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Garner, Mary Elizabeth McKay

**THE ESTEEM OF THE BLACK URBAN PRESCHOOLER'S DEVELOPING
SELF-CONCEPT OF WORTH AND RACE**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1983

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**The Esteem of the Black Urban Preschooler's Developing
Self-Concept of Worth and Race**

by

Mary Elizabeth McKay Garner

**A dissertation submitted in the Graduate Faculty in
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City Uni-
versity of New York**

1983

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Using a sample of Black, urban preschoolers and their mothers, we looked at the relationship between maternal child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices and the esteem of their preschoolers' Self-Concepts of Worth and Race. We also looked at the relationship between the esteem of Worth and Race.

Our final sample was twenty-four preschoolers and their mothers. The preschoolers were verbally Bright Average or Very Superior children who also scored congruently on the non-verbal and the verbal assessments of esteem of Worth. These preschoolers were also assessed on their esteem of Self-Concept of Race, using a doll play technique of Porter (1971).

The maternal child rearing attitudes and practices were assessed using a brief questionnaire (PARI) and an in-depth interview; while the racial development attitudes and practices were assessed using only an interview.

The PARI did not support our hypotheses of a positive relationship between child rearing attitudes and practices and esteem of Worth. However, our in-depth interview overwhelmingly supported not only our hypotheses concerning child rearing but racial development as well. In summary, positive maternal attitudes and practices went with positive esteem of Worth and Race of the preschoolers and negative maternal attitudes went with

negative esteem of Worth and Race of the Preschoolers.

We found no relationship between esteem of Worth and Race, supporting our hypothesis that each self-concept represents a separate, subordinate dimension of an algebraic, overall self-concept.

The shade of skin color of our preschoolers appeared to significantly influence the esteem of their Self-Concepts of Race, with the lighter the shade skin color, the more negative the esteem of Race. We concluded a relationship of skin color, color meaning in American society and racial self-concept development had grave, negative implications for Black children living in a racist White majority society.

The influence of paternal status on the attitudes and practices of the mothers and on the esteem of the preschoolers' Self-Concepts of Worth was an important finding. Here we found significantly more fathers present in families of preschoolers with highly than poorly esteemed Self-Concepts of Worth. We also found that in families where father was absent, the child rearing and racial attitudes and practices of the mothers were significantly more negative than the mothers in families where the father was present.

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First and foremost I acknowledge my beloved mother, Minnie French McKay who unstintingly loved me, provided for me and protected me. Her attitudes and practices, especially those that influenced the esteem of my Self-Concepts of Worth and Race, enhanced my development and now allow me, as a mother, to enhance the development of my children.

I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to my husband, Floyd Sr. and my sons, Floyd Jr. and Steven John, who loved and supported me throughout this academic endeavor.

My love and thanks to all of the many children that I worked with in this study, regardless of whether or not they participated in the final phase. Special thanks to my final sample of twenty-four preschoolers and their parents, especially their mothers, for all of their time and commitment.

My most sincere thanks to Elaine Danavall-Williams, Director of Program Operations, Agency of Children, Youth and Families, for her permission that allowed me to work with my Head Start sample and for her genuine support of my efforts. Thanks to the staff and especially the Directors of the local preschool programs for all of their support and cooperations, without which this study could not have taken place.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

If we are to understand personality and its influence on behavior and personal adjustment, some concept of self-awareness is necessary. Because the self-concept is an internal, multidimensional, psychological construct, not available for objective review, it is a difficult phenomenon to assess and understand. However, the self-concept, thought to represent the core of personality, is of such critical importance, speaking to the why of behavior that it cannot simply be discarded.

This study will explore the relationships between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's developing self-concepts of Worth and Race and certain of his mother's child rearing and racial attitudes and practices.

Underlying the basic assumption that there is a significantly influencing relationship between the esteem of the preschooler and the mother-child relationship are several necessary assumptions.

First, there is the assumption that although both parents are important to the child's wellbeing, during early childhood, the mother is the most significant other in her role as primary caretaker. (Champney, 1939; Shoben,

1949; Behrens, 1954; Schaefer & Bell, 1957; Sears, Maccoby & Levin, 1957; Sears, 1970)

The second assumption is that certain of mother's more generalized, consistent and enduring character traits or predispositions are integrated within the maternal role and expressed within the mother-child relationship. This assumption views child rearing attitudes and practices as primarily an expression of the mother's character structure. (Behrens, 1954)

The third assumption is that maternal child rearing attitudes and practices together are more important influencers of the child's personality formation than specific practices alone. (Sears, et al, 1957; Schwartz, 1966; Finney, 1971)

The fourth and final assumption is that mothers take sufficiently consistent attitudes towards their children so that these attitudes can be measured. (Champney, 1939; Baldwin, et al, 1945; Shoben, 1949; Sears, 1957; Schaefer & Bell, 1957)

If the content of the preschooler's self-concept of Worth is initially and significantly influenced by certain child rearing attitudes and practices, then we should expect to find that these attitudes and practices significantly differentiate the mothers of children with highly esteemed self-concepts of Worth from mothers of children with poorly esteemed self-concepts of Worth.

Research concludes that the self-concept of Race begins to develop in children as young as three-years-old. (Horowitz, 1939; Clark & Clark 1939; Goodman, 1952; Forter, 1971; Kambon, 1977) If it is true that the esteem of the preschooler's self-concept of Worth is significantly influenced by certain maternal child rearing attitudes and practices, then, it is logical to further assume that the esteem of the Black preschooler's self-concept of Race is also significantly influenced by certain maternal racial attitudes and practices. (Radke, Trager & Davis, 1949; Spurlock, 1969; Hraba & Grant, 1971; Comer, 1971; McLaughlin, 1976; Wilson, 1978) Here, we expect to find that certain racial attitudes and practices significantly differentiate between mothers of children with highly esteemed self-concepts of Race and mothers of children with poorly esteemed self-concepts of Race.

Finally, we will explore the relationship between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's developing self-concept of Worth and his developing self-concept of Race.

Although we view the esteem of the more global and pervasive self-concept of Worth, an initial product of the mother-child relationship, as more influential on the preschooler's adjustment than the esteem of his self-concept of Race, for the Black child in essentially racist, White America, the esteem of his self concept of Race is also an

important influencer of his overall esteem. However, we expect to find that a poorly esteemed self-concept of Race does not necessarily predict a poorly esteemed self-concept of Worth.

Before presenting a brief overview of our study's main variables, we would like to make clear our awareness that investigations of the type of social phenomenon that we are studying do not readily subject themselves to the kind of experimentation which allows clear, concise support or discredit of a hypothesis. However, Bronfenbrenner (1953), a pioneer in child development research, defends this kind of research:

An attempt to deal with multiple, interactional relationships rather than simple statistically significant entities often leave us with a system of ambiguous abstractions and impressions rather than precise operational definitions and 'hard' facts: Such abstractions and impressions are no less scientific for being in their early stages elusive and indeterminate. The tangible and operational are the objective not the conditions of scientific progress.

The Self-Concept

The self-concept can be described as an organized, multidimensional constellation of attitudes about oneself. (Proshansky & Newton, 1967) An attitude is a system of beliefs and feelings about an object that results in a predisposition to respond to that object on the basis of those beliefs and feelings. For this study, the object is the self. The self-concept is formed because an individual is able to perceive himself as an object among many objects

to know about himself and thus be able to form attitudes about himself that will significantly influence his behavior and personal adjustment. (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Rogers, 1951; Sullivan, 1953; Kohut)

The overall self-concept is an algebraic total, made up of many subordinate self-concept dimensions, each referring to a more circumscribed area of the self such as appearance, aspirations, achievement, family relations and racial membership. Within these circumscribed dimensions are even more specific self-concept dimensions; for example, Kambon (1977) in his research on the esteem of the Black, urban preschool's self-concept of Race, a subordinate self-concept dimension, found even more specific dimensions of racial competency and racial status, each with a significantly different value, the first quite positive and the second quite negative. We can assume that this differential phenomenon applies to many more subordinate self-concept dimensions. We need to know that all subordinate self-concept dimensions and their subsets are not equal in value and as such they contribute differentially to the esteem of the overall self-concept. Based on research about the significance of the self-concepts of Worth and Race, we make the assumption that these two are both significant contributors to the Black preschooler's overall esteem.

The esteem component of the self is the judgmental dimension that evaluates self-concept data or beliefs about the self and renders emotionally-toned beliefs of "goodness" or "badness" concerning them. There is general agreement that a highly esteemed self-concept reflects a basic trust and confidence in oneself, while a poorly esteemed self-concept reflects a lack of confidence and trust in oneself, with feelings of inadequacy, worthlessness, anxiety, guilt, shame and depression. (Horney, 1945; Rogers, 1951)

The self-concept, an individual's self-awareness system, is part of the conceptual component of the self, the other part being object-concepts. The perceptual component of the self is the dynamic perceiver, assimilator and accommodator of reality. The esteem component is a process within the perceptual component. Freud's "ego" is an example of the self's perceptual component, while Mead's (1934) "self" is an example of the self-concept or the self's conceptual component. Because the self's perceptual component is a dynamic process, in flow rather than having achieved some state, its product, the self-concept will reflect this process and will develop and change over time. Different dimensions of the self-concept will develop at different times and will have differential importance for the individual at different ages and for each sex. (Beemer, 1970)

With self-objects differentiation, the self-concept begins to develop, first on a level of action and later, with the development of the symbolic function, on a level of thought. Piaget (1962) and Denzin (1972) found self-concept development in children as young as two. Initially, the overall self-concept is quite simple, with few subordinate self-concept dimensions and even those having limited data. Over time and development, the overall self-concept will become more and more expanded and complex as there is more and more experiencing of self and others.

The self-concept is learned. There are several major theories of learning, but for this study, we will make certain assumptions and inferences from the Piagetian theory of cognitive development as presented in Judgment and Reasoning in the Child (1928). According to Piaget, the child is an active participant, not a passive observer, as he adapts to his environment. His is a stage theory that sees cognitive development as a gradual and progressive achievement of more and more qualitatively effective cognitive structures that allow more and more effective adaptation. With each stage, structural changes critically modify and extend the child's conception of reality.

The cognitive mechanism that impels the child on to more and more advanced stages of cognitive development is the equilibration process, a dynamic, self-regulating process that attains the necessary balance between the

assimilative and accomodative systems. Assimilation is the taking in of environmental data and accommodation is the fitting of that data to one's internal schemas or concepts. The schema or concept of concern in this study is the self-concept.

There are four stages of cognitive development: the sensorimotor, the preoperational, the concrete, and the formal levels of thought. These stages progress through thought on a perceptual-motor level to thought on the most abstract level. The preschoolers in our study are no older than six and fall well within the preoperational stage and so we will only review the first two stages.

During the first, the sensorimotor stage, from birth to approximately eighteen-months, adaptation occurs through perceptual and motor activity, with the child over time and practice becoming more and more effective in his sensorimotor adaptation. The second, the preoperational stage, which extends to approximately seven or eight, is heralded in by the most important achievement in cognitive development, the acquisition of the symbolic function, wherein the child is able to use mental symbols (images and words) to represent absent persons, objects and events. Thought is at first very concrete, but over developmental time becomes more and more abstract. During this stage, thought is also very egocentric in that the child is unable to perceive, assimilate, accommodate and understand from

any viewpoint other than his own. Like concrete thought, egocentric thought lessens over developmental time and accommodates more and more to reality.

Given our brief overview, we can expect that concreteness and egocentrism will be exemplified in the thought and verbal productions of our preschoolers. Although egocentrism is the most characteristic phenomenon in the pre-operational child's thought and the most profound obstacle to logical reasoning and judgment, for purposes of this study reality is not the issue, the issue is the child's conception of reality, since it is his reality that influences his perceptions of self and others, which in turn influences his self-concept data and its esteem. Real or distorted, it is this data that influences his behavior and personal adjustment.

In understanding self-concept development, we are using an interpersonal theoretical framework which makes the basic assumption that self-concepts are learned and developed in interaction with others. They develop within the unique experiences of each individual, in his perceptions and interpretations of himself that during early childhood are very much the reflections of how others perceive and treat him, especially his significant others. (Mead, 1934; Rogers, 1951; Sullivan) Significant others are those persons who more than anyone else transmit reality to the child. During early childhood, it is the

parents, especially the mother, who almost exclusively function in this role. (Sullivan, 1953) Over developmental time, more and more people will become significant others to the child and their attitudes and behavior will be integrated into his self-concept dimensions.

Esteem of the Self-Concept of Worth and The Mother-Child Relationship

The most basic assumption of this study is the significance of the mother as she wields her powerful influence over the formation of the preschooler's self-concept of Worth.

In the beginning, then, the parents define the child's world: They explain that world and themselves define its limits. That other realms exist beyond them need not concern him. (Milner, 1975)

He (the child) does not internalize the world of his significant others as one of many possible worlds. He internalizes it as the world, the only existent and conceivable world. (Berger & Luckman, 1966)

It is she who from the hour of birth, is the most immediately concerned with the child; and even in the earliest infancy he responds to her behavior. For the child, either boy or girl, is most closely attached to his mother. (Dreikurs, 1958)

The significant mother will be the child's first and most influential model, molding and shaping the child's attitudes about himself, the kind of person he is and would like to be. (Wylie, 1979) We ask ourselves why is mother so significant to the child. For the child, the significance of the mother as the primary caretaker and external source of causality begins at birth. Within the protective symbiotic union with mother, at the most primitive

level of self-object differentiation, the infant becomes vaguely aware of her nurturing care occurring outside of his own body. Through this nurturing relationship there begins the development of a positive emotional attachment between the infant, who needs nurturance and protection, and the mother, who fulfills this need. By virtue of associating mother with her repetitive and consistent tension-reducing, pleasure-inducing caretaking, she becomes the child's first and most significant other, upon whom the child is totally dependent. (Bowlby, 1973) This dependency will result in the desire to please mother, to share in her omnipotence, to win acceptance and continued care and avoid punishment and rejection. The child will attempt to share in mother's omnipotence, first through imitation representing perceptual understanding on a sensorimotor or action level and then through identification representing internalized mental imagery and thought. On an action level, the child will imitate or copy attitudes and behaviors of the mother-model, believing magically that this will make him identical which is much valued, much depended on mother. On a level of internalized symbols and language, the child will develop mental representations that reflect aspects of his significant mother. These internalized representations will be integrated into the child's self-concept and treated as his own, thus achieving the wished for goal of being like mother. (Piaget, 1962) It should now begin to be understood why the

child's perceptions and interpretations of how he is perceived and treated by his most significant mother will critically influence his developing self-concept of Worth.

Although there has been quite a bit of research on the mother-child relationship as it influences sex role identification, achievement and aspirations, there are few studies on this primary relationship and the development of the esteem of the child's self-concept of Worth. (Wylie, 1961, 1979) who has done the most extensive self-concept research and literature review finds, "the paucity of these studies amazing." The major studies on this relationship that we will present in some detail used only White children. For the Black child, these studies are practically non-existent.

The studies that have been done on the mother-child relationship as it influences the child's self-concept formation have failed, as of yet, to find precise, one to one relationships between the esteem of the child's self-concept of Worth, personality, behavior and personal adjustment and any specific child rearing practice. Instead, what has been found in correlational and factor analysis studies are more global material attitude and practice clusters such as "warmth-hostility," "acceptance-rejection" "democracy-domination," and "indulgence-autonomy." Maternal warmth, acceptance of the child, democratic practices and supporting and facilitating autonomy have all been found to correlate positively with highly esteemed

self-concepts of Worth in their children, while maternal hostility, rejection, domination and fostering dependency have been found to be correlated positively with poorly esteemed self-concepts of Worth. (Shoben, 1949; Sears, 1957; Schwartz, 1966)

Esteem of the Self-Concept of Race

Racial awareness; racial attitudes; and racial identification are the features involved in the development of a self-concept of Race. (Allport, 1958; Goodman 1952; Porter, 1971) For the most primitive precursor of self-concept of Race, there has to be some kind of awareness of racial differences. In very young children, two or three years old, there is a vague awareness of difference by color, black and white. Later, there is knowledge of racial terminology, Negro, Colored, Black and White. This awareness permits categorization of people into racial groups by virtue of their having certain physical attributes and then further defining these categories through social labeling. (Porter, 1971) Racial attitudes are, like any other attitude, feelings and beliefs, in this instance the feelings and beliefs are about one's racial group and about one-self as a member of that group. Racial identification, like any other identification is a sense of sharing some common attributes, in this instance, a sense of sharing in the defining physical attributes of one's racial group that results in an experience of belong-

ing to that group. Later, developing from this basic identification criterion, there will be internalized many varied and complex defining characteristics, other than physical attributes, that will be identified with as the self-concept of Race expands. (Noel, 1964) Again, the judgmental dimension of the self will be responsible for how the child evaluates the beliefs contained in his self-concept of Race. This, of course, will represent the esteem of the self-concept of Race. We know that the subordinate self-concept dimension of Race is also an algebraic total, with different self-concept of Race dimensions that can have different esteem values. (Kambon, 1977)

Prior to the mid-sixties, the bulk of the developmental literature on the Black preschooler saw his membership in a devalued and discriminated against minority group as engendering own-racial group and self rejection and hatred:

The Negro has no possible basis for a healthy self-esteem and every incentive for self-hatred. The Negro gets a poor reflection of himself in the behavior of whites, no matter what he does or what his merits are. (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1962)

During this period, research findings of more Black than White preschooler's racial "misidentification" and more Black than White preference for the "out-group" (Whites) were interpreted as supporting the Black preschooler's racial group and self-as-a-member rejection and hatred, theoretically called "social comparison" and "reactive

status" phenomenon. (Horowitz, 1939; Clark & Clark, 1939; Radke, Trager & Davis, 1949; Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1962 Porter, 1971)

More recent theorists and researchers, sometimes referred to as "referent-group" theorists, have challenged the "social-comparison" and "reactive-status" findings as most importantly of all focusing on a very limited sample of Black preschoolers manifesting supposedly own racial group and self-as-a-member rejection and hatred:

Where in all this is the healthy, well adjusted blacks, with resilient egos that are able to withstand the imposition of 'inferiority' visited on them by a racist white society? (Milner, 1975)

Beyond this position of gross overgeneralization of negative phenomenon that encourages and facilitates treatment of all Blacks as if this phenomenon, if it exists at all, exists for all, many challengers point to flawed assessment techniques and interpretations based on rigid, racist, White ethnocentric values and standards. (Banks, 1976) For example, findings of a rigid, totalistic preference for one's own racial group, with a negative value assigned to the "out-racial group" is seen as more healthful than an essentially equal preference for both racial groups and in some cases a refusal on the child's part to assign a negative value judgment to either group. (Noel, 1964; Kline, 1970; Banks, 1976; Kambon, 1977) Further, these challengers say that to make the assumption that noxious racial experiences represent the sum total of racial experiences

for Black people is to make an erroneous antecedent assumption that Black people find nothing positive and enhancing in their "Blackness," in their history and culture, and in their racial group membership. (Baughman, 1971; Heiss & Owens; Barnes, 1972) Most importantly, to make the assumption that the critical variable influencing the esteem of a Black person's self-concept of overall Worth is the reaction to his "Blackness" is to exclude from consideration his total human experience (Ellison, 1966)

Since, like all other self-concepts, the self-concept of Race is learned, the parents, especially the mother, are the first and most significant teachers. Rosenberg (1973) and Comer and Poussaint (1975) argue persuasively that the Black parents are the highly valued, most significant others and as such, in spite of the noxious impact of White racism, are quite capable of promoting and nurturing highly esteemed self-concepts of Race in their children.

Study Rationale

1. During early childhood, if the mother is primary and most significant other, who exerts such tremendous influence, through certain child rearing and racial attitudes and practices, on her child's self-concepts of Worth and Race, and if self-awareness with its esteem component begins to develop as early as two, then the core of the Black preschooler's self-concepts of Worth and Race have been pretty well established prior to the child's leaving

the family's influence and interacting with the "outside" world of school and the community-at-large. If this is so, it must then follow that the mother-child relationship as it influences the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's developing self-concepts of Worth and Race fully merits exploration as a critical area of child development

2. Rosenthal's (1900) "self-fulfilling prophecy" is predicated on the premise that, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." (Thomas, 1931) If this is so, then for others, especially the Black preschooler's significant others, many of whom, in the future (e.g. school), will be White, to believe and act on the belief that the Black preschooler most probably has a negative, overall self-concept of Race, further generalized as a negative, overall self-concept of Worth, a noxious and destructive learning environment will result, wherein the Black child has a higher probability of coming to believe that "White" is good and "Black is bad, regardless of the original, positive status of his self-concepts of Worth and race

Since it was the social science literature, especially that emanating from psychology, that put forth the Black own-racial-group and self-as-a-member rejection and hatred position, put it forth so persistently and effectively, over so long a period of time, that it became for all extents and purposes a social truism, it is the responsibility of contemporary researchers, many of whom are

committed to racial truth and justice, to critically and impartially study this social phenomenon of the esteem of the self-concept of Worth and Race of Black preschoolers and present their findings to both the professional and lay public alike

Statement of Problem

1. What is the relationship between this esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's developing self-concept of worth and certain of his mother's child rearing attitudes and practices having to do with the dimensions of Democracy-Domination, Acceptance-Rejection and Autonomy-Indulgence as expressed within the mother-child relationship

2. What is the relationship between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's developing self-concept of Race and certain of his mother's racial attitudes and practices that imply her racial acceptance, ambivalence or rejection

3. What is the relationship between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's developing self-concept of Worth and the esteem of his developing self-concept of Race

Study's Hypothesis

1. There will be a positive relationship between the Black, urban preschooler's highly esteemed self-concept of Worth and maternal child rearing attitudes and practices of Democracy, Acceptance and Autonomy

2. There will be a positive relationship between the Black, urban preschooler's poorly esteemed self-concept of Worth and maternal child rearing attitudes and practices of Domination, Rejection and Indulgence

3. There will be no significant relationship between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's self-concept of Worth and the esteem of his self-concept of Race

4. There will be a positive relationship between the Black, urban preschooler's highly esteemed self-concept of Race and maternal racial attitudes and practices implying racial acceptance on the part of the mother

5. There will be a positive relationship between the Black, urban preschooler's poorly esteemed self-concept of Race and maternal racial attitudes and practices implying racial ambivalence or rejection on the part of the mother

Definition of Terms

1. Overall Self-Concept: An organized, multi-dimensional constellation of attitudes about oneself. An algebraic total of many subordinate self-concept dimensions, each referring to a more circumscribed area of the self such as appearance, aspirations, achievements, family relations and racial membership

2. Subordinate Self-Concept Dimension: As organized, multi-dimensional constellation of attitudes about a more circumscribed area of the self, such as appearance,

aspirations, achievements, family relations, and racial membership. Within these subordinate self-concept dimensions are even more specific dimensions; for example, within the self-concept of Race are found more specific dimensions, with different values attached, of racial competency and racial status

3. Attitude: A System of beliefs and feelings about an object that results in a predisposition to respond that object on the basis of those beliefs and feelings

4. Self-Concept of Worth: Preschooler's attitude of self-worth based on his perceptions of the degree to which his mother loves and wants him; provides for and protects him; and respects him as a person in his own right, recognizing his need for gradual autonomy

5. Self-Concept of Race: Preschooler's attitudes towards his own racial group and toward's himself as a member of that group part of which is reflected by the accuracy of his racial identification, if it is concluded that he has the prerequisite of racial awareness and accurate color categorization skills

6. Democratic Attitude: Perceives the child as a significant individual in his own right, meriting respect, consideration, fairness and reciprocity

7. Democratic Practices: Clarification and justification of policies concerning the child. Not only allowing, but encouraging the free expression of ideas and

opinions and inviting, at the level of competency, participation in family planning and decision making

8. Domineering Attitude: Perceives the child as only a self-extension rather than as a significant individual in his own right; therefor, meriting no individual respect, consideration, fairness or reciprocity

9. Domineering Practices: Demand total subordination of will, instant, blind obedience and failure to comply is met with harsh, punitive retaliation

10. Accepting Attitude: Perceives the child as a positive, pleasure-evoking and significant other whose value is ascribed not achieved

11. Accepting Practices: Communications loving "warmth" through a look, a touch, a word, as well as fulfilling needs and supporting aspirations

12. Rejecting Attitude: Perceives the child as a valueless, burdensome, intrusive and essentially negative object, evoking strong, hostile disapproval of the child.

13. Rejecting Practices: Passive, cold indifference or neglect or active, hostile verbal or physical abuse

14. Attitudes Supporting Autonomy: Perceives the child as an individual with separate needs and aspirations. Understands the necessity for age-appropriate independence

15. Practices Supporting Autonomy: Allowing and encouraging independent behavior. Encouraging child to in-

dependently explore his environment within circumscribed limits. Allow independent success and failure

16. Indulgent Attitude: Perceives the child as infantile, helpless and totally dependent, engendering solicitous, overprotective concern

17. Indulgent Practices: Fostering dependent behavior through "babying," intrusiveness and restrictiveness

18. Racial Acceptance: Essentially positive racial attitude inferred from essentially positive perceptions of own racial group and self as a member. Positive racial practices inferred from self-report

19. Racial Ambivalence: A mix of essentially positive and essentially negative perceptions of own racial group and self as a member. Ambivalent racial practices inferred from self-report

20. Racial Rejection: Essentially negative racial attitude inferred from essentially negative perceptions of own racial group and self as a member. Negative racial practices inferred from self-report

21. Esteem: The judgmental dimension of the perceiving and knowing self that evaluates beliefs about the self as either "good" or "bad," eliciting concomitant emotional feelings

22. Significant Others: Those persons who more than anyone else transmit reality to the child. During early childhood, the parents, especially the mother, carry out this function almost exclusively

23. Institutionalized White Racism: Social organizations which accommodate a racist perspective by shaping these organizations to fit the perspective of the White majority, their values, attitudes and standards which communicate that white is good and worthy and black is bad and unworthy

General Outline of Study

Part 1

Our sample will be Black, urban preschool boys and girls, attending child-care centers in a large, northeastern city. The child-care centers are predominantly Black, with a few White and Hispanic children. Our preschooler's average age will be five and all of them will be entering kindergarten in six months.

In Part 1 of this study, the preschoolers will be individually administered the Verbal Scale of the Weschler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI) in order to control for auditory and expressive verbal ability. The author will administer all tests at the preschooler's child-care centers. For the WPPSI, children scoring in the Bright Average, 110-120 I.Q., and Superior, 130 and above will go on to Part 2 of the study, the stringent verbal I.Q. criteria. . .

Part 2

In Part 2, the preschoolers passing the criteria of Part 1 will be individually administered the Esteem Scale of the Childrens Self-Social Constructs Test (CSSCT),

a nonverbal test of self-esteem in relation to others, and selected card from the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), a verbal test of self-esteem. These tests will be administered by author in order to assess the esteem of the preschooler's self-concept of Worth. Those children scoring significantly high and significantly low (see Chap. 3, Methods for Details) in esteem on both tests will go on to Part 3.

Part 3

In Part 3, the preschoolers passing the criterion of Part 2, similar in verbal intelligence, but significantly different in the esteem of their self-concepts of Worth, will be administered Porter's T.V. Story Game, a racial self-concept test, (TVSG) designed to assess racial awareness; racial identification and racial attitudes.

The parents or parental surrogates of the preschoolers participating in Part 3 will be individually administered the Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI). The PARI will be used to assess child rearing attitudes concerning the dimensions of Democracy-Domination; Acceptance-Rejection; and Autonomy-Indulgence. Only the mothers will be individually administered the "Mothers Interview" revised by Coopersmith (1963) from Sears, et al (1957) interview, used in their classical study, Patterns of Child Rearing. This interview will be used to assess both child rearing attitudes and practices. To assess the

mother's racial attitudes and practices, from which mother's racial acceptance, ambivalence or rejection can be inferred, an author-constructed "Racial Interview" will be used. Because of financial restrictions, the parents will also be interviewed by the author.

Analysis of Data

Operationalized Statement of Problem

1. What is the relationship between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's self-concept of Worth, as measured by the Esteem Scale of the Children Self-Social Constructs Test (CSSCT) and selected Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) cards, and certain of his mother's child rearing attitudes and practices, having to do with the dimensions of Democracy-Domination; Acceptance-Rejection; and Autonomy-Indulgence, as measured by the Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI) and Coopersmith's (1967) "Mother's Interview"

2. What is the relationship between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's self-concept of Worth, as measured by the Esteem Scale of the CSSCT and selected TAT cards and the esteem of his self-concept of Race, as measured by Porter's (1971) TVSG

3. What is the relationship between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's self-concept of Race as measured by Porter's (1971) T.V. Story Game (TVSG) and certain of his mother's racial attitudes and practices

that imply her level of racial acceptance, ambivalence or rejection, as measured by an author-constructed "Racial Interview"

Null Hypotheses

1. There will be no positive relationship found between the Black, urban preschooler's highly esteemed self-concept of Worth and maternal child rearing attitudes and practices of Democracy, Acceptance, and Autonomy

2. There will be no positive relationship found between the Black, urban preschooler's poorly esteemed self-concept of Worth and maternal child rearing attitudes and practices of Domination, Rejection and Indulgence

3. There will be a relationship found between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's self-concept of Worth and the esteem of his self-concept of Race

CHAPTER TWO

Literature ReviewEsteem of the Self-Concept of Worth and the Mother-Child
Relationship

The research that we will review is that which takes a symbolic-interactionist point of view as the primary influencing process involved in self-concept development. The basis of this position was formulated by Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934). Cooley coined the phrase, "looking glass self" to explicitly point to the tendency of the self to derive its substance, its identity, from the social "reflections" or feedback from others, especially one's significant others, "To think of self apart from society is absurd...The self is rooted in the history of the human race and indispensable to any plan of life." Like Cooley, Mead in his Mind, Self and Society (1934) focuses on the importance of social interaction as the primary influencer of self-esteem, where self-esteem is seen as reflective of the significant others in the individual's life. It is a social self because through identification the individual has learned the values and attitudes of others in his social group and has internalized, in part or whole, the values and attitudes of those significant others and expresses them as his own. If valued, he values himself; if devalued, then, he devalues himself.

Horney (1945, 1950) believes that the esteem of the self-concept of Worth is negatively influenced by a disturbed mother-child relationship, which engenders basic anxiety, together with a feeling of helplessness and unhappiness caused by maternal rejection and disrespect.

Rogers (1951) formulated his theory of personality, "self theory", around the variable of self-esteem. He believes that the basic condition influencing an individual's esteem is his perceptions of how his significant other regard him. If he perceives harsh judgment and rejections he will not accept himself as basically good and will suffer tension and anxiety about his worth that will lead to maladaptive behavior. If he perceives acceptance as a valued person, with freedom to express his ideas and feelings, he can accept and value himself, resulting in positive esteem, self-assurance and intuitive trusting of self and others.

Allport (1955) also gives "mothering" the most important contribution to the development of the self-concept, especially those dimensions of nurturance, protection and affection. It is from this core self-concept which "mothering" shapes that the peripheral personality traits or predispositions develop.

Sullivan (1953) presents an interpersonal theory of personality development, wherein the mother-child relationship is central to the formation of the foundation of the self-concept. It is Sullivan who introduced the term,

"significant others" and believed that the significant others, the transmitters of reality to the child, during early childhood, are the parents, especially the mother.

In a longitudinal study, analyzing the intellectual, social and emotional development of 125 children in a nursery school setting, using psychometric tests and observation, Baldwin, Kalhorn and Bresse found differentiating characteristics among the children whose parents fell into different categories of child rearing attitudes and behavior: the "democratic," the "indulgent" and the "actively rejected." The children in the "democratic" group were well adjusted; those in the "indulgent" group were maladaptively dependent and those in the "actively rejected" group were fearful and anxious. (1945)

Shoben (1949) using his University of Southern California Parental Attitude Survey (USCPAS), was able to significantly differentiate between mothers of problem and nonproblem children. The USCPAS Scales that significantly differentiated the mother were Domination, Possessiveness refers to pathological "overprotectiveness" (Levy, 1947) with extreme restrictiveness and much "babying." Ignoring focuses on the lack of concerned attention to the child.

Zunich's (1961) study was based on the hypothesis that maternal child rearing attitudes are significantly related to selected child rearing practices that can be

observed in mother-child interactions. His sample was three to five-year old middle and lower-class children and their mothers.

Zunich's study was an observational one with a 81% to 100% inter-rater reliability. The mothers were also administered the PARI. In this study, maternal behavior was independent of social class and sex of child. The PARI Scales of Avoidance of Communication and Breaking the Will, indicators of maternal rejection were positively correlated with maternal behaviors of nonrelatedness to the child; restrictiveness and intrusiveness. PARI Scales of Encouraging Verbalization; Comradeship and Sharing and Equalitarianism were positively correlated with maternal behaviors of relatedness to the child; and helpfulness without interference.

A major study on child rearing attitudes and practices was presented in Patterns of Child Rearing. (Sears MacCoby & Levin, 1957) Mothers of middle class five-year-old children were interviewed and observed in interaction with their children and the resulting data was factor analyzed into several clusters or dimensions of child rearing. Dimensions of importance for this study were Warmth of Mother-Child Relationship; Permissiveness-Restrictiveness; and General Family Adjustment. Mothers who were found to be responsible, warm and affectionate towards their children were women, themselves rated as high in esteem, women

who valued their husband's effectiveness, were pleased with their current family life situation, had wanted their children, and who were affectionate towards their children in infancy and at five. Mothers who were found to be cold and rejecting towards their children were rated as low in esteem, devalued their husband's effectiveness and were dissatisfied with their family and life situation, finding it intolerable. The mothers in the first group significantly more than the mothers in the second group had better adjusted children.

Using the PARI Scales of Democracy-Domination; Acceptance-Rejection and Autonomy-Indulgence, together with a revised Sears, et al's (1957) "Mother's Interview," Cooper-smith (1967) studying the antecedents of self-esteem, with an older sample of prepubescent boys, found much the same relationship between the high self-esteem of the children and the warm, responsible and accepting behavior of the mothers. He also found a positive relationship between the low self-esteem of the children and the cold, rejecting behaviors of the mother.

Schwartz (1966) replicated the Sears, et al study without modification and found essentially the same relationships between the mother and child, with a positive relationship between maternal warmth and acceptance and high self-esteem of the child and maternal coldness and hostility and low self-esteem of the child.

In 1970, Sears used his 1957 sample from Patterns of Child Rearing to investigate the "Relation of Early Socialization Experiences to Self-Concept and Gender Role in Middle Childhood." The mothers were interviewed and their children, now twelve-years-old, were administered a paper and pencil self-concept test covering the following dimensions:

1. Satisfaction with ability, conduct and achievement
2. Comparison of self with others
3. Perception of attitudes and treatment by others
4. Experience of self-worth
5. Experience of high or low esteem

Sears' hypothesis was that the influence of early childhood experiences are significantly related to the child's self-concept and gender role in middle childhood. Sears reasoned that if the mother's attitude towards the child gives the child the feeling of being loved, accepted, wanted and respected, then these feelings should induce feelings of self-worth and facilitate self confidence. Sears found that maternal warmth and acceptance of the child in early childhood was significantly related to a "good" self-concept in middle childhood. In summary, maternal warmth and acceptance were shown to be a significant determiner of a child's self-esteem.

Finney (1971) explored the influence of certain maternal attitudes and practices on the personality of the

children. Mothers and their children were assessed independently. Mothers were interviewed using Sears, et al's. (1957) "Mother's Interview" and certain MMPI Scales. The children were also interviewed and their self-concept data was supplemented by their teacher's ratings of them.

Maternal warmth and nurturance was found to be positively related to their children's self-confidence, self-reliance, and optimism. These children were free of anxiety and passive resentment. Maternal hostility and rejection were positively related to their children's pessimism, hostility, anxiety and passively hostile behavior. These children had a general expectation that their needs would not be met. Nurturing and accepting mothers had a high achievement need for their children, tended to lack hostility and were somewhat overprotective but not in a defensive way that implies unconscious rejection (Levy, 1947). These mothers were also firm limit setters. Hostile and rejecting mothers were found to be low in nurturance and were not firm limit setters. These mothers' attitudes and behaviors conformed to the PARI scales of Rejection and Abdication of Parental Role.

Flammer (1970) hypothesized that parental warmth and encouragement of independence and self-reliance were antecedents of positive self-esteem in preschoolers and facilitated positive parental identification. Using the Childs Self-Social Constructs Test (CSSCT) and a parental inter-

view, his hypothesis was supported.

David's (1973) study of the relationship between the perception of Black and White preschoolers' self-concepts and mother-concepts used the Children's Apperception Test (CAT); a story completion test on mother-child dynamics and a picture and adjective self-rating scale. David found no significant Black-White differences between the preschoolers self and mother-concept scores. Further, a significant positive relationship was found between the children's self and mother-concepts, with a positive mother-concept related to a positive self-concept and a negative mother-concept related to a negative self-concept.

The positive mother-concept dimensions were competence, nurturance and relative permissiveness, while the positive self-concept dimensions of the preschooler were security, independence and optimism. The negative mother-concept dimensions were aggressiveness, anxiety, dominance, and rejection, while the negative self-concept dimensions of the preschooler were aggressiveness, dependency, anxiety and pessimism.

These findings on mother and self-concepts of Black and White preschoolers closely parallel the Coopersmith (1967) findings with prepubescent boys, supporting the reasonable validity of the maternal attitude and practice dimensions of Democracy-Domination; Acceptance-Rejection and Autonomy-Indulgence are significantly influencing the esteem of the preschooler's self-concept of Worth.

Graybill (1978) also found maternal acceptance positively related to high self-esteem in the child and psychological control (i.e., fear and guilt inducement) positively related to low self-esteem. It is interesting to note that all of the studies reviewed, used white samples only.

Summary of Esteem of Self-Concept of Work and Mother-
Child Relationship

The esteem of the preschooler's self-concept of Worth is critically influenced by his significant others, especially his mother. Much of his evaluative self-perceptions represent internalized schemes of how his significant others perceive and treat him, through their attitudes and behaviors towards him.

From fifty years of mother-child research, we have the repeated findings of a significant, positive relationship between maternal child rearing attitudes and practices having to do with the dimensions of Democracy-Domination, Acceptance-Rejection and Autonomy-Indulgence. These attitudes and practices are the result, in part, of the mother's character structure wherein certain consistent and enduring overall traits or predispositions are integrated into the maternal role and expressed within the mother-child relationship.

Mothers of children with highly esteemed self-concepts of Worth were found to be warm, accepting and supportive of their children's needs and aspirations. These

mothers were responsible caretakers and teachers and generally accepting of their maternal role. They were rated as high in self-esteem, valued their husbands' effectiveness and were satisfied with their family and life situation. On the other hand, mothers of children with poorly esteemed self-concepts of Worth were found to be cold, rejecting and non-supportive of their children's needs and aspirations. They were rated as low in self-esteem, dissatisfied with their husbands' effectiveness, their current family and life situation and many expressed resentment of their maternal role.

Esteem of the Self-Concept of Race

In 1967, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, established by the President of the United States to investigate the causes of Black rioting concluded:

Our nation is moving towards two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal...Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life...

This has been and to a great extent still is the social reality within which the Black child develops. It is this reality, the reality of White racism towards Blacks that makes the Black child's self-concept of Race and its esteem such an important self-concept dimension. (Radke & Trager, 1950; Clark, 1963; Milner, 1975)

For approximately forty years, awareness of this Black-White reality has motivated theorists, writers and researchers to conceptualize and investigate the phenomenon of the self-concept of Race of Blacks, especially Black

children.

Studies have shown that racial awareness, identification and attitudes develop in children as young as three-years-old. (Horowitz, 1939; Clark & Clark, 1939, 1940, 1947; Radke, Trager and Davis, 1949; Stevenson & Stevenson, 1960; Porter, 1971; Kambon, 1977) The major techniques used to assess the children's self-concept of Race are racial pictures, photos, dolls and puppets. (Horowitz, 1939; Clark & Clark, 1952; Morland, 1972; Hrabra & Grant, 1970)

One of the earliest racial self-concept assessment techniques is the Horowitz's (1939) picture technique composed of a set of pictures depicting a Black child, a White child and irrelevant depictions such as a lion and a clown. Each picture is presented to the child and he is asked, "Which one is you?"

Later, the Clarks (1952) introduced an assessment technique using Black and White dolls. The child was forced to choose the doll that:

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

Request 1-4 and 5-7 were designed to reveal racial preference and awareness of racial differences, while request 8 was designed to reveal racial identity. The dolls were white and medium brown in skin color so that skin color as a factor in racial identification was questioned for the light-skinned Black children who racially misidentified with the White doll. The thought was that this group of Black misidentifiers were identifying on a perceptual rather than a social grouping level. Greenwald & Oppenheim (1967) addressed this question by adding a third doll choice of "Mulatto" coloring which in their attempt was "grayish-brown" resulting from the painting of a white doll brown. This third alternative resulted in no significant difference between Black and White preschoolers in racial misidentification; however, the esthetically unpleasing coloring of the third alternative introduced a new, what we consider a more confounding, artifact, influencing racial preference, with Black children and White, overwhelmingly rejecting the "grayish-brown" "mulatto" alternative.

Until the mid-sixties, the bulk of the developmental literature on the esteem of the Black preschooler's self-concept of Race presented findings of more Black than White racial misidentification; more Black than White preference and positive evaluation of the other racial doll and more Black than White negative evaluation and rejection of own racial doll. For the Black preschooler, this phe-

nomenon of racial awareness, White doll preference and Black doll rejection increased with age, reaching its apex at age four and decreasing in favor of Black doll preference and White doll rejection thereafter. However, even with the decrease in White doll preference and own-race acceptance, it never equalled that of their White counterparts. It should be noted that most of the researchers with the exception of the Clarks (1939, 1940, 1947) were White and their theoretical basis was the "social comparison," "reactive-status" position which maintained that because of White racism towards Blacks, resulting in prejudiced and discriminatory treatment of the Black minority by the White majority who enjoy and wield the wealth and power, Black racial misidentification and preference for White and rejection of Blacks, with own racial group and self-as-a-member rejection and hatred is the logical, although psychologically unhealthful outcome.

Because their skin color is such a saliently defining physical attribute by which to classify them, it was conceptualized as the "mark of oppression" (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1962). Lewin (1948) notes, "One of the better known and most extreme cases of self-hatred can be found among American Negroes." These clinicians and writers are White but what gives the "social-comparison" and "reactive-status" more validity is when Black social scientist write and interpret research findings as supportive of it. The

most prominent Blacks who espoused this position are the Clarks, Kenneth and his wife Mamie, both psychologists, with Kenneth once serving as the President of the American Psychological Association, a most prestigious and influential position. One can imagine the acceptance of this global racial self-rejection and hatred position when the following is presented by the Clarks:

Blacks are still characterized by self-hatred and confusion about self and his group (1959)

As minority children learn the inferior status they have been assigned to and observe their enforced segregation from the more privileged, they react with deep feelings of inferiority and personal humiliation. Many become confused about their own personal worth. (1963)

By seven, children accept the reality of dark color, the stigma remains, forced to recognize self evaluated as inferior. Few if any Negroes ever fully lose that sense of shame and self-hatred (1965)

Overview of Studies Interpreted as Supporting a "Social Comparison and "Reactive Status" Position

Horowitz (1939) investigating the racial aspects of self-identification in Black and White, New York City, nursery children used a picture technique which required the child to identify himself from a presentation of pictures depicting a Black child, a White child, a lion and a clown. On the basis of the child's identification choice, together with relevant racial comments, Horowitz reported racial awareness in children as young as three, with this awareness increasing with age, and significantly more Black than White racial misidentification. The misidentifica-

tion findings were interpreted as the child expressing his "wishing to be White."

In 1939, Clark & Clark assessed the development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identity in Black, Washington, D. C. preschoolers, using the Horowitz (1939) picture technique. The Clarks like Horowitz found racial awareness in children as young as three and some degree of racial identification for some of the children.

In 1940, the Clarks questioned whether or not some of their racial misidentification findings, identifying with the White child, was due to the artifact of skin color, with the light-skinned, Black children identifying on a perceptually accurate basis rather than on a socially defined racial group membership category. Subjects were divided into "light", "medium", and "dark" skin color. Identification choices analyzed by skin color found significantly more "light" skinned children misidentifying than "medium" and "dark". This finding supported the Clarks' hypothesis that skin color significantly influenced racial identification among Black preschoolers in that the "light" children were seen as identifying on a perceptual basis representative of their less sophisticated stage of cognitive development. However, for the "medium" brown-skinned misidentifiers, the Clarks considered the possibility of ambivalence and for the "dark" brown-skinned children, the

consideration of their "wish to be white," with this phenomenon like the "light" brown-skinned children's being a perceptual rather than a social phenomenon.

The Clarks changed assessment technique, from pictures of Black and White children to Black and White dolls in 1947. In this investigation of racial preference and identification in northern and southern Black preschoolers, it was found that although 90 percent of the children indicated accurate racial awareness, correctly choosing the White, Colored and Negro doll when asked to do so, only 60 percent demonstrated accurate racial identification. The northern children made fewer accurate racial self identifications than the southern children, with that phenomenon being attributed to the fact that the northern sample had more "light" brown-skinned children. They also reported that the majority of all the children preferred the White doll and rejected the Colored doll, with this behavior having its most significant spurt between the ages of three and four and tapering off thereafter. The Clarks also presented some qualitative data on the children's behavior during the test situation, reporting that some of the children, when requested to identify themselves as Black or White, became traumatized, crying and unable to remain in the situation.

In an investigation of emotional factors in racial identification and preference of five, six and seven-year-

old Black children, the Clarks (1950) in addition to Horowitz's picture techniques and their doll technique, used a coloring test, where the child was asked to color non-race related stimuli (i.e., a mouse, a leaf, an apple and an orange) and to also color a figure of a child "the color that you are." An interpretation was made that for those children who colored the non-race related objects accurately, yet colored themselves inaccurately, using white-related colors (i.e., white or yellow) or bizarre colors, there was emotional conflict around racial self-identification at "the very foundations of ego structure."

Goodman (1952) assessing racial awareness and perceptions in preschool, Black and White children, attending an interracial nursery school in the northeast, used the Clarks' doll technique, together with interviews and observations. She divided, on the basis of her findings, the children into different levels of racial awareness: low, medium and high. Goodman reports:

Our white children never indicate a sense of inferiority in relation to browns ... About half of our white children give no reason to suppose that they feel anything more than a passive neutrality. The other half falls close to the superiority end of the scale ... Never in our experience do our Negro children assume a posture of superiority towards whites ... They express neutrality (some 40 percent), but over half of our Negro children convey a sense of inferiority to whites.

Goodman sees the validity of her conclusion as much more significant when her sample of high racial awareness, Black children indicate a "sense of inferiority to whites."

With a sample of Black and White, southern preschoolers Morland (1958) explored racial awareness and identification, using the technique of identifying oneself from photos of Black and White children, as well as differentiating the children by race. Like the others, he found racial awareness increasing with age, having its fastest development during the child's fourth year. Accurate racial self-identification was reported as significantly higher for White than Black preschoolers. Intelligence and the skin color of the Black children was not controlled, leading Morland to question the validity of his own findings.

In assessing the social perceptions and attitudes of Black and White New York children in kindergarten through second grade, Radke, Trager and Davis (1949) used pictured social situations with racial and religious themes. The children were asked to interpret structured situations (e.g., isolation, interactions). Blacks first and Jews secondly were the most rejected, negatively stereotyped and segregated, overwhelmingly by Whites, but also by some Blacks and Jews.

Radke and Trager (1950) using an interview format, plus a doll technique, assessed the Black and White children's perception of social roles of Blacks and Whites. In two instances, the Black children significantly more than the White children assigned inferior status, money and homes, to their own racial group. This was interpreted

as "social reality," the awareness of the negative status of Blacks.

In Texas, Stevenson and Stewart (1958) with three to seven-year-old, Black and White children, using pictures, doll (racial) assembly, and incomplete stories about racial figures, found that with increasing age, there was increasing racial awareness. They also report significantly more Black than White racial-self-misidentification; own race preference and negative own race stereotyping. It must be noted that all of these phenomenon decrease with age.

During the early sixties, Morland (1972) in a comparative study of racial awareness, identification and preference in Black and White, northern and southern preschoolers, used photos of Black and White children to assess these phenomenon. In both regions, he found more Black than White preference for the other race children and more Black than White racial self-misidentification. These findings were stronger for the segregated, Black and White southern sample.

Again, during the early sixties, Porter (1971) studied racial awareness, attitudes, and racial identification in northeastern, Black and White preschoolers, in segregated and in integrated nursery schools. Controlling for sex, class and age, she found significantly more Black than White misidentification, with 30 percent of the Black children consistently misidentifying compared with 15 per-

cent of the White. Skin color as a means of classifying dolls was used more significantly by Black children than White. Those children for whom skin color was a salient means of classification and who indicated a high rate of White preference, misidentified the most for these children own-race and self-rejection, with a desire to be White were the conclusions. This was based on 81 percent of the mis-identifiers having low own-race preference.

For her Black sample, Porter found a significant relationship between racial attitudes and racial self-identification in that children with high own-race preference identified more accurately than those with low own-race preference.

In her Black sample, the working-class children had the highest own-race preference and the middle-class, the lowest, with the welfare children very similar to the middle-class in their low own-race preference. Black girls were more aware of correct racial terminology but in spite of this misidentified more.

Porter's work is significant in that it points to the many factors that influence racial attitudes and identification, such as skin color, social class, racial situation (i.e., segregated superficially integrated or truly integrated) She also makes it clear that from racial identification alone, one cannot conclude a poorly esteemed self-concept of race; rather, one must also look at

the level of racial awareness, the salience of color and the racial attitudes towards one's group and oneself as a member.

Challenges to Earlier Studies Interpreted From a "Social Comparison" "Reactive-Status" Position

Ward and Braun (1971) looked at the relationship between self-esteem and racial preference in Black children, attending interracial nurseries in a suburb and an inner-city. They reasoned that Black children growing up since the mid-sixties, exposed to Black pride and militancy would have increased feelings of positive esteem concerning their "Blackness," which in turn would promote own-race identification and preference.

The children were administered an oral adaptation of the Piers-Harris Self-Esteem Inventory and an adaptation of the Clarks' doll technique, substituting puppets for dolls. Intelligence was controlled with all children being "normal". A significant positive relationship was found between self-esteem and own-race preference. Children with more own-race preference had higher self-esteem scores than children with low own-race preference. Both middle and lower-class White children were highly ethnocentric. There were no significant sex differences.

Hraba and Grant (1971) examined racial preference and identification in a mid-western, interracial nursery, where there was an active expression of Black conscious-

ness and pride in the community by many positive adolescent and adult role models. They reported that the Black children, three to seven, light, medium and dark-brown-skinned alike expressed preference for and identified with their own racial group. Another important finding was that 70 percent of the Black children had White friends, supporting interracial acceptance. It was concluded that own-race acceptance, on forced choice items, does not necessarily mean other-race rejection, unless, of course, that rejection is specifically expressed.

Gregor and McPherson (1966) using the Clarks' doll technique to assess racial attitudes of Black and White children in a Deep South metropolitan area found significant more Black than White own-race preference 79:50 percent. More important is the finding that on the request, "Show me the doll that looks bad, " 95 percent of the White children chose the Black doll while 92 percent of the Black children refused the adult command and would not label either doll as "bad."

Fox and Jordan (1973) found no significant difference between Black and White, New York children's own-race preference and identification; however, there was a significant difference between these children and the Chinese-American children in the sample. Here, the Chinese-American children had significantly lower own-race preference and identification.

Kambon (1977) studies "Afro-American" children, three to eight in Central Harlem to assess the development of sequential, cognitive stages of racial self-images. It was Kambon's intent to demonstrate that terms like "self-concept", "self-image", and "racial self-image" have been oversimplified as monolithic concepts rather than multi-faceted or multi-dimensional ones. He specifically challenged earlier studies' interpretation of an all-or-none racial self-image which when assessed as negative means a "wish to be white."

In his developmental study, Kambon found that color judgment and differentiation was reliably made before achievement of racial self-concepts or racial self-images. He found that the concept for the color "white" preceded all other colors, race-related or non-race-related. In each of the age categories, the majority of the children identified with their own race.

Support was found for Kambon's hypothesis that there were racial self-images rather than a racial self-image. His children's responses indicated a positive self-image of racial competency and a negative self-image of racial status. Competency was based on intelligence, physical attributes, household skills, autonomy and leadership ability. Status was based on employment prestige, authority and material possessions.

Kambon contends that these differentially valued

racial self-images reflect the Black child's awareness of social reality, with its White racism in the form of prejudice and discrimination against Blacks; however, Kambon's empirical support for a multi-dimensional, racial self-concept allows both positive and negative self-conceptions to function within an overall racial self-concept. This allows for favorable dimensions to develop based on the many positive assessments made within the Black experience. This conceptualization that Kambon's research findings support has been put forth by "Referent Group" theorists and researchers who believe that Black community, especially the Black family has many strengths and positive attributes that function to enhance the Black's self-concept of race and to render much of the noxious stimuli of White racism as harmless or not as traumatizing. (Rosenberg, 1973; Heiss & Owens, 1972; Yancey, Rigsby & McCarthy, 1972; Comer, 1972; Comer & Poussaint, 1976; Barnes, 1972; McLaughlin, 1976; Wilson, 1978)

In studying the "idealization" operations of young Black and White children, Kline, (1970) found that the majority of both Black and White children predicted success in the attainment of their idealized goals. While the Black children were equally optimistic about the White children attaining their goals, the White children were significantly more optimistic about their own goal attainment than that of their Black counterparts. This re-

sponse of the White children reflect the social reality for them. Another important finding is that the Black child's White preference choices did not mean Black rejection as suggested by other studies. Kline presented some of the Black children's verbalized reasons for their White preference choice which reflected an attitude of chance or "fair play." For example, after expressing Black preference on one item and White on the next, when asked why, he responded, "Cause the other time I say he's (Black doll) the best." On the next preference item, he again chose the Black doll. Kline interpreted this behavior as lower ethnocentrism for the Black children and placed their mixed preferences in a more healthful light than that of earlier interpretations of the same behavior. Kline concludes that the response of the Black children in his study give promising hope for the future in that these children appear "not to be collaborating in sharing the devaluation visited upon them by White racism."

Banks (1976) in reviewing the research on White preference in Blacks, concludes that it is a "paradigm in search of a phenomenon." Using simple percentage as his criteria, Banks analyzed the percentage of Black and White preference choices, designating 50 percent as chance preference, above 50 percent as significant preference.

From his analysis of twenty-one "preference" studies, Banks concluded that two studies supported the interpretation of White preference in Black children; four

supported Black or own-race preference and fifteen reflected chance preference:

White Preference:

Asher and Allen (1960) with a sample of Black children asked them the preference questions formulated by the Clarks (1947). The children expressed White preference significant at the P.05 level.

Morland (1958) showing southern Black children pictures of Black and White children and asking, "Which would you rather be?" found the majority of children expressing the preference to be White.

Own-Race or Black Preference:

Gregor and McPherson (1966) found the significant majority of Black children choosing the Black doll over the White as "nice."

Ward and Braun (1972) found the overwhelming majority of Black children describing the Black puppet over the White puppet as having a "nice color" and designating the Black puppet as "good."

Ogletree (1969) found that 76 percent of his Black children consistently colored a human figure drawing, designated as self, brown.

Hraba and Grant (1970) found approximately 70 percent of his Black children designating the Black doll as having "nice color" and choosing it to "play with."

Some of the studies of racial non-preference, are the Clarks' (1939a; 1939b; 1949; 1947), Goodman's (1952)

and Morland's (1972)

Another issue that Banks confronted is racial preference and ethnocentrism as they relate to a healthful adjustment. In all the preference studies concerning Black and White children, the White children overwhelmingly prefer their own race and hostilely reject Blacks, on racial grounds. An example is the findings in the Gregor and McPherson (1968) study wherein 95 percent of the White children choose the Black doll as "looks bad" while 92 percent of the Black children refused to label either.

Banks questions the investigators use of a White, ethnocentric frame of reference from which to interpret the preference choices of Black children, especially when their choices represent chance or equal preference for both Blacks and Whites. This frame of reference interprets, explicitly or implicitly, the rigid ethnocentrism shown by the White children as a positive characteristic; however, Banks suggests that such a totalistic identification pattern with rigid preference for Whites and hostile rejection of Blacks as not so healthful when viewed from a personality theory such as Adorno, et al (1950) present in their classical Authoritarian Personality. Prejudice is seen as an essentially, negative personality trait that affects the individual's whole inner life, engendering systematic hostility and fearfulness. (Allport, 1954)

Esteem of the Self-Concept of Race and the Mother-Child
Relationships

We believe that certain child rearing attitudes and practices significantly influence the preschooler's self-concept of Worth. We further believe that the same dynamics of emotional attachment, dependency, imitation and identification function to make mother's racial attitudes and practices significant influencers of the esteem of the preschooler's self-concept of Race. We know that identification allows the child to believe that he too possesses some of the attributes of his parents, with skin color being a most salient, physical attribute within the Black family. The mother represents the most significant extension of the child's self because of his identification with her. Joy and pride are taken in her accomplishments and shame and despair in her failure and denigration.

In accord with "referent group" theory, Silverstein and Krate (1975) believe that during early childhood, before the experiencing of the larger society, the negative impact of White racism, indirectly communicated to the child via the family and television, upon the developing self-concept of race may be significantly neutralized by supportive relationships, especially the relationship with the parents.

McLaughlin (1976) in her chapter on "Black Pride," addresses the issue of Black parents promoting positive

esteem of their children's self-concepts of Race. She believes that loving oneself and one's own racial group allows one to love all others:

First you must realistically review your own ideas and experiences as a Black person. Your clear understanding and acknowledgement of yourself as a Black has a direct bearing on your child and how you relate to him. The first question is: Do you love yourself as a Black person?

McLaughlin goes on to list the many ways that parents consciously or unconsciously communicate to their children what being Black means to them. Some esteem lowering communications that "Black is bad" are extraordinary concern about skin color, hair and facial features, with positive evaluation given to the skin coloring, hair texture and facial features that most closely approximate White and negative evaluations given to those that most closely approximate Blacks.

Comer, who is director of the Yale Child Developmental Center and Poussaint of Harvard University, both Black psychiatrists, advise Black parents on discussing racial issues with their preschoolers:

We know many Black children who have a positive racial identity, whose parents responded only to natural openings to discuss race. These youngsters handle themselves well with all groups. They can discuss race issues easily. They show a very mature concern about racism and injustice by the age of ten years. On the other hand, we know children who have been bombarded with discussions about race, almost from birth and who are insecure about being Black - even in all Black settings.

Comer and Poussaint caution that a parental attitude suggesting that racial discussion is forbidden or an attitude

of ambivalence can create anxiety and even preoccupation concerning the danger of being Black. They believe that the Black preschooler can internalize a positive racial identity if the parents are consistent in their positive expressions of their racial identity and do not preach racial pride and practice racial denigration. They advise that racial insults to the child by Whites should be resolved by explaining to the child that it is the White who is abusive and bad and not he and further that the parents should confront the parents of the White child or the White adult perpetrator. The Black child's expressed desire to be "White" or have White features should be met with a firm but relaxed acknowledgement of the child's own unique racial identity with emphasis on the fact that he is "just like mommy and daddy," his most loved, most significant others. (1975)

Wilson (1978) sees a problem in parents promoting a positive racial identity in their children based on the fact that they and their parents were socialized in a Black community where "black was not beautiful." This position of Wilson's reflects a "social-comparison" and "reactive-status" point of view. He believes that it will take years for the scars to disappear, that is the psychological scars of White racism, even in a positive and healthful environment. Wilson believes that it is critical to teach Black children that racism is a White not a Black problem.

Harrison-Ross and Wyden (1973) comment on parental anxiety concerning the subject of race that is based on their own discomfort, conscious or unconscious, about being Black:

A great many parents feel the same way when it comes to telling children about sex. In both cases parents tend to stiffen up when they talk to children about these subjects. The kids sense the uptight atmosphere and immediately absorb another lesson about race, not the one the parents are giving out loud. The kids learn that race and sex are very uncomfortable topics. "These subjects are really loaded, too hot to handle." That's the silent message that parents are sending and that's the first one the youngsters absorb. Parent and child are relieved when the lecture is over.

Wilson outlines a very concrete strategy for promoting and nurturing a positive racial self-image in Black children similar in many ways to Comer and Poussaint's (1975). Wilson feels that Black children must be exposed to situations where Black adults exert "creativity, authority, knowledge, initiative and leadership." They caution Black parents never to degrade "Blackness", to teach their children love of self, of own race and of others. Wilson concludes:

To be pro-black is not to be anti-White. To love oneself does not mean to hate others. It must be clearly understood that the genuine love of one's own ethnic group is the basis for the love of oneself, for the love of others and the basis for a loving personality in general.

Unfortunately, just as there has been virtually no empirical research done on the influence of certain child rearing attitudes and practices on the esteem of the Black child's developing self-concept of Worth, there also has

been little research done on the influence of certain racial attitudes and practices on the esteem of the Black child's developing self-concept of Race.

Barnes (1972) with a sample of Black Kindergarten and first graders and their parents investigated the relationship between aspects of the children's self-concepts, Worth and Race, and their parents' sense of "group belongingness" within the Black community; racial identification; political and racial ideology and sense of personal control.

Both the children and their parents were tested on the Ethnic Pictures Test (EPT) designed to assess racial identification, friendship preferences, and social valuations. The parents were also administered scales assessing racial knowledge, opinion and self-rating.

A positive relationship was found between children with highly esteemed self-concepts of Worth and Race and parents who were actively involved in the Black community; had a high degree of "black consciousness" and a sense of own-race belongingness. These findings support "referent group" theory that the Black community as a resource for positive self-concept development for its members.

A clinical case example worth mentioning is presented by Spurlock (1969), a Black psychoanalyst. She presents a case of an eight-year-old, Black girl, referred to her because of pronounced body image and ego distortion. Her first human figure drawings of herself were primitive scribbles. Over treatment time, as she improved psycholo-

gically, her drawings of herself got better and finally she began to color them brown. During treatment, the child's parents were very active in Black consciousness raising activities in their community. Spurlock concludes that the clinical data does not suggest racial misidentification as the genesis of her problem but does imply that for this Black child, self-awareness involves racial awareness and the environmental response to race. She speculates that the parents' positive and active response to their "Blackness" allowed their child to internalize an accurate and, most probable, positive racial identification and a highly esteemed self-concept of Worth and Race.

Summary of Esteem of Self-Concept of Race and Mother-Child
Relationship

Like the preschooler's developing self-concept of Worth, the esteem of the Black preschooler's self-concept of Race is critically influenced by his significant others, especially his parents. With the self-concept of Race, we have the noxious impact of White racism, most usually during early childhood being indirectly transmitted to the child by each means as television, reading material, etc. However, one significant source of transmission is the parents, especially the mother, and it is as this source that she significantly influences the esteem of her child's developing self-concept of Race.

For over twenty five years, from the late thirties to the mid-sixties, the prevalent theory concerning the self-concept development of the Black child was the "social-comparison" and "reactive status" theory. This theory saw the Black child's membership in a devalued and discriminated against, minority, racial group, without access to power, as preventing the development of a highly esteemed self-concept or Race and Worth. Most theorists and researchers operating within this frame of reference did not differentiate between a self-concept of Race, a self-concept of personal Worth and an overall Self-concept of Personal Esteem. They did not differentiate because they probably did not envision the overall self-concept as multi-dimensional, with many subordinate self-concept dimensions and even within these, more specific dimensions with differential esteem values, positive and negative. From this "social comparison" "reactive status" theoretical framework there is little, if any, expectation of a Black child having a highly esteemed self-concept of Race.

During this period, where research of the Black child's self-concept of Race was interpreted from a "social comparison" and/or "reactive status" framework, White preference by Black children in forced choices between Black and White and racial misidentification with Whites was interpreted as own-race and self-as-a-member rejection and hatred with a psychologically destructive "wish to be White."

Since the mid-sixties, this Black self-rejection, self-hatred position has been challenged and many times rejected. It has been challenged or rejected because of methodological flaws, rigid White ethnocentric and racist interpretations, and most importantly the absence, accidentally or purposefully, of the fact that the Black community (especially the Black family) functions as a source of positive self-concept development for its members. This last criticism is based on recent "referent group" theory. The Black children as opposed to the White children, in their racial preference choices, are seen as much more accepting of racial differences and, therefore, much more healthy in their racial attitudes.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Sample

Our Black preschoolers were enrolled in three, predominantly Black, preschool programs, located in a large northeastern inner-city. The majority of the children attended a Headstart Program, others attended an African-oriented program and the rest attended a Baptist Church Program. All of the children were entering kindergarten in six months. (Implica)

Overview

Our study consisted of three parts, the first two serving as screening procedures of verbal intelligence and esteem of Worth that determined which of our preschoolers, together with their parents, participated in the third and final part of our study.

In Part One, our initial sample was 165 boys and girls, with an average age of 53 months. In Part One, the screening of verbal intelligence, we used the Verbal Scale of the Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI). The criteria for participation in Part Two of the study was the achievement of a Bright Average Verbal I.Q. score of 110 to 120. Because we had some preschoolers who achieved a Very Superior Verbal I. Q. score of 130 and

above, we decided to include them in our study also, as a separate group.

Our sample in Part Two, 72 boys and girls, passing Part One's criterion were further screened on their esteem of Worth. In order to participate in the third and final part of our study, the children had to first score congruently on a non-verbal and a verbal test of esteem of Worth and then their score had to place them in the highest or lowest scoring group. The non-verbal esteem test was the Childrens Self-Social Constructs Test: Preschool Form's Esteem Scale (CSSCT) and the verbal test was selected cards from the Thematic Apperception Test (T.A.T.)

Our final sample in Part Three, was 24 preschoolers, 12 boys, 12 girls, and their mothers. Our original intention was to also include some child rearing data from the fathers; however, because of a preponderance of fathers in our high esteem of Worth groups and only one in our low esteem of Worth group, we had to drop their data from our sample. It is important to note that in reviewing the preschoolers' records on family structure, we found no significant differences between the paternal status (i.e. father present and absent) of our high and low esteem of Worth groups. However, upon visiting the homes of our selected sample, we found more fathers present than indicated in our high esteem families and more fathers absent than indicated in our low esteem families.

In Part Three, our sample of preschoolers were described by three, I. Q.-Esteem of Worth groups:

Group 1: I. Q.: 130 and above. High Esteem of Worth
6 Preschoolers: 2 boys and 4 girls

Group 2: I. Q.: 110-120. High Esteem of Worth
9 Preschoolers: 4 boys and 5 girls

Group 3: I. Q.: 110-120. Low Esteem of Worth
9 Preschoolers. 6 boys and 3 girls

Our preschoolers and their parents can be described as lower-middle and lower-class (i.e. working and non-working poor). All lived in predominantly Black neighborhoods. As was mentioned there were significantly more fathers present in the families of our high Esteem of Worth groups, Groups 1 and 2 than in our low Esteem of Worth group, Group 3. There were no significant differences between the three esteem groups concerning the age, education and occupation of the mothers, fathers, present or absent, and the father-surrogates.

Methods

Part One

The author, a Black female, a Masters Level clinical psychologist, and a Ph.D. candidate in clinical psychology, with the help of a fellow candidate, who was also Black, individually administered the Verbal Scale of the WPPSI to our initial sample of 165 preschoolers. The testing took place at their respective preschool programs. The WPPSI was administered to ensure, as much as possible, that the children were bright enough to understand and perform the

subsequent Esteem of Worth and Race tasks. We also wanted to ensure that the children's auditory and expressive verbal abilities were comparable. Our original intention was to only select a Bright Average, 110-120, sample; however, we found a Very Superior, 130 and above, group and decided to also include them, as representatives of the very "cream of the crop."

We need to elaborate a bit more on our verbal intellect criteria. Our stringent criteria which excluded those with Average, 90-109, ability, had to do with the issue of cognitive readiness (Piaget, 1959). At face value, we did not feel that the cognitive tasks involved in the assessment of our preschoolers' Esteem of Worth and Race were beyond the average five-year-old's cognitive capability; however, to ensure this, we felt that if any children in this age group were capable, it would be those children whose Verbal I. Q. Score placed them in the Bright Average range of Intellectual functioning and most certainly those additional children who placed in the Very Superior range. Also, since most esteem research has found a significant relationship between I. Q. and esteem, in that the higher the I. Q., the higher the esteem, our finding of a significant difference in esteem of Worth and/or Race between members of this high-level I. Q. group, especially in the case of those with directly comparable I. Q.s, would strengthen our position that other factors, i.e. maternal

child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices play a more influential role in the development of the preschooler's esteem of Worth and Race than I. Q.

Part Two

Esteem of Worth

To our 72 preschoolers, passing the Verbal I. Q. criterion of Part One, the author individually administered a nonverbal and a verbal test, assessing the esteem of the preschoolers' Self-Concept of Worth. These tests were the Esteem Scale from the Childrens Self-Social Constructs Test; Preschool Form (Est.-CSSCT) and selected cards from the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)

Description of Tests

Esteem Scale-Childrens Self Social Constructs Test Preschool Form

The Esteem Scale of the CSSCT (Long and Henderson, 1968) was individually administered to our 72 preschoolers. (See Appendix A) Overall, the CSSCT: Preschool Form is a nonverbal method of assessing the self in relation to significant others. Hoping to obtain additional information on the preschooler's relationship with his significant others, we also administered the CSSCT's Preference and Identification Scales.

The CSSCT makes two assumptions in its construct rationale. It assumes that the self-concept is relational and derived from social experience, especially from the

experiences of interactions with one's significant others. Information about oneself is provided by one's significant others and by oneself, in taking oneself as an object to be perceived evaluated and compared to other objects. (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Rogers, 1951; Sullivan, 1953) This assessment technique also assumes that conceptions about the self need not be verbally expressed but can be nonverbally communicated through symbolism. The nonverbal symbolism in this technique makes use of topological forms such as simple groupings and orderings that are interpreted as representing the preschooler's organization of his "life space" or social world. (Lewin, 1934; Kelley, 1955; DeSoto, London and Handel, 1965)

Test administration took about ten minutes. Each child was presented with a booklet containing line drawings representing significant others; mother, father, teacher, and friends. Also circles representing self and significant others were used. These line drawings of significant others and the circles representing self and others were presented in several symbolic arrays, the grouping or ordering of which was interpreted as the degree of the preschoolers' esteem of Worth compared to other preschoolers' as well as his preference for and identification with significant others.

There is the assumption inherent in the CSSCT that certain symbolic patterns have common meanings. For ex-

ample, physical distance is thought to represent psychological distance and is the pattern scrutinized to assess identification with significant others. A position higher up a vertical column is thought to represent greater value and is the pattern scrutinized to assess esteem of Worth.

(Keuthe, 1962; Levinger and Gunner, 1967; Ziller, 1969) For CSSCT administration and scoring, see Appendix A.

CSSCT Scales

Esteem

Esteem is the value judgment placed on the self in comparison with others, in this case, other children. Operationally, esteem-value is the position selected as self in a vertical column of five circles representing children. A higher position represents higher esteem of the self. Scores range from 1, lowest position, to 5, highest position.

The instructions were:

These circles represent children. Pick one to be you.

There were four interspered presentations, CSSCT-Esteem items 2, 12, 18, and 23. The highest possible score was 20 and the lowest 4.

Split-half reliability has been reported as .65 and .77 for two samples of preschoolers, one Black and one White (Long and Henderson, 1976b)

Construct validity found the following:

1. A significant difference between Black Headstart children and White children in the rural South, without control for intelligence or social class, found that the Black significantly more than the White children were lower in esteem, significant at the P.01 level. (Long and Henderson, 1968; 1970)
2. Among Black preschoolers, the children rated as more mature by their teachers were assessed as having higher esteem than those children rated as less mature. (McCandless, 1968)

Identification

Identification is defined as the putting of the self in a "we" category with another person(s) (Parsons, 1955). Operationally, the degree of identification is the physical distance in units, interpreted as the psychological distance, between the placement of the self and the significant other. Closer placement is interpreted as greater identification.

The child was presented with a horizontal array of 6 circles, with the line drawing of one of the four described significant others placed in the circle at the extreme left. The instructions were:

There is your father (mother...teacher...friend). You pick a circle to be you.

The scores ranged from 1, placement next to the significant other, to 5, placement furthest from the significant other, with closest placement representing greatest identification and furthest placement representing least identification. Each of the 4 significant others

was presented twice and the score for each identification being the sum of the two presentations. For each significant-other identification, a score of 2 represented the closest identification and a score of 10, the least.

Preference

Preference for significant others is indicated by the placement of the self with one significant other in a forced choice between two. The child was presented with line drawings of pairs of significant others: mother and father, mother and teacher, mother and friends, father and teacher, father and friends, teacher and friends.

The instructions were:

Here is your mother and here is your father. Pretend your finger is you. Put yourself with whichever one you want.

Choice of a significant other received 1 point.

There are 3 presentations of a significant other so that the highest preference score for any significant other is 3 which represents the preschooler choosing that person in lieu of another on all 3 paired presentations. The lowest preference score is zero, representing that person never being chosen.

Because of this forced choice format, item scores are not independent of each other. Since each of the 6 paired presentations is only administered once, no reliability data on internal consistency is available.

Validity studies found that boys in father present as opposed to father absent homes showed significantly more preference for father. (Long and Henderson, 1968; McCandless, 1967; Van Ardsell, et al, 1970)

Thematic Apperception Test

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) is a projective test wherein the subject is presented with pictured situations and asked to tell a story about each situation. (Murray and Morgan, 1935) The fundamental assumption is that as the subject constructs his story, he will reveal much of his inner life, among which will be certain conceptions of his self-worth as defined for our study.

The TAT cards selected for this study were the ones that Hartman (1969) believed, after surveying some 90 clinical psychologists, clearly elicited basic feelings about the self and the parent-child relationship. These cards are numbers 1, 2, 3BM, 6 6BM, 7BM, 7GF, 8BM, 13B, 16 and 17BM. For a descriptive of each card and the common themes it elicits, see Appendix B.

The author individually administered the selected TAT cards to each child with the following instructions:

This is a story-telling test. I have some pictures here that I am going to show you, and for each picture, I want you to make up a story. Tell what has happened before and what is happening now. Say what the people are feeling and thinking and how it will come out. You can make up any kind of story you please. Do you understand? Well then, here's the first picture.

The children's story responses were taped and transcribed. These stories were then analyzed and scored by two, experienced clinical psychologists, Black and female. They scored the stories using the Vasquez (1980) analysis and scoring protocol. (See Appendix C)

Two TAT dimensions were scored:

1. Self-Concept of Worth:

- (a) Trust vs. Mistrust
- (b) Security vs. Insecurity
- (c) Adequacy vs. Inadequacy

2. Parent-Child or Authority Figure-Child Relationship:

- (a) How child perceives parent or authority-figures
- (b) Parent or Adult-Child interactions

These two dimensions were scored on a scale of 1 to 3, with 1 representing "Low" or negative feelings and perceptions such as sad, bad, mad, fearful, angry, sullen, etc. Two (2) represents "Medium" or mixed-ambivalent perceptions and feelings such as sad then happy, good then bad, etc. Three (3) represents "High" or positive perceptions and feelings such as happy, good, pleased, secure, loving, etc.

The two dimensions' scores represent a summing of response scores for each dimension, with the highest, or most positive esteem of Worth score (i.e. Self and Parent-Self) being 100 and the lowest, or least positive, not known, since only scorable responses are considered. For example, a perfect score on the two dimensions would be represented as 100/100, meaning that on every scorable response, the preschooler gave the most positive, a 3,

response.

CSSCT And TAT Results

From the CSSCT, the Preference and Identification Scale results showed no significant differences between individuals and so that data, for purposes of our study was dropped.

The results of the Esteem Scale of the CSSCT and the TAT, created two esteem of Worth groupings, preschoolers with congruent scores indicating high esteem of Worth and preschoolers with congruent scores indicating low esteem of Worth.

Esteem Group A: CSSCT Esteem scores of 20-16 (highest) with congruent, high, TAT scores ranging from 100/92 to 76/76

Esteem Group B: CSSCT Esteem scores of 4-8 (lowest) with congruent, low, TAT scores ranging from 40/38 to 33/33

Combining the criterion of Parts One and Two, three Verbal I. Q.-Esteem of Worth Groups were formed who went on to take part in the final, Part Three of our study:

Group 1: I. Q.: 130 and above. High Esteem of Worth
6 Preschoolers: 2 boys and 4 girls

Group 2: I. Q.: 110-120. High Esteem of Worth
9 Preschoolers: 4 boys and 5 girls

Group 3: I. Q.: 110-120. Low Esteem of Worth
9 Preschoolers: 6 boys and 3 girls

Table 1 presents the final preschooler variables obtained from Parts One and Two of our study that enabled us to form our three I. Q.-Esteem of Worth Groups, while Table 2 presents the significant contrasts among the demo-

Table 1

Preschoolers: Final Descriptive Variables

<u>Esteem Groups</u>	<u>Subject Ident #</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Paternal Status</u>	<u>I.Q.</u>	<u>Verbal Esteem TAT</u>	<u>Non-Verbal Esteem CSSCT</u>
1	1	57	1-M	2-FS	137	82/95	20
1	2	56	1-M	1-FP	130	79/75	16
1	3	52	2-F	1-FP	137	79/88	16
1	4	58	2-F	3-FA	135	79/78	17
1	5	56	2-F	1-FP	132	88/90	16
1	6	63		1-FP	132	79/93	16
2	7	54	1-M	1-FP	120	100/92	20
2	8	55	1-M	3-FA	122	76/76	16
2	9	59	1-M	1-FP	116	80/77	20
2	10	58	1-M	1-FP	121	94/93	16
2	11	61	2-F	1-FP	121	88/96	16
2	12	64	2-F	2-FS	110	85/89	20
2	13	54	2-F	1-FP	120	79/76	20
2	14	63	2-F	3-FA	118	88/88	20
2	15	59	2-F	1-FP	117	88/88	20
3	16	62	1-M	3-FA	111	39/33	4
3	17	57	1-M	3-FA	114	33/33	8
3	18	54	1-M	3-FA	121	36/36	4
3	19	53	1-M	3-FA	121	40/38	8
3	20	65	1-M	3-FA	121	33/39	8
3	21	58	1-M	1-FP	116	33/33	4
3	22	54	2-F	1-FP	119	36/37	4
3	23	59	2-F	2-FS	115	40/38	4
3	24	55	2-F	3-FA	121	36/38	8

Table 1

Preschoolers: Final Descriptive Variables

Esteem Groups:	1 - Very Superior Verbal I.Q.(WPPSI)and High Esteem of Worth 2 - Bright Average Verbal I.Q.(WPPSI)and High Esteem of Worth 3 - Bright Average Verbal I.Q.(WPPSI)and Low Esteem of Worth
Sex:	1 - Male 2 - Female
Paternal Status:	1 - Father Present 2 - Father Surrogate 3 - Father Absent
WPPSI Verbal I.Q.:	130 and above - Very Superior 110-121 - Bright Average
Verbal Esteem:	TAT Scores - Self/Parent-Self Interaction
Non-Verbal Esteem:	CSSCT-Esteem Scale Scores: 1-20 1 = Lowest and 20 = Highest

Table 2

Significant Contrasts Among the Demographics
of the 3 Esteem Groups of Preschoolers

Variable	Group 1	Group 2	Group 1
	vs	vs	vs
	Group 2	Group 3	Group 3
	Z _U	Z _U	Z _U
Birth Order ²	2.13*	2.64**	0.46
Paternal Status	0.00	2.35*	2.16*

P .10 *P .05 **P .01 ***P .001 two-tailed

1. Mann-Whitney U-Test corrected for tied ranks and expressed as normal deviates
2. For these tests "Onlys" were merged with "Eldests"

graphics of the three esteem groups of preschoolers.

Part Three

Preschoolers and Their Racial Self-Concepts

Our final sample of 24 preschoolers, grouped on the dimensions of Verbal I. Q. and Esteem of Worth, were individually administered the T.V. Story Game (Porter, 1971) to assess the esteem of their Self-Concepts of Race.

The T.V. Story Game (TVSG) technique assessed the preschoolers' racial awareness, attitudes and identification. Porter adapted her technique from the Movie Story Game (Evans, Chein and Hogrefe, 1948) and the Clarks' (1940) doll technique.

Prior to the administration of the TVSG, because of the prerequisite of black-white color differentiation ability, the author constructed and individually administered a simple color categorization task. (See Appendix D) Had any of the 24 preschoolers failed, and they did not, they would have been dropped from the study.

Color Categorization Task

The author placed a number of small plastic horses, mixed brown, black and white in front of the child. and the child was instructed:

Put the horses that belong together in piles.
All of the children categorized by color perfectly. Next, the children were given mixed piles of red, blue, brown, black and white astronauts and given the same instructions as with the horses. Again, all the children categorized

perfectly. (Implica)

T.V. Story Game

Test Materials

1. 2 scaled-down stage sets that can be placed on a table, with one set representing a school room and one set representing a living room

2. 2 sets of flexible dolls. One set of dolls was Black and one set was White. Each set contained a mother doll, 4 boys and 4 girls.

(a) The Black dolls' skin color were a medium-dark brown and their eyes were dark brown, their hair black.

(b) The White dolls' skin color were a pinkish-white and their eyes were blue, their hair blonde.

(c) From each set, there was a Black and a White doll dressed identically, creating two sets of interracial dolls, male and female, dressed identically.

Because of research findings of Black skin color and perceptual confusion for light-skinned Black children, the use of a third, light-skinned or pale-golden Black doll was considered (Clark and Clark, 1940; Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1967)

However, after much searching, no light-skinned alternative, identical to a darker-skinned and White doll was commercially available. An attempt by the author to paint a White doll the desired skin color met with failure, producing the same "grayish-brown" coloring that created

problems for Greenwald and Oppenheim (1967)

The mulatto doll received especially adverse valuations. For example, only 13% of the Negroes and 4% of the White children preferred to play with the mulatto doll, while the darker-skinned doll was chosen by 28% and 22% respectively. Similar responses occurred for the "goodness" and color preference questions. Perhaps the doll's color, light grayish-brown was a factor. If so, the evaluative responses should be interpreted with caution.

It seemed more reasonable, given the lack of a suitable light-skinned Black doll, to permit the inclusion of a skin color artifact and use only the medium brown and white dolls. There will be an opportunity to assess the degree of an observable color match between the skin color of our preschoolers and the skin color of the doll chosen. There can be no such objective assessment made of the children's subjective evaluations that influence their preference choices. We certainly do not want to tamper with those evaluations by presenting an influencing, perceptually unrealistic and esthetically unpleasing Black skin color that might influence own-race rejection and White preference.

Procedure

Each child was independently classified on a skin color index by two teachers and afterwards, where there were differences, there was discussion and resolution. The skin color index ranged from 1 to 5, with the following designations;

1. "White"
2. Very Light: Pale Yellow
3. Medium Brown: Carmel
4. Dark Brown: Dark Chocolate
5. Very Dark: Close to Black

The author rated the mother's skin colors on the same skin color index for possible use in explaining some racial attitude and identification findings; for example, a skin color #5 preschooler has a preference for and identifies with the White doll and we know that his mother's skin color is #1 or #2. Our interpretation of the preschooler's preference and identification choices would have to take into consideration perceptual identification, not with Whites but with mother. Because of the unavailability of half of our preschoolers' fathers, a skin color indexing of them was impossible. (Implica)

The skin color classification of our preschoolers might help to offer interpretations on their racial attitudes and identification when there is no significant differences between the skin colors of mother and child.

For example, if a preschooler with a #1 or #2 skin color misidentifies with a White doll, there is the possibility of perceptual confusion. If a #3 misidentifies, it might indicate ambivalence and if a #4 or #5 misidentifies, "wishful identification with Whites" could well be the motivator, as earlier research had concluded. (Horowitz, 1939; Clark and Clark, 1947)

The administration of the TVSG took approximately ten minutes. It should again be noted that the author who administered the test was Black, in the light of Porter's (1971) finding of experimental bias, wherein Black children

misidentified significantly more with a White than a Black experimenter.

Administration

The child was asked to help the author make up stories for T.V., one about school and one about a birthday party. (See Appendix E for test instructions) The author initiated the story and at certain points in her construction, she asked the child to help by choosing the appropriate doll in response to a forced choice question. These choices are believed to represent the degree of racial awareness, the kinds of racial attitudes, preference and stereotyping, and the accuracy of racial identification. Relevant comments by the children were noted to be used later in clarifying the children's choices.

Racial Awareness

Racial awareness is defined as the knowledge of social definitions of racial differences. For this study on Black-White differences, the following dimensions (subscales) of racial awareness were assessed:

1. Color Match: The perceptual cue of skin color by which people are assigned to racial categories
2. Color Salience: The importance of skin color as a categorizer
3. Color Terms: Knowledge of socially defined terms of racial categorization.

Color Match

1. Match mother to child
2. Match child with mother...sister...brother

Color Saliience

1. Color chosen over sex
2. Color chosen over dress

Color Terms

1. Choose the Negro doll
2. Choose the colored doll
3. Choose the Black doll
4. Choose the White doll

Racial Attitudes

1. Which one of these kids does he think is the one
2. Which one gets the lollipop
3. Which girl/boy looks neat and clean
4. Which one of these boys/girls is Johnny's/Joan's friend
5. Which (school mate) does he take home for lunch
6. Would mommy like him/her to take the other one (rejected doll) home too

Negative Stereotype

1. Which one of these kids does his friend think is lazy and stupid

After each choice, the child was asked why he had made that particular choice.

Racial Identification

For this technique, racial identification is defined as the perception of membership in a racial category and the willingness to state this fact. The children were given two chances on racial identification, one at the beginning of each T.V. story construction:

1. Johnny/Joan is a boy/girl who looks just like you. Which one of these dolls (Black/White) will be Johnny/Joan in our story

2. Now, Bobby/Barbara is a boy/girl who looks just like you. Which one of these boys/girls (Black/White) will be Bobby/Barbara in this story

Split-half reliability for the original Movie Story Game (Evans, et al, 1947) from which Porter's (1971) TVSG was adapted was reported at .75. Porter does not think this type of reliability appropriate and does not report it because she feels that the split-half correlation would be distorted since attitude is partially a function of awareness. A low correlation between the halves of the test may be a function of increasing awareness as the test progresses. Porter suggests the use of an equivalent procedure, such as the CSSCT and the TAT, to see if different techniques used on the same subject at the same point in time yield significantly consistent results. Face validity is assumed by Porter, since all major hypotheses were supported in her pretest study (1963) where she found

that many Blacks, because of widespread negative evaluation of their race by Whites, will reject themselves on racial grounds or be ambivalent concerning racial membership and thus misidentify more than Whites:

1. More Black than White racial misidentification (P. 01)

2. For Blacks more than Whites, skin color was a more salient means of classification (P. 025)

3. Less own-race preference for Blacks than Whites (P. 01)

Porter's conclusion was that for consistent misidentifiers, with high color salience scores, especially for the color white, and high White preference scores, the interpretation to be made is Black own-race and self rejection, together with a "wish to be White."

Scoring

For the complete scoring procedure, see Appendix F. One distinction concerning the scoring of the TVSG is that for this test as opposed to all other assessment techniques for both preschoolers and their mothers, a low rather than a high score represents the more positive score or the more positive Self-Concept of Race.

Developing a Self-Concept of Race Sum Score

In our statistical analysis of the TVSG data, using The Spearman Rank Difference Correlation, we found a significant intercorrelation between the majority of the

TVSG Scales and these cohesive Scales formed the Racial Self-Concept Sum Scale, from which we take our Racial Self-Concept Score. Table 3 presents correlation matrix for the Sum Scale:

1. Color Saliency
2. Racial Attitudes
3. Racial Stereotyping
4. Racial Identification

The Parents

To explore the child rearing attitudes and practices on the dimensions of Democracy-Domination, Acceptance-Rejection, and Autonomy-Indulgence, the Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI) developed by Schaefer and Bell (1957) and Coopersmith's (1967) Mother's Interview were used.

Both the PARI and the Mother's Interview were individually administered, the PARI to the mothers and available fathers and father-surrogates and the Mother's Interview only to the mothers. Concerning the administration of the PARI to the fathers and father-surrogates, since it had been originally standardized only on women, Nicholas (1963) found that the factors involved in the father's child rearing attitudes were surprisingly comparable to those of the mother's. The mothers were also administered the Mother's Interview which entailed two sections, one on child rearing and one on racial development. Administra-

Table 3

Rank Difference Correlation Matrix Defining Preschoolers' Racial Self-Concept Scores From 4 Variables

Variable	2. Racial Attitudes	3. Racial Identification	4. Racial Stereotype	Sum of 4 Variables
1. Color Salience	.55**	.64***	.35*	.69***
	2.	.67***	.60***	.97***
		3.	.49**	.65***
			4.	.65***

*P .05 **P .01 ***P .001. one-tailed

tion time for the PARI was approximately 20 minutes and for the Interview, 3 hours. Administration of both took place in the parents' home, without the child's presence.

The Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI)

Parental attitudes were assessed by the 14 subscales of the PARI, chosen by Coopersmith (1967) for his study on the antecedents of self-esteem in children. For PARI Scales, see Appendix G.

The PARI is a Likert-type questionnaire that asks the respondent on a 4-point scale to agree or disagree with a scale item, written in statement form and representing aspects of child rearing within the dimensions being explored. A respondent had 4 response choices:

1. "A" Strongly Agree
2. "a" Mildly Agree
3. "d" Mildly Disagree
4. "D" Strongly Disagree

For PARI subscale definitions, see Appendix H; scoring procedure, see Appendix I.

The PARI construct rationale makes the assumption that there are broad, pervasive and relatively consistent parental attitudes and practices that are characteristic expressions of stable personality traits and therefore measurable, e.g. a generally "warm and accepting" person is going to express that trait in her child rearing attitudes and practices. (Champney, 1939; Baldwin, et al,

1945; Shoben, 1949; Sears, et al, 1957)

The PARI Scales use many of the items from the University of Southern California Parental Attitude Survey (USCPAS) developed by Shoben in 1949. These scale items significantly differentiated mothers of problem and non-problem children at the P.05 level or better. Schaefer and Bell in 1957, like Shoben, developed items to add to the USCPAS from theoretical concepts, hypotheses, and clinical and research findings on the mother-child relationship. The PARI items we used are based on three bipolar dimensions thought by Coopersmith (1967) to significantly influence the development of self-esteem:

1. Democracy-Domination
2. Acceptance-Rejection
3. Autonomy-Indulgence

Other researchers also found a significant relationship between these three dimensions and the development of self esteem, wherein high maternal Democracy, Acceptance, and Autonomy had a positive relationship to high self-esteem in the child and high Domination, Rejection and Indulgence had a positive relationship to low self-esteem in the child. (Sears, et al, 1957; Schwartz, 1966; Finney, 1971)

With the PARI items it was found that socially unacceptable rather than socially acceptable statements concerning child rearing attitudes and practices functioned

as the significant differentiator of mothers of problem and non-problem children. Usually, the socially acceptable statements were agreed to by both groups of mothers, probably because of the "social desirability" factor of knowing the appropriate behavior and wanting to appear in a "good" light, much like preaching but not always practicing one's acknowledged appropriate behavior.

Statements were written as cliches, truisms, colloquialisms and conventional, affect-laden phrases, with self-righteous auras. This was especially effective with the socially unacceptable statements, making it easier to explore difficult areas. An example:

Children need some of the natural meanness taken out of them.

The PARI was standardized on a sample of 400 White mothers in the Washington area who had given birth recently. They were 18 to 40 years-old and had at least an eight-grade education.

Internal consistency reliability is reported by Schaefer and Bell (1957) as satisfactory for multivariate research on group differences.

Review of the literature on the mother-child relationship is used as evidence to support the concurrent validity of the PARI approach.

Construct validity is supported by the following findings of Zuckerman and Ribback, 1958:

1. The factor structure of the PARA was found to be the same over a clinically heterogeneous grouping as with the PARI normative sample:

(a) Black and White mothers of nursery school children

(b) Mothers of disturbed children

(c) Mothers of young adults

2. A significant negative relationship was found between personality measures of "self-acceptance" and the PARI's Hostility-Rejection Scale scores. (Zuckerman and Orleans, 1959)

Oral, individual administration of the PARI by the author was done in the hope of preventing or at least curtailing obsessing and definitely preventing discussion of responses to items with others concerning the appropriate response. Hopefully, this should facilitate more genuine rather than socially desirable responding.

Items were scored on the previously described 4-point scale, then each set of scale items was summed across for a total Dimension Scale score, i.e., Democracy-Domination.

The PARI was expected to differentiate between the mothers of high and low esteem of Worth preschoolers on each of the three dimensions, with the same expectation applying to the fathers and father-surrogates.

In the case of the fathers and the father-surrogates, because of a lack of reconciliation between the preschoolers' preschool program records on family structure and the structures that actually existed of most fathers or father-surrogates absent from the families of our low esteem preschoolers, we had to drop the PARI analysis for the entire sample of fathers and father-surrogates from the study.

Mother's Interview: Child Rearing

The Mother's Interview: Child Rearing was used to further explore, beyond the PARI, the mother's child rearing attitudes and practices thought to influence her child's developing Self-Concept of Worth. (Coopersmith, 1967) The 182 questions, 116 straightforward and 66 open-ended, developed by both Sears, et al, 1957 and Coopersmith, 1967, are thought to tap the antecedents of self-esteem. See Appendix J-Mother's Interview: Child Rearing.

From the Mother's Interview, Coopersmith (1967) reports extrapolating a factor cluster representative of an exploration of the three child rearing dimensions that when positive can be summarily defined as maternal "significance" in relationship to her child. Significance is operationally defined as follows:

1. Gives support and encouragement, especially in times of need and crisis
2. Expresses love, affection and comradeship

3. Show interest in child's activities and ideas
4. Discipline is rational, usually verbal and nonphysical
5. Establishes clear rules and limits which are consistent and fair

The major theoretical concepts influencing development of interview items are those of:

1. James, 1980
2. Cooley, 1902
3. Mead, 1934
4. Horney, 1945 and 1950
5. Rogers, 1951
6. Sullivan, 1953

Mother's Interview: Theoretical Overview

James (1890) believed that a person's self-esteem is influenced by values, his own, those of his significant others and those of the general society. Other theorists see society, especially one's significant others, as the determiners of the child's esteem, with the process taking place as the child internalizes the values and attitudes of these significant others and expresses them as his own. (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934)

Karen Horney (1945 & 1950) cites the common antecedent of basic anxiety and subsequent diminished esteem as having its roots in a disturbed parent-child relationship, wherein the child has the self-denigrating experience of

helplessness, isolation and unhappiness. The conditions producing this anxiety and lowered esteem are parental domination, indifference, as well as lack of admiration, respect and warmth.

Self-Theory developed by Carl Rogers (1951) sees the development of positive or negative esteem as dependent on the quality of the child's interpersonal experiences, especially the experiences with his significant others. Rejection and harsh judgment of the child result in the child not accepting himself as a valued person, while acceptance and warmth result in self-acceptance and the experiencing of oneself as basically good and deserving of esteem. Sullivan's position (1953) is essentially a combination of all of the aforementioned theories.

Like the PARI, the Mother's child rearing interview was used to explore the dimensions of Democracy-Domination, Acceptance-Rejection and Autonomy-Indulgence. Similarly, the Interview was expected to differentiate between mothers of high and low esteem of Worth preschoolers.

The Mother's Interview: Child Rearing has six sequential content clusters:

1. Social background and family history
2. Pregnancy and infancy
3. Developmental history
4. Current mother-child relationship
5. Maternal evaluation of child

Coopersmith pretested the Interview items to clear up any abiguities or difficulty of wording and administration.

Although Coopersmith's 1967 sample of prepubescent boys was older than Sears, et al's 1957 sample of five-year old boys and girls, using essentially the same interview items, their findings on the influence of the child rearing attitudes and practices on the development of self-esteem were quite similar:

1. Both studies found that mothers with high esteem children were themselves rated as higher in esteem than mothers of low esteem children

2. Both studies found that mothers with high esteem children more than mothers with low esteem children were more accepting of their children

3. Both studies found that mothers with high esteem children more than mothers with low esteem children, set clear rules and regulations and enforced them consistently

4. Both studies found that mothers with high esteem children more than mothers with low esteem children were more accepting of their maternal role and saw themselves as quite competent in meeting their role requirements

5. Both studies found that mothers with high esteem children more than with mothers with low esteem

children, were more satisfied with their husbands' effectiveness and parenting and with the quality of their family life in general

6. Both studies found that mothers with low esteem children more than mothers with high esteem children were more rejecting of their children

The findings of these major studies, both using the Mother's Interview and one (Coopersmith, 1967) also using the PARI, allow us to conclude that there is reasonable evidence that these two assessment techniques are more than adequate for a multimethod assessment of the relationship between maternal child rearing attitudes and practices and the development of Self-Concept of Worth esteem.

Mother's Interview: Racial Development

Based on the writings, mostly theoretical and clinical in content, of contemporary Black psychiatrists, social scientists, and educators, the author constructed an interview to explore some of mother's racial attitudes and practices, concerning herself and her interactions with her child. From mother's responses to the interview items, we inferred her degree of racial acceptance, ambivalence or rejection that we define as her racial development attitude, an attitude that together with the practices it engenders significantly influences the esteem of her preschooler's developing Self-Concept of Race.

The salient issues concerning maternal racial attitudes and practices were described in-depth in Chapter Two's Literature Review and will not be repeated here. What we will present are the dimensions considered in the Racial Development Interview format. See Appendix K for the Racial Development Interview.

Scoring of Mother's Interview

From the entire Mother's Interview, eight (8) dimensions from Child Rearing and twenty-two (22) dimensions from Racial Development were selected for rating on a 4-point scale, with one (1) representing a very negative attitude or practice and four (4) representing a very positive attitude or practice. The Child Rearing and Racial Development dimensions were rated by two experienced, Black, female psychologists who work with children and adolescents. For the scoring procedure see Appendix L (Child Rearing) and Appendix M (Racial Development)

Interview Dimensions

Child Rearing

1. Child Wanted
2. Perception of Maternal Responsibility
3. Child Development
4. Maternal Evaluation of Child
5. Maternal Evaluation of Father-Child Relationship
6. Mother-Child Relationship
7. Rules and Regulations
8. Punishment

Racial Development

9. Experience of Hometown and Neighborhood
10. Experience of School as Child and Adult

11. Experience of Black Church
12. Experience of Authority Figures
13. Black Community Organization Membership
14. Perception of White Attitude towards Black
15. Perception of Black Attitude towards Whites
16. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude towards Whites
17. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude towards Blacks
18. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude towards Themselves as Blacks
19. Perception of Occupational Roles for Whites
20. Perception of Occupational Roles for Blacks
21. Availability of Black Culture
22. Feelings About Own Racial Appearance
23. Perception of Parent's Racial Conflict: Color, Hair, Features
24. Perception of Own Racial Conflict
25. Racial Discussions with Child
26. Handling White Racism when Child Involved (*Real/Hypothetical)
27. Handling Child's "Wish to be White" (Real/Hypothetical)
28. Perception of Future Racial Conditions for Blacks
29. Mother's Evaluation of Child Racial Self-Concept
30. Interviewer's Evaluation of Mother's Racial Self-Concept

Of the 30 child rearing and racial development attitude and practice dimensions, 2 racial development dimensions, items #23 and #24 were dropped because of inadequate scoring instructions for these 2 dimensions. We were then left with 28 dimensions, 8 child rearing and 20 racial development dimensions. It was these 28 child rearing and racial development dimensions that our psychologists, using the Mother's Interview, rated.

Inter-Rater Reliability

A Spearman Rank Difference Correlation of .90 was obtained for inter-rater reliability between the two

clinical psychologists rating of the 28 child rearing and racial development dimensions from the Mother's Interview. Eighty-three percent (83%) of our two psychologists' independently obtained ratings were identical, while the seventeen percent (17%) that differed, did so by only one (1) rating category. These rating differences were resolved by a subsequent conference of the psychologists, with a fifty-fifty acceptance of each other's ratings.

Developing Sum Scores From the Mother's Interview Dimensions

Because of our small number of cases (i.e. 24), we were unable to perform standard reliability, but did do sums on our items and using the Spearman Rank Difference Correlation analysis found that certain interview dimensions did correlate significantly with their sum and thus to formulate our maternal findings into a manageable entity, we developed a child rearing and racial development sum score.

Developing Child Rearing Sum Score

Table 4 presents the rank difference correlation matrix defining the maternal child rearing score from the 8 dimensions. Of the 8 child rearing dimensions, only one of the 28 correlations fell, and only just, below the significance level. All other correlations highly correlated with each other at the P.05 level or better.

Because of these significant intercorrelations of the 8 child rearing dimensions, it was decided to explore

Table 4

Rank Difference Correlation Matrix Defining Maternal Child Rearing Score From 8 Dimensions

Dimension	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Sum of 8 Dimensions
1	.75***	.46**	.38*	.44*	.58***	.42*	.35*	.65***
2		.38*	.42*	.49**	.46*	.35*	.33	.65***
3			.44*	.72***	.57**	.58***	.55**	.77***
4				.50**	.60***	.35*	.51**	.68***
5					.75***	.74***	.73***	.86***
6						.75***	.70***	.81***
7							.83***	.77***
8								.80***

*P .05 **P .01 ***P .001 one-tailed

the value of summing these 8 dimensions to construct a unitary sum score of maternal child rearing attitudes and practices. Examining the correlations of the 8 dimension ratings with the sum of the 8 dimension ratings, it was found that they were significantly intercorrelated at better than the P.001 level. Because of this pattern of high intercorrelations among the 8 child rearing dimensions and the very high intercorrelations with the sum of these 8 dimension ratings, it was decided to have a unitary sum score for each mother from the sum of the 8 dimensions which we labeled the Maternal Child Rearing Sum Score, or summarily, Child Rearing Score, see Appendix N for a listing of each mothers' Child Rearing score.

Developing Racial Development Sum Score

Table 5 presents the rank difference correlation matrix defining the maternal racial development score from 10 of the 20 racial development dimensions:

11. Experience of Black Church
17. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude towards Blacks
18. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude towards Themselves as Blacks
21. Availability of Black Culture
22. Feelings About Own Racial Appearance: Color, Hair Features
25. Racial Discussion with Child
27. Handling Child's "Wish to be White" (Real/Hypotetical)
28. Perception of Future Racial Conditions For Blacks
29. Mother's Evaluation of Child's Racial Self-Concept
30. Interview's Evaluation of Mother's Racial Self-Concept

Table 5
 Rank Difference Correlation Matrix Defining Maternal Racial Development Score
 10 Dimensions

Dimension	17	18	21	22	25	27	28	29	30	Sum 10 Dimensions
11	.48**	.50**	.45*	.74***	.37*	.35*	.53**	.35*	.58***	.74***
	17	.66**	.55***	.53**	.57**	.51**	.63***	.43*	.72***	.78***
		18	.44*	.59***	.70***	.38*	.59***	.42*	.58**	.73***
			21	.41*	.34*	.33*	.47*	.33	.61***	.67***
				22	.52**	.41*	.60***	.34*	.81***	.82***
					25	.54**	.65***	.63***	.54**	.74***
						27	.43*	.35*	.53**	.61***
							28	.56**	.71***	.76***
								29	.49**	.64***
									30	.87***

*P .05 **P .01 ***P .001

Developing the racial development sum score followed the same format as developing the child rearing sum score. Out of the 20 racial development dimensions, 10 dimensions were incorporated into a sum score. From the 45 correlations, all but 2, significantly intercorrelated with each other at better than the P.001 level. The correlations of the 10 dimension ratings with the sum of the 10 dimension ratings significantly intercorrelated and so it was decided that these 10 racial development dimensions in their summary form would represent a unitary sum score for each of our mothers based on the sum of the 10 dimensions. We labeled this the Maternal Racial Development Sum Score, or summarily, Racial Development score. See Appendix N for a listing of each mother's Racial Development score.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

In this Chapter, we will present the results of our assessments designed to explore the relationships between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's Self-Concepts of Worth and Race and specified maternal child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices.

Self-Concept of Worth and Maternal Child Rearing Dimensions

The Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI)

The PARI scores on maternal Democracy-Domination; Acceptance-Rejection; and Autonomy-Indulgence scales did not support our hypotheses of a higher, or more positive, score being positively related to higher esteem of Worth scores for the preschoolers. (Table 6) No significant differences were found between the PARI Democracy and Autonomy scale scores for all three groups of mothers. No significant difference was found on the PARI Acceptance scale score, between the mothers of Group 1, high esteem preschoolers and Group 3, low esteem preschoolers.

Of significance, but quite contrary to our expectations, the PARI Acceptance scale score of the mothers of our low esteem group, Group 3, was significantly higher than the score of the mothers of our high esteem group, Group 2, (Table 7) We note, perhaps

Table 6

Final Maternal Variables: 3 Esteem Groups

Variables	Group 1 N = 6	Group 2 N = 9	Group 3 N = 9
I.Q. Preschooler	130 +	110-121	110-121
Esteem of Worth	High	High	Low
Age(Yrs.) M			
S.D.	31.0	30.8	28.2
Education			
Some High School	2	1	2
High School Grad	2	5	5
Some College	2	3	2
Occupation			
Homemaker	4	4	3
Part Time	-	1	3
Blue Collar	-	2	-
White Collar	2	2	3
PARI			
Democracy-M	82.3	80.4	83.4
S.D.	8.6	5.8	8.0
Acceptance-M	68.3	57.1	64.9
S.D.	12.0	7.8	7.0
Autonomy- M	75.0	79.2	75.4
S.D.	3.9	4.6	8.2
Child Rear-M	28.5	27.9	18.9
S.D.	2.1	1.6	3.7
Racial Devel-M	27.8	33.1	27.6
S.D.	8.7	4.0	5.8
Skin Color			
"White"(1)	2	0	0
Light(2)	1	1	2
Carmel(3)	3	3	2
Chocolate(4)	1	3	2
Black(5)	1	2	3

Table 7

Significant Contrasts Among The PARI Scores, The Child Rearing Scores And The Racial Development Scores Of The Mothers Of The 3 Esteem Groups Of Black Urban Preschooler

Variables	Group 1	Group 2	Group 1
	vs	vs	vs
	Group 2	Group 3	Group 3
	Z_U	Z_U	Z_U
PARI-Acceptance	1.89	2.04*	0.65
Child Rearing Score	0.31	3.55***	3.20**
Racial Develop Score	0.95	2.18*	0.36

*P .05 **P .01 ***P .001 two-tailed

Mann-Whitney U-Test corrected for tied ranks and expressed as normal deviates

for further discussion, that the preschoolers in Group 2, significantly more than the preschoolers in Groups 1 and 3, occupy younger sib ranks within their families. Summarily, across the three esteem groups, the mothers of these preschoolers scored lower on both the PARI Acceptance and Democracy scales and higher on the PARI Autonomy scale.

(Table 7)

The Mother's Interview, Child Rearing

Conversely, our clinically-based scores on the child rearing dimensions of Democracy-Domination; Acceptance-Rejection; and Autonomy-Indulgence, taken from our in-depth Mother's Interview, strongly support our hypotheses of a higher, or more positive, Child Rearing score being positively related to a higher, or more positive, esteem of Worth score for the preschooler. (Table 8) Here, we found that the Child Rearing scores of mothers of both groups of high esteem preschoolers, Groups 1 and 2, were significantly higher, or more positive, than the scores of mothers of our low esteem preschoolers, Group 3.

In Chapter Five, Summary and Discussion, we will present some of the mother's verbatim responses to certain interview questions on child rearing in order to illustrate the differentiating responses (i.e. more positive, less positive, negative) that served as the basis for our clinical ratings.

Table 8
Correlation Between Preschooler and Maternal Variables

	Presch Age	Sex	Sib Rank	Presch Skin	Racial Self-Concept
Age-Mother	.23	.34*	.34*	-.17	.02
Educa-Mother	.22	.12	-.10	.06	-.47**
Occupa-Mother	.44*	.29	.01	.06	-.39*
PARI					
Democracy	-.08	.12	-.41*	-.20	.01
Acceptance	-.09	.15	-.04	.14	-.10
Autonomy	.31	-.11	.35*	-.06	.05
Child Rearing Score	-.04	.40*	.38*	.07	.07
Racial Devel Score	.44*	.07	.27	.47**	-.40*
Mother's Skin Color	.27	.16	.21	.25	-.23

From the analysis of the interview data, we found that preschool girls and younger sib-ranked preschoolers were significantly more likely to have older mothers who lived with the preschooler's father, and scored higher on the interview's Child Rearing score. (Tables 8 and 9)

Without regard to mother's age or her preschooler's esteem group, mothers from father-present families scored significantly higher than mothers from father-absent (includes surrogates) families on the interview's Child Rearing Score. (Table 10)

Racial Development

Preschooler's Self-Concept of Race

Across esteem of Worth groups, no significant differences were found between the esteem of the preschooler's Self-Concept of Worth and the esteem of his Self-Concept of Race. (Table 11) Also, no significant differences between the skin color of the three esteem groups were found.

While not significant, the preschoolers in our Very Superior high esteem of Worth Group, Group 1, had less positive Self-Concept of Race scores than our Bright Average-high and low esteem of Worth Groups, Groups 2 and 3.

Related to this finding we found that, significantly so, the darker the preschooler's skin color, the more positive (i.e. lower) his Self-Concept of Race score, (Table 12), with the two lightest-skinned (i.e. "white") preschoolers both belonging to Group 1 and having two of the most negative Self-Concept of Race scores of the

Table 9

Intercorrelation of Maternal Variables

	Educa Mother	Occupa Mother	Democ	Accep	Auton	Child Rear	Racial Devel	Mother Skin	Paternal Status
Mother Age	.09	.34	.03	-.01	.13	.29	.18	.09	.38*
	Educa	.55**	.39*	-.25	.04	.02	.27	.28	.01
		Occupa	.11	-.01	-.26	-.11	.29	-.05	.08
			Democ	.06	.03	-.23	-.13	-.09	-.27
				Accep	.45*	-.03	.01	-.02	-.13
					Auton	-.01	-.08	.02	-.13
						Child Rear	.55**	.13	.65***
							Racial Devel	.10	.51**
								Mother Skin	-.19

*P .05 **P .01 ***P .001 one-tailed

Table 10

Significant Contrasts-Function of Paternal Status

		Father Absent-13	Father Present-11	Z _U
Child Rearing Score	M S.D.	21.9 5.1	27.9 3.4	3.13**
Racial Develop Score	M S.D.	27.0 5.7	32.9 5.9	2.45*
Mother' Age	M S.D.	27.5 5.4	32.6 6.7	1.83

Table 11

Final Preschooler Variables: 3 Esteem of Worth Groups

Variables	Group 1 N = 6	Group 2 N = 9	Group 3 N = 9
I.Q. Esteem of Worth	130 + High	110-121 High	110-121 High
Age(mos.) M	56.8	58.6	57.4
S.D.	3.6	3.7	4.0
Sex Male	2	4	6
Female	4	5	3
Birth Order			
Only	2	1	4
Eldest	2	1	3
Middle	2	2	2
Youngest	-	5	-
Paternal Status			
Father Present	4	6	1
Father Surrogate	1	1	1
Father Absent	1	2	7
Skin Color			
White	2	-	-
Very Light	1	1	4
Carmel	1	3	2
Chocolate	-	3	2
Black	2	2	1
Racial Self-Concept*	M 9.0 S.D. 4.5	7.3 2.5	7.2 3.1

*Racial Self-Concept Score: The higher the score, the more negative the Racial Self-Concept, with a score of 14 the highest and most negative score

Table 12

Intercorrelation of Preschooler Variables

	Sex	Sib Rank	Presch Skin	Racial Self-Concept	Paternal Status
Age	.13	.45	.03	-.12	.06
	Sex	-.03	-.09	-.06	-.08
		Sib Rank	.35*	.01	.25
			Presch Skin	-.49**	-.03
				Racial Self-Concept	-.15

*P .05 **P .01 ***P.001

entire sample.

Self-Concept of Race and Maternal Racial
Development Dimensions

We found that the higher, or more positive, the mother's Racial Development score, the more positive her preschooler's Self-Concept of Race, a significant finding that supported our hypotheses of a higher, more positive, maternal Racial Development score being positively related to a more positive Self-Concept of Race score. In addition we found that the more positive the mother's Racial Development score, the darker her preschooler's skin color. (Table 8)

Like their preschoolers, across esteem of Worth groups, no significant differences between the mothers' skin color were found. An important and significant finding was that the higher, or more positive, the mother's Child Rearing score, the higher, or more positive, her Racial Development score. Further, the more positive the mother's Child Rearing and/or Racial Development score(s), the more likely there was a father in the home (Table 9)

In analyzing the preschooler's Self-Concept of Race, we found a positive relationship between maternal educational and occupational status and the esteem of the Self-Concept of Race. The more educated the mother, the higher her occupational status and the more positive her preschooler's Self-Concept of Race. (Table 8)

Finally, we found that the Racial Development scores of the mothers of Group 2's preschoolers were the best, higher than Group 1's and significantly higher than Group 3's (Tables 6 and 7)

Summary of Findings

1. On the PARI scales of Democracy-Domination and Autonomy-Indulgence, there was no significant difference between the scores of the mothers across esteem groups
2. On the PARI scale of Acceptance-Rejection, there was no significant difference between the scores of the mothers of Group 1, high esteem of Worth, and Group 3, low esteem of Worth
3. On the PARI scale of Acceptance-Rejection, there was a significant difference, but not in the expected direction, in that the scores of the mothers of Group 3, low esteem of Worth, were higher than the scores of the mothers of Group 2, high esteem of Worth.
4. From the Mother's Interview, our study's hypotheses, one and two, were strongly supported, in that the Child Rearing scores of the mothers of Group 1 and 2, high esteem of Worth, were significantly higher than the scores of the mothers of Group 3, low esteem of Worth. Additionally, across esteem groups, the higher a mother's Child Rearing score, the more likely it was that her preschooler's father was living with the family

5. The Racial Self-Concept scores of our preschoolers did not differ significantly across esteem groups

6. The darker the preschooler's skin color, the more positive his Racial Self-Concept, with the most negative Racial Self-Concept scores obtained by our lightest-skinned preschoolers: 2 "White," 1 light and 1 medium

7. The more positive the mother's Racial Development score, the more positive her preschooler's Racial Self-Concept and the darker his skin color

8. The higher the mother's education, the higher her occupational status and the higher her Racial Development score

9. A mother with a high, or positive, Child Rearing score was most likely to have a high Racial Development score

10. The more positive a mother's Child Rearing and/or Racial Development scores, the more likely her preschooler's father was living with the family

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Discussion

This study was designed to explore the relationship between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's developing Self-Concepts of Worth and Race and specified maternal child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices.

The preschooler's esteem of his Self-Concept of Worth is represented by his score on the non-verbal Esteem Scale of the Children's Self-Social Constructs Test: Preschool Form (CSSCT) and on selected cards from the verbal Thematic Apperception Test (T.A.T.).

The preschooler's esteem of his Self-Concept of Race is represented by his score on the T.V. Story Game (T.V.S.G.).

The maternal child rearing attitudes and practices concerning the dimensions of Democracy-Domination, Acceptance-Rejection and Autonomy-Indulgence are represented by her scores on the Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI) scales and on her Child Rearing sum score from the Mother's Interview.

The preschoolers in our study, Black, urban, inner-city children, with an average age of five years, were attending local preschool programs and all were entering kindergarten in six months.

The preschoolers, twenty-four in all, who participated in the third and final part of our study and who were not significantly different in age or between sexes, represent a very select sample of children.

To ensure the highest probability of task comprehension and compliance, these preschoolers had to achieve, at the very least, a Bright Average (110-121), and at the very best, a Very Superior (130 +) Weschler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence, Verbal Scale I.Q. (WPPSI).

Next, to ensure some level of consistency of esteem of Worth, our preschoolers had to score congruently on the non-verbal and verbal assessments and then had to score in either the highest or lowest group.

What we might want to do in the future is broaden the I.Q. and esteem of Worth criteria to include average scores.

Our preschoolers' highly select characteristics of Above Average and Very Superior Verbal I.Q. and high and low esteem of Worth determined, of course, who our maternal sample would be. The maternal sample did not differ significantly on age, or educational and occupational status:

Group 1 Mothers of preschoolers with Very Superior WPPSI Verbal I.Q. scores and high esteem of Worth scores

Group 2: Mothers of preschoolers with Bright Average WPPSI Verbal I.Q. scores and high esteem of Worth scores

Group 3: Mothers of preschoolers with Bright Average WPPSI Verbal I.Q. scores and low esteem of Worth scores

Although we did try, we were unsuccessful in controlling the paternal status variable; therefore, we do not know if this uncontrolled variable functioned in the degree of esteem of Worth, since we found that more fathers were present in families of high esteem than in low esteem preschoolers. The implications of paternal status will be discussed where it seems relevant.

In order to further prepare the reader for a more meaningful discussion of our study's findings, we will present our hypotheses in the null form and either accept or reject them. We will present the related child rearing hypotheses, one and two, then hypothesis three on the relationship between esteem of Worth and esteem of Race, and will conclude with hypothesis four and five, the related maternal racial development hypotheses.

Child Rearing Hypotheses

1. There will be no positive relationship found between the Black, urban preschooler's highly esteemed Self-Concept of Worth and maternal child rearing attitudes and practices of Democracy, Acceptance and Autonomy

2. There will be no positive relationship found between the Black, urban preschooler's poorly esteemed Self-Concept of Worth and maternal child rearing attitudes and practices of Domination, Rejection and Indulgence

Across esteem groups, the mothers' PARI Democracy and Autonomy scale scores did not significantly differ. Further, between Groups 1 and 3, the PARI Acceptance scores did not significantly differ. On the basis of these assessment findings, hypotheses one and two are accepted.

One significant PARI finding on the Acceptance scale scores of the mothers of Groups 2 and 3, wherein the mothers of Group 3 preschoolers, children with low esteem of Worth scores, scored significantly higher than did mothers of Group 2 preschoolers, children with high esteem of Worth scores.

From our second and more in-depth source of child rearing assessment, the Mother's Interview, we found strong support for the rejection of hypotheses one and two. This support was based on the Child Rearing sum scores of the mothers of Groups 1 and 2 preschoolers, preschoolers with high esteem of Worth scores, being significantly higher, or more positive, than the mothers of Group 3 preschoolers, preschoolers with low esteem of Worth scores.

We believe that the difference between the PARI and Interview findings, the first essentially accepting the null hypothesis and the second decidedly rejecting it, was due more to the difference between level of inquiry, the PARI brief and tightly structured and the Interview extensive and somewhat open-ended. Because the child rearing attitudes and practices were more intensively scrutinized through the Interview than through the PARI questionnaire, we propose that the Interview findings are a more complete and genuine reflection of maternal attitudes and practices. Compared with the PARI administration of twenty minutes, the Interview, lasting about three hours, allowed the mother and interviewer to move beyond a tightly structured milieu that supported socially desirable responding into one based on the development of a reciprocal warmth and acceptance, a milieu that appears to have facilitated a candid portrait of child rearing attitudes and practices to be presented for clinical assessment.

From clinical scrutiny of the Interview data, we found that on all eight child rearing dimensions that contributed to the Child Rearing sum score, the mothers of our high esteem preschoolers, Groups 1 and 2, significantly more than the mothers of our low esteem preschoolers, Group 3, expressed more positive child rearing attitudes and practices. This clinical finding was supported through statistical analysis.

To illustrate these positive child rearing attitudes and practices communicated by the mothers of our high esteem preschoolers, Groups 1 and 2, we will present some of their verbatim responses to salient child rearing inquiries:

1. Child Wanted: Responses that explicitly related to the degree to which the mother wanted her child

Group 1 Mothers

M-2: To love and be loved. My mother never took care of me. She was a nanny for a white family, so my older sister took care of me.

M-4: I always wanted a family. I'm a natural mother. when I was a kid, I was the neighborhood baby-sitter.

M-6: I love children.

Group 2 Mothers

M-7: I love children and wanted to have them as part of my life.

M-10: I was never part of a family because my mother died when I was eighteen months old and I never saw my father.

M-15: I want to enjoy the experience of being a mother first-hand and I also want to see myself in someone.

2. Perception of Maternal Responsibility: Responses that explicitly and explicitly relate to the degree to which mother accepts her maternal responsibility

Group 1 Mothers

- M-1: My family life is better than mine. I'm a mother to my children.
- M-6: It made me a better person. It made me see a different outlook on life. Having children and watching them grow is a great joy. Knowing that your child is out there, happy and feeling secure, and you know that you had something to do with it makes you feel good inside.
- M-3: I want my children to make it. I must love them and show them right from wrong.

Group 2 Mothers

- M-7: My child brought deep love and caring, responsibility too. I knew there would be responsibility and restriction and welcomed them as part of motherhood.
- M-8: Well, It's not different because that's what I had before, my family life. I wasn't much of a go-outer or a street person. I was mostly home anyway. I enjoyed taking care of kids.
- M-15: It's more rewarding than I thought it would be.

This group of mothers reported disciplinary attitudes and practices of fairness, firmness and consistency with emphasis on psychological (e.g. praise and love) rather than materialistic (e.g. money, gifts, and outings) rewards. Punishment consisted of loss of privileges rather than extremely cruel and consistent verbal and physical abuse.

3. Rewards: Responses related to the type of rewards and the consistency of their use:

Group 1 Mothers

- M-2: Compliments, hugs and kisses.

M-6: I tell her that she's a very important person, and that she's very smart and intelligent.

Group 2 Mothers

M-8: Well it's not to bribe him. That's the worst thing. Show him you're proud of him.

M-9: By showing him that you love him.... You hug and kiss him and tell him how good it was for him to do it. They call it "fussing."

M-11: The best reward is praise. It lets them know you are in their corner.

M-15: A smile and then a "Thank you."

4. Punishment: Responses related to the type of punishment and the consistency of its use in child rearing:

Group 1 Mothers

M-2: The last resort is spanking. It happens infrequently. Usually, I send him to his room.

M-3: I don't like to punish her, but it must be done so she can learn right from wrong. I send her to her room and won't let her see her T.V. shows.

M-6: I think that spanking is too demeaning and hard on a child. Sometimes you have to spank them, yet there are many times you shouldn't. There are spanking times and there are talking times.

Group 2 Mothers

M-7: He has to go to his room and if he's real bad he gets a spanking.

M-13: I take away her privileges.

M-15: I send him to his room.

Groups 1 and 2 mothers reported being very satisfied with the quality of the relationship between father and child. Father was seen as someone who wanted, loved and respected his child and who was meaningfully involved in his child's life. He was reported to be a provider, a protector, a disciplinarian, a confidante and a companion:

5. Father-Child Relationship: Responses related to the mother's satisfaction as to the quality of the father-child relationship:

Group 1 Mothers

- M-1: When he was younger, his father worked two jobs and didn't spend much time with him, but now things are fine.
- M-3: He loves her a lot and expresses affection easily. She's her daddy's girl.
- M-6: I think he has a great love for his daughter and wants to see her make something out of herself in this world.

Group 2 Mothers

- M-7: He's very loving and caring.
- M-9: He's good to him. He loves him very much. He spoils him! (smiling very pleased)
- M-11: They get along very well. He loves her very much.
- M-13: His attitude is the same as mine. He loves her and she looks up to him.

In summary, we inferred positive maternal child rearing attitudes and practices, together with reported complementary paternal attitudes and practices. We believe that these attitudes and practices functioned to

significantly influence their preschoolers' Self-Concepts of Worth in a positive manner.

The group of mothers, Group 3, with less positive and many times clearly negative child rearing attitudes and practices communicated that they were either very ambivalent about having the child or clearly did not want them. While there were no outright disavowals of love, neither were there any direct and spontaneous expressions of love or affection for their children, of the kind expressed by our Group 1 and 2 mothers:

1. Child Wanted:

Group 3 Mothers

- M-16: My husband was in jail. I was all alone. My family wouldn't help me.
- M-17: I didn't really want a child.
- M-18: I didn't have sense enough to get rid of it.
- M-19: I never did want kids. I just got caught.
- M-23: I think just because my friends had children.
- M-24: I did not want a child. It was just God's will.

Maternal role responsibility was many times viewed as anxiety provoking, especially around financial concerns and the restrictiveness that this role entailed:

2. Perception of Maternal Responsibility

Group 3 Mothers

- M-16: It's hard. If we're all cooped up like now, and then I can't think. It's bad because sometimes I strike my kids. Last couple of days I was thinking, I'm young and I'm cooped up with four kids. And it's closing up, at least I can feel it closing up.
- M-18: Too much responsibility! I've moved five times in five years. Now I have to sleep on my sister's floor cause I don't have a place. If I was by myself I could make it.
- M-19: I can't go anywhere.
- M-23: You don't have a life. You always have the kids to take care of.

Group 3 mothers reported disciplinary attitudes and practices of harshness and rigidity, with emphasis on materialistic rather than psychological rewards and on consistent physical punishment rather than loss of privileges.

3. Rewards

Group 3 Mothers

- M-17: I say, 'T_____, I tell you what, if you're good, when Friday comes, I'll take you downtown.' He's so happy when he gets something new.
- M-18: I give him some change.
- M-23: I take her on an outing.

4. Punishment

Group 3 Mothers

- M-16: If I shame him that hurts. I holler and his feelings get hurt. I pop him in the mouth.

- M-17: I beat him. The more I beat him, it doesn't do anything. It seems like if I beat T_____ he goes and does it over again.. He gets mad when I beat him.
- M-18: I spank him. He fears a spanking and it stops him for awhile.
- M-19: I beat or punish him.
- M-20: When he has tantrums, I beat him. He's mean, stubborn and selfish!
- M-22: She know if she doesn't do right I'll whip her ass.

The mothers of these low esteem of Worth pre-schoolers reported being very dissatisfied and many times bitter over the quality of the father-child relationship. First and possibly most importantly, only one of nine fathers was living at home with his family. In most cases, the absent father was described in negative terms, with at least four reported to be involved with drugs and/or other criminal activity. This group of fathers was not perceived as truly loving their children and concerned about their welfare. These fathers were described as not being providers, protectors, disciplinarians, confidantes, or companions.

5. Father-Child Relationship

Group 3 Mothers

- M-16: He has to be "high" to show any feelings. The children know the difference. R_____ has seen him hit me.

- M-17: He didn't want him. He told me to get rid of him or he'd leave me. He's married. He left me.
- M-18: He's not involved with him. He doesn't see him.
- M-20: The children don't like him! He only comes around when "drugged."
- M-22: He denies he's her father.
- M-23: He loves her and spends time with her, when he's not in jail.
- M-24: He doesn't spend enough time.

In summary, we inferred less positive, in some cases clearly negative, maternal child rearing attitudes and practices, together with reported paternal attitudes and practices that were also quite negative. These attitudes and practices, we believe, functioned as significant influencers of their preschoolers' poorly esteemed Self-Concepts of Worth.

The major implication of our child rearing interview findings is the clear probability that maternal child rearing attitudes and practices can accurately predict levels of esteem of Worth in preschool children. Our findings on a sample of Black preschoolers and their mothers is quite similar to the previous findings on White samples (e.g. Sears, et al, 1957; Schwartz, 1966; Sears, 1970). If these findings are valid, and we think that they are, interventions, pre and post-natal, can be made

to modify or extinguish attitudes and/or practices concerning child rearing that are not in the child's best interest.

In our study, the major goal was to focus on maternal child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices. Reflection suggests that in the future it might be more fruitful to broaden the exploration of mother, exploring her perceptions, attitudes and behaviors as a "total person," rather than as a specific role figure. There is a need to understand her as an individual, a woman, a wife or a sweetheart, and as a mother, looking at significant relationships, compatible and incompatible, between these roles. Achieving an integrated configuration will provide us with a more complete and accurate frame of reference from which to make specific role behavior inferences.

Our findings on the relationship between paternal status and maternal child rearing imply that there is a positive relationship between father's presence and positive maternal child rearing attitudes and practices that in turn are related to highly esteemed Self-Concepts of Worth in their children.

We need to look at how father's presence or absence impacts, directly and indirectly, on the child, directly through the father-child relationship and indirectly through the father-mother relationship and its

residue that finds expression in mother's child rearing attitudes and practices.

Our findings and considerations strongly dictate that well thought-out research on paternal status and its impact on the Black family be carried out without delay. Some of the questions we need to ask are as follows:

1. What is "good-enough-fathering"
2. Are there different types (i.e. positive and negative) kinds of present and absent fathers
3. Is there both a direct and indirect impact on the esteem of children through the presence or absence of father

Another area of research would be the psychological well-being of child-bearing-age women and mothers of very young children, birth to 5 years. We need to look at this group of women in terms of their strengths, anxieties, defense mechanisms, coping skills and self-esteem.

Yet another area of research would be the role of the extended family and their influence on the development of the young child's self-concepts.

Esteem of Worth and Esteem of Race
Hypothesis

3. There will be a relationship found between the esteem of the Black, urban preschooler's Self-Concept of Worth and the esteem of his Self-Concept of Race.

We found that the esteem of Worth groups did not differ significantly in the esteem of their Self-Concepts of Race and so hypothesis three was rejected.

Our findings support the concept of an algebraic overall self-concept, wherein esteem can vary over the component, subordinated self-concepts, such as a highly esteemed Self-Concept of Worth and a poorly esteemed Self-Concept of Race.

We should mention that Esteem Group 1, with its Very Superior Verbal I.Q. and high esteem of Worth preschoolers, had a less positive Self-Concept of Race score than did Groups 2 and 3, whose scores were quite similar.

This difference in esteem of racial self-concepts appears to be influenced, at least in part, by the shade of the preschooler's skin color and all that the unknown ramifications of this entails. Esteem of Worth as defined for our study seems not to be an influencing variable. The skin color conclusion is based on our significant finding that the darker the preschooler's skin color, the more positive his racial self-concept score. Conversely, the lighter the preschooler's skin color, the more negative his racial self-concept score, with our lightest-skinned (i.e. "white") preschoolers, two of them, with the most negative (i.e. highest scores) racial self-concept scores of the entire research sample.

It is appropriate to note that of the four preschoolers who had either absolutely or very negative racial self-concept scores, the skin color of these four was two "white," one "light" and one "medium." The two "white" and one "medium" were from Group 1 and the other "light" from Group 3.

The racial self-concept scores of these four preschoolers demonstrated absolute or overwhelming preference for the white doll, negative stereotyping of the black doll and racial misidentification with the white doll. Three of these four preschoolers clearly verbalized the their negative experiencing and rejection of the black doll's dark skin coloring as their motivating force.

One of these preschoolers whose skin color was classified as "white," when asked about her preference for the white rather than the black doll responded:

She's too dark! (black doll) I'm tan!
Perceptually, this preschooler was not "tan" but "white;" however, it might have been the relative darkness of the black doll's skin color, a color between medium and dark brown that influenced her possibly egocentric, i.e. "like me" responses of preference, negative stereotyping and identification. Clearly her skin color was more similar to that of the white than the black doll. Still, beyond both a perceptual and an egocentric

responding, this preschooler's absolute preference for white; her negative stereotyping of black and her misidentification with white, supports the conclusion of an overall negative racial self-concept in the process of developing and traumatically impacting on her racial esteem once she moves out of her egocentrically defined "cognitive reality" and into the "real world."

Our medium brown-skinned preschool boy, also with an absolutely negative racial self-concept score, chose the black doll over the white as "lazy and stupid" saying:

He don't like him (black doll) cause he's ugly black!

Thinking of our hypothesis relating maternal racial development attitudes and practices to the preschooler's racial esteem, our light-skinned preschooler, with an absolutely negative racial self-concept score expressed, at least in part, the basis of her white doll preference; negative stereotyping of the black doll and misidentification with the white doll, saying:

She (white mother doll) likes white girls. She doesn't like black girls. All white girls are nice. She likes white best.

Although our sample is small, these findings seem to clearly support the important role that skin color plays in the development of the Black child's racial self-concept and its esteem. Continued, more fully thought out research on this skin color-racial self-concept relationship is imperative.

This research need is substantiated by some major pieces of empirical work. Looking at the cognitive development of color, especially black-white, light-dark, differentiation, it was found that this cognitive ability represented the first stage of racial self-concept development. (Allport, 1958; Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971; Kambon, 1977)

The importance of color for the Black child's developing racial self-concept and its esteem can be inferred from the research findings of Kambon(1977). Kambon, in studying the sequential cognitive development stages of racial self-images in preschool, African-American children found a phenomenon that seems to have grave implications for Black children:

1. Aesthetic color judgments are made reliably before racial concept development
2. Color concept development for the color "white" occurs before the age of three, and precedes all other color concept development, irrespective of their being "race related" or "non-race related"
3. On tests of significance, between "pretty vs. ugly" and in-group vs. out-group, perceptual race related colors (i.e. brown vs. pink) brown was preferred significantly more than pink. However, the opposite was true of social or conceptual race related colors (i.e. black vs. white) where white was judged pretty

significantly more and ugly significantly less than the in-group color of black.

We believe that a child's self-concepts are learned through his social experiences with his significant others. We also believe that the larger White American society is perceived as a significant "generalized other." Now, if we understand, at least somewhat, the racial self-concept development of society's White majority children and take it to represent the racial attitudes and practices of their parents, we can understand why we see Kambon's (1977) findings concerning Black children as having grave implications for their growth and development.

With White preschoolers, Renninger and Williams in 1966 found that black-white color meaning is learned first in an evaluative sense that black is "bad" and "white" is good" and then, this evaluative learning is generalized to racial groups. Williams and Roberson (1967) obtained findings that supported a relationship between black-white color meaning and the development of racial attitudes. They found that the same negative evaluative responses given to black non-human objects and the same positive evaluative responses given to white, were later generalized to people and formed the basis of racial prejudice, white against black.

We need to replicate the Renninger and Williams (1966) and the Williams and Roberson (1967) research, using samples of Black preschoolers and their parents to see if this positive "white" negative "black" phenomenon exists.

We need to further research the cognitive development of colors and the underlying motivation influencing their aesthetic evaluation. What cognitive-emotional and environmental factors function to create a primary and positive response to the color "white" over the color "black." From a classical or operant, behavioral point of view, is color concept development and color evaluation subject to modification that facilitates a positive response to both black and white.

Certainly given Kambon's (1977) and the Williams et al's (1966 & 1967) findings, together with our own it is imperative in carrying out racial self-concept research with both Black and White samples that we use a third, light-skinned, black doll alternative.

Responses concerning racial attitudes and identification may be more definitively clarified on the dimensions of perceptual and psycho-social responding. Even if the inclusion of a lighter-skinned alternative diminishes the racial misidentification and further diminishes the negative attitudes, we need to see if

a negative attitude remains towards the darker-skinned doll and why, keeping in mind that as many children fall into the darker-skinned category as into the light.

Beyond research, if Black children at a very early age develop the color concept "white" before any other color, and more importantly, if they in turn learn a positive evaluation of "white" and a negative evaluation of "black," then early childhood intervention is mandated, how early is a question yet to be answered. One primary intervention, initiated first by the parents, followed by preschool and school programs, is the critiquing of the visual and oral presentations that the children are exposed to, during their early and formative years.

At this point, we want to note that the Director of our study's African-oriented preschool program, whose preschoolers were not among those with the most negative racial self-concept scores, carefully scrutinizes her program's curricula materials and will allow only multi-ethnic materials to be presented to her children, ninety per cent of whom are Black. This Director believes that as Black, minority members of a powerful, racist, White society, the early formative years of the Black child must be structured to develop strong and positive racial self-concepts in order to later cope with the direct and indirect impact of vicious White racism and still maintain a positive sense of self.

Racial Development Hypotheses

4. There will be no positive relationship between the Black, urban preschooler's highly esteemed Self-Concept of Race and maternal racial attitudes and practices implying positive own-race acceptance

5. There will be no positive relationship between the Black, urban preschooler's poorly esteemed Self-Concept of Race and maternal racial attitudes and practices implying highly ambivalent or negative own-race acceptance

Our significant findings were that the more positive the mother's Racial Development sum score, the more positive her preschooler's racial self-concept score. Conversely, the more negative the mother's score, the more negative her preschooler's. These findings support the rejection of hypotheses four and five.

The mothers with more positive Racial Development sum scores expressed a more positive perception of Blacks in general and of themselves and their families in particular:

M-3: I teach my children what my mother taught me. You are the best! You are good and fine, so never hate yourself.

The mothers reported a positive experiencing of their own racial appearance. They consistently participated in the life of the Black church and described this participation as a meaningful and sustaining experience.

Exposure to Black culture, oral or visual, was seen as very important for the positive development of their children's racial self-concepts and in many cases the culture was evident to the Interviewer in the form of Black literature, toys, records and discussion:

M-2: We need positive communications about Blacks. Black culture makes for Black pride, group pride and pride in yourself.

M-6: Martin Luther King was the greatest! I felt anger at his murder. I cried.

M-2: Dolls are used as babies, so Black girls playing mommy should have same race babies.

M-22: When I was young, I only had white dolls and books. I thought white was beautiful and black was ugly.

In responding to inquiries about mother's racial discussions with her child, the general trend was that while such discussions took place they were not forced or overwhelming, but evolved from appropriate "openings" usually, but not always, initiated by the child or a sibling. For example, in response to their child's real or hypothetical "wish to be white," most mothers said that they would look into the motivation for such a wish and discuss that issue, while also communicating to the child his "goodness" and "value" as a person, clearly stating that skin color does not make a person "good" or "bad."

M-2: Wish to be white! I wouldn't think it strange in this society where whites have all the power, but I would talk to my son about his reason and let him know that his parents are Black and proud and he will be too.

When asked about outright racism, i.e., 'You are called a "nigger" when you are with your child' most of our "positive" mothers felt it more important to deal with their child's feelings and thoughts than with responding to the perpetrator:

M-6: Ignore and walk away. Explain about racism. Explain that it's white's hangup not ours. Will not sink to white's negative level. I only need to discuss with my child, since I know who I am.

As a whole, this group of mothers see the future for Blacks as looking good, but they caution that success depends on a united effort rather than individual perserverance. Finally, they saw their children's racial self-concepts as quite positive, an accurate perception on their part.

In general the Interviewr's evaluation of the mothers' own racial self-concepts was quite positive.

The mothers with less positive, or clearly negative, Racial Development sum scores expressed less positive, or clearly negative, perceptions of Blacks in general, while for themselves they reported positive perceptions:

M-20: My mother was very light. She had a negative atttiude towards Blacks and black skin color. My mother was a "white" lover, a bigot! She always told me that we were better than the other Blacks.

- M-23: Blacks are more catty and jealous than Whites. Have to be careful around Blacks.
- M-1: He has this thing about very dark people. He don't have no use for them. My mother says he's my own boy because I never really had very dark friends. My best friend was half-White.
- M-5: My father taught us that we should be proud because we weren't all Black, that we had White blood.
- M-4: Blacks hurt themselves by their hatred of Whites.

Some mothers reported negative experiencing of their own racial appearance, supporting the Interviewer's assessment of a less positive racial self-concept:

- M-5: I was always glad that I wasn't black with a flat nose and real nappy hair!
- M-20: My mother was a nurse. She gave me bleaching creme to use. The kids calle me "Black Beauty."
- M-21: At twelve, I was raped by a White school mate. My mother was bought off from pressing charges and that made me feel that I was bad and that she hated me.

Few mothers participated in the life of the Black church and many felt it to be a hypocritical and negative institution. There was no strongly expressed commitment to Black culture as a necessary and influencing component of their children's racial self-concept development.

Racial discussion such as their children's real or hypothetical "wish to be white" was quickly aborted by a theme of, "Color don't make no difference." without an inquiry into the motivation for the wish.

As a group, the mothers were very pessimistic about the future of Blacks, basing their perceptions on the inability of Blacks to do for themselves and to come together in a united effort.

M-21: They're too sorry! They don't want to work!
Blacks don't stick together.

Finally, these mothers saw their children's racial self-concepts as less positive than our other group of mothers, but never as negative as they actually were:

M-1: It could be better. He has some moments about himself and his color.

While the relationship between child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices was positive, there were exceptions of positive child rearing and negative racial development attitudes and practices. This finding prevents us from always concluding that one set of attitudes always predicts another.

Conclusion

From the in-depth maternal interview findings, we conclude a positive relationship between maternal child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices and the esteem of the preschooler's developing Self-Concepts of Worth and Race.

Mothers whose preschoolers held highly esteemed Self-Concepts of Worth expressed clear acceptance of their children, motivated by a general love of children and family life. Mothers whose children held poorly

esteemed Self-Concepts of Worth expressed essential rejection of their children, motivated by financial hardship, restriction of personal freedom and possibly frustration of their own unfulfilled need for nurturance and protection.

A democratic view of child rearing without excessive physical abuse as a means of discipline characterized the mothers of high esteem preschoolers, while a domineering view of child rearing with physically abusive discipline characterized the mothers of low esteem preschoolers.

The findings of a positive relationship between fathers present in the family and positive maternal child rearing attitudes and practices, and on the other hand, fathers absent from the family and negative maternal child rearing attitudes and practices, lead us to conclude that father presence and absence appears to have a significant impact on the mothers, in terms of her attitudes and practices, and hence, indirectly on the child as the recipient of these attitudes and practices that directly influence his esteem of Worth. Further, from the vastly different descriptions of the father-child relationship, one quite positive, the other quite negative, we conclude that the father's presence or absence impacts directly on his child's esteem of Worth.

From our findings on the negative relationship between a preschooler's lighter skin coloring and a positive Self-Concept of Race, we conclude that the perceptual and psycho-social phenomenon of color meaning, i.e. white-black, light-dark, is an important cognitive component of the Black American child's racial self-concept development.

The findings of no significant difference across esteem of Worth groups, concerning the preschoolers' esteem of their Self-Concepts of Race, allow us to conclude that Self-Concept of Worth and Self-Concept of Race are different self-conceptions, both part of an overall, algebraic self-concept, most likely exerting some influence on each other but neither overwhelming and absorbing the other.

The positive relationship between maternal racial development attitudes and practices and the esteem of the preschooler's Self-Concept of Race speaks to the significant influence of these attitudes and practices on the child's developing Self-Concept of Race.

Mothers whose preschoolers' Self-Concepts of Race were quite positive, expressed a high level of positive own-race perception and acceptance of themselves as members of their race

Although the finding of a tendency for positive maternal child rearing attitudes and practices to predict positive racial development attitudes and practices, a finding that supports specific groupings of attitudes and practices (i.e. child rearing and racial development) representing expressions of an overall character structure, the finding of no significant differences, across esteem groups, between the mothers' racial development attitudes and practices and the finding of mothers expressing very positive child rearing attitudes and practices and on the other hand, very negative racial development attitudes and practices allows us to make the conclusion that these child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices, while part of an overall personality are nevertheless separate domains that can very significantly.

Finally, of utmost importance is our conclusion, based on our overall findings, that maternal attitudes and practices can be assessed and from the assessment we can predict their impact on their preschoolers' developing Self-Concepts of Worth and Race, two important self-concepts for the Black child's esteem.

Summary of Study's Limitations

1. Small sample size, final N=24 preschoolers and their parents
2. Exclusion of preschoolers with an Average (i.e. 90-109) WPPSI Verbal I.Q. score

3. Exclusion of preschoolers with an Average Esteem of Worth score

4. Inability to include child rearing and racial development attitudes and practice data on preschoolers' fathers or father-surrogates

5. Using same Experimenter who worked with preschoolers to work with parents (i.e. Experimenter bias)

6. In racial self-concept assessment, not including a light-skinned lack doll as an alternative to a darker-brown-skinned black doll and a white doll in order to better control for perceptual confusion, especially on racial identification

7. Not assessing the preschooler's mother's Esteem of Worth and Race with the appropriate techniques in order to compare the Self-Concepts of both mother and child

Summary of Implications for Future Research

Certainly future research in the area of the influence of both parental and maternal child rearing and racial development attitudes and practices on the esteem of the preschooler's developing Self-Concepts of Worth and Race should take consideration of and be responsive to the cited findings, implications and limitations of this study. Further, the relationship of the father's presence or absence on both mother and child should be seriously and extensively explored. An understanding of mother as a "total-person" is another important research consideration. The role of the extended family

on maternal attitudes and practices and on the preschooler's choice of most or very significant others from among its members who function to influence the development of his self-concept formation is another important area, for it might just be that there are different significant others who are responsible for the esteem of different subordinate self-concepts. In research on paternal status, we need to learn who are the "good-enough-fathers" who are present in or absent from the family. Just as importantly we need to learn who are the present or absent "negative-fathers." We are aware that although our study's research findings are of significance in an area that has previously not received the attention that it should, they represent only the beginning.

Appendix A

Children's Self-Social Constructs Test: Preschool Form

Administration & Scoring

The children's Self-Social Constructs Test (CSSCT): Preschool Form is administered to subjects individually. Testing time is approximately ten minutes per child. It is appropriate for children ranging in age from three to eight years. There are six kinds of items in the test. For any one kind of item, the instructions given to the child are the same, with only the stimulus person's name varying. The stimulus persons are shown on the cover of the test book and consist of Mother, Father, Friends and Teacher (in order from left to right).

The child is seated with the test book in front of him/her. The tester says: "We are going to play a game. Do you see these people? That one is your mother (points to the first figure on the test cover); that one is your father; those are your friends; and that one is your teacher. Now put your finger on your friends, put your finger on your mother; on your teacher; on your father." The tester should be certain the child has correctly identified all the figures before proceeding.

The tester turns the page. "Now here is a book and here are some toys. Pretend that your finger is you. Put yourself with the book or the toys, whichever you like." This item is used for practice and is not scored.

The 26 items are presented to the child in the order they appear in the test book. The instructions for each of the six kinds of items are as follows:

1. Preference (forced choice). Items 1, 3, 7, 11, 13, 21. (Tester must remember to substitute correct name of stimulus person according to the figures in the item.) "Here is your father and here are your friends. Pretend your finger is you. Put yourself with whichever one you want." Record the child's response by circling the person chosen on the scoring sheet.

2. Esteem. Items 2, 12, 18, 23. "These circles are children. You pick one to be you. Put your finger on the one you pick." (Do not gesture). Record the child's initial response on a scale from one to five points on the scoring sheet. The bottom circle should be scored one point, the top, five.

3. Realism Size. Items 4 and 16. "These circles are people. First, pick one to be your father. Next, pick one to be you." (Do not gesture). Record the child's response on a scale from one to three points for the circle representing the child, from small(1 point)to large (3 points).

4. Identification(With Mother, Father, Friends, or Teacher). Items 5,9,15,17,19,22,24,25. (Tester must remember to substitute correct name of stimulus person). "Here is your mother(father, friends, or teacher). You pick a circle to be you, whichever one you like. Put your finger on the one you pick." (Do not gesture). Record the child's initial response on a scale of one to six points, from nearest(1 point)to farthest(6 points)from the stimulus person.

5. Social Interest(Dependency). Items 6,10,20,26. "These circles are children. Pretend your finger is you. Put yourself wherever you want to. (Do not gesture). Record the child's response by circling the item number on the scoring sheet if the child places himself/herself within the group of others(i.e. within the imaginary triangle defined by the three circles). Borderline placements should be counted as within the group.

6. Minority Identification. Items 8 and 14. "These circles are children(point to the box with many circles). You pick one of these circles over here(point to circles on right)to be you." Record the child's response by circling the item number on the scoring sheet if the child picked a minority figure(i.e. one unlike those in the box).

Scoring

Child's Name _____ Sex M ___ F ___

Birth Date _____ Group _____

Parents in Home Mother ___ Father ___

Other Adults in Home _____

Ages of Older Brothers _____ Ages of Older Sisters _____

Ages of Younger Brothers _____ Ages of Younger Sisters _____

Total Number of Siblings _____ Birth Order 1 2 3 4 5 6 _____

Ethnic Background _____

Occupation of Father _____

Occupation of Mother _____

1. Preference
 - Item 1 (Father vs Friends)
 - Item 3 (Teacher vs Friends)
 - Item 7 (Mother vs Father)
 - Item 11 (Mother vs Teacher)
 - Item 13 (Father vs Teacher)
 - Item 21 (Mother vs Friends)

Preference for: Mother ___ Father ___

Friends ___ Teacher ___

One point is scored for the stimulus person each time it is circled. Points are accumulated over items. Higher scores indicate persons who are preferred. Note that these scales are ipsative (i.e. preference scores across the four stimulus persons must sum to six points).

2. Esteem
 - Item 2 ___ Item 12 ___ Item 18 ___
 - Item 23 ___ Total _____

Individual item scores are summed for a total score. Higher score represents higher esteem.

3. Realism Size
 - Item 4 ___ Item 16 ___ Total _____

Individual item scores are summed for a total score. Higher score represents less realism.

4. Identification
 - Item 9 ___ Item 25 ___ Mother
Total _____
 - Item 17 ___ Item 22 ___ Father
Total _____
 - Item 15 ___ Item 24 ___ Friends
Total _____
 - Item 5 ___ Item 19 ___ Teacher
Total _____

Individual item scores are summed into four scores. Higher scores represent less identification with stimulus person.

Appendix B

TAT: Description of Cards and Common Themes Elicited

<u>Card No.</u>	<u>Description of Card</u>	<u>Themes Elicited</u>
1	Young boy contemplating a violin resting on table in front of him	Parent-child relationship; aggression; self-concept
2	Country scene with young girl, man working and older woman	Family relations; autonomy
3BM	Boy huddled on floor against couch, head bowed on arm with gun on floor beside him	Depression; aggression; latent homosexuality
5	Middle-aged woman looking into room	Fear of reprimand, esp. about sexual activity (masturbation, primal scene)
6BM	Elderly woman with back to young man who is looking perplexed	Mother-son relationship
7BM	Gray-haired man looking at younger man who is sullen	Father-son relationship
7GF	Older woman with girl holding doll	Mother-child relationship; younger sibling concerns
8BM	Adolescent boy in forefront of surgical operation scene with rifle visible	Aggression, self or other; ambition (e.g. doctor)
13B	Little boy sitting on doorstep of log cabin	Self-concept
16	Blank Card	For verbally bright children able to project fully
17BM	Naked man clinging to rope; In act of climbing up or down	Revelation of fears: Oedipal; body image; homosexual

Appendix C

TAT: Analysis and Scoring Protocol of Vasquez (1980)I. Dimensions to be scored:

- (1.) Self-Concept of Worth: Trust vs. mistrust; Security vs. insecurity; Adequacy vs. inadequacy
- (2.) Parent-Child or Parent-Authority Relationship:
How parent or authority figure perceived; Parent/adult-child interactions

II. Scoring Scale for Esteem of Self-Concept:

Range = 1-3: 1 = Low 2 - Medium 3 = High

III. Instructions:

You will be looking for references to self (e.g. hero, main character, etc.) You will be looking for references to parents or adults, alone or in interaction with child or others. Look for both theme (e.g. "He was waiting for his mommy to come back and she didn't.") and for mood, stated or implied (e.g. "He feels sad." or there is simply a mood of sadness coloring the story)

Scoring for Mood:

1 = Low: When there are negative feelings: sad; bad; fearful; unpleasant; low; angry; sullen; etc.

2 = Medium: When there are mixed feelings: ambivalence; good then bad or vice versa; wanting then not wanting; doing then undoing; etc.

3 = High: When there are positive feelings: happy; good; pleasant; secure; loving; good expectations; positive wishes or aspirations; etc.

Scoring for Theme:

Card 1: Task is playing the violin or guitar; learning it; reading music or a book; learning music; doing homework or a project; reading a paper; looking at a picture; playing any musical instrument

For Self:Score 1 = Low:

Task not accomplished

Outcome poor

Unable to do task because of external force (e.g. violin broken; no one will help/teach)

No pride in accomplishment

Task is hateful w/negative feelings

Score 2 = Medium:

States task difficult but accomplishes without telling why

States able to accomplish in future (i.e. when bigger)

Purpose of task to please others

Senses of no choice but to do task

Ambivalence about task

Score 3 = High:

Definite outcome expressed in positive way

Expectation of reward via self-mastery

Expectation of fame via accomplishment

Expressed feelings of being intelligent

Task done for self

Sense of positive striving

For Interaction:Score 1 = Low:

Parental/authority experienced as lacking love or concern or as punishing, unjust or belittling

Parental/authority dead or unable to help or nurture

Parental/authority disrespectful of child's rights or unconcerned

- Score 2 = Medium: Mixed interaction: positive and negative
- Wishing for adult help without specifying that it won't be forthcoming
- Help given or concern shown but unsatisfactory
- Score 3 = High: Parental/authority figure experienced as loving; concerned; respectful; helpful; etc.
- Justification for mild parental/authority reprimand or punishment
- Child wishes to please
- Parents/authority gives and it is appreciated

Card 2: Card deals more with interpersonal interaction (parent-child) aspirations towards the future. How will child end up; how she handles situations; any problems. Girl = self. Task is chores; school; working the land; moving; etc.

For Self:

- Score 1 = Low: When sense of despair about doing chore and unable to solve it
- If task adults doing experienced as distasteful and girl feels that will be her fate
- Expressed inability to finish work
- Hopeless future for one or all
- Young person not wanting to study/having bad grades
- Expression of things ending not as planned
- Feeling people are laughing/denigrating girl
- Feelings of unworthiness (nobody cares, etc.)

Score 2 = Medium: Outcome is doubtful; maybe will do this or that

Purpose of task to please others

Ambivalence; to do this/that; feeling this/that

Score 3 = High: Definite outcome expressed in positive way

Heroine viewed as capable and willing to help

Expectation of becoming rich via work; study; or perserverance

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low: Interaction with adult/authority poor (don't provide; unloving; uncaring)

Adults perceived as unwilling/unable to help

Isolated behavior w/no interaction

Desire to leave parental home

Authority/parental figure seen as silly; helpless, etc.

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalence about interactions, good-bad

Score 3 = High: Parental/authority figure seen as loving; warm; caring; helping; verbal encouragement

Expressed empathy re parents/adults working too hard; desire to help; alleviate work load

Expression of care for parents/authority figures

Card 3BM: Attitudes of aggression against others/self; Experience of depression of self/others; Gender anxiety

For Self:

Score 1 = Low: When figure in trouble; hurt/dead

Figure is depressed; unhappy; lonely

Figure hurt other/others hurt him

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalence about status of figure
(i.e. hurt/sleeping)

Figure experiencing mixed motives/feelings

Score 3 = High: Figure not in trouble just sleeping;
resting or thinking

Figure perceived in positive way; student, etc.

Figure thinking or dreaming about something good

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low: Parent/authority figure responsible for troubles

Parent/authority figure thought to be uncaring; rejecting; indifferent; non-supportive

Parent sick; dead or unable to help

Card 5: Usually portrays attitude towards maternal figure. Usually child projected into story; with possible interaction of mother and child or expressed perceptions of each other (i.e. trust; responsibility; love; etc.)

For Self:

Score 1 = Low: Self (projected figure) portrayed in doubtful and belittling way (i.e. baby; helpless; dependent; lack of assertiveness)

Feeling lonely; sad; dense of dependency

Experiencing guilt (i.e. I'm such a bad person; misbehave; sexual misbehavior; disobedient)

Lack of reality; ending of story non-related

Mother senses lack of pride in child

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalent about projected child; good-bad

Score 3 = High: Self portrayed as strong and able to help mother; unafraid

Child able to assert self in relationship

Child portrayed as doing right thing

Sense of pride experienced by mother/ authority concerning child

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low: Lack of concern for maternal figure or denigration of her ability; control

Maternal figure perceived as intrusive (i.e. nosy; spying; checking up)

Perceived as helpless; frightened; unaware of what is going on; incompetent

Expressed desire to leave mother or home

Child experiences mother as disrespectful; belittling; mocking; lacking pride in him; lack of understanding

Experience of unjust punishment or even if punishment warranted, punishment too severe (physical beating/deprivation)

Score 2 - Medium: Ambivalence throughout story

Story lacks human interaction (object interaction)

Story lacks affect

No interaction; picture description

A story outcome without account of how it occurred, just ends being wonderful, etc.

Score 3 = High: Concern/empathy with figure

Maternal figure seen as loving; accepting, etc.

Figure seen as strong and capable

Mild punishment is justified

Child wishes to help maternal figure

Card 6BM: Taps mother-son relationship

For Self:

Score 1 = Low:

Son perceived as helpless; incompetent; under mother's/authority figure's control

Son in trouble with maternal/authority figure

Son resentful of mother/authority figure

Score 2 = Medium:

Experiences ambivalent feelings to maternal/authority figure (i.e. love-hate; concern-indifference; etc.)

Score 3 = High:

Expresses perception of self as good; strong; competent; trustworthy; etc.

High aspirations that lead to success

Positive values; standards and behaviors

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low:

Lack of concern; empathy; love; etc. for maternal figure

Denigration of maternal figure; helpless; unknowledgeable; incompetent

Maternal figure perceived as dominant; punitive; controlling; etc.

Maternal figure lacks understanding; etc.

Expression of unfair punishment

Score 2 = Medium:

Ambivalent attitudes and behaviors in interactions with maternal figure

Score 3 = High:

Concern/empathy with maternal figure

Maternal figure seen as loving; concerned; respectful; just; etc.

Seen as capable and strong

Wish to help maternal figure

Card 7BM: Father/Adult authority-relationship

For Self:

Score 1 = Low: Younger man = self seen as upset; experiencing painful thoughts and feelings

Seen as in trouble without help

Feeling lonely; sad; defenseless; dependent

Failed to achieve

Ill, physically or emotionally

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalent thoughts and/or feelings about self-worth; achievement; aspirations; love

Score 3 = High: Self seen as happy; positive aspirations and achievements; competent; lovable; healthy

Self-pride

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low: Lack of concern for paternal/adult figure

Denigration of paternal/adult figure

Paternal figure perceived as domineering; punitive; unjust; controlling; unloving; disrespectful; indifferent; uncaring

Expressed desire to leave paternal figure; home

Paternal/authority figure seen as fearful; helpless; incompetent; weak

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalent thoughts/feelings within interaction; paternal/authority figure loving-unloving; fair-unfair; strong-weak; etc.

Score 3 = High: Concern; empathy; love; respect; etc. towards paternal figure

Experience of being loved; protected;
etc. by paternal figure

Wish to help paternal figure

Paternal/authority figure respected;
seen as strong; competent; just; re-
spectful; supportive

Card 7GF: Mother/authority-child relationship

For Self:

Score 1 = Low: Young girl = self seen as unhappy; upset;
angry; afraid; unworthy; belittled; dumb

Young girl unable to do what she wants

In trouble with no help available

Failed in aspiration

Jealous of sibling; etc.

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalent about self-evaluation (i.e.
good-bad)

Ambivalent about goals; aspirations

Score 3 = High: Perceives self as happy; secure; un-
afraid; worthy; admired; intelligent;
proud; caring

Able to fulfill goals that please her

Strong and competent

Achieved or will achieve shortly suc-
cess

High values, attitudes, standards and
goals

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low: Daughter perceived as helpless; domi-
nated; unloved; unprotected; disrespect-
ed by maternal/authority figure

Lack of concern for maternal/authority
figure; denigration of her ability; dis-
trust of her motives

Maternal/authority figure perceived as intrusive; nosy; spying; checking; distrustful of child

Experience of unjust/too severe punishment

Lack of love for maternal/authority figure

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalent interactions (i.e. love-hate; trust-mistrust, etc.)

Lack of human interaction, each involved in isolated thought/behavior

Story ending is positive but with no account of how it occurred; disjointed; superimposed

Score 3 - High: Concern/love/empathy for maternal figure

Maternal figure seen as concerned; loving; protective; just; interested; w/child

Maternal figure seen as strong and competent

Mild punishment justified

Child wishes to help maternal figure

Card 8BM: Taps concern about others; aggression towards self/others; ability to help; relationship towards male/paternal figures

For Self:

Score 1 = Low: Boy in forefront not capable; unafraid; helping; rather, he is seen as fearful, and helpless and unable to help

Boy in trouble and no way out

Failed in attempt to help

Incapable of loving; perceived as hostile and defensive; blaming others for his plight

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalent thoughts and/or feelings
(afraid-unafraid)

Capable then incapable, etc.

Story ends on positive note without accounting for it

Score 3 = High: Perceives self as happy; able; intelligent; unafraid; trustworthy; etc.

Doing right thing with right motives

Proud; confident; etc.

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low: Boy perceived as under control of others; abused by others; disrespected by others; cruelly/unjustly punished by others

Boy alone; unhappy, angry, sullen; feeling mistreated by others; wanting revenge

Perceives others as afraid; helpless; incompetent; dumb; unaware of what's going on

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalent; others perceived as good-bad; etc.

Ambivalent about self: likes others-doesn't like; cares about others-doesn't care; love-hate, etc.

Positive ending without explanation (i.e. magical quality)

Score 3 = High: Concern/empathy/love for others

Perceives others have concern/love or empathy for him

Others seen as strong and competent

Others perceive him as good and competent; intelligent; trustworthy; etc.

Punishment is just and mild

Child wishes to help/does help others

Card 13B: Taps self-concept; esteem; aspirations; and the attitudes and behaviors of significant others towards him

For Self:

Score 1 = Low:

Unable to relate to friends; unliked; made fun of; seen as incompetent; ugly; etc.

Perceives self as worthless; unloved; disrespected; untrustworthy; guilty; etc.

Sees self as deprived, psychologically or materialistically

Fearful; abandoned; etc.

Depending on magical solution for happiness

Externally controlled; dominated; unable to make decisions about self

Score 2 = Medium:

Sense of grandiosity

Picture description

Dealing in possibilities, "Maybe"

Ambivalent actions; thoughts; feelings

Wishing

Indefiniteness of action or feeling

Wish or aspiration for unconventional (i.e. poor, ugly; etc.)

Score 3 = High:

Child able to relate to friends; has friends; is loved; respected; trusted; protected

Task mastered

Overcoming obstacles

Sense of assertiveness; pride; etc.

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low: Unable to communicate problems to parents
 Sense of overpowering parents-controlling
 Parents portrayed as dead
 Parents portrayed as unable to provide; protect; love
 Expressed wish to be with someone other than parents
 Experience of being unloved; neglected; abandoned by parents

Score 2 - Medium: Ambivalent of thought and/or feelings for another or vice versa
 Rapport with one but not with other parent
 Marvelous ending without accounting for it

Score 3 - High: Open communication with parents
 Parents are loving; understanding; caring protective; etc.
 Parents are missed or longed for if away
 Understand that parents can't give because they don't have
 Any positive feelings related to parents/adults

Card 16: Blank card on which child can project; will be looking for self and self-other interaction data

For Self:

Score 1 = Low: Feeling of failure
 Self perceived as bad; helpless; ugly; unable; untrustworthy; guilty; stupid

Feeling sorry for self; angry at self

Score 2 = Medium: Self is not in story but sibs are

No humans

Card refused as "blank"

Story reference to cartoons; magical characters

Score 3 = High: Figure perceived as positive: good; smart; strong; brave; etc.

Reports story about him and it's positive

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low: Parents portrayed as dead; or have abandoned him

A desire for supportive parents/adults

Parents described as unloving; uncaring; mean; disrespectful; unjust; etc.

Unable to communicate with parents; not allowed freedom of expression; etc.

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalence

Score 3 = High: Positive interactions are portrayed

Card 17BM: Taps ego strength; mastery; aspirations; how failure is handled. Task = rope climbing: Circus; athletic skill

For Self:

Score 1 = Low: Task failure; fear of failure

Man is fearful; scared; fear of failure

Man portrayed as criminal; thief; assaulter

Man in trouble and can't help self

Resigned to fate and won't try

Score 2 = Medium: Ambivalent thoughts/feelings/actions

Over concern with being the "best"

Score 3 = High:

In threatening environment, hero overcomes and succeeds.

Sense of being in control; mastery; brave

For Interaction:

Score 1 = Low:

Parents wrong and child gets blamed

Guy in predicament because of parents/adults

Parents perceived as unloving; incapable; unjust; etc.

Score 2 = Medium:

Ambivalence

Not all in story positive

Score 3 = High:

Figure perceived as good; true hero by others

Others perceived in positive way; loving; capable, etc.

Appendix D

Color Categorization Accuracy

Prior to administration of the T.V. Story Game, the children will be administered a color categorization task to ensure that they are able to categorize by color, a skill necessary in the racial categorization task.

Administration

The child will be presented with a mixed pile of black, brown and white, small toy horses. Ask him/her to "Put all the horses that belong together in separate piles." When task is completed, ask, "Which horses do you like best?" Why? If a child does not spontaneously categorize by color, he will be asked outright to do so and if he is unable to do so, he will be dropped from our sample.

Appendix E

T.V. Story Game

Name _____ Date _____

Age _____ Skin Color 1 2 3 4 5

Administration

Introduction: Do you like to watch T.V.? What program do you like best? Do you know what we are going to do now? We are going to make up a story for T.V., a show about kids. We're going to use dolls and doll houses to help tell our story.

1. (School room set). We're going to pretend that this is a school, just like the school you go to. First, we're going to make up a story about a boy/girl named Johnny/Joan who goes to this school. Now Johnny/Joan is a boy/girl who looks just like you. Which one of these dolls (present Black and White doll, same sex) will be Johnny/Joan in our story?

All right, now you hold Johnny/Joan (remove rejected doll from sight). Johnny/Joan is the first one in nursery school this morning and he's/she's waiting for someone to come and play with him/her. The first two boys/girls come to school (1 Black and 1 White doll presented, same sex). One of these boys/girls is Johnny's/Joan's friend that he/she plays with all the time. Which one of these is Johnny's/Joan's friend?

Now, you hold Johnny's/Joan's friend (remove rejected doll from sight). They start playing with toys and then the next two kids come to school (present 1 Black and 1 White doll, same sex). Johnny's/Joan's friend says, 'One of these kids is very nice. Let's ask him/her to play.' Which one of these kids does he think is very nice? Why do you think that one is very nice?

They ask him/her to come over and all three of them play. What do you think they're doing? Then two more kids come to school (present 1 Black and 1 White doll). Johnny/Joan says, 'Nah! I don't like one of these kids. He's so lazy and stupid. Which one of these kids does his friend think is lazy and stupid? Why do you think he's lazy and stupid? What does Johnny/Joan say to his friend?

Then, all of them start playing together. What do you think they're doing? What do kids really do in school?

Then it's time for lunch, and Johnny/Joan decides to take one of the kids in his/her class home to lunch with him/her(both Black and White dolls in school room). Which one does he/she take home? Would mommy like him to take the other one(rejected doll is shown)home too? Why?

2. (Living room set). Why don't we tell a different story now. We're going to tell a story about a house and about a boy/girl named Bobby/Barbara who lives in this house. Now Bobby/Barbara is a boy/girl who looks just exactly like you(present 1 Black and 1 White doll, same sex). Which of these boys/girls will be Bobby/Barbara in this story?

All right, now you hold Bobby/Barbara. Which one of the women (present 1 Black and 1 White mother doll) is Bobby's/Barbara's mother?

All right, you can hold her too. Today is Bobby's/Barbara's birthday and his/her mother says that he/she can have a party and invite all his/her friends to come. The first two girls(1 Black and 1 White doll presented, dressed identically)come to the party. Mommy doesn't know them so she meets them. Then she turns to Bobby/Barbara and says, 'One of these girls looks so clean and neat.' Bobby/Barbara says, 'Which one mommy?' What does mommy say? Which girl looks clean and neat?

Then some more children come to the party. What do you think they will do at the party? Will they play games? Then it's time to eat, so mommy brings out some lollipops. She has a lollipop for each child, but then she gets to these two(present 1 Black and 1 White doll, same sex)children and she has only one lollipop left. She says, 'Bobby/Barbara, which one should I give the lollipop to? What does Bobby/Barbara say? Which one gets the lollipop? Why does this one get the lollipop? What else do they eat at the party?

Then they open presents and it's time to play. Some boys go outside and the girls stay inside(2 Black and 2 White dolls, each Black and White set dressed identically). Which one of these girls looks like Negro children? ...Colored children? ...Black children? ...White children? Can you show me? Then repeat same questions, using boy dolls.

4. Subject given 4 same-sex dolls. Each set has a Black and White doll, identically dressed. Child is asked to pick the 2 dolls that look most alike. Aim is to see whether child chooses 2 dolls on basis of color or dress. Next, subject is presented a Black boy and girl doll and a White boy and girl doll. He/she is asked to pick the 2 dolls that look most alike. The aim is to see whether the child chooses 2 dolls on basis of color or sex.

Appendix F

T.V. Story GameScoring

Name _____ Age _____

Date _____ Skin Color 1 2 3 4 5

I.Q. _____ CSSCT-Esteem Score _____ TAT Score _____

Racial Awareness

Terminology:

Negro _____ Colored _____ Black _____ White _____

Salience:

Race/Dress _____ Race/Sex _____

Match:

Mother with Child _____

Child with Mother _____

Racial Attitudes

Friend _____ Nice _____ Lunch _____ Mother's Attitude _____

Clean and Neat _____ Lollipop _____

Negative Stereotype

Lazy and Stupid _____

Racial Self-Identification

Johnny/Joan _____ Bobby/Barbara _____

Procedure

1. Racial Awareness

- a. Color Salience: Skin color(black/white)vs. dress/
sex

- b. Color Match: Match mother with child
Match child with mother, sister,
brother
- c. Racial Terminology: Negro, Colored, Black, White
- a. Color Saliency(2 choices)

Score Choice Category

- 1 Black skin color = 2 choices
- 2 1 Black and 1 White skin color = 2 choices:
1 Black skin color and 1 dress/sex
1 White skin color and 1 dress/sex
- 3 White skin color = 2 choices

- b. Color Match(4 choices)

Score Choice Category

- 1 4 matches correct
- 2 3 matches correct
- 3 2 matches correct
- 4 1 match correct
- 5 0 matches correct

- c. Racial Terminology(4 choices)

Score Choice Category

- 1 4 terms correct
- 2 3 terms correct
- 3 2 terms correct
- 4 1 term correct
- 5 0 terms correct

2. Racial Attitudes(Friend, Nice, Lunch, Mother, Clean,Lol)

Score Choice Category

- 1 6 Black dolls 0 White dolls
- 2 5 Black dolls 1 White doll
- 3 4 Black dolls 2 White dolls
- 4 3 Black dolls 3 White dolls
- 5 2 Black dolls 4 White dolls
- 6 1 Black doll 5 White dolls
- 7 0 Black dolls 6 White dolls

3. Negative Stereotype(Lazy and stupid)**Score Choice Category**

1 White doll
2 Black doll

4. Racial Self-Identification(2 choices)**Score Choice Category**

1 2 correct racial self-identification
2 (a) 1 correct and 1 incorrect racial
 self-identification
 (b) 2 incorrect racial self-identifications

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175-179

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Appendix H

Parental Attitude Research InstrumentScale Definitions

Democracy-Domination

1. Encouraging Verbalization: Permit and encourage child to talk about any issue, including anxieties, conflicts, hostilities and to disagree with family policy
2. Excluding Outside Influence: Measure of family ethnocentrism and possible measure of parental control and authoritarian attitude
3. Equalitarianism: Treating children as persons having certain rights that must be considered
4. Comradeship and Sharing: Interacting with child in a way that promotes security and well-being

Acceptance-Rejection

5. Breaking the Will: A basic negative evaluation of children and a belief that children must be brought under parental control
6. Irritability: Poor emotional control in parent-child interactions with tension and emotional outbursts on part of mother (e.g. "It's natural for a woman to blow her top.")
7. Rejection of Homemaking Role: Unhappy and dissatisfied with responsibilities, especially the restriction of movement entailed in the maternal role
8. Avoidance of Communication: Ignoring the child and unresponsive to child's need to talk about his anxieties, conflicts and hostilities
9. Dependency of Mother: Extent to which mother looks to others for security and support

Indulgence-Autonomy

10. Acceleration of Development: High achievement needs for child. Pushing child to achieve at accelerated pace
11. Strictness: Restricting the child and intrusiveness
12. Intrusiveness: Allowing child no privacy
13. Fostering Dependency: Over-protectiveness
14. Approval of Activity: Belief that child should always be busy

Appendix I

Parental Attitude Research InstrumentScoring

1	17	33	49	65	<u>Democracy-Domination</u>
2	18	34	50	66	<u>Encouraging Verbaliza.</u>
3	4	19	20	35	<u>Excluding Outside Infl.</u>
36	51	52	67	68	<u>Equalitarianism</u>
5	21	37	53	69	<u>Comradeship & Sharing</u>
6	22	38	54	70	<u>Acceptance-Rejection</u>
7	23	39	55	71	<u>Breaking the Will</u>
8	24	40	56	72	<u>Irritability</u>
9	25	41	57	73	<u>Rejection Homemaking</u>
10	26	42	58	74	<u>Avoid Communication</u>
11	12	27	28	43	<u>Dependency of Mother</u>
44	59	60	75	76	<u>Indulgence-Autonomy</u>
13	29	45	61	77	<u>Acceleration of Devl</u>
14	30	46	62	78	<u>Strictness</u>
15	31	47	63	79	<u>Intrusiveness</u>
16	32	48	64	80	<u>Foster Dependency</u>
					<u>Approval Activity</u>

Instructions: Enter the number 4,3,2, or 1 in each square according to whether the response was strong agreement, mild agreement, mild disagreement, or strong disagreement. The total scale score is the the sum across rows. The number of each PARI item is at the top of each box.

Appendix J

Mother's InterviewChild-Rearing

1. How old is [child's name] [at time of interview]?
 - 1a. How old are you?
 - 1b. How old is your husband?
2. Where was [child's name] born?
 - 2a. Where were you born?
 - 2b. Where was your husband born?
3. How many generations has your family been in U.S.?
 - 3a. And your husband's family?
4. Was your childhood or adolescence spent for the most part in urban or rural backgrounds?
 - 4a. And your husband?
5. What is your religious affiliation?
 - 5a. And your husband?
 - 5b. To what extent are you involved in religion? And your husband?
6. How many years of schooling have you completed?
 - 6a. And your husband?
7. What is your husband's occupation?
 - 7a. What was his father's occupation?
 - 7b. What is your occupation? Did you ever plan to have a career? What was that? Have you been able to continue in this line at all?
 - 7c. What was your father's occupation?
8. What is the approximate combined family income of your husband and yourself?
9. How many years have you been married? Were you previously married? Have you and your husband ever been separated for any length of time? Does his job require that he be away from home any length of time?
10. Does your husband's work make it necessary for you to move fairly often? How many times have you moved in the past 5 years? Do you have a feeling of permanence about your present home situation or are you contemplating any moves?
11. How many children do you have? Tell me their names and ages.
 - 11a. What ordinal position does [child's name] have?
12. Were you working before your first child was born? How much have you worked since then? How did you feel about stopping? (if did): Would you like to stop working in the near future? (if still working): What do you do? How many hours a week do you work?

13. As far as either you or your husband were concerned, was there anything which made [name of firstborn]'s coming slightly inconvenient? What was that?
14. What are some of the reasons you wanted to have children? Did most of your friends have children when [first child's name] was born?
15. In what ways have you found family life different from what you expected?
16. Do you find you have ample time to do the things you want to do outside of the home?
 - 16a. Is there anything which you would especially like to do which you find you don't have time for? What would you like to do if you had more time?
17. What changes did having children bring into your life? How did you feel about these things?
18. What sort of pregnancy did you have with [child's name]?
19. What sort of delivery did you have with [child's name]?
20. To what extent has [child's name] been taken care of and/or trained by other persons? Both at present and in the past. What has been the nature of the care—i.e., has he lived with them for a year, month, weekends; eaten with them, been read to, received gifts? (This question includes grandparents as well as others. In all cases the agent should be described.)
21. Now we'd like to get some information about [child's name] growth and development. Could you tell me at what age he first stood up? When did he begin to walk with support? Without support? When did he start talking, using his first real words?
22. Could you tell me when you started toilet training? How did it go? How old was he when he was bowel-trained? When was he bladder-trained? What did you do about it when he had accidents after he was mostly trained?
 - 22a. At what age do you feel children can be toilet-trained?
 - 22b. At what age should they be trained?
23. Were there any feeding problems? Are there any feeding problems at present?
 - 23a. Did you breast feed? For how long? When did he go to the bottle? When did he go to the cup?
 - 23b. What was the schedule of feeding (permissive-disciplined)?
24. Did [child's name] suck his thumb? How long did this last? How did you feel about it? What was the frequency of thumbsucking?
25. Could you tell me at what age [child's name] was allowed to dress himself? to bathe himself? to cross the street alone? to use public transport? to go to store on errand? to sleep at friend's home?
26. At what age did you enjoy [child's name] most?
 - 26a. Would you call him a pretty affectionate child?
 - 26b. Was there any age at which it was especially easy to be affectionate with [child's name]?

27. How does your child respond to affection now? Do you still hug and kiss him? How do you think he feels about this?
28. In raising [child's name], what periods were especially difficult for you?
 - 28a. What kind of problems arose then?
 - 28b. How were they solved?
29. Many children go through phases during which they damage and break things around the home. Could you tell me some of the things [child's name] has done which you consider destructive? What have you done about his doing things like that?
30. How important is discipline in raising children? What do you think is the basic purpose of punishment?
31. Before he was in school, how did you punish [child's name] when he misbehaved? How did he react when you punished him? What did you do about this? How effective was punishment? What was child's reactions to punishment?
32. How did he react when he was naughty?
33. How much do you think a child should be encouraged to try new things?
34. At what age do you think that children should have jobs around the home?
 - 34a. Does [child's name] have any jobs? What are they?
 - 34b. Why do you think it's important for him to have jobs to do?
 - 34c. How do you go about getting him to do them?
 - 34d. How did you set up what he should do?
35. What do you think is the best way of rewarding a child? Do you think it is a good idea to show your feelings at such times?
36. Did you think it is more important that the child solve the problem successfully, perhaps under the supervision of the parents, or that he gain the experience of working it out for himself?
37. Before [child's name] started kindergarten, did you teach him anything like reading words, or writing the alphabet, or drawing, or telling time, or things like that?
 - 37a. How did you happen to teach him these things?
 - 37b. When did you start?
 - 37c. What could he do when he went to kindergarten?
 - 37d. At what age do you think mothers can start teaching their children nursery rhymes?
 - 37e. Mother's attitude towards pre-school accomplishments of child.
38. Has [child's name] had any severe illness or injuries? Which ones? When?
 - 38a. Has he had any operations? Which ones? When?
39. Have there been any instances where [child's name] has been emotionally upset?
 - 39a. Has he ever required treatment for such upsets by school personnel or your family doctor?

- 39b. How would you describe his general state of emotions and ability to get along with other people?
- 39c. Has he ever been involved in any serious scrapes with school authorities or public officials? Were there such incidents in the past which have disappeared?
40. Has [child's name] always been pretty easy to get along with?
40a. How would you say he compares in this respect with your other child (children)?
41. In what respects do you believe [child's name] to be different from your other children?
42. Do you think it is easier for mothers to understand girls than boys?
43. Could you give me some examples of things you and [child's name] frequently enjoy together? How frequently do you do these kinds of things?
43a. How much time do you or your husband spend playing with [child's name]?
44. How do you think your husband behaves towards [child's name]?
44a. Do you think he's taking as much interest as he could and doing what he can for the boy?
45. What is your husband's attitude towards your son? Does he spend much time with him, express affection readily, and respect his feelings?
46. Do you think children enjoy spending time with adults? What do you think they like most about doing things with their parents?
47. Most boys have worries and problems which they won't talk about. How difficult is it to find out what is bothering [child's name]?
47a. Why does he keep things to himself?
47b. How do you find out what's bothering him?
47c. Does he confide in his father?
48. How do you feel when you find out that [child's name] has been keeping things secret from you? What sort of things do you believe he should be allowed to keep private?
49. In what situations do you most often express approval to [child's name]?
50. Could you give me some examples of when you have been especially proud of [child's name]?
51. How is [child's name] about doing what you ask him to do?
51a. Do you think a child should usually act right away when the parent asks or makes a request?
51b. Why do you feel this way?
52. How are rules and restrictions decided in your home? If he didn't want to study, how would you handle it?

53. How do you usually get [child's name] to act as you want him to? What kind of rewards do you use?
 - 53a. Would you tell me about some of the restrictions which are placed on [child's name] behavior and activities?
54. How do you punish [child's name] now? Could you give me a couple of specific examples? How does he react to this sort of thing? How do you feel about punishment in general?
55. If [child's name] does something which is wrong, does he come and tell you about it? Does he do this generally or only if something unusually bad happens? When he is asked about doing wrong things, does he admit or deny them?
 - 55a. Would you say [child's name] is hard on himself, i.e., judges himself severely and demands high levels of performance and morality?
56. Some children get angry with their parents on occasion and shout at them. Has this ever happened in your home with [child's name]?
 - 56a. Why do you think children do this sort of thing? Do you think that is why [child's name] did it?
 - 56b. How have you handled the problem?
57. Can you remember any times when you have punished [child's name] when he probably should have been punished less severely or not at all?
 - 57a. What have you done when you found you were wrong? Do you think many parents apologize to their children? Do you think this is a good idea?
58. How do you feel about [child's name] questioning things you tell him? For instance, if you told him he couldn't have any of your alcoholic beverage and he asked why, what would you tell him?
59. Most mothers find that children playing around them get on their nerves after a while. Do you find that you have to get away from them or take a breather? How often? Any particular occasions?
60. If the door is closed to [child's name] room, would you always knock before you went in? Do you think it is all right for a child to expect a parent to knock? Do you expect your child to knock before entering your room?
61. Do you allow [child's name] to play with children of whom you don't approve? Why have you disapproved of certain of his acquaintances? How have you handled the problem of keeping him from playing with such children?
62. What is your policy about [child's name] letting you know where he is? What would happen if he didn't do this?
63. What time is he supposed to go to bed? How is he about going to bed on time? Are there regular exceptions to this bedtime? How do you handle it when he wants to stay up late? What do you consider reasonable grounds for letting him stay up later?

64. Does [child's name] try to do things which are beyond him? Could you give me some examples?
 - 64a. How do you feel about children trying to extend themselves?
65. What do you want [child's name] to be when he grows up?
 - 65a. Do you have any particular educational plans for him?
 - 65b. What do you think he will be?
 - 65c. What are your husband's ideas about [child's name] future?
 - 65e. How do you think any differences between you and your child should be resolved?
66. Do you think [child's name] can do as many things without help or supervision as most children his age? Would you like him to be more self-reliant and independent?
67. Do you think most parents help their children with homework or assist them with school projects? Do you think this is a good idea? Why do you feel this is good? How much of this sort of thing do you do? Why is this?
68. Do you feel [child's name] works up to his ability at school? If he doesn't, how do you handle it?
 - 68a. What have you done in school situations where [child's name] has not done as well as expected? What are the reasons this may have occurred (i.e., poor study habits, not interested, play, etc.)?
69. Do you think [child's name] considers himself generally better, worse, or about average in respect to his friends? What makes you say that? Is he generally confident and self-reliant?
70. Have you noticed any changes in [child's name] personality during the past few years?
 - 70a. Has he become more interested in girls; serious about career, boisterous or silly?
 - 70b. Has there been much physical growth in the past few years? Has he during this period experienced an extreme spurt of growth, or period of uncoordination and gawkiness?
71. How would you rate your child's intelligence and general ability in comparison with other children his age? In what ways is he better than the average? In what ways does he need to develop?
72. Despite his problems, do you think that [child's name] is generally a happy, normal child?

Appendix K

Mother's InterviewRacial Development Attitudes & PracticesQuestionnaireParental Background

1. In the city or town that you grew up in, what was the racial composition?

Was there definite racial boundaries for Blacks and Whites?

Was there integrated areas?

Husband-Same questions?

Parents-Same questions?

2. What was the racial composition of your immediate childhood neighborhood?

Would you describe your childhood town and neighborhood, especially your feelings about them, then and now?

Husband?

Parents?

3. What was the racial composition of your schools, peers and personnel, especially principal?

Husband?

Parent?

Would you briefly describe your school experience, wherein race played a part?

4. What was the racial composition of your city's authority figures: Police, mayor, firemen, medical personnel?

Husband?

Parents?

What was your experience of these authority figures?

5. In general, what kinds of jobs did Whites do? Blacks?
6. Did your parents or you belong to any organizations?
Black? White?

Do you presently belong? Husband? Parents?

7. What were the racial attitudes of Whites towards Blacks?
Blacks towards Whites?

Was there racial conflict? What kind?

8. What was the racial attitude of your family members
towards Whites? Towards Blacks? Towards themselves as
Blacks?
9. What kinds of Black culture(e.g. oral, books, shows,etc.)
were available to you during your childhood? At home?
At school? In general community?
10. What was your experience of the Black church, then and
now? Why?
11. What were your thoughts and feelings about your physic-
al appearance as a Black child, teenager, woman(e.g.
skin color, physiognomy, hair)?
12. Who were your favorite childhood movie and television
stars?
13. In school, were you taught Black History?
At home?
What were your feelings about being taught this, then
now?
14. What kind of toys and books were you given to play
with, especially dolls and racial category of story
characters?
15. What do you consider your worst racial experience?
Your best? Why?
16. Looking back, can you sum up for me your thoughts and
feelings on being a Black, growing up in America?

Parent and Child Experience

1. The racial composition of your present neighborhood?
2. The racial composition of the school that your child will attend?
3. The racial composition of the city's authority figures: Police, mayor, firemen, medical personnel?
4. What are your thoughts and feelings about this town?
Neighborhood?
School?
Authority figures?
5. In general what kinds of jobs do Whites have? Blacks?
6. Are you a member of a church? Active?
What is your church's attitude towards community?
Socially? Politically?
7. Describe the civic or social organizations' attitude towards the life experience of Blacks in this City?
8. Do you feel you church is doing its part for Blacks?
Your civic and social organizations? Why?
9. In your city, what is the general attitude of Whites towards Blacks?
Blacks towards Whites?
Is there racial conflict? Kind?
10. In your city, what kinds of Black culture are available? What is its importance?
In the schools?
In your home?
11. Within your family, what is the general attitude towards Whites? Blacks? Own family?
12. Do you think your selection of your children's toys and books are important in terms of their racial aspects? Why? Books, television shows, etc.?
13. With girls, do you have a skin color preference for their dolls? Why?
What is the racial composition of your child's books, shows, etc.? Why?

14. Do you or family members engage in racial discussions with your child? Child or other initiated? Why? Please give me an example of a discussion issue?
15. Has your child ever brought a racial issue to you? How did you handle it? What kinds were they? Your husband's participation?
16. Thinking back, has there ever been a time when your behavior, verbally or nonverbally has made a definite racist statement? Towards Whites? Blacks? Others? What effect do you think that behavior had on your child?
17. Your child comes home from school and is upset because a White adult or child called him/her a "nigger" What would you do? Why? A Black adult or child? Why? Is there a difference between a White or Black doing this? Why?
18. Your child comes home and tells you that the next time he comes back he wants to be White. What would be your first thoughts and feelings be? How would you handle it? Why?
19. Can you describe your racial identity, e.g. militant, tolerant, submissive, self-rejecting? Husband's? Any conflicts between racial ideology?
20. You and your child are at a beach and a White calls you a "nigger" or some other racial slur, how will you handle it? Why?
21. What are your thoughts and feelings about Martin Luther King, Jr.? Why? How did you react when he was murdered? Why? Malcolm X? Reaction when he was murdered? Why? Andrew Young? John Bell?

22. What does the future look like for Blacks in America?
Why?
- In Paterson? Why?
- In your family? Why?
23. What do you believe that Blacks must do to succeed in
life? Why?
- What will be some of our toughest obstacles? Why?
24. Do you believe that we as a people will reach Martin's
"Promised Land" seen from his mountain top, days
before he died? Why?
25. How do you see your child's racial self-concept develop-
ing? Why? How do you see his overall self-esteem?
Why?

Appendix L

Mother's Interview

Child Rearing Attitudes & Practices

Rating Instructions

There will be 8 child rearing clusters to be rated:

1. Child Wanted
2. Perception of Maternal Responsibility
3. Child Development So Far: Physical & Psychological
4. Maternal Evaluation of Child
5. Father-Child Relationship
6. Mother-Child Relationship
7. Rules & Regulation
8. Punishment

The 8 clusters will be rated on a 4-point scale:

- 4 = Positive
- 3 = Essentially Positive
- 2 = Essentially Negative
- 1 = Negative

The raters, two experienced Black female clinical psychologists will use the interview questionnaire and the responses of the mothers to clinically infer the rating for each cluster, for each mother

The rater is instructed to rate one cluster(e.g. Child Wanted)at a time for all 24 maternal interviews: Cluster #1, 1-24; Cluster #2, 1-24; ...

After rating the clusters independently, the raters will meet and conference on any clusters where there is not mutual agreement and come to a mutual rating.

The raters are encouraged to use the entire interview for each cluster, as well as paying specific attention to the responses generated by cluster-specific questions, since there might sometimes be spontaneous information on a particular cluster at some other point in the interviewing.

The following is a general guide to the rating of the 8 child rearing clusters from the responses to the questions:

1. Child Wanted

Questions: Inconvenience of pregnancy for mother? ...father? Number of children? Child's ordinal position? Reason children? Changes in lifestyle that having child brought? Feeling about changes? Expectations about motherhood and reality? Restrictions of motherhood?

- Ratings:
- 4 - Positive: Very much wanted with nothing to suggest otherwise
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Some small reservations but nothing serious
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Essentially not wanted but some mention of caring
 - 1 - Negative: Clearly stated that child not wanted

2. Perception of Maternal Responsibility

Questions: Same as #1

- 4 - Positive: Positive attitude concerning maternal responsibility. Functioning in role well with no problems
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Attitudes concerning maternal responsibility quite positive with only slight concern about role
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Role is many times stressful but not totally overwhelming
- 1 - Negative: Child perceived as unwanted and resented as a burdensome object

3. Child Development So Far

Questions: Pregnancy and delivery? Problems?
Child Care agents and relationships?
Developmental history: maturation,
cognition and affective? Self-eval-
uation? Other's evaluation?

- Ratings:
- 4 - Positive: Development excellent
with no serious problems
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Develop-
ment good, with a few minor
problems
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Serious
problems however not seen as
irreversible
 - 1 - Negative: Development fraught
with problems of a very serious
nature that impact on both child
and mother

4. Maternal Evaluation of Child

Questions: Situations in which approval ex-
pressed? Most proud of child when?
Developmental milestones? Behavior?
Comparison with sibs? ...peers?
...mother's ideals? Level of
maturity? ...aspiration? Trust in
parents? Abilities? Self-evaluation?
Self-esteem?

- Ratings:
- 4 - Positive: Positive evaluation in
all areas
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Essentially
positive evaluation with only
minor criticism
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Many nega-
tive evaluations
 - 1 - Negative: Overwhelmingly negative
evaluations in more than two-
thirds of the areas

5. Father-Child Relationship

Questions: Father's interest in, respect for, attitude towards and love for child? Mother's evaluation of father-child relationship in general?

- Ratings:
- 4 - Positive: Very positive in all areas
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Only minor misgivings in certain areas but in general quite positive
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Much criticism but a few areas are seen as satisfactory
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative evaluation and clearly stating that relationship is detrimental to child's well-being

6. Mother-Child Relationship

Questions: Age enjoyed child most? Interest in, attitude towards, respect for, and love of child? Affectional relationship? Problem areas? Things enjoy doing with child? Resolution of mother-child differences? Trust in mother?

- Ratings:
- 4 - Positive: Extremely good relationship with supportive examples
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Few minor conflicts and stress within relationship
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Much stress and conflict
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative relationship with mother essentially domineering and/or rejecting

7. Rules and Regulations

Questions: Which parent primary decision maker?
 Parental roles concerning child?
 Restrictions? Attitude concerning adherence to rules and regulations?
 Response to offenses against parents?
 Questioning parental directives?
 Policy on autonomy?

Ratings: 4 - Positive: Fair, clear and consistent rules and regulations and enforcement

3 - Essentially Positive: Only very infrequent deviations from #4

2 - Essentially Negative: Frequent deviations from #4

1 - Negative: Unfair, vague and inconsistent rules and regulations and enforcement

8. Punishment

Questions: Importance of discipline? Why?
 Purpose of punishment? Results of punishment used? Reasons for child's most frequent punishment?
 Type of punishment? Why? Child's reaction to punishment? How effective is punishment? Undeserved punishment?

Ratings: 4 - Positive: Fair and reasonable punishment that accomplishes goal of changing unwanted behavior without the use of harsh and extreme physical and verbal abuse

3 - Essentially Positive: Infrequent deviation from #4

2 - Essentially Negative: Frequent deviation from #4

1 - Negative: Unfair and unreasonable, harsh and extreme physical and verbal abuse

Appendix M

Mother's InterviewRacial Development Attitudes & PracticesRating Instructions

There will be 22 racial development clusters to be rated:

9. Hometown and Neighborhood perceptions
10. School: Peer and Personnel perceptions
11. Black Church
12. Authority Figures-Black and White
13. Organization Membership-Black and White
14. Perception of White's Attitude Towards Blacks
15. Perception of Black's Attitude Towards Whites
16. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude Towards Whites
17. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude Towards Blacks
18. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude Towards Themselves As Blacks
19. Perception of Occupational Roles of Whites
20. Perception of Occupational Roles of Blacks
21. Availability of Black Culture
22. Attitudes About Personal Skin Color, Physiology or Hair
23. Perception of Parents' Racial Conflict/Racism
24. Perception of Own Racial Conflict/Racism
25. Racial Discussion With Child
26. Handling White Racism When Child Involved
27. Handling of Child's Real/Hypothetical Wish To Be White
28. Perception of Future Racial Conditions For Blacks
29. Mother's Evaluation of Child's Racial Self-Concept
30. Rater's Evaluation of Mother's Racial Self-Concept

The 22 clusters will be rated on a 4-point scale:

- 4 = Positive
- 3 = Essentially Positive
- 2 = Essentially Negative
- 1 = Negative

The raters, two experienced Black female Clinical psychologists will use the interview questionnaire and the responses of the mothers to clinically infer the rating for each cluster, for each mother.

The rater is instructed to rate one cluster (e.g. Hometown...) at a time for all 24 maternal interviews on racial development: i.e. Cluster #9, mothers 1-24; Cluster #10, mothers 1-24, ...

After rating the clusters independently, the raters will meet and conference on any clusters where there is not mutual agreement and come to a mutual rating.

The raters are encouraged to use the entire interview for each cluster, as well as paying specific attention to the responses generated by cluster-specific questions, since there might sometimes be spontaneous information on a particular cluster at some other point in the interviewing.

The following is a general guide to the rating of the 22 racial development clusters using the mothers' responses:

9. Hometown and Neighborhood

- 4 - Positive: Reports positive racial experience in both hometown and neighborhood
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Only a few minor negative experiences, e.g. racial insult, discrimination or deprivation
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Frequent negative experiences
- 1 - Negative: Report very consistent and traumatic negative racial experiences that left bitter scars

10. School

- 4 - Positive: Positive school experience with both peers and personnel

- 3 - Essentially Positive: Only minor negative racial experiencing with peers and/or school personnel
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Fairly frequent negative racial experiencing with peers and/or school personnel
- 1 - Negative: Consistent and very negative racial experiencing with peers and/or school personnel

11. Church

- 4 - Positive: Belongs to and consistently participates in church activities and reports great satisfaction from the church
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Some slight misgivings but on the whole quite satisfying
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Reports essentially negative perception of church and little or no participation
- 1 - Negative: Unacceptable based on very negative experiences and perceptions and no participation

12. Authority Figures

- 4 - Positive: Positive evaluation of both Black and White authority figures
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Most seen as positive with only one or two given less favorable evaluation
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Most seen as negative with reasons why clearly stated
- 1 - Negative: Negative evaluation of almost all authority figures, Black or White

13. Organization Membership

- 4 - Positive: Belongs to more than one, of which at least one is directly connected to Black community

- 3 - Essentially Positive: Belongs to at least one organization and that is directly connected to the Black community
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Belongs to at least one organization, Black or White with little or no involvement
 - 1 - Negative: No membership and no motivation to join
14. Perception of White's Attitude Towards Blacks
- 4 - Positive: Very positive
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Few misgivings about some Blacks but none very negative
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Few Whites with good evaluations of Blacks
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative attitude
- 15 Perception of Black's Attitude Towards Whites
- 4 - Positive: Very positive
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Few misgivings about some Whites but none very negative
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Few Blacks with good evaluations of Whites
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative attitude
16. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude Towards Whites
- 4 - Positive: Very positive
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Few misgivings about some Whites but none very negative
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Few positive evaluations of Whites
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative

17. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude Towards Blacks
- 4 - Positive: Very positive
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Few misgivings, none very negative
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Few positive evaluations
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative
18. Perception of Own-Black Family's Attitude Towards Themselves As Blacks
- 4 - Positive: Very positive
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Few misgivings
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Few positive evaluations
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative
19. Perception of Occupational Roles For Whites
- 4 - Positive: Highest level, e.g. professional
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Middle level, e.g. administrative, highly skilled bluecollar
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Lower level, e.g. unskilled, clerks
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative, menial
20. Perception of Occupational Roles
- 4 - Positive: Highest level
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Middle level
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Lower level
 - 1 - Negative: Very negative, menial

21. Availability of Black Culture

- 4 - Positive: Varied communications of Black culture, e.g. oral, books, records, shows, etc. from within and without the family
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Some communication of Black culture from within and without family
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Little communication and none from within family
- 1 - Negative: No communication that has deliberate intent of presenting some aspect of Black culture

22. Attitudes About Personal Skin Color, Physiognomy and Hair

- 4 - Positive: Very positive assessment of all personal appearance attributes that define racial category
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Some misgivings about one or more physical attribute that has been positively resolved
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Still with negative evaluation of one or more physical attributes that define racial category
- 1 - Negative: Very clearly expressed negative and persistent evaluation of racial physical attributes that is dealt with in a self-denigrating manner

23. Perception of Parents' Racial Conflict/Racism

- 4 - Positive: Perception of parents without conflict and racism
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Perception of some slight manifestation of conflict and/or racism
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Perception of serious conflict and/or racism
- 1 - Negative: Very serious, ongoing conflict and/or racism with clear, overt manifestation

24. Perception of Own Racial Conflict/Racism

- 4 - Positive: Without conflict or racism
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Some slight manifestations of conflict and/or racism
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Serious conflict and/or racism
- 1 - Negative: Very serious conflict and/or racism clearly and overtly manifested

25. Racial Discussion With Child

- 4 - Positive: Clear, honest discussion of racial issues initiated by either mother or child
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Clear, honest discussion only in response to issues initiated by child
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Essentially no meaningful discussion on racial issues, instead brief, cryptic communications and ignoring of issues
- 1 - Negative: No discussion and clear unwillingness to engage in any

26. Handling of White Racism When Child Involved

- 4 - Positive: Clear age-appropriate discussion concerning White racism, with clear statement that racist not child is "bad" and direct confrontation of racist source
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Clear age-appropriate discussion as in #4; however, no direct confrontation with racist source
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Quick brush off of experience with no consideration of child's perceptions and feelings
- 1 - Negative: Unresponsive to child's experience and further, subtle or overt communication that racist message is valid

27. Handling of Child's Real/Hypothetical Wish To Be White
- 4 - Positive: Discussion with goal of understanding motivation of wish and very clearly communicating that those child most loves see child's color as beautiful as is the child
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Discussing issue without goal of understanding motivation but rather staying with "Black is beautiful!"
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Quick brush off with subtle or overt message that wish has merit white being preferable to black
 - 1 - Negative: Becoming angered and demanding that child denounce wish of clear statement that wish is quite acceptable and there is reason to hate being black and wish to be white
28. Perception of Future Racial Conditions For Blacks
- 4 - Positive: Positive attitude because of positive actions of Blacks
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Fairly positive with success depending on Black activity, e.g. motivation, work and sacrifice
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Quite pessimistic due to a combination of White racism and Black apathy
 - 1 - Negative: Very pessimistic for all Blacks including one's own family due to reasons cited in #2
29. Mother's Evaluation of Child's Racial Self-Concept
- 4 - Positive: Gives examples to support belief
 - 3 - Essentially Positive: Room for improvement
 - 2 - Essentially Negative: Clear indication that child has problems about being Black
 - 1 - Negative: Gives examples to support belief

30. Rater's Evaluation of Mother's Racial
Self-Concept

- 4 - Positive: Support from interview
- 3 - Essentially Positive: Some minor ambivalence about being Black
- 2 - Essentially Negative: Serious conflict about being Black that manifests itself in self-
- 1 - Negative: Clearly verbalized feelings that speak to a very negative racial self-concept

Appendix N

Maternal Child Rearing and Racial Development Sum Scores
By Esteem of Worth Groups

<u>Groups</u>	<u>Subject Number</u>	<u>Score(C.R.)</u>	<u>Score(R.D.)</u>
1	1	27	22
	2	27	38
	3	32	35
	4	28	19
	5	27	19
	6	30	34
2	7	29	34
	8	27	32
	9	30	39
	10	27	29
	11	30	37
	12	25	30
	13	28	30
	14	27	29
	15	28	38
3	16	19	29
	17	14	28
	18	14	27
	19	20	34
	20	16	16
	21	19	29
	22	22	21
	23	21	34
	24	25	30

Groups: 1 Very Superior Verbal I.Q. High Esteem of Worth
 2 Bright Average Verbal I.Q. High Esteem of Worth
 3 Bright Average Verbal I.Q. Low Esteem of Worth

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