69	12	13	9	4	4	8	85	5.7	4.3	4.8
11	77	17	15	12	8	1	9	85	5.0	4.7	4.8
12	74	14	14	10	8	3	11	85	5.0	5.0	5.0
13	93	17	12	12	0	0	0	70	4.0	4.4	4.2
14	21	9	12	10	8	1	9	88	3.9	4.2	4.0
15	74	15	13	12	8	3	11	76	3.6	5.2	4.3
16	94	18	9	12	5	1	6	108	3.9	5.6	4.8
17	91	17	14	12	12	2	14	90	4.6	5.6	4.1
18	2	8	11	9	7	2	9	109	4.6	4.3	4.0
19	13	11	12	9	10	6	16	98	4.6	4.8	4.3
20	4	6	12	7	8	5	13	99	3.3	4.8	4.1
21	79	18	19	8	7	2	9	86	3.0	3.9	3.2
22	74	14	13	9	4	1	5	88	3.6	2.8	3.3
23	8	8	16	12	9	0	9	71	3.6	3.6	3.8
24	15	10	15	10	4	1	5	76	2.7	2.4	2.8
25	24	10	20	8	11	5	16	87	2.8	4.6	3.6
26	77	17	9	12	5	3	8	94			
27	77	11	13	9	8	1	9	88			
28	74	15	13	10	9	2	11	93			
29	71	16	15	12	4	2	6	96	2.3	2.4	2.5

Experimental Test Findings for Individual Subjects (continues)

Case	Stille Piers- Harris Factor II	Piers- Harris II	PPNSIE ^t	Color ^c	Att. ^d	Pref. ^e	PPVT-R Standard Score	Att./ Pref. f Total	CAT VOC	CAT COMP	CAT TOT.
30	14	8	14	9	12	2	14	92			2.6
31	79	14	14	6	2	4	6	86	3.6	3.0	2.8
32	82	15	15	11	8	3	11	85	2.2	1.6	1.8
33	66	16	11	11	8	4	12	72	2.7	2.1	2.4
34	99	17	11	6	9	3	12	85	1.6	2.4	2.0
35	10	7	14	9	7	2	9	87	2.7	2.5	2.0
36	74	16	13	8	6	4	10	86	1.9	2.4	2.1
37	66	15	15	12	8	1	9	77	1.7	1.8	1.6
38	66	15	14	8	6	2	8	85	4.0	4.1	5.2
39	97	16	16	7	5	3	8	97	3.3	4.7	4.4
40	24	11	13	11	12	6	18	86	2.7	2.7	3.3
41	77	12	13	6	8	3	11	98	4.0	3.6	4.4
42	95	16	13	12	7	2	9	73	4.0	4.1	5.2
43	99	18	9	7	5	3	8	100	3.3	3.3	2.9
44	96	17	14	7	8	5	13	89	4.0	3.6	3.5
45	66	17	10	9	11	0	11	74	2.2	1.8	1.7
46	77	16	13	7	12	4	16	85	1.6	1.7	1.4
47	66	17	15	11	4	2	6	112			
48	79	17	9	12	10	3	13	108	6.0	6.2	6.1
49	82	17	13	10	4	1	5	91	4.6	4.3	4.1
50	29	11	14	11	2	3	5	75	2.5	3.9	3.3

Note: Factor II=Intellectual/School Status Self; PPNSIE= Revised form of the Preschool and Primary Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External Scale; Color= Color Connotations score for the Personal Social Biological Inventory (PSBI); Att.= PSBI racial attitudes; Pref.= PSBI racial preference; PPVT-R= Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised; CAT= California Achievement Test; VOC= vocabulary; COMP= Comprehension; TOT= total.

Maximum Scores a=18. b=26. c=12. d=12. e=6. f=18.

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