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**Spivey, Philip**

**INTERRACIAL ADOLESCENTS: SELF-IMAGE, RACIAL SELF-CONCEPT AND  
FAMILY PROCESS**

*City University of New York*

PH.D. 1984

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INTERRACIAL ADOLESCENTS: SELF-IMAGE,  
RACIAL SELF-CONCEPT AND FAMILY PROCESS

by

PHILIP SPIVEY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1984

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

6/5/84  
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Abstract

INTERRACIAL ADOLESCENTS: SELF-IMAGE,  
RACIAL SELF-CONCEPT AND FAMILY PROCESS

by

Philip Spivey

Advisor: Professor Laurence J. Gould

This indepth study of 20 black/white interracial adolescents systematically examines the relevance of adolescent social adjustment to a number of psychosocial factors. The study participants consist of children ranging in age from 12 to 19 years old who come from 13 family units of which nine are two parent and four are single parent.

Interviews were conducted with the children and parents involving several psychosocial data domains and two psychometric measures were administered: FACES II, (Olson, Bell, Portner), used to assess family system behavior; the Offer Self-Image Questionnaire, (Offer, Ostrov, Howard), used as a measure of adolescent social adjustment.

Among the findings, the children were observed to be high achieving with a marked sense of high self-esteem and a surprising lack of attitudes and behaviors which might be termed 'rebellious'. The adolescent children in this sample scored significantly higher in measures of self-image than did the group of adolescents used to standardize this measure. This suggests that they have achieved a better than average level of overall social adjustment. In connection with this, our findings indicate that the children in this sample are able to cope successfully with an array of psychological, social, and vocational challenges.

For example, the uncertainties and ambiguities that some children reported in relation to their racial self-concept or identity, seemingly did not hamper their functioning in other life areas. Rather, these developmental issues are typically dealt with by these children as if they were expectable and manageable aspects of daily living. There is ample evidence in this study to suggest that such constructive approaches to growth and experience are influenced, in large part, by a flexible and responsive family system and the child's intact self-image.

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### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was made possible by 13 interracial families who gave generously of their time and of themselves. My deep appreciation goes to these families.

When I began thinking about doing a study on this topic, I was very fortunate to have Professor Gilbert Voyat as teacher and friend. Professor Voyat chaired my Committee because he believed in my goals and shared my excitement at the prospect of doing research in this area. He guided me through the early and later developmental stages of the study. In the process, he always conveyed an unspoken faith in the value of our work and a belief that the work would proceed well. Sadly, he did not live to see our work together go to completion. But, I think he would be pleased with the finished product.

Professor Anneliese Riess and Professor Louis Gerstman are members of my new Committee, with Professor Laurence Gould as Committee Chairman. Professors Harold Wilensky and Vera Paster served as readers in this process. My grateful thanks to them for their time, their valuable input and their cooperation in seeing my work completed in timely fashion.

And for the years, months, weeks and hours that I could not spend with them, I am profoundly grateful to family and friends for their continued support and patience.

Finally, none of this would have been possible nor have meant the same without my extraordinary parents, Albert and Dora Spivey, who are still refining the art of interracial living after all these years.

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to systematically examine a number of psychosocial factors which may influence the self-image and racial self-concept of children born into American families where one parent is socially defined as black and the other is white.

My interest in the psychology of interracial experience stems from two sources. The most influential source comes from my experience growing up in a family of socially mixed parentage; as a result, I have often wondered how the perceptions and experiences of children from other interracial families are similar to or different from my own. A second stimulus for my interest in this area is what I perceive as a disparity between my own family experiences and many of the popular views held by authors writing on the subject of interracial marriage and children. Whereas these views tend to emphasize the troubled circumstances of intermarried couples and their offspring, my own interracial family and social experiences have been characteristically positive and personally enriching.

In contemporary United States, and particularly in urban areas, black/white interracial couples are seen in public with increasing frequency; what in previous generations had been viewed as a circumstance, oddity, is now attracting less notice. According to the 1982-1983 Statistical Abstract of the United States, there are a total of 639,000 interracially married couples, including 132,000 black/white marriages. Even so, many of the popular notions about interracial relationships and children of interracial marriages continue to emphasize the problematic or disadvantaged circumstances. Representa-

tive of these attitudes is the belief that interracial couples must contend with the pressures of widespread social and racial discrimination. Gordon (1964) believes that these pressures place a heavy burden on the interracial marriage and add special problems of adjustment which racially homogeneous couples do not have to resolve. Grier and Cobbs (1968), while noting the adverse effect that racism has upon interracial couples, emphasize, instead, the neurotic predispositions of the interracial partners themselves. These predispositions provide the basis of interracial attraction. Specifically, they believe that these couples are motivated to enter a relationship to achieve satisfaction of unconscious sexual fantasies -- fantasies that have their source and take their form from the traditional antagonism between blacks and whites in America. According to Grier and Cobbs, the white partner is rebelling against the standards of his or her family and community; the black partner is defying white society.

As a result, it would appear that the dual pressures of conjugal incompatibility and social discrimination place formidable constraints on these couples' abilities to achieve satisfactory adjustment as partners, parents, and as members of the community-at-large. Gordon (1964) believes, however, that the most significant aspect of a married couple's difficulties stems from the discrimination and subsequent adjustment problems faced by their children. In this regard, perhaps the most prevalent notion attached to the interracial child is the assumption of his marginal racial status. The notion of the "marginal man" as popularized by Stonequist (1937), is "one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different, but antagonistic cultures." (p. xv.). Stonequist characterizes

the mixed-race person as a restless, conflicted, and unstable personality type, whose adjustment problems are socially induced because "...from an earlier spontaneous identification with the white man, he has under the rebuffs of categorical prejudice, turned about and identified himself with the Negro race. In the process of so doing, he suffers a profound inner conflict." (p. 24).

Taken together, the popular theories about interracial marriages and children present certain obstacles to a fuller comprehension of this phenomenon. First, by logical extension, these theories suggest that race is the only factor affecting these families -- as if living in a single-race household or environment confers automatic protection against the possibility of problems with family member psychological adjustment, personal conflicts of filial or group loyalties, or social discrimination. Secondly, these theories do not allow for the possibility that individuals may reject the traditional premise of racial antagonism and in so doing, opt for a non-traditional, although viable life style. Finally, the biases and assumptions which the observer (researcher, clinician, etc.) brings to his subject of study will determine what will be studied and how the findings will be evaluated. A good deal of the research literature (and theory) on black social issues have taken what Boykin (1979) calls a "victim-centered" perspective. This perspective is limited in scope and tends to provide "exceptionalistic explanations for universalistic problems" (Ryan quoted in Boykin 1979). In this regard, writers who take a negative view of interracial marriage, typically emphasize the relational restrictions placed on these couples either because of their neurotic predispositions or by virtue of societal racism. This perspective

disregards any constructive pro-social aspects of interracial living; it also ignores the capacity of individuals to form non-traditional relationships which are innovative, satisfying, and more or less compatible with the culture-at-large.

In contrast to these problem-centered perspectives, which tend to limit the parameters of interracial living, the empirical literature suggests that the experiences of interracial families in America are much more varied and diverse.

Literature Review: Black/White  
Interracial Marriages and Children

Motives for marriage

The substantive literature on interracial families is limited to a few systematic studies conducted during the past 30 years. Porterfield (1973) conducted an in-depth survey of twenty midwestern black/white marriages. Sixteen of the twenty couples in the study consisted of black husbands with white wives. Most couples reported that their initial relationships were based on shared interests, ideals and values, i.e., most couples cited love and personal compatibility as their only motive to marry. Motives secondary to personal compatibility varied among the couples and included curiosity about the other race, black males' vindictive feelings towards white males, and particular male perceptions about females of the other race. Porterfield (1973) reports that there is fragmentary evidence to suggest that the black males in his sample sought white wives because they "...are more affectionate, passive, and concerned about fulfilling the needs of their husbands" (p. 75). No such pattern was observed among the women (black or white).

Golden (1954) interviewed fifty black/white families in the Philadelphia area between 1949-1950. Much of his data and analysis focus on the surreptitious nature of interracial courtship, marriage, and community participation. He does not cite motivational issues per se for these couples, but identifies one possible external influential source when he suggests that "instead of being encouraged in the direction of marriage by their friends and relatives, they find the reverse is true. Pressure is exerted to discontinue the relationship." (p. 146) Golden, however, does not provide any data to support this proposition.

Jacobs (1977) conducted an intensive investigation of interracial couples and their influence on the identity development of their children. The study is comprised of ten children from seven intact families living in the San Francisco Bay Area. Jacobs' findings about interracial marriages complement Porterfield's, although they provide greater insight into the subtler motivational aspects affecting these couples. All of the spouses interviewed stressed personal attraction, not race, as instrumental in their becoming involved with each other. Most couples revealed additional motives which facilitated involvement. One black husband (out of five in the sample) was motivated by a desire to improve his social status. Two black men viewed black women as too hard and too competitive; they feared having to compete with a black wife and white society. For two white women, defiance of their parents may have played a role in their decision to marry, and a strong Oedipal tie to their fathers may have played a part in this defiance. Jacobs suggests that "...for these two women and for the other white spouses, parental over-control of the child, marked

by rigid values and high expectations seemed to form the basis of their defiance." (p. 190) Nonetheless, all of the spouses who revealed motives to marry other than personal attraction noted that such motives (e.g., a desire for status, defiance of parents) lost their force very rapidly after marriage. Jacobs characterizes the motivational patterns of his sample as "...individual compatibility against a background of white spouses' assertion of autonomy from their own parents and the black spouses' assertion of autonomy from the limits placed on them by racism." (p. 194)

Although the findings in these three studies regarding motivations for interracial marriage are inconclusive and not immediately generalizable, they suggest that racial stereotypes do not affect interracial attraction in a significant way. However, there are some implicit data in both the Porterfield and Jacobs studies which suggest that issues of race become motivational factors along the dimension of gender-roles: males in both studies attributed crossracial characteristics to females. For example, some of the males, both black and white, seemingly dichotomized the class of women into affectionate or passive white women and independent or dominant black women. In the Porterfield study, most males believed that all women were dominating. It would appear that stereotypic racial material is correlated with stereotypic gender perceptions, and that racial issues may intensify around gender roles, particularly for males.

#### The marital relationship

Grier and Cobbs (1968) believe that in an interracial relationship, the self-esteem of both partners is diminished and that the unresolved racial conflicts will inevitably surface and hinder their

ability to deal constructively with an ongoing marital relationship. The couples in the Porterfield (1973) survey generally reported having solid and comparatively satisfying relationships. A few experienced periodic conflict as a result of black separatist sentiment<sup>1</sup> which they encountered with family or friends; and a few suffered from gross incompatibilities which ended in separation or divorce. Both Jacobs and Porterfield found, however, that virtually all of the couples reported having developed a keen awareness of each others' feelings because of their differing racial backgrounds. This factor had, in fact, strengthened their marriage. Arguments between the spouses never included the pejorative use of racial material. In the Jacobs (1977) study, family stability was the general experience of the spouses in their childhood and in their interracial marriage. With one family exception, the decision to marry interracially and the marital relationship that followed resulted in a working through of racial feelings and beliefs. This led to an openness in communication about racial matters, but not a preoccupation with it. Most of these couples distinguished between race and culture. They reported that they were not affected by racial stereotypes, but that they had to work through their cultural differences. Most frequently, the white spouse is exposed to a new culture (black society) which involves more working through and change on his or her part.

#### Childrearing attitudes

Although it can be argued that the interracial child is the

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<sup>1</sup> Black separatist sentiment is defined here as a politically motivated wish to confine personal, social, and economic contact exclusively to members of the black community.

biological and social combination of both parents, American society will always consider the interracial child a black child.

In the Porterfield (1973) study, only four out of the twenty couples expressed concern about the social adjustment of their children, while in the Jacobs sample, all parents had some concern. There is some indication that a degree of unarticulated anxiety about the child's identity exists in Porterfield's families. For example, some parents preferred not telling their children they were black. One black mother said, "When my little girl asked me what color she is, I told her she's a creamy brown. Because that's what she is. She's not black. She's not white. She's creamy brown." (p. 77) Two white mothers felt that their children had no place on this earth because they were not accepted by family or friends. Generally, though, the majority of parents are optimistic about the social and emotional adjustment of their children. These parents believe that many of the economic, social, and political changes taking place in American society would shift the negative racial attitudes in a more positive direction.

In contrast, and perhaps because they lived in a multiracial community, Jacobs' families placed less faith in societal changes and more emphasis on providing a strong and secure family experience. Most of these parents, although expressing some anxiety, believed that once they provided their children with family experiences and values they felt appropriate, then the children were on their own. Jacobs believes that this attitude is an outgrowth of the partners' commitment to an interracial lifestyle and that their own assertion of self-esteem permits them to provide their children with a healthy and confident sense of self while exposing them to both the black and white components

of their identity.

Family of origin and community relationships

Grier and Cobbs (1968) are generally pessimistic about an interracial family's ability to live comfortably in the United States. They believe that the pervasiveness of white racism in our society lies at the core of racial antipathy and suggest that in a less racist environment, like Europe or South America, interracial marriages would experience less stress and their suffering would be alleviated. Grier and Cobbs, however, do not consider what new pressures national relocation might create. Are both spouses willing to sever ties with family and community, and if so, why?

The data on family of origin and community relations reveal that, like the previous data, there are consistencies and inconsistencies of experience among interracial families, but there is no typical interracial family lifestyle. However, particular themes have emerged. In the Porterfield (1973) and Payne (1977) studies, the husband seemingly determined where the family lived; usually this meant living in a community whose predominant racial composition was that of the husband. Typically, males (white and black) met with less family and community resistance than females. It is unclear as to whether this was a function of racial-group membership since most of the males in these studies were black, and black spouses usually encountered less resistance from their families and community; conversely, most of the females were white. More often than not, the white family of origin had the greatest difficulty in accepting the idea of interracial marriage. Black families, while cautious, generally did not reach the point of severing relations with the couple. Jacobs (1977) notes

that in his sample of white spouses, where only one parent would not accept the marriage, it was always the parent of the opposite sex. Although this was not a reported theme in the Porterfield or Golden studies, it appears to be another facet of a more general pattern observed in other study data, which suggest that gender is a dimension which affects an individual's attitudes towards crossracial contacts. Nonetheless, it would appear that the characteristics of the couple and the organization of family life, in particular, play a large role in the kinds of social experiences the family is exposed to and how these experiences are handled by family members.

#### The children

Despite popular beliefs that interracial children differ in their psychological development from children of single race black or white families, there are, as far as one can discern, only two sources in the empirical literature (Jacobs, 1977; Payne, 1977) which deal with this topic in a systematic way. Apart from these two studies, Teicher (1968) published a clinical paper using case data taken from the Los Angeles General Hospital Child Psychiatry Unit, utilizing the theoretical literature and three brief clinical vignettes of interracial girls and their families. In this paper Teicher attempts to establish a framework for interracial identity formation.

The three children described are pre-adolescent girls who, Teicher notes, more closely resemble their black father: "Identity formation seems to present a far greater problem for them than for the sons of these couples, although the latter (sons) evidently find themselves in an equally tragic dilemma when they resemble their mothers and could 'pass for white' but for their dark-skinned sis-

ters (p. 254).

Overall, Teicher's case illustrations portray clearly incompatible marriages in which racial material is used as a weapon by the couples against each other and in turn, is used by the children against their families. Teicher reports: "According to a family anecdote, the child of an interracial marriage was once to have presented herself at a gathering of her mother's (white) family as Mexican, but shamed and embarrassed her grandparents by entering the room and proclaiming herself a Negro and proud of it." (p. 252)

The major shortcoming of Teicher's general approach is that his clinical data are taken at face value. Undoubtedly, there are interracial families who are beset with problems and in which children appear to be troubled about racial material. However, the clinician's underlying assumptions about the nature of interracial living will determine how the problem is conceptualized and where the focus of intervention will be. Teicher believes that these children suffer because one parent is black and the other is white. Therefore, the clinical material is dealt with at the manifest level without defining further the meanings that race has for the child and the family, and the roles which are accorded members of the family system. Teicher admits, however, to the need to study the child from a non-clinical population and intact families. He states that such an investigation is planned and outlines ten hypotheses to be explored.

The underlying assumptions in these hypotheses are that racial identifications are more difficult for those children who are of different races than for those whose parents are of the same race. Secondly, the presence of varying racial characteristics in a home

complicates other kinds of identification processes, e.g., gender identification. The proposed study focuses on the dimension of similarity/dissimilarity of physical characteristics which children perceive between themselves and their parents. Some of the hypotheses posit that if the family's associations include the race that the child 'looks like' or other interracial families, then the child will have fewer problems of racial identification. Although this proposition is well taken, Teicher emphasizes the need to have perceptual look-alikes rather than providing the child with social experiences which are supportive of an interracial identity.

In the conclusions drawn from his clinical observations, and in the hypotheses for the proposed study, Teicher fails to distinguish between racial differences and family pathology, of which the handling of racial material is one of several indications. Nor does he consider the possibility that children identify with both parents in different ways and to varying degrees.

Teicher's central hypothesis states that the "...greater a child's problem of racial identification, the greater his problem of sexual identification." Jacobs (1977), correctly, notes a possible functional relationship between racial and other developmental or family system issues when he points out that "racial issues can be used defensively, as a screen for other conflicts, and problems experienced as racial ones can be secondary to other problems." (p. 10) In general, Teicher's hypotheses reflect the presumed influence of physical characteristics over all other possible influences, e.g., the viability of the marriage, the mental health of the parents, parental attitudes towards childrearing and race, and attitudes in the surround-

ing community. Although there is no published record of Teicher's planned study, Payne (1977) conducted a relevant investigation which systematically studied the effects of family racial constellations on the development of interracial children's racial identity.

Payne examined the possible effects of the race of the parent and the child's age, gender and skin color upon the child's acquisition of racial awareness, identification, and preference. The sample of eighty-one children living in the San Francisco Bay Area was divided equally between boys and girls, ranging from two to five years of age. Twenty-six of the children came from black/white interracial homes. Of these, six children had black mothers and twenty had white mothers. Twenty-nine children from single-race black homes and twenty-six from single-race white families served as control groups. Using a modified version of the Clark (1947) doll game, the study sought to test the hypothesis that the interracial child will be more likely to identify with the race of the mother.

The hypothesis that interracial children identify with the race of the mother was not supported, although the smallness of the cross-race sample of six white mothers with interracial children, limits any conclusions. However, Payne did observe differential patterns of responses within the group of interracial children: those interracial children with a black mother, more than any other group in the sample, chose a significantly darker doll to represent themselves. She suggests that for this group, the skin color of the mother may have been more salient than their own, but fails to consider why this may be so. In contrast, she reports that interracial children with a white mother selected dolls to represent themselves which were darker than their

mothers' skin tones, but lighter than dolls chosen by interracial children with a black mother.

In keeping with other research findings, the study revealed that sixty-five percent of the entire sample preferred the two lighter dolls ("which doll would you like to be?"). No significant effects were attributable to the race of the parent, and age or sex of the child. Similar results occurred in measures of play preference and physical attractiveness, though children from single-race black and white families selected the dark-brown doll as "not pretty" more often than the interracial children. Typically, the interracial child appeared undecided as to which doll was pretty and which was not. Payne comments that this "...ambivalence may be indicating some confusion regarding their racial attitude formation, since they tend to resemble neither parent in skin color or racial group." (p. 49)

Payne seems to imply that the interracial child's differential performance may stem from a conceptual confusion or affectively-toned racial ambivalence. However, it is possible that the observed ambivalence is an outgrowth of the testing situation itself.

Since the doll construction employed in the Payne study differed exclusively in the dimension of color, the child must, if he or she is going to play the game, choose a "not-pretty" doll solely on the basis of skin color. Apart from any developmental significance that an interracial child's differential responses may have, this group may be resisting the implicit notion that "not pretty" or "not desirable" is defined by skin color alone.

Payne's culture-bound inquiries raise serious doubts about the conclusion that can be drawn from the preference segment of her study;

it may be more a measure of stereotypical racial thinking than the acquisition of racial identity. Nonetheless, these study findings do not support the focal assumptions of Teicher's hypotheses: interracial children, when compared with single-race black and white children, at least at the pre-school level, have little difficulty with racial self-identification tasks regardless of which parent is black and which is white.

Jacobs' (1977) investigation represents a marked conceptual advance in the study of interracial identity development. Through the use of intensive family/child interviews, cognitive developmental theory, and a highly refined doll-choice game, Jacobs tries to answer some fundamental questions about black/white interracial children within the context of family and community.

The focal areas of investigation include a consideration of the marital partners' relationship, their perceptions of and attitudes towards childrearing, the child's cognitive development of social identities, (e.g., gender, race), the relationship of these identities to the personal characteristics of family members, and an assessment of the family relational process as a whole.

The sample consists of five male and five female children of black/white interracial families residing in the San Francisco Bay Area. The children range in age from three and a half to eight and a half years old.

Among the study findings, it was observed that skin color is used in different ways by the same child at different times. Despite this variability, a systematic developmental pattern was found. Jacobs cites four factors which are important in understanding interracial

identity development. 1) constancy of color; 2) internalization of an interracial "label"; 3) racial ambivalence; and 4) perceptual distortions in self and family identifications. Utilizing these factors, Jacobs proposes three stages of interracial identity development. He observed that his sample fell into two qualitatively different stages: Stage I includes those children who have attained neither a concept of color constancy nor have they internalized an interracial label. Stage II includes those children who have achieved both of the concepts. Children who possess one (e.g., color constancy) but not the other (e.g., the interracial label) are considered transitional to Stage II. Whereas color constancy seems to be spontaneously constructed by the child, an interracial self-concept seems to require the parents' presentation of an interracial label.

Based upon qualitative differences observed in the first two stages, the author proposes a third stage which was not evinced by any of his participants. In Stage III the child discovers that group membership is correlated with but not determined by skin color. Rather, racial group membership is determined by parentage; the child discovers that his parents' racial group membership and not their skin color per se, defines him as interracial. This should permit the child to separate skin color, racial group membership and rate himself and family members correctly. To accomplish this, however, "...may require the ability to take oneself as an object and reason with verbal propositions that the attainment of formal operational thought in adolescence provides."

(p. 211)

It is difficult to contrast Jacobs' findings with those of Payne, on the basis of conceptual focus and the measures used. The Payne

study is primarily concerned with establishing a relationship between the child's accuracy of self-identification and the skin color of the mother as a function of the child's age, gender and racial heritage; secondarily, it seeks to assess racial awareness and preferential attitudes towards skin color. Jacobs' study attempts to identify cognitive-developmental trends in an interracial child's conceptualization of the socially defined class -- "interracial". Secondarily, it is concerned with the constellation of affective and social influences on the course of identity development. The doll-choice instruments differed substantially and reflect the comparative scope of the two studies. However, two patterns emerged from both studies which are similar and perhaps complementary.

Payne (1977) observed systematic color distortions in the interracial children's self-identification tasks, although she does not designate these as mis-identifications nor is it clear in what direction (lighter or darker) these responses deviated from the examiner ratings of the child's skin color. In contrast, Jacobs observed that the Stage II children chose darker self/family dolls, but that typically his Stage II children were older than Payne's, i.e., Jacobs did not observe systematic distortions in his younger children. This seemingly contradictory finding may be an artifact of Payne's method of inquiry which was considered earlier. However, because such distortions were not systematically observed in Payne's single-race children, this would appear to provide indirect support for Jacobs' findings that color constancy or perceptual match is only one component of the racial self-identification task.

The pattern of ambivalence that Payne observed in her interracial

subjects may have resulted from the nature of the tasks: the child typically was undecided about which dolls were desirable and which were not. Jacobs defines ambivalence as evidence of both positive and negative attitudes towards a particular racial group. This kind of ambivalence occurred only in Stage II children. He suggests that it stems from a child's knowledge that his color will not change (color constancy) and from the co-emergence of an interracial label which the child has internalized and begins to use as a cognitive base upon which to construct a racial identity.

According to Jacobs, the course of ambivalence was expressed first towards blacks and later towards whites for about a year after the child entered Stage II, at around four and a half years old, and then gradually decreased with age up to eight and a half. Jacobs views the phase of racial ambivalence as a positive attainment because "...the child moves forward to a level where discordant elements must be reconciled into a single body and self." (p. 205)

No conclusions can be drawn from a comparison of these two studies either on the basis of their substantive findings or from the patterns of color distortion and ambivalence which emerged.

#### Summary and Indications for Further Research

We have contrasted some prevalent theories about black/white interracial relationships with the empirical literature on interracial marriages and children. The conclusions which can be drawn from the individual studies are limited to the population and procedures used for the investigation. Similar limitations are encountered when the separate studies in this small body of research are evaluated as a whole: the child studies differed in design emphasis, population age

range, and in the procedures used. The families studied lived in different locales of the United States; in one study (Golden 1954), the data were gathered nearly a generation earlier than the data reviewed in the other investigations. In addition, the populations differed in family intactness, marital viability, and socio-economic class. Finally, in the Teicher (1968) paper there is the implicit danger of generalizing from a psychiatric to a non-psychiatric population.

Although the broad spectrum of population characteristics, lifestyles and experiences limit the generalization of these data, two themes have consistently emerged from both theory and data which affect interracial family life and, implicitly, the social adjustment of the interracial child. These themes concern the interplay between a) environmental circumstances and b) the psychological characteristics of the individual family members. These interrelated areas form a continuum of individual experience which is simultaneously psychological and social, and which is articulated most fully in the organization of interracial family life.

The theories proposed by Gordon (1964), Grier and Cobbs (1968), and Teicher (1968) do not receive support in the empirical literature. Specifically, the available studies on interracial families do not support the view that social and racial discrimination have affected the viability of interracial marriage or the integrity of family life. However, the attitudes and experiences reported in the earlier study (Golden 1954) when compared with the later Porterfield (1973) and Jacobs (1977) sample, suggest that public opinion has become generally more tolerant and accepting of the interracial lifestyle. The notion that racial stereotypes pervade and undermine the interracial couple's

marital relationship, likewise, was not endorsed in these studies; stereotypes played a secondary and, in most instances, a transient role in the course of their relationships. The data available on interracial children is more circumscribed and less generalizable. In particular, there are no studies involving adolescent offspring of interracial marriages.

#### Study Rationale

The empirical literature indicates that the parents of interracial children play an important role in the child's development of a positive racial self-concept -- we define this to mean that the child acquires predominantly positive attitudes towards himself as a product of the black and white cultures. In particular, the family unit can stem the cultural influence of racial stereotypes while providing the child with his first arena for the exploration of racial meaning. Jacobs' (1977) study, especially, underscores the importance of providing the child with social arenas inside and outside of the family which will support the development of a positive self-concept.

The organization of this dissertation incorporates research and theory from clinical psychology, sociology and family process in the service of identifying trends and generating new hypotheses about the psychological and social adjustment of black/white interracial children.

The parameters of this investigation specify an area of study which seeks to examine how interracial adolescents incorporate notions of race and culture into a unified sense of self. Moreover, it seeks to identify significant contextual factors which may facilitate or hamper the adolescent's attempts to achieve a healthy self-concept.

### Statement of Problem

The objective of this dissertation will be to identify those psychological, social, and familial factors which facilitate the development of positive social adjustment in interracial adolescents; in a complementary way, this investigation will also be concerned with those factors which may interfere with the development of positive social adjustment. The findings in this study will have relevance to gaining a better understanding of interracial adolescent identity development, family system dynamics, and the psychosocial aspects of managing intercultural differences. As defined, the objective of this investigation provides the basis and direction for this thesis. This thesis is based upon the following assumption which is subject to empirical verification: the character and quality of family life, and not race per se, exerts the greatest influence on the social adjustment of the interracial adolescent.

### Hypotheses

I. Black/white interracial adolescent social adjustment is related to the character and degree of interracial socialization opportunities which are provided inside and outside of the family unit.

A. The following factors, taken together or individually, will prove to be more powerful predictors of adolescent social adjustment:

1. the style of family system organization
2. child and parent attitudes towards race and culture
3. child and parent orientations to an interracial lifestyle

B. The following factors, taken together or individually, will prove to be less powerful predictors of adolescent social adjustment:

1. the race of same-sex parent
2. child's color or racial physiognomy
3. whether child's home is headed by one parent or two parents

#### Definition of Terms

1. Black/White. The words black and white, uncapitalized, will be used to refer to those two socially defined racial groups. The words Caucasian and Negro seem less desirable to members of the groups to which they refer and are also linked to the earlier rigid racial classification systems of biology and physical anthropology. They will be used only in direct quotes from the literature.
2. Interracial. The word interracial will be used to refer to marriages (and other conjugal relationships) between a black person and a white person. As miscegenation is a pejorative word, it will only be used in direct quotes from the literature. Interracial will also be used to describe the children of an interracial marriage or mating; mulatto, which also has negative connotations, likewise will not be used except in direct quotes.
3. Crossracial. The word crossracial will be used to describe contact between blacks and whites (and other groups -- i.e., Asians, Chicanos) outside of the family unit (i.e., friends, schoolmates, work settings). This is necessary to preserve our restricted use of the word "interracial".

When reference is made to other mixed families or children, (e.g.,

white/Chinese, black/Japanese, etc.) interracial will be similarly employed, though the racial combination will be specified. When interracial is used alone, it refers to black and white interracial marriages or children.

4. Social adjustment. The process of an adolescent's adaptation or accommodation to a social environment or set of standards which specifically include precedents for interracial living.
5. Self-image. One aspect of adolescent social adjustment.. Specifically, self-image deals with the young adult's expressed feelings and attitudes towards himself.
6. Racial self-concept. One aspect of adolescent social adjustment. It deals with the adolescent's knowledge and attitudes towards himself as a member of a socially defined racial group; that which the adolescent conceives himself to be racially.
7. Participants. Participant(s) will be consistently used in this dissertation instead of subject(s). The word subject connotes being acted upon by another, being passive or subordinate, and frequently being in the dark as to the true meaning or purpose of the investigation. I view the parents and children who take part in this study as active collaborators in my work -- as definers of the problems under study and active contributors to the formulation of my ideas about them.

## CHAPTER 2

Interracial Adolescent Socialization: An Examination  
of Societal, Family, and Identity Influences

In this chapter, we examine several psychosocial dimensions which have emerged as focal points of influence and differential experience for the interracial families reviewed in Chapter 1. Data from these studies will be integrated with relevant theory, research, and personal observation, and considered from the standpoint of the social and psychological development of the interracial adolescent. This examination will include a discussion of the historical influence of societal tradition on the social-psychological status of interracial families and offspring; a consideration of the family's possible contribution to developing a positive interracial identity; and finally, an examination of identity development and its implications for the interracial adolescent.

Societal Tradition

Regardless of the personal or affectional motives of the couple, intermarriage between a white person and black person is a political act. It is a political act because in doing so, the couple has taken a public stand against a whole tradition of American culture and society. Although contemporary urban interracial marriages are greeted with more indifference than hostility, the roots of traditional antipathy to interracial unions and interracial offspring are to be found in two areas of broad based institutional definitions: the first concerns definitions of racial group status and conjugal roles; the second concerns the 'private' versus the 'public' nature of interracial relationships. For purposes of formal presentation, these two

areas have been separated. In fact, however, traditional definitions of racial group, gender group, and acceptable interracial liaisons are interrelated and inseparable -- together they provide a social definition for how these groups participate in the society-at-large.

Myrdal (1944) notes in An American Dilemma that there are substantial parallels in American society between the institutional traditions regarding blacks and those traditions involving women and children.

In every society, there are at least two groups of people, besides the Negroes, who are characterized by high social visibility expressed in physical appearance, dress, and patterns of behavior and who have been "suppressed". We refer to women and children. Their present status, as well as their history and their problems in society, reveal striking similarities to those of the Negroes. In studying a special problem like the Negro problem, there is always the danger that one will develop a quite incorrect idea of its uniqueness. (p. 1073)

The black emancipation movement of the 19th and early 20th centuries saw corresponding movements for the emancipation of women and children. These movements stemmed from ideological and economic forces which were interrelated and rooted in a societal tradition of Anglo-American paternalism<sup>2</sup> prior to the Industrial Revolution. In the instance of women, this paternalism took the form of restricted access to sources of political and economic power outside the home and confinement to accountability for providing the orderly management of the home and childrearing. For black men and women, 'public' participation was even more dramatically curtailed through the institution of slavery and later, through restricted access to educational and

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<sup>2</sup> Paternalism is defined as the principle or system of controlling a society's institutions in a manner suggesting a father's relationship with his children.

economic opportunities after slavery was abolished.

The interrelationships between the two socially defined classes "black" and "women" and the institutional notion of 'public' and 'private' assume particular significance in the case of interracial relationships. Laws prohibiting marriage interracially were originally enacted during the late 18th and early 19th centuries in the southern United States and in several northern regions. When the Supreme Court declared these laws unconstitutional in 1967, 19 states still had laws prohibiting marriage between the races. The ostensible reasons these laws were enacted were to protect white women from black men and thereby insure the biological purity of the white race. However, as Blackwell points out, there is sufficient evidence to believe that these laws originally sought to protect white property rights and lines of inheritance (Blackwell, 1977). Even so, these laws did more than exclude blacks from possible economic participation. These laws brought about a profound social change as they came to represent a merging of the tradition of sexual paternalism with the rapidly developing norm of racial paternalism. At this juncture of American social development, blacks and Anglo-American women and children were ascribed approximately equivalent social status. Linguistically, at least, these three socially defined groups became interchangeable for purposes of derogation, e.g., "feminized" black males and child-like blacks.

At the same time, these laws produced still another effect: while interracial liaisons may have continued as before, they were now relegated to the realm of the unacceptable, i.e., 'private' with the incumbent attributes of illicitness, transience, and sexuality.

'Public' recognition of interracial relationships was withheld. In social terms, this meant that conjugal interracial roles and the interracial family as an institution was accorded no public legitimacy.

The portrayal of interracial relationships by Grier and Cobbs (1968), to a large extent, incorporate the assumptions and definitions of this social tradition. However, as we have shown in Chapter 1, this portrayal is not substantiated in the empirical literature. Perhaps the most striking discrepancy arises with regard to the motives for marriage: whereas Grier and Cobbs imply that interracial attraction is premised on feelings of self-depreciation and the need to depreciate the other, most couples were motivated in part by opportunities for social enrichment and self-enhancement. However, the personal or affectional motives that individuals possess for entering a marriage do not necessarily reveal how the couple views itself in the larger community, nor what supports or obstacles the couple expects to encounter. Here a distinction can be made between marriages which are viewed by its participants (and by the community-at-large) as possessing a legitimate social basis, and those which are felt to be (or viewed as being) marginal or less legitimate than others. The question of conjugal legitimacy is implicit in Grier and Cobbs' portrayal: seemingly, the substance of the interracial relationship is derived from its private nature and transience with the idea of marriage viewed as a far-off and problematic notion. In this regard, what is public and confirmable is often considered most legitimate socially and psychologically (Goffman, 1963). What is private, be it intimacy, sexuality, or work in the home, is typically accorded less social value and less social status.

Although all of the interracial couples studied were (or had been) married, they differed in their commitment to public participation and visibility as a couple. Golden's families preferred a low public profile during courtship and after marriage. Although interracial communities and a supportive network of interracial families were available to them, roughly three quarters of Golden's families chose to live in either a predominantly white or black neighborhood; usually, these families had no desire to maintain relationships with other interracial families. Typically, Porterfield's families also reported living in racially homogeneous communities, experiencing indifference or antipathy in their neighborhoods, with a substantial number of couples revealing that they "kept to themselves". In contrast, Jacobs' families chose to actively participate in an interracial community setting: these families also appeared to be the most well-adjusted.

The issue here is, less what motivates families to choose different lifestyles with regard to the community, and more what role public confirmation plays in a family's perceptions of itself as a legitimate social institution. This is an important aspect of interracial family life and one in which the family experiences its greatest vulnerability in relationship to the community-at-large.

The social legitimacy of the interracial family unit is the 'public' aspect of societal influence. The 'private' sphere concerns the differential features of the partners themselves. In all the studies, gender differences were observed in the partners' attitudes towards race, with men attaching greater racial significance to gender differences than women. Men generally encountered less resistance from family and friends than did women. This, however, may have been

influenced by the racial dimension, i.e., most males were black and black families were less resistant to the idea of interracial marriage. In Jacobs' sample, where only one (white) parent could not accept their child's marriage, it was always the opposite-sexed parent. For those families that chose to live in either predominantly white or predominantly black communities, the racial composition of the community corresponded to the husband's race and not the wife's (Porterfield, 1973, Payne 1977). Finally, there appeared to be more social opposition towards couples where the husband was black than towards couples where the husband was white.

Apart from the racial themes that Grier and Cobbs have outlined, they have also delineated themes of sexual dominance and sexual submission which transcend the race of the partners and are incorporated into assumptions of male and female gender roles and sexuality. Men, regardless of race, are portrayed as dominant and active; women are characterized as submissive and passive. Moreover, these power orientations, in fantasy at least, go beyond the boundaries of the relationship. According to Grier and Cobbs, the white woman provides a symbolic vehicle for the black man's struggle with white society; the black woman becomes a symbol for the white man's defiance of family and community norms. What is crucial, however, in this particular formulation is that race provides the content for the psychological experience of dominance and submission, but that its form derives from the paternalistic tradition of gender role definitions. This form closely parallels traditional societal forms of black/white race relations, so that the two are interrelated. Although there is no evidence that these societal influences operate so simply or pervasive-

ly in interracial families, there is fragmentary evidence to suggest that a few parallels exist.

Jacobs found that for most of the couples, marriage and the commitment to an interracial lifestyle represented an assertion of autonomy; for the black spouses this meant an assertion of autonomy from the constraints of societal racism; for white spouses it represented autonomy from the constraints placed on them by their families. He remarks in his summary, however, that when both he and his wife interviewed the couples, the husbands were the more dominant of the partners. "Sex roles seemed more important than race, with the husband's material more fully articulated than the wife's...we tried to draw out the less vocal member but found the task too difficult, probably because it interfered with a stable (rigid) aspect of the family system." (p. 217)

The picture which has emerged from this discussion is that societal influence in the form of societal tradition and socio-cultural assumptions may affect the interracial family in three significant ways:

1) Society may challenge, through implicit or explicit assumptions of what social institutions are appropriately 'public', the social legitimacy of the conjugal interracial relationship and the family unit.

2) In a similar way, the social legitimacy or "identity" of the family's offspring is also questioned by tradition.

3) Finally, through differential assumptions of social value, society accords differential status to the partners on the basis of gender and on the basis of race.

These influences, however, are socio-cultural in the broadest sense -- they delineate psychosocial areas of probable salience for

interracial families living in the United States; they define conspicuous characteristics of the family unit, and its individual members, which make them culturally acceptable or unacceptable. They do not, however, define to what extent the family unit itself or its immediate surroundings are compatible or incompatible with these assumptions. In this regard, the characteristic management of the interracial family unit will play a large part in securing surroundings and input which are compatible with an interracial lifestyle.

#### The Organization and Characteristics of Family Life

The family context is an important area of study in the development of the interracial adolescent because the parents serve as the first, and perhaps most consistent model for interracial living. At the same time, the family unit and its members provide the developing child with his first sense of belonging and sense of separateness. However, particular kinds of family orientations or structures are thought to be more conducive to achieving a balanced sense of separateness and connectedness.

A family structure can be defined as an invisible set of functional demands that organizes the ways in which family members interact; it is a system which operates through transactional patterns and define what are considered by the family to be appropriate patterns of separatedness and connectedness. These patterns establish how, when, and to whom family members relate. Optimally, the family structure must be able to adapt when internal or external circumstances change; the system's continuity depends on a sufficient range of patterns, the availability of alternative transactional patterns, and the flexibility to mobilize them when necessary (Minuchin, 1974). In discussing such

patterns, family process theorists specify that the social norms governing forms of separatedness and connectedness shift from stage to stage in the family life cycle. One of the chief ways in which the behavior of disturbed children varies from the norm is that these children either ignore the shift toward greater freedom and individuality or they fail to acknowledge the need for more restrictive norms at earlier ages. The family bonds are thus likely to be too close and demanding for the child's age or too lax. The former is held to lead towards schizophrenia and related forms of mental illness, while the latter is believed to be conducive to delinquency and related forms of anti-social behavior. In effect, the former group are oversocialized or missocialized, while the latter are undersocialized by their families (Broderick and Pulliam-Krage, 1978).

The particular style of organization is closely connected with the ways in which the family established boundaries between its internal experience and experiences with the outside world. Commonly, theorists describe three styles of boundary maintenance (Fallding 1961, Riess, 1971, Kantor and Lehr 1975, Cervantes 1965). A very Closed Style permits little exchange between family members and others; boundaries are characteristically rigid and constrained. Members place great importance on joining with other family members for mutual protection, and they perceive their environments as chaotic and unknowable. Clinicians suggest that children from these families are socially isolated from the environment-at-large and do not have ready access to sufficiently supportive elements outside the family. As a result, the child is under-exposed to alternative vantage points and is unlikely to gain a mature and healthy perspective about his place

in the world.

The Wide Open Style reflects the other extreme in which the family is unable to protect itself from disruptive or harmful influences. Boundaries in these families are typically erratic and shifting. Members perceive their environment as split into independent and unrelated segments -- one for each family member. Characteristically, each member acts to preserve his unique environment and regards other family member perceptions as irrelevant. This family fails to prepare its children to negotiate the social system for potentially constructive rewards such as schooling and career would provide; anti-social influences (e.g., gangs) are dealt with ineffectively.

The third style, Selectively-Open, filters out negative elements differently and facilitates supportive exchange between family members and their environment. These families tend to perceive their environments as orderly and capable of being understood. Through the maintenance of selectively permeable boundaries, each member serves to amplify the environment for others in the family. These families are successful in insulating themselves from threats to their values by surrounding themselves with friends and associates of similar value commitments; they are most likely to produce the "normal" child.

The usefulness of these family system concepts in understanding interracial family organization is twofold. First, these concepts provide a basis for contrasting modes of socializing family offspring into the culture of the family unit and into the culture-at-large. Secondly, they define a range of family styles and functioning which may be observed empirically, albeit indirectly, through existing instruments devised for this purpose.

Finally, we may hypothesize that based on previously cited research and theory, certain types of family organization are more conducive to the development of adequate social adjustment than are other types of family organization. Specifically, it is our proposition that in large part, it is the quality and character of family life, and not race per se, that determines whether the child will adjust to an interracial/intercultural situation. Likewise, issues relating to adolescent identity development and relationships with communities and institutions beyond the family will influence the character and degree of the child's overall social adjustment.

#### Aspects of Interracial Adolescent Identity Development

Gordon (1964) believes that children of interracial marriages occupy a socially and psychologically marginal position with respect to the black and white communities. As a result, he believes that interracial children are in conflict over racial group membership, standing, and loyalties. Accordingly, the normative adolescent crises of identity resolution would be intensified by these racial conflicts.

In reality, however, the interracial child is regarded as black by both racial groups and normally considers himself a member of the black community.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a formal distinction can be made between socially ascribed (or felt) racial group membership based upon skin color, racial label, or ancestry and racial group participation defined in broader social terms, e.g., ethnicity, affiliation, role-taking.

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<sup>3</sup> In fact, unless the child's parentage is known, or he identifies himself as interracial, it is unlikely that he will be socially perceived as anything but black.

The developmental phase of adolescence is clearly a period when the mutual influences of cognitive, affective and psychological maturation, and wider and more differentiated social participation converge to initiate a restructuring of the young adult's view of self and the social world. Intellectually, this is characterized by the passage of thoughtprocess from the concrete to the hypothetical and systematically deductive. The appearance of logic in propositions and the ability to manipulate abstraction permit the adolescent to delve into the systems of collective representations that the culture provides in the form of ideas, ideals, and values. Cognitively, this process is facilitated by the young adult's growing ability to "decenter" his thoughts and perceptions and thereby take someone else's point of view, i.e., he can take himself both as an object and subject of thought and feeling. Within these greatly expanding social realms and evolving capacities, the adolescent feels that he has to work out a conception of life which provides him with the means to assert himself and create something new. This evolving conception, in turn, permits the adolescent to gradually insert himself into the adult world of adult roles and ideas.

From a cognitive/affective standpoint, this achievement involves two fundamental transformations: first, feelings relative to ideals are added to interindividual (face-to-face) feelings. Secondly, psychological development now encompasses the adolescent's relationship to social roles and scales of values derived from "social" interaction and no longer solely by the coordination of exchanges which are main-

tained in the physical environment and other individuals.<sup>4</sup> (Inhelder and Piaget, 1958, p. 348) As a result, values per se become conceptualized as value systems, which are themselves scrutinized and judged within a framework that is simultaneously intellectual, social, and moral.

The adolescent's scrutiny of wider societal issues is accompanied by a reevaluation and realignment of his filial and community attachments. Much of the critical preparation for this occurs during the latency period when the child begins to move beyond the confines of his family into the social system of the schoolroom and a loosely knit peer group. His horizons broaden, his family-centered orientation diminishes, and he appears to take on peer-group values and moral evaluations. Still, the child's primary security in the latency period lies within the family where, typically, he will receive ascribed acceptance and affection while he begins to test out his capabilities.

The relative equilibrium established during latency is inevitably disrupted with the onset of adolescence. For the young adult, this entails a slow relinquishing of the family shelter and a move away from the parents who have formed his cardinal interpersonal relationships. (Lidz 1969, p. 106) For the parents it represents a partial relinquishment of control, influence and protection. The young adult's autonomy strivings frequently take the form of challenges to parental

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<sup>4</sup> "Social" is here defined as the individual's relationship to society as a whole, to formal institutional structures, values, etc. Whereas the young child relates only to small groups and specific individuals, the adolescent relates to institutional structures and values as such. (cf. p. 348)

authority, values, and refusals of parental help and assistance; expressed concern for the adolescent's well-being may be experienced as intrusive or perceived as implicitly coercive. In contrast, the adolescent's groping and unsteady assertiveness may generate anxieties in the parents; the alterations in behavior and shifts in attitudes may perplex and frighten parents, who are accustomed to "knowing" their child.

A crucial aspect of adolescent development is the integration and stabilization of an identity which, according to Erikson, (1968)

...arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identification and their absorption into a new configuration which, in turn, is dependent on the process by which a society (often through subsocieties) identifies the young individual, recognizing him as somebody who had to become the way he is and who, being the way he is, is taken for granted. (p. 159)

In order for this to be accomplished, the young adult still requires a positive image of his parents, despite his rebelliousness and need to loosen family ties. He may need to repudiate his parents, but he does not wish to destroy them as models. His self-esteem is closely linked to the esteem in which he can hold his parents. He needs, however, to overcome his childhood image of his parents as omniscient and perfect, but he also continues to require parents, who as persons, are worthy of emulation and affection. Moreover, parents are internalized not only as individuals, but also in their relationship to each other (Parsons and Bales, 1955, p. 57). Parental relationships which are premised on mutual disparagement and contempt, or which depreciate the autonomy strivings of either spouse will provide the adolescent with potentially pathological precedents in his attempts to achieve satisfying attachments outside his immediate family.

The adolescent's community of peers, activities and institutions provide a second arena for the realization of an identity. The community, in turn, feels "recognized" by the individual who cares to ask for recognition; it can, on the other hand, feel deeply rejected by the individual who does not seem to care. A community's way of identifying the individual meets more or less successfully with the individual's ways of identifying himself with others (Erikson, 1968, p. 160). Viewed in this way, "identity" exists inside and outside of an individual; it is a process which is simultaneously psychological and social that is articulated and derives meaning through personal interaction with others.

Finally, the unifying feature in this emerging interplay between individual growth and social structure is the adolescent's passionate, though erratic, striving to establish a system of values which will encompass and direct ever widening realms of role-taking and activity. "In youth, ego strength emerges from mutual confirmation of individual and community in the sense that society recognizes the young individual as the bearer of fresh energy and that the individual so confirmed recognizes society as a living process which inspires loyalty." (Erikson, 1968, p. 241)

For the black or interracial adolescent, this psychosocial transition and amalgamation is often hampered by the American caste system which relegates all blacks to inferior status and is reinforced by social and economic institutions which restrict black participation. Billingsley writes, "For the Negro family, socialization is doubly challenging, for the family must teach its members not only to be human, but also how to be black in a white society." (1968, p. 28)

The socialization of the interracial child is unique, due to the fact that from birth, the child has potentially immediate access to both the black and white communities. How "fully" socialized he is in either community will, in part at least, depend upon the social orientations of the family and the kinds of opportunities provided in the community. These, in turn, will depend on the constellation of values held in both social arenas. In the broadest sense, we view socialization as a process which encompasses both the agents of socialization and its products or outcome. Adolescent identity is one aspect of this process, particularly if we construe identity --

...as a self structure -- an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history. The better developed the structure is, the more aware individuals appear to be of their own uniqueness and similarity to others and of their own strengths and weaknesses in making their way in the world. The less developed this structure is, the more confused individuals seem about their own distinctiveness from others and the more they have to rely on external sources to evaluate themselves. (Marcia, 1979, p. 159)

Viewed in this way, interracial social adjustment becomes a central component of identity development and consolidation in adulthood. For research purposes, social adjustment can be operationally defined as measures of self-image and racial self-concept.

#### Summary and Indications for Study Design

In the foregoing discussion, three social areas have emerged which differentially affect the interracial family and its children. These factors, in turn, appear to be central to the development of a positive interracial self-concept.

1. It is evident that the quality and nature of family life plays an important role in the racial and non-racial aspects of adolescent development. In particular, the availability of surroundings

outside of the family which are supportive of an interracial lifestyle appears to be important to the socialization of the child.

2. The attitudes of family members towards issues of race and culture are also central to the socialization of the child. Indicative of a positive influence for socialization would be a family's willingness to handle racial and cultural material in constructive and wholesome ways.

3. Finally, it is evident that the family's commitment to an interracial lifestyle through a network of relatives, friends, and community provides another influential dimension for the development and support of a positive interracial self-concept.

In contrast, three factors traditionally thought to be crucial to the social adjustment of interracial children now appear less important. Two of the factors are highlighted by Teicher (1968).

1. Teicher contends that the color of the same sex parent is a crucial factor because if there is a significant color difference between a (dark) son and a (white) father, the child will experience an identity conflict and poor social adjustment.

2. Teicher believes that children whose skin color and facial features appear more white-looking than black-looking will have a more difficult time of social adjustment and identity resolution; he suggests that this is so because the child that looks white would likely "pass for white," but cannot without rejection of and guilt about her black parent.

3. Finally, there is the assumption in most literature on family structure and parenting issues that single-parent homes are more likely to produce children who make a poor psychological and social adjustment

to their life circumstances. Perhaps with some condescension, these views stress that the single-parent (typically a woman) is overwhelmed by the demands of single-parenthood and therefore cannot provide adequate social and psychological resources. While we would not deny that single-parents confront greater challenges in parenting alone, we believe that the issues which confront two parents and single-parents in this regard are the same: namely, the provision of psychological and social resources which are supportive to the child's development of a positive self-concept.

Based upon a consideration of these six factors, we expect the design of this study to serve as an empirical test of these psychosocial dimensions in the form of hypotheses statements. Among the findings, we would expect to observe the following: we anticipate that the organization of family life, parent and child attitudes towards race, culture, and an interracial lifestyle will exhibit a positive relationship to measures of adolescent social adjustment, i.e., the measures of self-image. (Hypothesis - Part A)

Conversely, we believe that the variables pertaining to the race of the same-sex parent, the child's racial features, and one- versus two-parent homes (Hypothesis - Part B) will evince mixed or no relationship to measures of adolescent social adjustment.

In the domain of qualitative data, we expect to find that adolescents who possess adequate levels of social adjustment will also have acquired a racial self-concept that is predominantly positive; theoretically, these adolescents should come from homes that exhibit a commitment to family life and interracial living, and where family members possess the ability to handle racial and cultural material in

constructive and positive ways.

## CHAPTER 3

Methods

The central thesis of this study is that the quality and character of family life, and not race per se, exerts the greatest influence on the social adjustment of the interracial adolescent. We have identified six psychosocial dimensions which are thought to be relevant to the development of interracial adolescents. These six dimensions provide the operational definition of our central thesis as follows:

Namely, that -

1. the style of family system organization,
  2. child and parent attitudes towards race and culture,
  3. and child and parent orientations to an interracial lifestyle
- are factors that have a more profound influence on adolescent social adjustment than do factors concerning
4. the race of the same-sex parent
  5. the child's skin color or physical characteristics
  6. whether the home is single parent or two-parent.

Stated briefly, this study attempts to determine the relative importance of the following on the adolescent's social adjustment:

fact (i.e., skin color, race of same-sex parent, one-or two-parent household), attitude (i.e., towards race and culture), and action (i.e., family system organization and orientation to an interracial lifestyle).

The remainder of this chapter provides a description of the participants in this study, the materials used to operationalize the hypotheses, and the procedures employed in gathering the data.

### Participants

The participants in this study consist of 20 American-born children who are the biological offspring of one black and one white parent. The parents of these children also took part in the study. A total of 13 family units participated.

The adolescent participants consist of 14 females and 6 males, ranging in age from 12 to 19 years old. The total family units consist of 9 two-parent and 4 single-parent homes. In the two-parent homes, 6 fathers are black and 3 fathers are white. In the single-parent homes, the mother is head of the household and she is white. With one single-parent exception, each family contains at least one parent with three years of college; typically, however, both parents are college educated.

Our final sample of 13 families are urban, middle class, largely professional families. They reside in the New York City area; 12 families reside in Manhattan and one family resides in a northern New Jersey suburb.

Our initial attempts to recruit study-eligible participants included placing a 3-week-run advertisement in a local newspaper with a sizeable readership. In addition, we contacted a few public and private schools known to have access to interracial families. Although these approaches did not provide a direct source of participants, they did facilitate entry into a social network where referrals to potential parents and children were made by word of mouth. All of the families in this study were recruited in this manner.

The participants represent a non-clinical sample of interracial families and children as defined by the method of selection. In addition, no families or parents are known to be receiving counseling or

psychotherapy, although one child is known to be in individual psychotherapy.

Pilot testing with two interracial families began in early 1983. This piloting resulted in a number of logistic modifications in the parent and child interview schedules and minor revisions in some procedures. However, the major design and conceptual aspects of the study remained intact; therefore, data from the two pilot families are included in this study, because the extent of revisions subsequent to their interviews did not necessitate dropping them.

In total, 17 families originally agreed to participate. Of these, three eventually withdrew prior to being interviewed for reasons which included scheduling difficulties, and parents and children who expressed last-minute reservations about being interviewed.

Judging from the general, albeit limited, experience in conducting this study, it is our impression that several factors may have influenced those families who chose not to participate. One factor may concern the investigator's initial contact with the prospective parent or child. We made the purposes and objectives of this study clear at the outset; we think this dispelled some fears that the study might be used to portray interracial families in a bad light. We think, as a result, that we did not lose many families; no more than four refused initially and only three after participation had been agreed upon. However, this aspect of the recruiting process should be carefully evaluated, particularly if large numbers of parents and children appear ambivalent or reluctant to participate. A second factor, which is not unrelated to the first, concerns the personal, class, or experiential differences which may exist in some families with regard to discussing

any personal or family issues with a stranger. In this instance, a family's consensual definitions of what can be discussed with "outsiders" limits any in-depth exploration of a topic which family members may view as a private matter. We can conjecture that this attitude may be motivated by one's personal characteristics, cultural or socioeconomic values, or previous and unsatisfactory experience with researchers or mental health professionals. Finally, it may be hypothesized that the more troubled families and children were reluctant to take part in a study of this kind because doing so might have been too revealing or too painful for family members and, alternately, too disruptive to the family system. There is some fragmentary evidence of a clinical and interpersonal nature to suggest this. If this is so, it may be that the more dysfunctional families self-selected themselves out of this sample.

#### Materials

The family interview materials for this study consist of the following:

1. the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES II)
2. the Offer Self-image Questionnaire (OSIQ)
3. the parent interview schedule
4. the adolescent interview schedule
5. a descriptive and categorical scale for assessing child skin color and physical characteristics

1. The Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES II)

FACES II is a thirty-item self report scale (Appendix A) which seeks to measure two central dimensions of family behavior -- cohesion and adaptability. Family cohesion assesses the degree to which family

members are separated from or connected to the family. Family adaptability has to do with the extent to which the family system is able to change as external or internal circumstances warrant. For each dimension, the balanced levels of cohesion and adaptability are hypothesized to be most viable for healthy family functioning; FACES II scores are operationally defined as 'the style of family system organization'; these scores provide a global assessment of family system behavior.

FACES, the forerunner of FACES II, was developed in 1978 in the dissertation work of Joyce Portner (1981) and Richard Bell (1982). This 111-item self-report scale was constructed specifically to measure the dimensions of family cohesion and adaptability. On each dimension of cohesion and adaptability, FACES scores can fall into one of four levels. The scale of cohesion contains Disengaged and Enmeshed levels, which are designated as the extreme locations, and Separated and Connected, which are designated as the balanced locations on this scale. The scale of adaptability contains the Chaotic and Rigid levels at the extreme, and the Flexible and Structured levels at the balanced locations on this scale.

Two populations were used to develop this instrument: 410 young adults to assess the empirical validity and 35 marriage and family counselors to assess the clinical validity of the scale. The instrument was then used in a study of 210 parent/adolescent triads. The alpha reliability of the cohesion scale was .83 and .75 for adaptability.

Joyce Portner (1981) compared 55 families (parent and one adolescent) in family therapy with a matched control group of 117 non-problem families. She compared the two groups using FACES and the Inventory of

Parent/Adolescent Conflict (IPAC). As hypothesized, non-clinical families were more likely to fall into the balanced areas of cohesion and adaptability than the clinic families (58% and 42%, respectively). Clinic families tended to fall more toward the chaotic disengaged (30%) with fewer non-clinic families at that extreme (12%).

Richard Bell (1982) also utilized FACES and the IPAC to study 33 families with runaways and compared them with 117 non-problem families used in the Portner (1981) study. As hypothesized, he found significantly more non-problem families as described by the mothers (but not the fathers) in the balanced area compared to the runaway families. Conversely, he found more runaway families at the midrange and extreme levels than the non-problem families. In addition, significantly more runaway families (29%) were disengaged than non-problem families. A higher percentage of runaway families (23%) were also more chaotic compared to non-problem families (7%).

FACES II was developed to overcome some of the limitations of the original FACES. Specifically, this entailed developing a shorter instrument with simple sentences, providing a 5-point response scale, and developing a scale with two empirically reliable, valid and independent dimensions.

During the initial development of FACES II, 464 adults responded to 90 items. On the basis of factor analyses and reliability (alpha) analyses, the initial 90-item scale was reduced to 50 items. These 50 items were administered to 2,412 individuals in a national survey. On the basis of factor analysis and reliability checks, the 50-item scale was reduced to 30 items.

The final 30-item scale contains 16 cohesion items and 14 adapta-

bility items. Because the scale was designed to measure family dynamics, the items attempt to focus on system characteristics and involve all the family members living at home.

FACES II was administered to each study participant (parents and children) with the following written instructions:

Please answer each of the following statements by putting a circle around the response you think describes your family. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. Please answer all items.

Each item is constructed so as to be answerable by indicating some range of frequency in which the item's statement is true or not true. For example -- "Our family does things together." The participant responds by circling one of five possible responses. The five responses and their numerical value are as follows:

- 1 Almost never
- 2 Once in a while
- 3 Sometimes
- 4 Frequently
- 5 Almost always

Scoring and tabulating utilize basic arithmetic operations according to a formula outlined in the FACES II worksheet (Appendix B). Participant completion of FACES II requires 15 minutes or less.

The numeric scores for the cohesion dimension range from 16 to 80. The scores for adaptability range from 15 to 70. The cutting points for the four levels of cohesion and four levels of adaptability are as follows:

<u>COHESION</u>	<u>ADAPTABILITY</u>
*Disengaged	*Chaotic
Parents (56.9 or below)	Parents (56.1 or above)
Adoles. (47.9 or below)	Adoles. (52.1 or above)
Separated	Flexible
Parents (57.0-65.0)	Parents (50.1-56.0)
Adoles. (48.0-56.0)	Adoles. (45.1-52.0)
Connected	Structured
Parents (65.1-73.0)	Parents (44.0-50.0)
Adoles. (56.1-64.0)	Adoles. (38.0-45.0)
*Enmeshed	*Rigid
Parents (73.1 and above)	Parents (43.9 or below)
Adoles. (64.1 and above)	Adoles. (37.9 or below)

The starred (\*) levels are designated as the extreme scale levels.

The norms for FACES II are based on 2,082 adults and 416 adolescents who participated in a national survey. No data regarding the ethnic or socioeconomic composition of the sample has been provided by Olson et al. (1982). The mean scores, standard deviations, and ranges for male and female adults were similar enough to be combined; the same is true for the male and female adolescents. However, since significant differences exist in the means for parents and adolescents, they are kept as separate groups.

Scores can fall and potentially cluster in one of 16 possible levels of cohesion and adaptability, i.e., 4 x 4 levels of cohesion and adaptability. [Olson et al. refer to this 4 x 4 level grid as their Circumplex Model for family system functioning. (Olson, Bell, and Portner, 1982)].

Score totals which fall within the Separated/Connected levels for cohesion and Flexible/Structured levels for adaptability are considered to be with the balanced range of family functioning. Scores which are at the ends of the scale for cohesion (Disengaged/Enmeshed) and at the

ends of the scale for adaptability (Chaotic/Rigid) are defined as extreme forms of family functioning. Scores which consist of one balanced and one extreme level are defined as midrange.

The balanced levels of cohesion and adaptability are hypothesized to be most viable for healthy family functioning; the extreme or mid-range levels are generally seen as more problematic for families over time, unless it is determined that all family members believe it should be that way.

The normative sample of 2,226 adults and 421 adolescents produced the following percentages on the four levels of cohesion, four levels of adaptability and three regions of functioning:

TABLE 1

FACES II Normative Sample Percentages

Four Levels of Cohesion		
	Parents %	Adolescents %
Enmeshed	14.2	20.2
Connected	39.9	31.1
Separated	30.5	31.1
Disengaged	15.4	17.6
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Four Levels of Adaptability		
	Parents %	Adolescents %
Chaotic	16.1	20.0
Flexible	33.1	29.2
Structured	35.3	36.1
Rigid	15.5	14.7
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Three Regions of Functioning		
	Parents %	Adolescents %
Balanced	53.5	46.6
Midrange	31.8	34.4
Extreme	14.7	19.0
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

FACES II attempts to empirically evaluate the dimension of family cohesion and family adaptability. Empirically, the two dimensions are related to certain theoretical notions of family system functioning which utilize the concepts of Open, Closed, and Selectively-open styles of family system behavior. (Fallding, 1961, Reiss 1971)

For purposes of this study, the following schema reflects the assumptive congruence between the three regions of family functioning as defined operationally by FACES II and the three styles of family functioning described in the theoretical literature.

<u>FACES II Definitions</u>		<u>Theoretical Definitions</u>
Chaotic )Open Disengaged)Extreme	≈ <sup>5</sup>	Open Style
Rigid )Closed Enmeshed)Extreme	≈	Closed Style
Flexible/Separated ) Structured/Connected)Balanced	≈	Selectively-open Style

Initially, we tabulated scores for each parent and child and treated each score individually. Only after determining significant, if any, relationships at this level of analysis, did we sum and average parent and child scores. We took these scores and analyzed them to identify family patterns, breaking them into categories of Balanced, Midrange, and Extreme family types.

## 2. The Offer Self-image Questionnaire (OSIQ)

The OSIQ was developed by Daniel Offer over an eighteen-year period with younger and older adolescent populations (Offer, Ostrov and Howard, 1981). The OSIQ is a 130-item self report scale which is

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<sup>5</sup> This symbol denotes an approximate equivalence with congruence of conceptual categories.

designed to tap the feelings and attitudes that young adults have about themselves. (Appendix C) This instrument is composed of eleven scales clustered in five self-dimensions relevant to adolescent psychosocial adjustment. The self-dimensions consist of the psychological, social, sexual, family, and coping self. Norms for each scale and dimension are provided for clinic, non-clinic, and selected cross-cultural adolescent populations. The OSIQ is operationally defined as a measure of adolescent 'social adjustment'; it provides a global assessment of adolescent psychosocial adjustment.

The OSIQ was originally developed in 1962 by Offer to provide an objective, reliable way of selecting a representative group of model or "normal" adolescents from a larger group of high school students (Offer and Sabshin 1963; Offer 1969; Offer, Ostrov and Howard, 1982). The OSIQ has since been used in several studies and administered to more than 10,000 teenagers. The adolescent populations included males and females; younger and older; normal, disturbed and physically ill; urban and suburban; three different metropolitan centers in the United States as well as in Australia, Israel and Ireland.

The operational approach of the OSIQ rests upon two assumptions. First, it is necessary to evaluate the adolescent's functioning in multiple areas, since he can master one aspect of his world while failing to adjust to another. Second, the psychological sensitivity of the adolescent is sufficiently acute to permit us to utilize self-description as a basis for reliable selection of psychosocial sub-groups.

Items are written to cover eleven areas of an adolescent's life that, on the basis of theory, clinical experience, and a review of

the empirical literature, are believed to be important to the psychological life of the adolescent. Offer (1982) designates these areas as follows:

1. Impulse Control
2. Emotional Tone
3. Body and Self-image
4. Social Relationships
5. Morals
6. Sexual Attitudes
7. Family Attitudes
8. Mastery of the External World
9. Vocational and Educational Goals
10. Psychopathology
11. Superior Adjustment

A description of the various selves measured by the OSIQ and the scales that constitute those selves can be found in Appendix D.

The 11 scales have been grouped into five separate aspects or dimensions of the self-system. These selves are: the psychological self, the social self, the family self, the sexual self, and the coping self. A description of these self-dimensions can be found contained also in Appendix D.

The task presented to the child is to indicate how well each of the 130 items describes him; a verbal description for each of six alternatives is provided on each page of the questionnaire booklet. For example, the statement may read, "I am an adolescent." The child responds by circling a number (1-6) on the OSIQ answer sheet. (Appendix E)

The six responses and their numerical values are:

- 1 Describes me very well
- 2 Describes me well
- 3 Describes me fairly well
- 4 Doesn't quite describe me

5 Does not really describe me

6 Does not describe me at all

Administration requires 30-45 minutes per child.

The adolescent who states that a particular positive statement describes him very well or even fairly well is conveying a message of how well-adjusted he is to his world. Responses to negatively worded items are derived by subtracting the circled value from 7; for example, 4 (does not quite describe me) for a negative item becomes a 3 after manipulation ( $7 - 4 = 3$ ). Thus, the highest possible score on an item is 1, which connotes a very positive self-image. In this raw score metric, a low score implies positive adjustment in the area being measured, while a high score implies poor adjustment in that area.

Scores are reported not as raw scores, but as standard scores. Standard scores are generated using age x sex-appropriate 1970's normal reference group means and standard deviations.<sup>6</sup> A score of 50 signifies a score equal to the appropriate normal reference group mean. A score below 50 signifies poorer adjustment than that of normals; a score above 50 indicates adjustment that is better than that of normals. One standard deviation above or below the mean is 15.

Scoring has been accomplished remotely at the Offer et al. data processing facility in Chicago, Illinois. Processing has included raw scale and standard scores for each individual in each scale and self-dimension. According to Offer et al. (1982, p. 6), the OSIQ is capable of being used to select a group of adolescents who are characterized by a particular range of personality characteristics.

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<sup>6</sup> The normative population of adolescents used is predominantly white. (Offer, Howard and Ostrov, 1981, p. 33)

Internal consistency was assessed by the alpha method which, when applied to OSIQ data, showed that the scales are internally consistent. Stability data were gathered in 1979. The stability coefficients for these data ranged from .48 to .84 for the scales and .73 for the total score. Additional evidence for the stability of the construct underlying OSIQ scores was provided by a longitudinal study in the 1960's. (Offer 1969; Offer and Offer 1975). In that study, individuals chosen for their normality on the basis of OSIQ scores proved to be consistently non-deviant and non-psychopathological over an eight-year period.

More data on validity can be found in Offer, Ostrov and Howard, 1981.

### 3. Parent Interview Schedule

The semi-structured interview schedule for participant parents (Appendix F) has been developed by the principal investigator for this study. It is primarily designed to assess parental attitudes towards race and culture and the level and extent of parental participation in an interracial lifestyle.

The interview consists of 32 multi-part items arranged into three sequential data domains as follows:

- A. Social Network -- Character and Extent
- B. Social Orientations
- C. Childrearing Attitudes and Definitions of Family Life.

While the parents are not the central focus of this study, they do provide relevant and important information about the immediate family and larger social environment of the adolescent.

Part A - Social Network. This segment attempts to elicit information in the following social areas -- motives for moving to the present neighborhood and family experiences in this community; the

character and extent of contact with a circle of friends; the nature and frequency of contact with families of origin; and the role that one's major occupation plays in general satisfaction and social life.

The rationale for this portion of the interview stems from the generally recognized importance of compatible friends, family and occupation as a potential source of family recognition and social connection. Also, in this section, some indication of the extent of interracial participation can be assessed. Finally, we obtain some indication as to whether the family's chosen surroundings appear compatible or incompatible with an interracial lifestyle, i.e., with friends, family, or acquaintances.

Part B - Social Orientations. This segment addresses the parental racial, cultural, and political attitudes and experiences; it also seeks to gauge parent value orientations in these areas. The inquiry includes precedents for cross-racial contacts prior to marriage, motives for marriage and their experiences surrounding marriage; notions of race, culture, and cultural communities; and parental political and religious affiliations, if any.

The purpose of this portion is to assess the parents' world view; to determine how these individuals view themselves with regard to the traditions of marriage and to those cultural and social values which may be at odds with their own world view. As a result, this segment of the interview is less immediate and somewhat more abstract because it deals with affiliations to broader social groups and groups of ideas.

This area of inquiry indicates to what extent the parents have thought about the broader social issues and to what extent, if any,

they feel that these society-at-large issues affect them.

Part C - Childrearing Attitudes and Definitions of Family Life.

In this final interview segment, we attempt to assess childrearing attitudes and practices within the context of family and culture-at-large. Areas of inquiry include aspects of child development, character and personality; the racial mix of the child's social settings outside the family; thoughts and attitudes towards interracial identity and interracial childrearing; and the kinds of social information and values that the parents consciously attempt to impart to their child.

Taken as a whole, the Parent Interview Schedule is designed to provide qualitative data for use in assessing the validity of a portion of Hypothesis - Part A; factors 2 and 3.

2. (child and) parent attitudes towards race and culture
3. (child and) parent orientations to an interracial lifestyle

In two-parent families, both parents are interviewed together at the same time. Administration of the entire Parent Interview Schedule requires one and a half to two and a half hours.

The actual process of interviewing requires adequate familiarity with and control over the material, ample patience with the participants, and an adequate sensitivity to the personal nature of the interview material. Attention to these factors will facilitate a rather smooth and responsive flow of give and take for interviewer and participants.

The interview contains two planned interruptions along the way to provide a short change of pace and to allow for the completion of two data sheets: FACES II and the Demographic Information forms. (Appendix G)

The validity of the interview schedule items is derived from its face value; i.e., the participant responds to each item with answers that are true for him. Therefore, the validity of the interview schedule as a whole must be assessed in terms of our hypotheses, i.e., do the interview items provide sufficient data in order to assess parent social orientation and attitudes towards race and culture.

The reliability of most items has been proved over repeated interviews, i.e., the item is able to elicit the desired information. However, several items proved to be less consistent in the range of responses they evoked. These are items numbered 7a, 9a, 12a and b, and 30. The variety of interpretation given to these items limits their usefulness for categorical analysis. Nevertheless, these items remained in the interview, because they were found to be otherwise informational.

The scoring of the Parent Interview Schedule consists of frequency distribution tallies for the forced choice items and a 3-point ranking scale for the open-ended qualitative responses. The qualitative responses are grouped into two primary data domains:

1. parental attitudes towards race and culture
2. orientations (attitudes and actions) towards an interracial lifestyle

These qualitative data are rated according to the following 3-point scale:

- 1 for a positive response
- 1 for a negative response
- ∅ for a neutral or absent response

Appendix H contains the scoring criteria and procedures for selected items on the Parent Interview Schedule.

#### 4. Adolescent Interview Schedule

The semi-structured interview schedule for each participating adolescent (Appendix I) has been developed by the principal investigator in this study. The adolescent interview is designed to evaluate the child's racial awareness, attitudes and understanding within the context of family, peer relationships and the community-at-large. Adolescent data on race provides qualitative measures of 'racial self-concept'.

The interview schedule consists of 25 multi-part items arranged in four sequential data domains as follows:

- A. Family
- B. Similarities
- C. Race
- D. Peers- Mentor/Models - Adult Aspirations

These four domains supplement the psychometric data gathered from the OSIQ and FACES II.

A. Family. This segment attempts to gauge the child's general level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with family life, while getting some indication of relative levels of influence and connection among family members. This segment also serves as a primer before the administration of FACES II which follows this portion of the interview.

B. Similarities. This material was included to provide a brief and global assessment of the child's cognitive readiness (Piaget, 1959) to deal with abstract concepts and relationships. The form of presentation, item content, and scoring procedures are taken from the Similarities subtest of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children - Revised (1974).

The rationale for the similarities inclusion is based on the assumption that children who scored poorly on this screening test would

probably provide responses of poorer quality in connection with items dealing with concepts of race, culture, and identity. However, no discernible differences can be attributed to this measure, because all participating adolescents scored high in this screening, while open-ended responses varied in quality over the range of the sample.

C. Race. This interview domain consists of four subsections designed to provide data on:

1. Constancy of race (skin color)
2. Awareness of population and demographic differences between blacks and whites
3. An understanding or comprehension of the ways (both positive and negative) the notion of race is used.
4. Attitudes and feelings about being a person with an interracial identity.

The rationale for this domain rests on the assumption that the notion of race and racial awareness has several components (Porter, 1971). These components include the knowledge and awareness that race has certain social meanings. A fundamental cognitive achievement is reaching a color constancy, i.e., knowing that a person's color does not change; another achievement is the social awareness of the relative numbers of blacks and whites in the general population and in the population of communities closer to home; a comprehension of some aspects of black/white relations in the culture-at-large denotes still another level of psychosocial sophistication; finally, attitudes and feelings provide the subjective side of the child's racial equation, i.e., how the adolescent sees himself in relation to notions of black and white.

D. Peers - Mentor/Models - Adult Aspirations. This final domain provides data on the subjective and experiential aspects of getting along in the social world; from these data we make inferences about how the adolescent embraces the present and future and what social or

psychological supports he has or expects to receive.

Administration of the entire Adolescent Interview Schedule requires 45 minutes to one and a quarter hours.

As with the Parent interview, a clear and patient approach to the child in the interviewing situation usually facilitates good quality responses. Adolescents, in particular, tend to be rather glib or unsure that they are "giving you what you want". The interviewer can be reassuring in that respect. One can also alter the phrasing and pacing of items to better match the age and temperament of the child, if this seems appropriate.

The administration of the OSIQ follows the completion of the Interview Schedule.

The validity of the Adolescent Interview Schedule is determined, over time, when the child responds to each item with answers that are true for him, i.e., face validity. The validity of the Interview Schedule as a whole is assessed in terms of our hypotheses, e.g., do the adolescent items provide sufficient data to assess child attitudes towards race and culture and to be able to derive qualitative measures of 'racial self-concept'.

The reliability of most items has been proved over repeated interviews, so that a particular item can be relied upon to elicit the desired qualitative information. However, two items proved to be problematic for the adolescent to understand as presented and, as a consequence, produced mixed results. These items were dropped from the interview schedule early in the data gathering -- items 7a, b, c and 21c.

The scoring of the Adolescent Interview Schedule consists of frequency distribution tallies for the forced choice items and a 3-point ranking scale for the open-ended items. The qualitative responses are grouped into three primary data domains.

1. Child attitudes towards race and culture
2. Orientations (attitudes and actions) towards an interracial lifestyle
3. Racial self-concept

These qualitative data will be rated according to the following 3-point scale:

- 1 for a positive response
- 1 for a negative response
- ∅ for a neutral or absent response

Appendix J contains the scoring criteria and procedures for selected items of the Adolescent Interview Schedule.

#### 5. A Descriptive and Categorical Scale for Assessing Child Skin Color and Physical Characteristics

The scale has been developed by the principal investigator for this study. (Appendix K). Ratings for each child were made on the spot at the time of the interview; these ratings were made solely by the investigator. As a result, the ratings are highly subjective and without benefit of the usual inter-rater reliability checks.

Nevertheless, the ratings do provide, at minimum, suggestive data for the purpose of addressing a premise posited by Teicher (1968). This assumption states that the child's racial appearance will affect his social well-being; specifically, Teicher believes that light- or white-skinned children with a black parent will have a more difficult time of social adjustment and identity stabilization. For purposes of this study, we are hypothesizing that the adolescent's skin color and physical features will, per se, have little effect on his social

adjustment. (Hypothesis, Part B, Factor 2)

The scale is arranged in two parts: the first part provides a "first impression" ethnic assessment of the whole person on the basis of an entire picture, i.e., the racial or ethnic group that the child looks like he belongs to, if his background were unknown. The second part of the scale consists of a feature by feature check list assessment of the child including skin color, facial features, hair characteristics and body type. The second part provides a data-base backup for the "first impression" of part one.

Numeric scores are derived for each adolescent based upon this 3-point ranking system as follows:

- 1 looks like a black person
- 2 looks like he could be a black person or a member of some other dark-skinned group
- 3 looks like a white person

Due to the subjective nature of this analysis, the generalizations and inferences that can be drawn are limited. However, these ranking scores have been compared, both individually and together with factors 1 and 3 of Hypothesis Part B. (factor 1: race of same-sex parent; factor 3: single-versus two-parent homes). This comparison determines what, if any, significant relationship exists between these data and data scores for adolescent social adjustment (OSIQ).

Appendix L contains scoring criteria and procedures for skin color and physical characteristic categories.

#### General Procedures

The principal investigator conducted all of the family interviews. All of these interviews, with the exception of one family, were conducted at the homes of the participants. Care was taken to place each of the participants at ease by concisely explaining the nature and

purposes of the study in a standardized fashion. (Appendix M contains the standard introduction for Parent and Adolescent Interviews). The informal introduction to the interview consisted of providing a Participant Agreement and Consent form (Appendix N); the parent provided one signed copy and retained a copy for himself.

Typically, the investigator interviewed the parents first and separately from the child(ren). The child or children in the family were interviewed separately from each other and separately from their parents. The purpose of conducting separate interviews was to facilitate a comparatively uninterrupted and uninhibited sharing of information.

Following each interview, the investigator encouraged comments and questions from the participant. This permitted the parents or child to reveal any concerns, omissions, or revisions they may have had. It also permitted them to know the investigator a little more personally and thereby, in closing, to reestablish a more traditional social and interpersonal balance in their home.

Approximate time to complete the entire Parent and Adolescent interviews: 4 to 5 hours per family.

## CHAPTER 4

## Results

In this chapter, we present the results of an assessment of specified factors which are thought to influence the social adjustment of the interracial adolescent.

A total of 13 family units and 20 adolescent children are used in this analysis. One two-parent family with one participant child had to be dropped from the original sample analysis because the OSIQ questionnaire could not be processed as completed by the child.

Of the total remaining family units, 9 are two-parent and 4 are single-parent households for a total of 22 participating adults. The single-parent homes are headed by females. All participants report no previous marriages. The average years of marriage in two-parent homes is 18.2 years. The average years of marriage for the single-parent mothers prior to separation or divorce was 7.5 years. The sample contains 3 white fathers and 6 black fathers.

Contrary to expectations, we were not able to demonstrate a relationship between adolescent social adjustment (OSIQ score) and one or more of the factors stated in Hypotheses, Part A: 1) the style of family system organization; 2) child and parent attitudes towards race and culture; 3) child and parent orientations to an interracial lifestyle.

The absence of significant relationships is due to the relative homogeneity of both the parent and child data. This means that there was not sufficient variance in the adolescent self-image scores (Table 3) to indicate significant differences in social adjustment for this sample. In a similar way, there was insufficient variance in the

TABLE 2

Demographic Characteristics of Parents and Adolescents

<u>Mothers (N=13)</u>			<u>Fathers (N=9)</u>			
	$\bar{X}$	SD		$\bar{X}$	SD	
Age	40.2	3.3	Age	43.2	4.3	
Cohesion Score	63.8	6.6	Cohesion Score	61.6	7.4	
Adapt. Score	53.6	5.9	Adapt. Score	52.2	6.3	
 <u>Parent - Family (N=13)</u>						
	$\bar{X}$	SD				
Attitudes to Race/Culture	9.8	2.9				
Social Orientation	10.5	3.5				
Concept of Racial Identity	4.3	1.3				
 <u>Adolescents</u>						
	<u>Boys (N=6)</u>		<u>Girls (N=14)</u>		<u>Total (N=20)</u>	
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
Age	13.8	1.0	15.0	2.0	14.7	1.8
Cohesion Score	61.0	11.0	62.8	5.7	62.3	7.4
Adapt. Score	51.8	10.3	50.6	7.0	51.0	7.9
Attitudes toward Race/Culture	11.7	4.8	13.2	3.5	12.8	3.9
Social Orientation	15.0	1.9	15.1	3.5	15.1	3.1
Racial Self-Concept	13.1	2.6	12.6	3.8	12.8	3.4

FACES and Interview data (Table 2) to indicate that significant patterns of differences existed in these data. The findings indicate that our sample, as a whole, tends toward a statistical and qualitative mean of balance or "normalcy".

An unexpected finding was that the typical OSIQ standard scores of this sample were well above the standard score 50, which is the norm of adequate social adjustment established by this measure. This indicates better than average social adjustment in this sample of adolescents.

The Hypothesis, Part B, was confirmed. Stated as a Null Hypothesis, we would say that no significant differences have been found in adolescent social adjustment on the basis of the following three factors: 1) the race of the same-sex parent; 2) the child's color or racial features; 3) whether child's home is headed by one parent or two

parents. For each of these factors, no significant relations were found to exist with the OSIQ self-image score.

TABLE 3  
OSIQ (Self-Image) Standard Scale Scores

Scale	Boys (N=6)		Girls (N=14)		Total (N=20)	
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
1. Impulse Control	57.5	9.3	61.7	16.8	60.4	14.8
2. Emotional Tone	56.3	12.5	59.1	18.9	58.2	16.9
3. Body/Self-Image	46.7	11.1	64.3	17.0	59.0	17.2
4. Social Relations	56.0	7.7	63.0	11.0	60.9	10.2
5. Morals	56.0	20.0	57.2	17.0	56.8	17.3
6. Sexual Attitudes	51.7	8.2	46.8	10.1	48.2	9.7
7. Family Relations	53.3	15.4	60.3	8.7	58.2	11.2
8. Mastery of World	52.2	8.6	61.2	14.4	58.0	8.8
9. Vocational Goals	50.8	6.0	61.1	8.0	58.0	8.8
10. Psychopathology	46.3	8.3	65.0	14.0	59.2	15.1
11. Superior Adjustment	53.0	5.9	62.3	15.1	59.6	13.6
*TOTAL	54.0	11.8	67.0	15.3	62.8	15.3

\* Sum of Scales 1-5 and 7-11.

Analyses of the data domains in the parent and adolescent Interviews (Table 4) reveal that there is a strong positive relationship between the social orientation of the parent and the child's racial self-concept. In contrast, there is a strong negative relation between the parent's concept of racial identity and the child's racial self-concept.

Within the child Interview only, the child's attitudes towards race and culture have the strongest relationship to his measure of racial self-concept.

TABLE 4

Rank Difference Correlations Among Interview Scales

	Parent Social Orientation	Parent Identity Concept	Child Race Attitudes	Child Social Orientation	Child Racial Self-Concept
Parent Race/Culture Attitudes	-.15	.69**	-.02	.05	-.14
Parent Social Orientation		-.10	.37	.13	.57**
Parent Concept of Racial Identity			.35	-.23	-.50*
Child Race/Culture Attitudes				.62**	.66**
Child Social Orientation					.53**

&lt; \* P .05; \*\* P .01

TABLE 5

## Rank Difference Correlations Among FACES Scores

	Mother Cohesion	Father Adapt.	Father Cohesion	Child Adapt.	Child Cohesion
Mother Adaptability	.84***	.35	.36	.32	.58**
Mother Cohesion		.47	.59*	.03	.25
Father Adaptability			.66*	.20	.61**
Father Cohesion				-.33	.13
Child Adaptability					.65***

\* P .05; \*\* P .01; \*\*\* P .001

Although, in theory, the FACES scales of adaptability and cohesion are separate and distinct dimensions, our findings (Table 5) indicate that there are strong positive relationships between the adaptation and cohesion scales for the participant mothers, fathers, and children. There is also a relationship between mother and father cohesion scores, but no significant relation between mother and father adaptability scales.

Interestingly, there is a positive relationship between the mother and father adaptability scores and child cohesion scores. No such relation exists between the child's cohesion scores and the mother and father cohesion scores.

We found that an intercorrelation exists among the mother's cohesion and adaptability scores and the social orientation of the parents . (Table 6)

TABLE 6  
Significant Correlations  
Among FACES and Interview Scales

Mother's Age - Parent Concept of Racial Identity	-.50*
Mother's Cohesion Score - Parent Social Orientation	.57*
Mother's Adaptability Score - Parent Social Orientation	.52*

<\* P - .05

TABLE 7  
Significant Correlations between the  
OSIQ Scales and Interview of FACES Variables

<u>OSIQ Scale</u>	<u>Variable</u>	
Body and Self-Image (Scale 3)	1) Mother Cohesion Score	.43*
	2) Mother Adapt. Score	.53**
	3) Parent Social Orientation	.38*
Morals (Scale 5)	1) Mother Adapt. Score	.53**
	2) Parent Attitudes to Race/culture	.54**
	3) Parent Concepts of Racial Identity	.44*
	4) Father's Age	-.48*
	5) Child's Cohesion Score	.42*
Family Relationships (Scale 7)	1) Mother Adapt Score	.57**
	2) Father's Age	-.65**
	3) Child's Cohesion Score	.76***
	4) Child's Adapt. Score	.49*
Emotional Tone (Scale 2)	Child's Adapt. Score	.42*
Superior Adjustment (Scale 11)	Child's Racial Self-Concept	-.43*

<\* P - .05; \*\* P - .01; \*\*\* P - .001

Of the 132 possible relationships that might have been obtained as among the OSIQ, FACES, and the Interviews, just 14 were significant (Table 7). The relations involve 4 of the 11 OSIQ Scales with a predominance of correlations falling into Scale 3 - Body and Self-Image, Scale 5 - Morals, and Scale 7 - Family Relationships.

The mother's cohesion and adaptability scores and parent social orientation are related to OSIQ scale scores for Body and Self-Image.

The Family Relationships Scale is strongly correlated with the child's cohesion and adaptability scores and the mother's adaptability score.

An unexpected finding is that the child's racial self-concept is negatively correlated with OSIQ Scale 11 - Superior Adjustment.

#### Summary of Findings

1. No significant relationships were found between the OSIQ scores for each child and the factors stated in Hypotheses Part A. Therefore, we cannot predict adolescent social adjustment in this sample from measures of 1) family system organization; 2) child and parent attitudes towards race and culture; and 3) child and parent social orientation.
2. A null hypothesis statement of Part B has confirmed, however, that factors 1, 2, and 3 cannot predict adolescent social adjustment in this sample. No significant differences in social adjustment could be attributed to differences in the race of the same-sex parent, the child's color or racial features, or whether the child's home was headed by one or two parents.
3. The adolescents in this sample scored well above the norm in social adjustment as measured by the 11 OSIQ psychosocial scales.

4. Data from parents and children, as a whole, tended toward the mean with a significant absence of extreme scores. This has resulted in a relative homogeneity of findings within and between groups.

5. A strong positive relationship has been found among the mother's cohesion and adaptability scores, the parental social orientation and the OSIQ scale for Body and Self-Image.

6. A strong positive relationship has been found among the child's attitudes towards race and culture, parental social orientation and the child's racial self-concept.

7. A negative relationship exists between the parental concept of racial identity and the child's racial self-concept.

8. A negative relationship exists between the child's racial self-concept and the OSIQ Scale 11 - Superior Adjustment.

## CHAPTER 5

## Discussion

The purpose of this study was to identify a number of psychosocial factors, which affect the development of interracial adolescents. Based upon theory, research and the investigator's own personal observations, we chose to focus on six factors which are thought to relate to the social adjustment of the interracial child.

These six factors or variables fall into two conceptual categories. The first category concerns variables which define complex psychosocial processes; Hypotheses Part A:

1. style of family system organization
2. child and parent attitudes towards race and culture
3. child and parent orientation to an interracial lifestyle

The second category involves psychosocial variables which may be called purely descriptive; Hypotheses Part B:

1. the race of same-sex parent
2. the child's color and racial features
3. whether child's home is headed by one or two parents

Both these categories provide a counterbalancing set of variables for a central hypothesis which states that: we can more consistently predict interracial adolescent social adjustment by using the variables in the first category (process variables) than by using the variables in the second category (descriptive variables). Stating this in the form of a Null Hypothesis, we would expect significant and consistent differences from measures of the process variables, and no difference and inconsistent findings from measures of the descriptive variables.

In order to accomplish this, we recruited a sample consisting of participants from a non-clinic population. The 20 adolescents contained in the sample comprised six boys and 14 girls; they range in age from 12 to 19 years old. These 20 children come from 13 family units. Of these family units, nine are two-parent and four are single-parent units, with a white female head of household. Of the nine fathers in this sample, six are black and three are white. All eligible family members participated. Children and families were recruited by the investigator with the assistance of a few individuals known to the investigator, who provided referrals, and in addition, recruiting was accomplished through word-of-mouth referrals of the participant families themselves.

The results indicate that our belief that process variables provide better predictability of adolescent social adjustment is not supported; specifically, no significant relationships were found between process variables and measures of adolescent social adjustment - defined as a child's self-image score. This finding, we believe, is a consequence of the striking homogeneity of participant scores for the adolescents and parents alike.

Our proposition concerning the purely descriptive variables in the second category is endorsed in our analysis; specifically, no significant differences in social adjustment could be attributed to these variables. In sum, while we can state that no effects are attributable to the descriptive variables in this sample, we cannot make a similar statement regarding the process variables. Rather than suggesting that the major and crucial psychosocial variables of the first category have little or no effect on adolescent social adjustment, we believe that this result is an artifact of our study design.

### Sample Characteristics and Selection

The most unexpected finding of the entire study is the relative homogeneity of sample scores. The ultimate effect of this was a leveling or reduction of variance between and among data domains, so that the fundamental assertion of the study could not be tested.

In assembling a non-clinic sample, with relatively few criteria for exclusion, we believed we would find adequate variability between and among families and children. Specifically, we anticipated a more even representation of better and more poorly adjusted children and families. The fact is, however, that our sample consists predominantly of children and families who are functioning in the good - excellent range as measured in several data domains. This sample feature left us without a data base on poorly adjusted families and children with which to test our assertion of process-variable predictability. The similarity of results in this sample leads us to speculate about its clinical implications as a body of data and its possible origins as a sample with these characteristics.

Taken as a whole, the sample suggests that well-functioning children live with well-functioning parents in homes that promote, or at least permit, good adjustment. Several independent, but apparently interrelated domains were measured: self-image, racial self-concept, parent and child perceptions of family functioning, parent and child attitudes in the broad areas of race and culture; parent and child orientation to an interracial lifestyle. As a group, these domains tended toward the higher levels of adjustment. This suggests that within these identified psychosocial realms, the continuity of sample results might be interpreted as 1) a positive social reciprocity of

individuals and environments and 2) a continuity of family, environment and values which may permit the adolescent to achieve a better, less conflictual social adjustment. Even so, from the standpoint of our study aims, the sample homogeneity proved to be an obstacle with regard to the characteristics of the sample. The participant children and families differed along the following dimensions: a) sex of child, b) age of child, c) child skin color ratings, d) one- versus two-parent home, e) race/sex composition of couple, f) race of same-sex parent. The similarities of the sample participants include the fact that: a) all children come from middle class families, b) virtually all parents are professionals, c) all families do (or did) reside in Manhattan.

We can postulate that the similarities above might have some bearing on our results, but we are reluctant to necessarily attribute the direction of similarity, i.e., toward the more well-adjusted end, to these factors alone. Perhaps a simple and more significant factor may explain it; namely, that we unwittingly assembled a sample of children and families that by psychometric and qualitative measures, can be judged to be "high functioning normals". We believe this occurred for two reasons. First, by design; this study sought to exclude so-called pathological families - families that might be referred to us through mental health clinics or social welfare agencies. Second, as we indicated in Chapter 3, pages 45-46 of this study, certain potential families who were contacted, excluded themselves from eventual participation. The investigator believes that some of these children and families may have been more poorly adjusted. In summary, we are suggesting that the homogeneity of results has less to do with characteristic or descriptive features of the families and more to do with the

fact that "normal" families and children will tend to be better adjusted.

The remainder of this chapter will entail a discussion of specific findings with an evaluation of the implications for adolescent mental health and a consideration of future research in this area.

#### Participant Family Systems

Most families in this study have two children; a few as many as three or four. All parents work outside the home, but there is a marked and fundamental commitment to family life; some families do more and others do less together, but all families conveyed the impression that the time spent, however much, was valuable and fiercely guarded against interference.

One aspect of family functioning was assessed through direct measurement - how family members perceive quantitative levels of family cohesion and family adaptability; cohesion assess the degree to which family members are separated from or connected to one another; family adaptability concerns the extent to which the family system is flexible and able to change as circumstances warrant.

The participants in our sample compare favorably to the FACES norms established for a non-clinic population. (Table 1, p. 51)

	<u>Cohesion</u>	<u>Adaptability</u>
N = 13 $\bar{X}$ Parent Score	62.7	52.9
N = 20 $\bar{X}$ Adolescent Score	62.3	51.0

The scores place the parents in the balanced levels of Separated-Cohesion and Flexible-Adaptability. The mean adolescent scores also place them in the balanced region of functioning: Connected-Cohesion and Flexible-Adaptability. The equivalent designation using family process

theory would designate these homes as those that tend toward Selectively-Open functioning. According to the theoretical literature, (Broderick and Pulliam-Krage, 1978), this style selectively filters out negative elements and facilitates supportive exchange between family members and their environment. These families tend to perceive their environments as orderly and capable of being understood and are successful in insulating themselves from threats to their values by surrounding themselves with friends and associates of similar value commitments; these families are most likely to produce the "normal" child.

The investigator's clinical impressions of this sample are in many ways parallel to the way Fallding (1961) characterized the better functioning families that he studied. In his studies and in our own experience with these sample families, we observed that the parents identify their interests with the personal interests of the family, i.e., their satisfactions are derived from the quality of family life. For most, but not all of our participants, independently derived satisfactions (e.g., work, friendship) are incidental to family life and have to, in some way, be related to the family. All parents interviewed regarded their parental roles as an essential element in the socialization of their children. A premium is placed on being fair, kind, sympathetic, tactful and courteous. Family members have a clear idea of what is expected of them, and living up to these expectations is typically a source of pride. Several families devoted a large amount of time to outside activities by providing service to the church or community; other families preferred activities in the home.

In two-parent homes, each parent had a say in the management of family affairs, but seemingly, neither parent intruded upon the author-

ity of the other. Typically, these parents were not over-dependent on reaching detailed agreements, nor were they over-concerned about differences of opinion. Quoting from Fallding (1961): There was a certain robustness in the relationship which seemed to take it for granted that precise agreement on details could rarely be expected between persons of different sex and experience. In many matters, it was thought sufficient to make the divergence plain rather than to persist in 'flogging out agreement'. (p. 229)

The parental approach to children is marked by understanding, loyalty, interest, and by setting consistent limits for them. The child is given scope to develop his own will and judgment, but the parents enforce whatever standards of behavior they consider to be for the child's good, and do not fear to lose favor by doing so. The children, in turn, express confidence in and respect for their parents and show a fair amount of consideration for their wishes.

In this regard, there is a marked absence of adolescent activity that could be termed "rebellious". This phenomenon will be considered later, but for the present, we can conjecture that the continuity of family and personal attitudes, expectations and values discussed earlier, makes the act of social rebellion unnecessary.

In summary, the family systems of this sample can be characterized as units which are interdependent, purposeful and tolerant of individual growth and individual differences. There is an important and marked absence of rigidity in parental roles, in parental expectations and in the general ways that the family deals with its environment. As a result, we believe that differences - racial, gender or generational - do not represent a threat to family members and therefore, these

differences need not be distorted or suppressed. These families appear to provide the child with, in the broadest sense, a facilitating environment (Winnicott, 1965), the use of which can promote the development of a healthy self-concept.

#### Adolescent Social Adjustment

The issue of interracial adolescent social adjustment provides the central focus of this study. Although we were not able to demonstrate a relationship between our hypothetical antecedent variables, and the outcome of social adjustment, we nevertheless have data which is significant in other ways.

We defined 'social adjustment' as measures of self-image and racial self-concept; measures of self-image are derived psychometrically from OSIQ scores; measures of racial self-concept are derived phenomenologically from responses to selected interview items.

The children in the sample achieved a mean OSIQ score of 62.8; this is almost one standard deviation above the reference group mean of 50 and indicates better than average social adjustment. Girls scored better as a group than did the boys, with a standard score of 67.0 versus 54.0, respectively. The sample scored above the standard score mean of 50 on all scales except Scale 6, Sexual Attitudes. The author of the OSIQ reports, however, that Scale 6 has thus far exhibited very low reliability (personal communication with D. Offer, 1983).

We reported (Table 7) that OSIQ Scale 7 (Family Relationship) has a high correlation with the child's cohesion and adaptability scores, indicating that they are measuring similar things. We also identified a strong relationship between the OSIQ Scale 3 (Body and Self-Image)

and a) the mothers' cohesion scores; b) the mothers' adaptability scores; and, c) parent social orientation.

Offer (1981) defines Scale 3 as the extent to which the adolescent has adjusted to or feels awkward about his body. In our sample population, we believe that this definition also incorporates feelings that the adolescent has about his skin color and other physical features. We reported that (Table 6) both the mothers' cohesion and adaptability scores have a positive relationship to measures of parent social orientation. Therefore, we now see that these three variables are also intercorrelated with a fourth variable, namely Scale 3. These relationships indicate that adolescent attitudes toward self and body are strongly influenced by the social example set in the home and less by parental attitudes and ideas. Interestingly, the mean Scale 3 score for boys is 46.7 and 64.3 for girls, indicating that girls are better adjusted in this area. Since we find no effects in our sample for skin color due to sex, we believe that mothers may have a more positive influence in this area on their daughters than they do on their sons.

In a related area, we tested for effects based upon the color of the same-sex parent; this test is based on the premise that children will have a more difficult time of gender identification (i.e., social adjustment) if the same-sex parent is of a different color. We find no evidence for this.

Several relationships were identified as occurring between measures of racial self-concept and other variables. The operational definition for racial self-concept is the adolescents' knowledge and attitudes towards himself as a member of a socially defined racial

group. Examples of these data from interview protocols follow:

- Item 14a. What do you consider your racial identity to be?
- Child 7. As far as skin color, black. But I can be part of either.
- Child 8. Black and white.
- Child 14. Black.
- Child 2. Interracial. I can be more than just black and white.
- Item 14b. What does it mean to be an "interracial" person?
- Child 7. It means that your parents are different colors and nobody can put a label on you - stereotypes don't fit me.
- Child 14. The odds are against you in a racist country. The people who have power are against you.
- Child 8. You get both how black people are and how white people are. You get used to being around both.
- Item 14c. What are the advantages of being an "interracial" person?
- Child 2. You're more aware, you being out with either blacks or whites.
- Child 7. No more advantages than having two white or two black parents.
- Child 9. None.
- Child 11. You get exposed to different cultures...I can understand both sides because I have both white friends and black friends.
- Item 14d. What are the disadvantages of being an "interracial" person?
- Child 3. Might get called names like "nigger" or "whitey".
- Child 9. Black people might feel uncomfortable talking about white people when I'm around and vice versa.
- Child 14. It can be rough dealing with other people's ignorance. I've not had any really bad experiences, but there have been times when I was confused about the whole thing.

Child 2. None that I can think of...none that wouldn't happen to other people but for different reasons.

This sampling of responses suggests the range of attitudes, knowledge, feelings and willingness or ability to articulate these issues. Responses to these and other items ranged from denial in some areas to ignorance in others. In a few of the total responses, some stereotyping was evident and seemed to arise either because the child had not fully thought through the issue or because he didn't know better. Nonetheless, these adolescents overall displayed an exceptional and mature grasp of these somewhat abstract and controversial issues. This was so especially when the child encountered obviously new material. One finding that was unexpected (though, frankly hoped for) was the virtual lack of racial stereotypes in the child responses. One reason for this may have been that most children could identify a stereotype as a stereotype for the interviewer:

Item 11 a and b: Are you aware of any negative or stereotypical images that exist about a) certain white people; and b) black people?

Most of the younger and all of the older adolescents could provide at least one stereotype for each racial group. We believe that when children are conscious of stereotypes as just that, they will tend to dissociate themselves from the stereotypes and label them as such. Our interviews indicate that parents play a large role in this kind of learning wherein parents frequently report having brought negative stereotypes to their children's attention.

The scores for racial self-concept in the sample ranged from a low of six to a maximum of 18, with a mean score of 13; this domain com-

prises 18 items and sub-items with each given equal weight. Where a child received a zero or minus score on a particular item, with two exceptions, it was not for stereotypic thinking. Typically, a child failed to gain points because he had no response or because the concepts involved were too difficult to articulate at the time. In the sample, although not tested for previously, a cursory examination of the raw data finds that the younger child typically scored lower in this category. Some allowance for this age differential should be made in future research.

A significant finding indicates that there is a strong positive relationship among the child's racial self-concept and the child's attitudes towards race, culture and his social orientation and parental social orientation (Table 4). These relations suggest that parental example and a child's internalized attitudes and activities regarding race and culture have a profound positive effect on his concept of himself as a racial person. Further, we suggest that these variables form a part of a reciprocal continuum of values which are acted upon by the parents and, in turn, internalized and acted upon by the child.

#### Inverse Findings Involving Racial Self-Concept

Among our findings, there are two sets of negative correlations, which are not only unexpected, but seemingly contradictory and perplexing.

The first states that a strong negative relationship exists between the parental concept of racial identity and the child's racial self-concept. (Table 4). We define the parental concept of racial identity as how parents view their child's racial identity. Therefore, we would expect some congruence between how the parent perceives the

child racially and how the child perceives himself. Offer, Ostrov and Howard (1982B) found that when parents' perceptions of their child generally agreed with their child's self-perceptions, that the congruence between the parent and child perceptions are generally associated with better adolescent self-image.

The results indicate a lack of congruence in this area but these results must be interpreted with caution. Specifically, the parent and child items were not constructed in a parallel fashion, so that items contained in the adolescent domain are absent from the parents' domain. In addition, the parents' domain consists of a maximum score of six, where the adolescents' domain consists of a maximum score of 18. Therefore, we are suggesting that we are measuring similar, but not necessarily congruent variables between the parent and child. Nonetheless, these study design discrepancies do not explain our finding of an inverse relationship between the two domains. An examination of the raw data reveals no particular patterns of response or articulated conflict. Without further data, however, we can only state that for some unknown reason in the area of perceptions of racial identity, the characteristic parent-child reciprocity and congruence found between other dimensions breaks down. We can say that in this area parent and child don't see 'eye-to-eye', but the discrepancy is not an overtly conflictual one. Rather, it is a case of a parent viewing the child more positively than the child views himself, and the reverse. We do not know its origins or its possible effects on adolescent social adjustment. This specific area warrants further research.

The second set of negative correlations involves the child's racial self-concept and his scores on OSIQ Scale 11 - Superior Adjust-

ment. Offer et al. (1981) state that this scale measures how well the adolescent copes with himself, significant others and his world; the scale could also be defined as a measure of ego strength and coping ability. Again, this is a puzzling result because it indicates that the better the child's racial self-concept, the more poorly he copes with his internal and external worlds.

Without further data and analysis, this finding, too, must be interpreted with caution. However, we are willing to postulate that all these adolescents have some degree of conflict in the realm of racial self-concept. Furthermore, evidence of this conflict should manifest itself in some form. Although we see no evidence for problems with adolescents on an intra-individual basis, these inverse findings suggest that conflicts in the area of racial self-concept may surface between individuals. Viewed another way, the child with a lower racial self-concept score may overcompensate by projecting a greater confidence (OSIQ - Scale 11) in the realm of personal and worldly affairs.

In summary, we have reviewed the inverse relationships that exist between racial self-concept and two variables. Putting aside, for the time being, any shortcomings in the racial self-concept scale itself, these findings may be indicative of a covert or perhaps unconscious conflict area for adolescents and parents. To the extent that this is true, it would be important to know whether the conflict can be put into words and articulated. In addition, it would also be important to know whether the conflict is the outgrowth of normal developmental processes or whether it may be indicative of some psychological distortion or neurotic process.

### Participant Characteristics

The aim of this portion of the discussion is to provide the reader with a profile of the participants in this study. This profile will highlight aspects of family member relationships, social orientation and world view. Direct participant quotes will be provided when they will enhance an issue or prove to be especially revealing.

All parents in the sample report no previous marriages. All spouses are American-born with the exception of three mothers, who are Canadian-born. Interestingly, three out of the four separated or divorced husbands of the single-parent mothers were born in the British West Indies. While none suggested that this cultural difference significantly contributed to the breakup of the marriage, one mother reported, "...our problems were person first, male and female, second, and racial difference, third. And the racial aspect was really more national differences..." This mother found rigid male attitudes towards women and childrearing hard to deal with. Typically, most couples reported that their motives for marriage were predominantly because they were in love, although some wives saw marriage as a way of leaving their parents and one wife saw it as a way out of the working class. Many couples stated that because they were marrying interracially, their decision was perhaps more considered than other couples they knew - who were now separated or divorced. After marriage, couples report having to work through various differences, including class differences, conflicts regarding male and female role taking, and childrearing practices. With regard to working through racial differences, responses ranged as follows: from

"We rarely think or talk about race at home. Usually, some event outside (the home) makes us aware of it."

to one white spouse, who candidly admitted that

"I will always have to deal with my prejudices. I had a very rural American upbringing and these things just don't dissipate... as long as you know they exist and can identify them (as prejudices)."

Most couples' experiences fell between the two extremes - and as a result they became more sensitive to racism and to feelings of one another in this area.

The participants' world view with regard to the black and white community was also varied. Most black spouses reported that their impressions of the white community and the black community, in particular, had changed little since their marriage. In contrast, the white spouses more often reported changing impressions, particularly of the black community and its members as a result of intermarriage. This finding parallels Jacobs' (1977) finding that white spouses often had to confront more social change because of their introduction to black culture and society; black spouses, typically, were in contact, if not well integrated into white culture and community. One white spouse noted, with some chagrin, that after marriage she became painfully aware of how prejudiced whites could be. A noteworthy exception to the views that were voiced generally about the black or white communities came from a white spouse who stated that

"intermarriage helped deepen and more firmly root my resolve not to lump blacks into a category of 'community'".

For this spouse, intermarriage had reinforced his reluctance to foster global impressions of blacks and facilitated his appreciation of the similarities and individual differences which make up that which we call the black community. Virtually all couples chose to live in New York City, or if they lived here previously, to remain in New York City. The city's multiracial atmosphere played an important part in this decision.

During the course of our interviews, we had our antennae up for, among other things, signs of stereotyped thinking or attitudes in parents and adolescents. Surprisingly, there was comparatively little of it, and none was observed along racial or gender lines. The investigator did observe several isolated instances of stereotyped thinking that was unqualified with regard to class, religious differences, country of origin differences, and one instance of latent anti-semitism. The issue here is that we almost had to "coax" these family images into the foreground, and even then, they were rare and confined to no single family.

Characteristically, these families' approaches to parenting are also free of rigidity and dogma. These approaches include a premium being placed on adequate supervision of the adolescents' affairs, seemingly without placing unnecessary constraints on individual interests and activities. In all families, we sensed an openness and in some cases, an eagerness to discuss most matters of living. With one exception, all families could discuss racial matters openly and unselfconsciously with the investigator. In the one family exception, there appeared to be some tension about, and perhaps a preoccupation with racial matters. Not surprisingly, the children in this family

had difficulty articulating racial issues.

In the single-parent families, the white mothers were especially conscious of the need to provide their interracial child with a smorgasbord of cultural exposure and experiences.

Finally, all parents expressed a fondness and respect for their children as people and as achievers. Most parents have high expectations for their children; it would appear that these expectations are generic, i.e., that they do well in whatever they attempt. Most children observed met this challenge in a variety of arenas. Many are what might be termed high achievers, who are excelling at top schools or, as in the case of two of the children, already embarking upon careers in sports and dance.

The children in our sample are personable, thoughtful and leading active lives. In fact, when the investigator was making arrangements for the interview, the parents usually deferred to the children for setting a time, as their schedules were often tighter than the adults'. All children were receptive to being interviewed and a number genuinely enjoyed the experience. From an overall perspective, perhaps the most striking feature of these adolescents is their seeming lack of rebelliousness. A number of authors, notably A. Freud (1958), Erikson (1950), and Blos (1962) have portrayed the post-latency years of adolescence as years of ferment, emotional disruption, crisis. This turmoil can take the form of mood swings, unpredictable behavior, identity confusion and problematic relations with adults and peers alike.

The picture which emerges from our own sample of children, who span the entire age range usually attributed to adolescence, is quite

a different one. Offer et al. (1981) suggest that adolescents with adequate coping skills and sufficient social support need not experience the kind of turmoil often associated with adolescent rebellion. One finding derived from their longterm study of adolescent mental health indicates that

"(a)mong normals, a significant minority attest to having disturbing feelings and symptoms. About 20 percent attest to feeling empty emotionally, being confused most of the time, or hearing strange noises. These figures indicate that turmoil and maladaptation are a real part of many teenagers' lives. But while this figure is high...it is useful to remember that these adolescents are far outnumbered by those making a relatively smooth transition to adulthood." Offer et al. (1981), p. 93.

In this regard, our sample adolescents are socialized well to peers and adults; these children convey the impression that they are accepted at home and away. At the same time, or perhaps as a result, they are willing to make the sacrifices and take the risks necessary for high achievement. Over the course of interviewing, these young adults projected a sense of high self-esteem and a relatively consistent and coherent view of self and others. Representative of these features were the rather candid and thoughtful responses to questions of race and interracial living. Several children acknowledged some confusion or conflict about their racial identity or affiliations at present or sometime in the past. However, these concerns were conveyed as if they were, indeed, manageable and as much a part of living as other challenges they might encounter. Race, racial identity and interracial living and related issues are apparently placed in appropriate psychosocial perspective: they neither overwhelm nor are they denied. In relation to this, Offer et al (1981) believe that the "...successful coping of the majority (of normal adolescents) may be more accurately

understood in terms of strength and a sense of being intact than in terms of a lack of challenge and stress." p. 94.

### Conclusions

The foregoing findings and discussion highlight several implications for the mental health of interracial adolescents.

A neighborhood, a building of residence, a community and available schools that are multiracial and otherwise diverse provide a fundamental support for the management of family life and the socialization of children. As is common, adults move in and out of community circles at will, but adolescents and the younger ones especially, are confined largely to their surrounding community. A healthy diversity of environment provides the child with some degree of protection from racial discrimination and prejudice; at the very least, in a multi-racial community the child does not stand out as different or "outside" of the group and therefore, is not singled out for disproportionate ridicule. Our parents repeatedly emphasized this and a few went so far as to say interracial families would have to be crazy to live outside a city like New York. One mother summed it up this way: "I don't want my daughter to be a freak in some all white place."

A measure of the comfort a child has in being part of an interracial family is suggested by his willingness to share this information outside the family with appropriate others. In other words, the attitudes existing in his community and among his friends play an important role in how much of "himself" he is willing to share. Erikson (1958) speaks of it in terms of a desirable confluence between the way one identifies oneself and the ways the community has in identifying him.

A family atmosphere which is open to and does not suppress differences is highly desirable. Parents can facilitate this by providing leadership in articulating racial matters in a clear and unambiguous manner; alternatively, parents can show a willingness to work on and work through unresolved or unclear issues. Our findings indicate that in some areas, it is what the parent does, rather than what he thinks or believes, that has the greatest effect on a child's psychosocial development. Specifically, parents should provide ongoing precedents for supportive and constructive ways of living interracially inside and outside the home. In particular, we think it is important for parents to identify and label negative and stereotyped images for their children. These kinds of approaches address the issue of race and racism in the broadest and also in the most personal ways, so that notions of racial incompatibility and stereotyping become solely a function of social experience, but never a reality of family life.

Finally, we are compelled to consider a broader population of interracial families and children than is represented in this study. In particular, we are concerned about children who may be less exceptional in their psychological or intellectual endowment. It is probably true that, for example, the children in our study have so far been spared the direct effects of social or institutional discrimination (e.g., in schools). This is so because they are talented and smart. They have, as it were, overcome many racial barriers because they excel socially and academically. However, for children who are average or functioning below average in these areas, we think that problems unique for the interracial child may arise.

For instance, an interracial child performing below average in an average classroom may attribute unsympathetic treatment by the teacher to factors other than his academic performance; he may attribute it to the fact that he is black or to the fact that he is interracial and he may be right.<sup>7</sup> However, for this child the (self) attribution of racial contempt may be less painful than believing that he is "stupid". Similar issues may arise for the interracial child who has difficulty in making and keeping friends. For such children, we believe that the quality of family, psychological and community supports are especially important. These children will probably require more explicit and more patient input from family and teachers and other sources over a longer period of time, in order to help insure that they develop an adequate and healthy sense of self.

#### Study Limitations

The limitations of this study are largely defined by the extent to which we can generalize the results. Sample size and methods of selection severely limit the representation of other kinds of interracial families and children. Additional sample dimensions would include urban versus suburban families, working class versus middle class, and clinic versus non-clinic.

The homogeneity of the sample severely limits the degree to which we can generalize to any of the aforementioned population. A modified random sampling approach would have produced a more heterogeneous and

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<sup>7</sup> This investigator has heard over time from numerous parents and some educators that in the public schools, the black child who is functioning below average, fares less well than his white counterpart; the prevailing belief is that teacher expectations are lower for black children.

subsequently more representative population. However, the data and findings of our investigation adequately represent the sample under study and we feel some degree of confidence in making generalizations to interracial populations with similar characteristics.

Finally, the social orientation and racial heritage of the investigator figured prominently in choosing to do this study, and to some extent, in gaining access to participants and others interested in this work. While these particular investigator characteristics are in no way a requirement for conducting a study such as this, on the other hand, this study would be difficult to mount without taking these social and philosophical factors into account.

#### Future Research

Future research in the area of interracial/intercultural child development, marital development or family development is wide open and rich with possibilities.

One approach would be a modification of the current study design to include the addition of a second sample sub-set of children and families of approximately equal numbers. These families or children would be recruited exclusively through mental hygiene clinics, child care and social welfare agencies. Additionally, criteria for family inclusion would be broadened to include part-families, wherein one or two family members might be interviewed when other eligible family members decline to participate. Briefly stated, the advantage of this approach would be to broaden the representation of available interracial families.

A worthwhile broadening of research on interracial families would include an investigation of other varieties of interracial living in

American culture: Hispanic/black; Asian/white; Native American/black. Because prejudice, stereotyping and racism impact differently on particular races and particular conjugal combinations, the study might focus on family and child values which promote interracial living and how these values are mobilized to deal with social experiences. For example, are couples received differently when the husband is Asian and the wife is white than when the reverse is so. With regard to the offspring, what family and community supports are activated, which will enable a child from mixed Asian/white parentage to acquire a satisfying sense of his dual heritage; what does the child consider his identity to be.

Future investigations might also involve a more intensive study of parent-child perceptions of racial identity, among other things. Such a study might focus on the components, meanings and effects that interracial identity has for an interracial family. One might seek to find areas of congruence and disparity between parent-child perceptions as possible depositories or sources of conflict in this area. Our inverse findings in this area suggest that some, as yet, unidentified dynamic, may affect the child-family relationships and feelings of competence; for example, a family therapist might posit that what is being observed here is a family conflict. However, the discrepancies we observed may have more to do with the cognitive readiness and maturation of these children.

To conclude, a follow-up on the children in our current study might provide a valuable profile of interracial psychosocial development from adolescence into early adulthood: do we observe rebellion later and if so, what forms does it take; how do these young adults currently view

their racial identity. In the process of individuating from childhood and family, do the children grow closer or further apart over time; in connection with this, how does the young adult reorient his system of values and are they fundamentally in keeping with family values. From the standpoint of social orientation, what kind of marital family does he choose for himself and how are family and lifestyle managed.

This final area of inquiry is especially interesting; it is a singularly peculiar fact that, to anyone's knowledge, interracial families tend not to perpetuate the pattern. There are no available data to support or refute this assertion. However, the investigator's knowledge of the interracial children that he grew up with points in that direction: namely, all these interracial adults married black spouses and moved in predominantly black social circles.

## Appendix A

FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Participant:

Please answer each of the following statements by putting a circle around the response you think describes your family. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. Please answer all items.

1. Family members are supportive of each other during difficult times.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
2. In our family, it is easy for everyone to express his/her opinion.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
3. It is easier to discuss problems with people outside the family than with other family members.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
4. Each family member has input in major family decisions.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
5. Our family gathers together in the same room.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
6. Children have a say in their discipline.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
7. Our family does things together.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
8. Family members discuss problems and feel good about the solutions.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
9. In our family, everyone goes his/her own way.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
10. We shift household responsibilities from person to person.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
11. Family members know each other's close friends.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
12. It is hard to know what the rules are in our family.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS

13. Family members consult other family members on their decisions.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
14. Family members say what they want.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
15. We have difficulty thinking of things to do as a family.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
16. In solving problems, the children's suggestions are followed.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
17. Family members feel very close to each other.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
18. Discipline is fair in our family.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
19. Family members feel closer to people outside the family than to other family members.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
20. Our family tries new ways of dealing with problems.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
21. Family members go along with what the family decides to do.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
22. In our family, everyone shares responsibilities.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
23. Family members like to spend their free time with each other.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
24. It is difficult to get a rule changed in our family.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
25. Family members avoid each other at home.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
26. When problems arise, we compromise.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS
27. We approve of each other's friends.  
ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS

28. Family members are afraid to say what is on their minds.

ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS

29. Family members pair up rather than do things as a total family.

ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS

30. Family members share interests and hobbies with each other.

ALMOST NEVER    ONCE IN A WHILE    SOMETIMES    FREQUENTLY    ALMOST ALWAYS

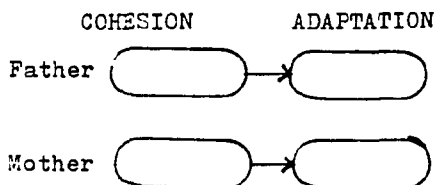
FACES II  
Olson, Portner & Bell  
1982

Appendix B

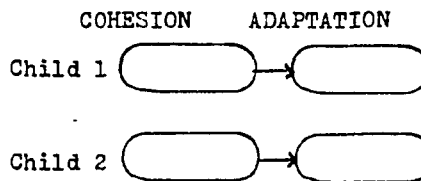
FACES II  
Family Totals and Circumplex Category

Family Code: \_\_\_\_\_

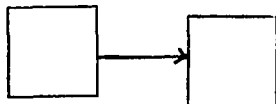
I. Parent Scores



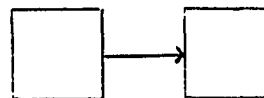
II. Adolescent(s) Scores



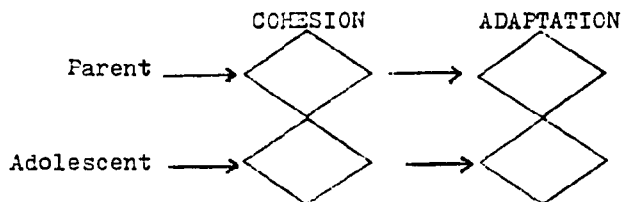
$\bar{X}$  Parent Score:



$\bar{X}$  Adolescent Score:



III. Total Family Score



IV. Circumplex Model Cutting Points

COHESION

\* Disengaged  
Parents (56.9 or below)  
Adoles. (47.9 or below)

Separated  
Parents (57.0-65.0)  
Adoles. (48.0-56.0)

Connected  
Parents (65.1-73.0)  
Adoles. (56.1-64.0)

\* Enmeshed  
Parents (73.1 and above)  
Adoles. (64.1 and above)

ADAPTABILITY

\* Chaotic  
Parents (56.1 or above)  
Adoles. (52.1 or above)

Flexible  
Parents (50.1-56.0)  
Adoles. (45.1-52.0)

Structured  
Parents (44.0-50.0)  
Adoles. (38.0-45.0)

\* Rigid  
Parents (43.9 or below)  
Adoles. (37.9 or below)

Family Circumplex Category

Family Type: Balanced; Midrange; Extreme

FACES II WORKSHEET

Family Code: \_\_\_\_\_

I-Code: \_\_\_\_\_

- |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| 1. _____  | 2. _____  |
| 3. _____  | 4. _____  |
| 5. _____  | 6. _____  |
| 7. _____  | 8. _____  |
| 9. _____  | 10. _____ |
| 11. _____ | 12. _____ |
| 13. _____ | 14. _____ |
| 15. _____ | 16. _____ |
| 17. _____ | 18. _____ |
| 19. _____ | 20. _____ |
| 21. _____ | 22. _____ |
| 23. _____ | 24. _____ |
| 25. _____ | 26. _____ |
| 27. _____ | 28. _____ |
| 29. _____ |           |
| 30. _____ |           |

I-Code: \_\_\_\_\_

- |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| 1. _____  | 2. _____  |
| 3. _____  | 4. _____  |
| 5. _____  | 6. _____  |
| 7. _____  | 8. _____  |
| 9. _____  | 10. _____ |
| 11. _____ | 12. _____ |
| 13. _____ | 14. _____ |
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| 17. _____ | 18. _____ |
| 19. _____ | 20. _____ |
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| 23. _____ | 24. _____ |
| 25. _____ | 26. _____ |
| 27. _____ | 28. _____ |
| 29. _____ |           |
| 30. _____ |           |

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Sum 3, 9, 15, 19, 25, 29		Sum 12, 24, 28		Sum 3, 9, 15, 19, 25, 29		Sum 12, 24, 28		
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"></div>	+	Sum all other <u>odd</u> #s		<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"></div>	+	Sum all other <u>even</u> #s		
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"></div>	+	Sum all other <u>odd</u> #s		<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"></div>	+	Sum all other <u>even</u> #s		
<u>TOTALS</u>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"></div>	<u>COHESION</u>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"></div>	<u>ADAPTABIL.</u>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"></div>	<u>COHESION</u>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"></div>	<u>ADAPT.</u>

Appendix C  
INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
OFFER SELF - IMAGE QUESTIONNAIRE

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS USED FOR SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

AFTER CAREFULLY READING EACH OF THE STATEMENTS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES, PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER ON THE ANSWER SHEET THAT INDICATES HOW WELL THE ITEM DESCRIBES YOU: THE NUMBERS CORRESPOND WITH CATEGORIES THAT RANGE FROM "DESCRIBES ME VERY WELL" (1) TO "DOES NOT DESCRIBE ME AT ALL" (6). PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE CHOICE FOR EACH STATEMENT.

EXAMPLE

STATEMENT: I AM AN ADOLESCENT.

CHOICE OF ANSWERS:

1—DESCRIBES ME VERY WELL    3—DESCRIBES ME FAIRLY WELL    5—DOES NOT REALLY DESCRIBE ME  
2—DESCRIBES ME WELL        4—DOES NOT QUITE DESCRIBE ME    6—DOES NOT DESCRIBE ME AT ALL

RESPONSE:    ①    2    3    4    5    6

PLEASE RESPOND TO ALL ITEMS.

THANK YOU

COPYRIGHT: 1977 ©

DANIEL OFFER, M. D.

1-DESCRIBES ME VERY WELL    3-DESCRIBES ME FAIRLY WELL    5--DOES NOT REALLY DESCRIBE ME  
 2-DESCRIBES ME WELL    4--DOES NOT QUITE DESCRIBE ME    6--DOES NOT DESCRIBE ME AT ALL

- 
1. I CARRY MANY GRUDGES. 1\_\_\_
2. WHEN I AM WITH PEOPLE I AM AFRAID THAT SOMEONE WILL MAKE FUN OF ME. 2\_\_\_
3. MOST OF THE TIME I THINK THAT THE WORLD IS AN EXCITING PLACE TO LIVE IN. 3\_\_\_
4. I THINK THAT I WILL BE A SOURCE OF PRIDE TO MY PARENTS IN THE FUTURE. 4\_\_\_
5. I WOULD NOT HURT SOMEONE JUST FOR THE "HECK OF IT." 5\_\_\_
6. THE RECENT CHANGES IN MY BODY HAVE GIVEN ME SOME SATISFACTION. 6\_\_\_
7. I AM GOING TO DEVOTE MY LIFE TO HELPING OTHERS. 7\_\_\_
8. I "LOSE MY HEAD" EASILY. 8\_\_\_
9. MY PARENTS ARE ALMOST ALWAYS ON THE SIDE OF SOMEONE ELSE, e.g. MY BROTHER OR SISTER. 9\_\_\_
10. THE OPPOSITE SEX FINDS ME A BORE. 10\_\_\_
11. IF I WOULD BE SEPARATED FROM ALL THE PEOPLE I KNOW, I FEEL THAT I WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE A GO OF IT. 11\_\_\_
12. I FEEL TENSE MOST OF THE TIME. 12\_\_\_
13. I USUALLY FEEL OUT OF PLACE AT PICNICS AND PARTIES. 13\_\_\_
14. I FEEL THAT WORKING IS TOO MUCH RESPONSIBILITY FOR ME. 14\_\_\_
15. MY PARENTS WILL BE DISAPPOINTED IN ME IN THE FUTURE. 15\_\_\_
16. IT IS VERY HARD FOR A TEENAGER TO KNOW HOW TO HANDLE SEX IN A RIGHT WAY. 16\_\_\_
17. AT TIMES I HAVE FITS OF CRYING AND/OR LAUGHING THAT I SEEM UNABLE TO CONTROL. 17\_\_\_
18. I AM GOING TO DEVOTE MY LIFE TO MAKING AS MUCH MONEY AS I CAN. 18\_\_\_
19. IF I PUT MY MIND TO IT, I CAN LEARN ALMOST ANYTHING. 19\_\_\_
20. ONLY STUPID PEOPLE WORK. 20\_\_\_
21. VERY OFTEN I FEEL THAT MY FATHER IS NO GOOD. 21\_\_\_
22. I AM CONFUSED MOST OF THE TIME. 22\_\_\_
-

1--DESCRIBES ME VERY WELL    3--DESCRIBES ME FAIRLY WELL    5--DOES NOT REALLY DESCRIBE ME  
 2--DESCRIBES ME WELL    4--DOES NOT QUITE DESCRIBE ME    6--DOES NOT DESCRIBE ME AT ALL

- 
23. I FEEL INFERIOR TO MOST PEOPLE I KNOW. 23 \_\_\_\_\_
24. UNDERSTANDING MY PARENTS IS BEYOND ME. 24 \_\_\_\_\_
25. I DO NOT LIKE TO PUT THINGS IN ORDER AND MAKE SENSE OF THEM. 25 \_\_\_\_\_
26. I CAN COUNT ON MY PARENTS MOST OF THE TIME. 26 \_\_\_\_\_
27. IN THE PAST YEAR I HAVE BEEN VERY WORRIED ABOUT MY HEALTH. 27 \_\_\_\_\_
28. DIRTY JOKES ARE FUN AT TIMES. 28 \_\_\_\_\_
29. I OFTEN BLAME MYSELF EVEN WHEN I AM NOT AT FAULT. 29 \_\_\_\_\_
30. I WOULD NOT STOP AT ANYTHING IF I FELT I WAS DONE WRONG. 30 \_\_\_\_\_
31. MY SEX ORGANS ARE NORMAL. 31 \_\_\_\_\_
32. MOST OF THE TIME I AM HAPPY. 32 \_\_\_\_\_
33. I AM GOING TO DEVOTE MYSELF TO MAKING THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE  
TO LIVE IN. 33 \_\_\_\_\_
34. I CAN TAKE CRITICISM WITHOUT RESENTMENT. 34 \_\_\_\_\_
35. MY WORK, IN GENERAL, IS AT LEAST AS GOOD AS THE WORK OF THE GIRL NEXT TO ME. 35 \_\_\_\_\_
36. SOMETIMES I FEEL SO ASHAMED OF MYSELF THAT I JUST WANT TO HIDE IN A CORNER  
AND CRY. 36 \_\_\_\_\_
37. I AM SURE THAT I WILL BE PROUD ABOUT MY FUTURE PROFESSION. 37 \_\_\_\_\_
38. MY FEELINGS ARE EASILY HURT. 38 \_\_\_\_\_
39. WHEN A TRAGEDY OCCURS TO ONE OF MY FRIENDS, I FEEL SAD TOO. 39 \_\_\_\_\_
40. I BLAME OTHERS EVEN WHEN I KNOW THAT I AM AT FAULT TOO. 40 \_\_\_\_\_
41. WHEN I WANT SOMETHING, I JUST SIT AROUND WISHING I COULD HAVE IT. 41 \_\_\_\_\_
42. THE PICTURE I HAVE OF MYSELF IN THE FUTURE SATISFIES ME. 42 \_\_\_\_\_
43. I AM A SUPERIOR STUDENT IN SCHOOL. 43 \_\_\_\_\_
44. I FEEL RELAXED UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES. 44 \_\_\_\_\_
-

1--DESCRIBES ME VERY WELL      3--DESCRIBES ME FAIRLY WELL      5--DOES NOT REALLY DESCRIBE ME  
 2--DESCRIBES ME WELL          4--DOES NOT QUITE DESCRIBE ME      6--DOES NOT DESCRIBE ME AT ALL

- 
45. I FEEL EMPTY EMOTIONALLY MOST OF THE TIME. 45 \_\_\_\_\_
46. I WOULD RATHER SIT AROUND AND LOAF THAN WORK. 46 \_\_\_\_\_
47. EVEN IF IT WERE DANGEROUS, I WOULD HELP SOMEONE WHO IS IN TROUBLE. 47 \_\_\_\_\_
48. TELLING THE TRUTH MEANS NOTHING TO ME. 48 \_\_\_\_\_
49. OUR SOCIETY IS A COMPETITIVE ONE AND I AM NOT AFRAID OF IT. 49 \_\_\_\_\_
50. I GET VIOLENT IF I DON'T GET MY WAY. 50 \_\_\_\_\_
51. MOST OF THE TIME MY PARENTS GET ALONG WELL WITH EACH OTHER. 51 \_\_\_\_\_
52. I THINK THAT OTHER PEOPLE JUST DO NOT LIKE ME. 52 \_\_\_\_\_
53. I FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH NEW FRIENDSHIPS. 53 \_\_\_\_\_
54. I AM SO VERY ANXIOUS. 54 \_\_\_\_\_
55. WHEN MY PARENTS ARE STRICT, I FEEL THAT THEY ARE RIGHT, EVEN IF I GET ANGRY. 55 \_\_\_\_\_
56. WORKING CLOSELY WITH ANOTHER GIRL NEVER GIVES ME PLEASURE. 56 \_\_\_\_\_
57. I AM PROUD OF MY BODY. 57 \_\_\_\_\_
58. AT TIMES I THINK ABOUT WHAT KIND OF WORK I WILL DO IN THE FUTURE. 58 \_\_\_\_\_
59. EVEN UNDER PRESSURE I MANAGE TO REMAIN CALM. 59 \_\_\_\_\_
60. WHEN I GROW UP AND HAVE A FAMILY, IT WILL BE IN AT LEAST A FEW WAYS SIMILAR TO MY OWN. 60 \_\_\_\_\_
61. I OFTEN FEEL THAT I WOULD RATHER DIE, THAN GO ON LIVING. 61 \_\_\_\_\_
62. I FIND IT EXTREMELY HARD TO MAKE FRIENDS. 62 \_\_\_\_\_
63. I WOULD RATHER BE SUPPORTED FOR THE REST OF MY LIFE THAN WORK. 63 \_\_\_\_\_
64. I FEEL THAT I HAVE A PART IN MAKING FAMILY DECISIONS. 64 \_\_\_\_\_
65. I DO NOT MIND BEING CORRECTED, SINCE I CAN LEARN FROM IT. 65 \_\_\_\_\_
- 

FOR COMPUTER USE ONLY

66-69 \_\_\_\_\_ 70 \_\_\_\_\_ 71-72 \_\_\_\_\_ 73 1 74 \_\_\_\_\_ 75 3 76-80 \_\_\_\_\_

1--DESCRIBES ME VERY WELL      3--DESCRIBES ME FAIRLY WELL      5--DOES NOT REALLY DESCRIBE ME  
 2--DESCRIBES ME WELL      4--DOES NOT QUITE DESCRIBE ME      6--DOES NOT DESCRIBE ME AT ALL

- 
66. I FEEL SO VERY LONELY. 66.\_\_\_\_
67. I DO NOT CARE HOW MY ACTIONS AFFECT OTHERS AS LONG AS I GAIN SOMETHING. 67.\_\_\_\_
68. I ENJOY LIFE. 68.\_\_\_\_
69. I KEEP AN EVEN TEMPER MOST OF THE TIME. 69.\_\_\_\_
70. A JOB WELL DONE GIVES ME PLEASURE. 70.\_\_\_\_
71. MY PARENTS ARE USUALLY PATIENT WITH ME. 71.\_\_\_\_
72. I SEEM TO BE FORCED TO IMITATE THE PEOPLE I LIKE. 72.\_\_\_\_
73. VERY OFTEN PARENTS DO NOT UNDERSTAND A PERSON BECAUSE THEY HAD AN UNHAPPY CHILDHOOD. 73.\_\_\_\_
74. FOR ME GOOD SPORTSMANSHIP IN SCHOOL IS AS IMPORTANT AS WINNING A GAME. 74.\_\_\_\_
75. I PREFER BEING ALONE THAN WITH KIDS MY AGE. 75.\_\_\_\_
76. WHEN I DECIDE TO DO SOMETHING, I DO IT. 76.\_\_\_\_
77. I THINK THAT BOYS FIND ME ATTRACTIVE. 77.\_\_\_\_
78. OTHER PEOPLE ARE NOT AFTER ME TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ME. 78.\_\_\_\_
79. I FEEL THAT THERE IS PLENTY I CAN LEARN FROM OTHERS. 79.\_\_\_\_
80. I DO NOT ATTEND SEXY SHOWS. 80.\_\_\_\_
81. I FEAR SOMETHING CONSTANTLY. 81.\_\_\_\_
82. VERY OFTEN I THINK THAT I AM NOT AT ALL THE PERSON I WOULD LIKE TO BE. 82.\_\_\_\_
83. I LIKE TO HELP A FRIEND WHENEVER I CAN. 83.\_\_\_\_
84. IF I KNOW THAT I WILL HAVE TO FACE A NEW SITUATION, I WILL TRY IN ADVANCE TO FIND OUT AS MUCH AS IS POSSIBLE ABOUT IT. 84.\_\_\_\_
85. USUALLY I FEEL THAT I AM A BOTHER AT HOME. 85.\_\_\_\_
86. IF OTHERS DISAPPROVE OF ME I GET TERRIBLY UPSET. 86.\_\_\_\_
87. I LIKE ONE OF MY PARENTS MUCH BETTER THAN THE OTHER. 87.\_\_\_\_
-

1--DESCRIBES ME VERY WELL      3--DESCRIBES ME FAIRLY WELL      5--DOES NOT REALLY DESCRIBE ME  
 2--DESCRIBES ME WELL          4--DOES NOT QUITE DESCRIBE ME      6--DOES NOT DESCRIBE ME AT ALL

- 
88. BEING TOGETHER WITH OTHER PEOPLE GIVES ME A GOOD FEELING. 88\_\_\_\_\_
89. WHENEVER I FAIL IN SOMETHING, I TRY TO FIND OUT WHAT I CAN DO IN ORDER TO AVOID ANOTHER FAILURE. 89\_\_\_\_\_
90. I FREQUENTLY FEEL UGLY AND UNATTRACTIVE. 90\_\_\_\_\_
91. SEXUALLY I AM WAY BEHIND. 91\_\_\_\_\_
92. IF YOU CONFIDE IN OTHERS YOU ASK FOR TROUBLE. 92\_\_\_\_\_
93. EVEN THOUGH I AM CONTINUOUSLY ON THE GO, I SEEM UNABLE TO GET THINGS DONE. 93\_\_\_\_\_
94. WHEN OTHERS LOOK AT ME THEY MUST THINK THAT I AM POORLY DEVELOPED. 94\_\_\_\_\_
95. MY PARENTS ARE ASHAMED OF ME. 95\_\_\_\_\_
96. I BELIEVE I CAN TELL THE REAL FROM THE FANTASTIC. 96\_\_\_\_\_
97. THINKING OR TALKING ABOUT SEX FRIGHTENS ME. 97\_\_\_\_\_
98. I AM AGAINST GIVING SO MUCH MONEY TO THE POOR. 98\_\_\_\_\_
99. I FEEL STRONG AND HEALTHY. 99\_\_\_\_\_
100. EVEN WHEN I AM SAD I CAN ENJOY A GOOD JOKE. 100\_\_\_\_\_
101. THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH PUTTING ONESELF BEFORE OTHERS. 101\_\_\_\_\_
102. I TRY TO STAY AWAY FROM HOME MOST OF THE TIME. 102\_\_\_\_\_
103. I FIND LIFE AN ENDLESS SERIES OF PROBLEMS--WITHOUT SOLUTION IN SIGHT. 103\_\_\_\_\_
104. AT TIMES I FEEL LIKE A LEADER AND FEEL THAT OTHER KIDS CAN LEARN SOMETHING FROM ME. 104\_\_\_\_\_
105. I FEEL THAT I AM ABLE TO MAKE DECISIONS. 105\_\_\_\_\_
106. I HAVE BEEN CARRYING A GRUDGE AGAINST MY PARENTS FOR YEARS. 106\_\_\_\_\_
107. I AM CERTAIN THAT I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITIES FOR MYSELF IN THE FUTURE. 107\_\_\_\_\_
108. WHEN I ENTER A NEW ROOM I HAVE A STRANGE AND FUNNY FEELING. 108\_\_\_\_\_
109. I FEEL THAT I HAVE NO TALENT WHATSOEVER. 109\_\_\_\_\_
-

1-DESCRIBES ME VERY WELL      3-DESCRIBES ME FAIRLY WELL      5-DOES NOT REALLY DESCRIBE ME  
 2-DESCRIBES ME WELL      4-DOES NOT QUITE DESCRIBE ME      6-DOES NOT DESCRIBE ME AT ALL

- 
110. I DO NOT REHEARSE HOW I MIGHT DEAL WITH A REAL COMING EVENT. 110\_\_\_\_\_
111. WHEN I AM WITH PEOPLE I AM BOTHERED BY HEARING STRANGE NOISES. 111\_\_\_\_\_
112. MOST OF THE TIME MY PARENTS ARE SATISFIED WITH ME. 112\_\_\_\_\_
113. I DO NOT HAVE A PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TIME IN MAKING FRIENDS. 113\_\_\_\_\_
114. I DO NOT ENJOY SOLVING DIFFICULT PROBLEMS. 114\_\_\_\_\_
115. SCHOOL AND STUDYING MEAN VERY LITTLE TO ME. 115\_\_\_\_\_
116. EYE FOR AN EYE AND TOOTH FOR A TOOTH DOES NOT APPLY FOR OUR SOCIETY. 116\_\_\_\_\_
117. SEXUAL EXPERIENCES GIVE ME PLEASURE. 117\_\_\_\_\_
118. VERY OFTEN I FEEL THAT MY MOTHER IS NO GOOD. 118\_\_\_\_\_
119. HAVING A BOYFRIEND IS IMPORTANT TO ME. 119\_\_\_\_\_
120. I WOULD NOT LIKE TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH THOSE KIDS WHO "HIT BELOW THE BELT." 120\_\_\_\_\_
121. WORRYING A LITTLE ABOUT ONE'S FUTURE HELPS TO MAKE IT WORK OUT BETTER. 121\_\_\_\_\_
122. I OFTEN THINK ABOUT SEX. 122\_\_\_\_\_
123. USUALLY I CONTROL MYSELF. 123\_\_\_\_\_
124. I ENJOY MOST PARTIES I GO TO. 124\_\_\_\_\_
125. DEALING WITH NEW INTELLECTUAL SUBJECTS IS A CHALLENGE FOR ME. 125\_\_\_\_\_
126. I DO NOT HAVE MANY FEARS WHICH I CANNOT UNDERSTAND. 126\_\_\_\_\_
127. NO ONE CAN HARM ME JUST BY NOT LIKING ME. 127\_\_\_\_\_
128. I AM FEARFUL OF GROWING UP. 128\_\_\_\_\_
129. I REPEAT THINGS CONTINUOUSLY TO BE SURE THAT I AM RIGHT. 129\_\_\_\_\_
130. I FREQUENTLY FEEL SAD. 130\_\_\_\_\_
- 

FOR COMPUTER USE ONLY

66-69\_\_\_\_\_ 70\_\_ 71-72\_\_\_ 73 2 74\_\_ 75 3 76-80\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix D

DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS SELVES MEASURED BY THE  
OSIQ AND THE SCALES THAT CONSTITUTE THOSE SELVES

*Psychological Self (PS):* The psychological self comprises the adolescent's concerns, feelings, wishes and fantasies. The scales that constitute this self deal with the teenager's sense of control over impulses, the emotions, the teenager's experiences and the teenager's conception of his or her own body. These scales are:

PS-1. *Impulse Control.* This scale measures the extent to which the ego apparatus of the adolescent is strong enough to ward off the various pressures that exist in his internal and his external environments.

Example 1. Even under pressure, I manage to remain calm. (+)

Example 2. I carry many grudges. (-)

A low standard score suggests a person whose defensive structure is poorly organized. He has low frustration tolerance and often acts on impulse. A high standard score suggests a person with a well-developed ego apparatus that enables him to delay gratification.

PS-2. *Emotional Tone.* This scale measures the degree of affective harmony within the psychic structure, the extent to which there is fluctuation in the emotions as opposed to feelings that remain relatively stable.

Example 1. I enjoy life. (+)

Example 2. I am so very anxious. (-)

A low standard score shows poor affective control or great emotional fluctuation. A high standard score shows that the individual has an ability to experience many affects satisfactorily.

PS-3. *Body and Self-Image.* This scale indicates the extent to which the adolescent has adjusted to or feels awkward about his or her body.

Example 1. I am proud of my body. (+)

Example 2. I frequently feel ugly and unattractive. (-)

A low standard score shows continuing confusion about body boundaries or awkwardness about body changes taking place in adolescence. A high standard score shows a well-structured self-concept with well-defined body boundaries.

*Social Self (SS):* Adolescents are often described in terms of the friends they have, the company they keep, and the values they hold. In the social self, adolescents' perceptions of their interpersonal relationships, their moral attitudes, and their vocational and educational goals are measured. The OSIQ scales constituting this area of self are:

SS-1. *Social Relationships.* This scale assesses object relationships and friendship patterns.

Example 1. Being together with other people gives me a good feeling. (+)

Example 2. I prefer being alone (to being with other kids my own age). (-)

A low standard score shows that the teenager has not developed good object relations, and feels lonely and isolated. A high standard score shows a well-developed capacity for empathy with others.

SS-2. *Morals.* This scale measures the extent to which the conscience or superego has developed.

Example 1. I would not hurt someone just for the "heck of it." (+)

Example 2. Telling the truth means nothing to me. (-)

A low standard score demonstrates a poorly developed superego. A high standard score demonstrates a well-developed sense of duty, responsibility, and concern for others.

SS-3. *Vocational-Educational Goals.* One of the specific tasks of the adolescent is learning and planning for a vocational future. This scale measures how well the teenager is faring in accomplishing this task.

Example 1. A job well done gives me pleasure. (+)

Example 2. Only stupid people work. (-)

A low standard score represents a failure on the part of the teenager to work well within the school system and to make reasonable plans for the future. A high standard score indicates an adolescent who works effectively within the educational system and who makes reasonable plans for the future.

*Sexual Self (SxS)*: This aspect of the self concerns an area of functioning that is of vital concern in adolescence: the integration of emerging sexual drives into the psychosocial life of the teenager. With respect to this area, we simply ask adolescent boys and girls how they feel about their sexual experiences and behavior. The following scale is used:

SxS. *Sexual Attitudes*. This scale concerns itself with the adolescent's feelings, attitudes, and behavior towards the opposite sex.

Example 1. Sexual experiences give me pleasure. (+)

Example 2. The opposite sex finds me a bore. (-)

A low standard score means a relatively conservative attitude towards sexuality. A high standard score means relative openness to sexuality.

*Familial Self (FS)*: The feelings and attitudes teenagers have toward their families are crucial for their overall psychological health. Put another way, barring extreme circumstances, the family will contribute more to the positive development of adolescents than will any other psychosocial variable. We use this scale to measure adolescent's attitudes toward their family milieu:

FS. *Family Relationships*. This scale is concerned with how the adolescent feels about his parents and the kind of relationships he has with his father and mother. It measures the emotional atmosphere in the home.

Example 1. I can count on my parents most of the time. (+)

Example 2. I try to stay away from home most of the time. (-)

A low standard score implies that the teenager does not get along well with his parents, and indicates that there are major communication gaps between the adolescent and his parents. A high standard score implies that the adolescent communicates openly with his parents.

*Coping Self (CS)*. Coping or adaptation focuses on the strengths that an individual possesses. The scales constituting this aspect of the self measure the psychiatric symptoms the adolescent states he has, if any; they also allow the adolescent to describe how he copes with his world. These scales are:

CS-1. *Mastery of the External World*. This scale demonstrates how well an adolescent adapts to the immediate environment.

Example 1. When I decide to do something, I do it. (+)

Example 2. I feel that I have no talent whatsoever. (-)

A low standard score shows an inability to visualize oneself finishing a task. A high standard score shows a well-functioning adolescent who is able to deal with frustration.

CS-2. *Psychopathology*. This scale identifies overt or severe psychopathology.

Example 1. No one can harm me just by not liking me. (+)

Example 2. I am confused most of the time. (-)

A low standard score points to severe psychopathology on a clinical level. A high standard score points to relative lack of overt symptomatology.

CS-3. *Superior Adjustment*. This scale measures how well the adolescent copes with himself, significant others, and his world. This scale could also be defined as a measure of ego strength.

Example 1. Dealing with new intellectual subjects is a challenge for me. (+)

Example 2. I am certain that I will not be able to assume responsibilities for myself in the future. (-)

A low standard score indicates that the adolescent does not deal adequately with his environment. A high standard score indicates a well-functioning coping system.

## Appendix E

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_

FATHER'S OCCUPATION \_\_\_\_\_

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION \_\_\_\_\_

## OFFER SELF-IMAGE QUESTIONNAIRE ANSWER SHEET

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1.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23.	1	2	3	4	5	6	45.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24.	1	2	3	4	5	6	46.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	1	2	3	4	5	6	25.	1	2	3	4	5	6	47.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	1	2	3	4	5	6	26.	1	2	3	4	5	6	48.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	1	2	3	4	5	6	27.	1	2	3	4	5	6	49.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	1	2	3	4	5	6	28.	1	2	3	4	5	6	50.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	1	2	3	4	5	6	29.	1	2	3	4	5	6	51.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	1	2	3	4	5	6	30.	1	2	3	4	5	6	52.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	1	2	3	4	5	6	31.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	1	2	3	4	5	6	32.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	1	2	3	4	5	6	33.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	1	2	3	4	5	6	34.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	1	2	3	4	5	6	35.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	1	2	3	4	5	6	36.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	1	2	3	4	5	6	37.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	1	2	3	4	5	6	38.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	1	2	3	4	5	6	39.	1	2	3	4	5	6	61.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	1	2	3	4	5	6	40.	1	2	3	4	5	6	62.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	1	2	3	4	5	6	41.	1	2	3	4	5	6	63.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	1	2	3	4	5	6	42.	1	2	3	4	5	6	64.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	1	2	3	4	5	6	43.	1	2	3	4	5	6	65.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	1	2	3	4	5	6	44.	1	2	3	4	5	6	PLEASE TURN ANSWER SHEET OVER.						

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DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

66-69 \_\_\_\_\_ 70 \_\_\_\_\_ 71-72 \_\_\_\_\_ 73 1 74 \_\_\_\_\_ 75 3 76-80 \_\_\_\_\_

## OFFER SELF-IMAGE QUESTIONNAIRE ANSWER SHEET

---

66.	1	2	3	4	5	6	88.	1	2	3	4	5	6	110.	1	2	3	4	5	6
67.	1	2	3	4	5	6	89.	1	2	3	4	5	6	111.	1	2	3	4	5	6
68.	1	2	3	4	5	6	90.	1	2	3	4	5	6	112.	1	2	3	4	5	6
69.	1	2	3	4	5	6	91.	1	2	3	4	5	6	113.	1	2	3	4	5	6
70.	1	2	3	4	5	6	92.	1	2	3	4	5	6	114.	1	2	3	4	5	6
71.	1	2	3	4	5	6	93.	1	2	3	4	5	6	115.	1	2	3	4	5	6
72.	1	2	3	4	5	6	94.	1	2	3	4	5	6	116.	1	2	3	4	5	6
73.	1	2	3	4	5	6	95.	1	2	3	4	5	6	117.	1	2	3	4	5	6
74.	1	2	3	4	5	6	96.	1	2	3	4	5	6	118.	1	2	3	4	5	6
75.	1	2	3	4	5	6	97.	1	2	3	4	5	6	119.	1	2	3	4	5	6
76.	1	2	3	4	5	6	98.	1	2	3	4	5	6	120.	1	2	3	4	5	6
77.	1	2	3	4	5	6	99.	1	2	3	4	5	6	121.	1	2	3	4	5	6
78.	1	2	3	4	5	6	100.	1	2	3	4	5	6	122.	1	2	3	4	5	6
79.	1	2	3	4	5	6	101.	1	2	3	4	5	6	123.	1	2	3	4	5	6
80.	1	2	3	4	5	6	102.	1	2	3	4	5	6	124.	1	2	3	4	5	6
81.	1	2	3	4	5	6	103.	1	2	3	4	5	6	125.	1	2	3	4	5	6
82.	1	2	3	4	5	6	104.	1	2	3	4	5	6	126.	1	2	3	4	5	6
83.	1	2	3	4	5	6	105.	1	2	3	4	5	6	127.	1	2	3	4	5	6
84.	1	2	3	4	5	6	106.	1	2	3	4	5	6	128.	1	2	3	4	5	6
85.	1	2	3	4	5	6	107.	1	2	3	4	5	6	129.	1	2	3	4	5	6
86.	1	2	3	4	5	6	108.	1	2	3	4	5	6	130.	1	2	3	4	5	6
87.	1	2	3	4	5	6	109.	1	2	3	4	5	6							

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DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

66-69 \_\_\_\_\_ 70 \_\_\_\_\_ 71-72 \_\_\_\_\_ 73 2 74 \_\_\_\_\_ 75 3 76-80 \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix F

F-Code \_\_\_\_\_

IRA Study  
 P. Spivey  
 CCNY Psychology  
 Revision II (3/83)

PARENT INTERVIEW

(\* items require separate response from husband and wife)

(# omit or modify for single-parent families)

A. Social Network -- Character and Extent

1. I'm interested in how you came to live in this area.

a) What were the main reasons you decided to live in this particular neighborhood.

___ H or W here prior to marriage	___ friends live here
___ housing costs	___ proximity to job
___ schools	___ relatives live here

b) Did the racial makeup of the neighborhood influence your decision to live here.

Yes-1 (How)

No-2 (Tell me about that)

c) How long have you lived here.

d) How has the neighborhood reacted to you as an IR family.  
 Infer from response -- accepting-1 neutral-2 not accepting-3

2. Now, I'd like to talk about your circle of friends -- the people you socialize with.

(#) a) First, what proportion of your close friends are also your spouse's friends.

	Husband	Wife
1	All	1
2	Some	2
3	A few	3
4	None	4

b) Of these friends (that you share in common), are there any among them that are members of:

a') Interracial families

Some-1      a few-2      none-3

b') Inter-faith families

Some-1      a few-2      none-3

c') Other non-traditional families or relationships

Some-1      a few-2      none-3

c) What makes your circle of friends the kinds of people you prefer to socialize with, i.e., what qualities, characteristics, or interests do you share with these friends.

d) How often are you in contact with one or more of these friends.

1-a few times a week

2-once a week

3-a few times a month

4-once a month or less

e) Are you generally satisfied with your circle of friends. (If not -- how would you like your circle to be different)

f) How long would you say you've known most of these friends.

1-one year or less

2-a few years

3-approx. 5 to 10 years

4-10 years or more

3. a)\* Are (each of) you in contact with your parents.

Husband: Yes-1      No-2      Deceased-3

Wife:      Yes-1      No-2      Deceased-3

b)\* Where do they reside.

Husband:

Wife:

c)\* As a family, how do you get along with your parents.

Husband:

Wife:

d)\* How often do you and your parents visit one another

Husband		Wife
1	Once a month or more	1
2	Several times a year	2
3	Once a year or less	3
4	No contact	4

e)\* (if they visit) Typically, who visits whom.

Husband		Wife
1	Spouse visits parents alone	1
2	Spouse visits with family	2
3	Parent(s) visit spouse only	3
4	Parent(s) visit family	4

f)\* Do you communicate with your parents by phone or in other ways. How often.

Husband.		Wife
1	Once a month or more	1
2	Few times a year	2
3	Once a year or less	3
4	No contact	4

4. a)\* Are there other relatives you are in contact with. (If "NO" for both, skip to item 5.)

Husband: Yes-1 (Who are they) No-2

Wife: Yes-1 (Who are they) No-2

b)\* Where do most of them reside.

Husband:

Wife:

c)\* As a family, how do you get along with these relatives.

Husband:

Wife:

d)\* How often do you and these relatives visit one another.

Husband		Wife
1	Once a month or more	1
2	Several times a year	2
3	Once a year or less	3
4	No contact	4

5. a)\* Now, I'd like to turn briefly to your major occupation; what kind of work do you do.

Husband:

Wife:

b)\* (If either spouse is unemployed) -- how has your unemployment generally affected family life for you.

Husband:

Wife:

c)\* (for the working and non-working spouse)

Are you (or were you) generally satisfied with your job.

Husband:      Yes-1                  No-2 (How)

Wife:            Yes-1                  No-2 (How)

d)\* Do you consider the people you work with and know to be an important part of your social life.

Husband:      Yes-1                  No-2

Wife:            Yes-1                  No-2

B. Social Orientations

Now, I'd like to talk a little bit about some of the social experiences you have had and touch on some social issues which you may feel to be important to your personal or family life.

6. a)\* While growing up, did you come in contact with people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds.

Husband:      Yes-1 (How diff.)      No-2 (Tell me more)

Wife:            Yes-1 (How diff.)      No-2 (Tell me more)

b)\* How did your parents respond to these varying social contacts.

Husband		Wife
1	Approved	1
2	Neutral	2
3	Disapproved	3
4	No contact	4

c)\* Before you met each other, had you dated cross-racially.

Husband:            Yes-1            No-2

Wife:                Yes-1            No-2

7. a) How did the two of you first meet.

b) At that time, what factors do you think made it possible for you to consider marriage to someone of a different race.

c) Were there any factors, either personal or social, which at the time you felt might stand in the way of your getting married.

d) How would you describe your motives for marriage.

8.# Have the attitudes of your family and friends towards interracial marriage changed since your marriage.

9. a) As a couple, what distinction, if any, do you make between the notion of race and the notion of ethnicity or culture. (i.e., do these two notions have different meanings for you.)

b) Along these lines, were there things that you had to work out together because of your different backgrounds.

10. In American society, people frequently emphasize the problematic aspects of interracial living either because of the history of racial antagonism in this country or because people generally believe that the differences of race or culture are too major for a family to overcome. What do you think about this kind of viewpoint.

11. What do you see as some of the advantages of interracial living.

12. a)\* Have your impressions of the black community changed since marriage.

White spouse:

Black spouse:

b)\* Have your impressions of the white community changed since marriage.

Black spouse:

White spouse:

13. a) In general, are there any political or social issues that are of particular concern to you.

b) Do you participate in any religious, civic, or political organizations which occupy a fair amount of your time and interest.

14. a)\* How would each of you describe your political outlook.

Husband		Wife
1	Liberal	1
2	Middle-of-road	2
3	Conservative	3
_____ 4	(Other)	4 _____

b)\* Briefly, how would you describe a \_\_\_\_\_ political outlook.

Husband:

Wife:

15. a)\* What is your religious affiliation.

Husband:

Wife:

b)\* (if not agnostic/atheist) -- How would you describe your participation in religious observance. Would you say that you are --

Husband		Wife
1	Very observant	1
2	Moderately observant	2
3	Rarely observant	3

c) (if either spouse is Jewish) Are you more (as) identified with the cultural or ethnic aspects of Judaism than (as) with its religious aspects, e.g., foods, holidays, language, etc.

d) (if parents differ in religious orientation) --  
What do you consider your child's religion to be.

e) How did you arrive at that decision.

### C. Childrearing & Definitions of Family Life

Now, in this final portion of the interview I'd like to talk about some of your thoughts and experiences in relation to childrearing. (Items 16 through 20 are to be directed to the one or more study-eligible adolescents in each family.)

16. Before your child(ren) was three-years old, was there anything unusual in his development -- for example did he begin walking very early or very late; any unusual health problems; any extended separations from you.

17.# (This item for single-parent or divorced/remarried only)

a) How did the child(ren) react to the separation from his father/mother.

b) Does the child have any contact with his father/mother.

c) What are his attitudes towards his original father/mother.

d) Are there any adult males/females that the child has an ongoing relationship with.

18. In general, how would you describe your child(ren) today.

19. What would you say are his/their strengths as a person.

20. a) Do you have any concerns about him/them.

b) When first noticed.

c) How concern is handled.

21. Being a parent in these times is an especially demanding task --

a) How do you manage to balance the demands of family life with your commitments and responsibilities outside of the family, e.g., job, pursuing personal interests.

b) In a related way, growing up in today's world is also a demanding task because children these days are faced with a variety, and sometimes contradictory values regarding education, work, and maintaining social relationships. What do you see as your role in preparing your child to deal with some of these issues.



25. a) What do you consider your child(ren's) racial identity to be. (If necessary, supply examples of social labels, e.g., IR, mixed, black. Use label chosen by parent in the following items were possible).

b) Do you have any concerns about his/their identity as an "IR" person.

c) What advantages do you think "IR" children have.

26. a) There are some popular ideas about "IR" children which suggest that they have a more difficult time of social adjustment than do single-race white or black children.

Based on your own experience, what do you think.

b) Do you think the task of social adjustment is different in any way.

27. Overall, how imporant do you think it is for an "IR" child to be exposed to both the black and white cultures.

1-Very important

2-Moderately important

3-Fairly important

4-Not at all important

28. Is there any particular way you've encouraged your child(ren) to appreciate his/their black and white heritage. (e.g., foods, discussions, books, etc.)

29. On the other hand, is there any particular way you've encouraged your child(ren) to be aware of the negative and stereotyped social images that exist about black peoples and certain white peoples. (e.g., from personal experience, TV, etc.)

30. What role do you think family experience plays in preparing an "IR" child for adulthood.

31. Do you have any particular hopes or expectations for your child(ren).

32. If there are any values that you especially want to pass along to your child(ren), what would those values be.

--- Conclude with Parent Comments or Questions ---

(FACES II)



Appendix G

F-Code: \_\_\_\_\_

Confidential

FAMILY INFORMATION FORM

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Parent's Names \_\_\_\_\_

Place of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Child's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Child's Birthdate \_\_\_\_\_

Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Grade \_\_\_\_\_

Other Persons in Household:

Name	Relationship to Parents	Age	Sex
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Birthplace: Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Parents' Age: Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Educational Level: Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Years of Marriage: \_\_\_\_\_; Previous Marriage? Father \_\_\_\_\_  
 ("yes" or "no") Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Number of Years in New York City Area: \_\_\_\_\_

Race/Ethnic Background:

Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother \_\_\_\_\_  
 Father's Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's Father \_\_\_\_\_  
 Father's Mother \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Religious Affiliation:

Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother \_\_\_\_\_  
 Father's Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's Father \_\_\_\_\_  
 Father's Mother \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Major Occupation:

Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother \_\_\_\_\_  
 Father's Father \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's Father \_\_\_\_\_  
 Father's Mother \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

## Appendix H

Scoring Procedures and Criteria for  
Parent Interview ScheduleData Domains

- A. Race/Culture: parental attitudes towards, awareness of and understanding of general concepts of differences within and between races and cultures.
- B. Social Orientation: parental attitudes and activities with regard to crossracial contact and childrearing practices.
- C. Concept of Racial Identity: how parent views child's racial identity.

Scoring Procedures

All items and sub-items relevant to data domains A, B, C are scored as follows:

- 1 for a positive response
- 1 for a negative response
- 0 for a neutral or absent response

For each Parent Interview Schedule (reflecting the input of either two parents or one parent) each of the three data domains is totaled to arrive at a positive or negative numeric total score for each domain. Higher scores indicate better adjustment and lower scores, poorer adjustment. Each item tallied has been assigned equal weight.

The principal investigator has accomplished the scoring for all protocols. To enhance the reliability of this procedure, a clinical psychology student, who is a doctoral candidate and has thoroughly familiarized herself with the scoring criteria, has reviewed the item scoring on a random basis. When discrepancies arose in the scoring of a particular item, that item was reviewed by both raters and a score

was arrived at that was satisfactory to both.

### Scoring Criteria

#### Positive

A response which is scored (1) "positive" would indicate predominantly balanced and positive attitudes towards self or others on a given issue; it also indicates adequate levels of awareness, understanding, experience, or (where appropriate) activities on the part of the parent(s). The response content may cover several aspects of a topic, e.g., the pros and cons, but the overriding characteristic of the response is that it typically exhibits a mature, non-stereotypic, and balanced assessment of the issues. Clinically, such "well-rounded" attitudes and levels of social awareness are believed to be important to the healthy psychosocial development of the interracial adolescent.

#### Negative

A response which is scored (-1) "negative" would indicate predominantly negative or distorted attitudes towards self or others on a given issue; it also indicates the absence of adequate levels of social awareness, understanding, or activities. The response content may appear extreme with the presence of negative material, or it may contain racial or other stereotypy, or there is a poverty of content in subject areas deemed important for adolescent development. Clinically, such negative or absent responses are believed to be detrimental to the psychosocial development of the interracial adolescent.

#### Zero

A "zero" or no score can indicate two things. First, that there is a poverty of content in the response, e.g., "maybe" without amplification. Second, a zero score can indicate the absence of attitudes,

awareness, experience, or activity which is clinically determined to be of less immediate and crucial importance to the development of the interracial adolescent. This score addresses more the manner of response, or lack of it, and not the item content per se. In this way, the protocol is not unreasonably penalized with negative (-1) item scores for responses deemed to be less relevant for parenting.

#### Sample Item Scoring

Item: "Do you have any friends that are interracial, black, or white."

A 'no' response for "any interracial friends" is scored zero. This is because having interracial friends is more or less probable given their relatively small numbers in the general population. However, if the parent responded by saying that he or she had only black friends or only white friends, either of these responses would be scored a -1. In contrast, a score of +1 would be assigned if the parents indicated that they had both black and white friends.

#### Protocol Item Assignments:

Domain A: items 7(abc); 9(ab); 10; 11; 12(ab); 25(abc); 26(ab); 27.

Domain B: items 1(b); 2(bf); 3(ac); 4(ac); 22(ab); 23(abc); 27; 28; 29; 30.

Domain C: items (24b); 25(abc); 26(ab).

## Appendix I

I-Code \_\_\_\_\_

IRA Study  
 P. Spivey  
 CCNY Psychology  
 Revision II (3/83)

ADOLESCENT INTERVIEWA. Family

1. What kinds of activities do you enjoy participating in with members of your family. Tell me 3 things you especially enjoy doing with them.

Activity (with whom)

(a)

(b)

(c)

2. How often do you do these things together.

(a) 1-few times/wk    2-once a wk    3-few times/mo.    4-once/mo. or less

(b) 1-                    2-                    3-                    4-

(c) 1-                    2-                    3-                    4-

(d) 1-                    2-                    3-                    4-

3. a) Are there any activities you haven't mentioned that you would like to do more of with your family. (with justification)

b) Are there any activities that you would like to do less of with your family. (with justification)

4. Now, I'm interested in some of the things that you have learned from your (mother/father or) parents that you think are important to you. What do you think you have learned from your (mother/father) parents about:

a) getting along with other people.

b) racial or cultural differences among people.

c) getting ahead in the world.

5. a) In the past, have discussions about race come up in your family, e.g., black culture, racial discrimination, IR families.

Yes-1      No-2

b) Can you tell me about one thing that you remember discussing with them. (who-what-when)

c) What did you think of this discussion.

d) Would you say that you are usually comfortable discussing these issues with members of your family.

(FACES II)

B. Similarities

6. Now, we're going to do something a little different.

a) "In what way are a wheel and a ball alike?

How are they the same?"

(Score 0 or 1, but do not include in total score)

b) apple - banana      0 - 1 - 2

(assist on this item only if 0 or 1 pt. response)

c) beer - wine      0 - 1 - 2

d) cat - mouse      0 - 1 - 2

e) elbow - knee      0 - 1 - 2

f) telephone - radio      0 - 1 - 2

(Score according to WISC-R criteria; Max. score is 10)

C. RaceConstancy

Response to items 7 a-b-c require justification

7. a) Now, can a person who is totally white turn into a black person.

Yes-1            No-2            Maybe-3            Not sure-4

b) Can a person who is totally black turn into a white person.

Yes-1            No-2            Maybe-3            Not sure-4

c) Can a person be white and black at the same time.

Yes-1            No-2            Maybe-3            Not sure-4

Awareness

8. a) In the whole United States are there more black people or more white people.

More black-1            More white-2            Not sure-3

b) In Harlem, are there more black people living there or more white people living there.

More black-1            More white-2            Not sure-3

c) In your immediate family, are there more black people or more white people. (all responses require justification)

More black-1            More white-2            Not sure-3            (Other)-4

9. What are some of the ways, besides skin color, that black people and white people are different. Name some ways.

10. What are some of the ways in which black people and white people are the same.

11. Are you aware of any negative or stereotyped images that exist about:

a) white people (with examples)

Yes-1                      No-2                      Not sure-3

b) black people

Yes-1                      No-2                      Not sure-3

c) negative images about people that have nothing to do with race or skin color.

Yes-1                      No-2                      Not sure-3

#### Comprehension

12. a) Do you think that any of these negative images are true most of the time. (with justification)

Yes-1                      No-2                      Not sure-3

b) What, if anything, is wrong with all of the negative images that you mentioned.

13. a) Do you think there is a difference between the idea of a person's race and the idea of a person's ethnicity or cultural background. (e.g., black person's race and culture)

Yes-1                      No-2                      Not sure-3

b) How are these two ideas different.

c) Can you think of some other examples where we might distinguish between a person's race and a person's culture.

d) In your opinion, which of the two -- race or culture -- is most important in understanding how people are different from one another. (with justification)

Race-1

Culture-2

Both-3

Not sure-4

Attitudes and Feelings

14. Now, that we have talked about race, culture, and things about other people, I'm interested in how you view your own experiences:

a) What do you consider your racial identity to be. (e.g., IR, mixed, black, etc.) -- use child's label where possible.

b) What does it mean to be an "IR" person.

c) What are the advantages of being an "IR" person.

d) What are the disadvantages of being an "IR" person.

15. a) What are the advantages of participating generally in the white community.

b) What are the advantages of participating in the black community.

c) Are there any special advantages to being able to freely participate in both (black and white) communities.

16. In which of the following social settings do you feel most comfortable: Where the people are -- (w/justification)

Mostly white-1

Mostly non-white-2

Mixed-3

Not sure-4

17. Is there any kind of social setting, racial or otherwise, that makes you feel uncomfortable.

D. Peers - Mentor/Models - Adult Aspirations

18. Now, I'd like to learn a little bit about your experiences with friends and the kinds of qualities that you admire in people.

a) What do you like about your friends; what is it that makes them fun to be with.

b) Do your friends tend to think and act alike or do they tend to behave as individuals when you are together with them.

c) When you and a friend have a disagreement about something, how do you usually settle it. (ask for example)

19. a) How many of your friends know that you come from an IR family.

Most-1            Some-2            A few-3            None-4

b) How do they know this.

c) What do most of them think about that fact.

d) Are any of your friends also IR.

Some-1            A few-2            None-3

20. a) Generally, do most of the people you come in contact with (school-mates, teachers, other adults) consider you black, IR, or something else.

b) How do you feel about that.

I'm going to conclude this portion of the interview by asking you a few questions about people you admire and the people who have influenced you most.

21. a) Generally, what kinds of qualities or characteristics do you tend to admire in people, i.e., what personal qualities do you respect or value in other people.

b) What characteristics do you tend to dislike in other people.

c) This may be a difficult question, but I'd like you to give it some thought -- If you were ever faced with a conflict between duty to a principle and duty to a person or relationship which duty do you think you would follow. (with justification; if concept unclear, provide child with following example -- child's best friend is seen cheating on an exam; child, on the other hand has been authorized by teacher to report all cheating while she is out of the room. After child responds to this, then ask child to provide his/her own example).

22. a) Do you have any favorite heroes that you admire -- they can be real people or fictional characters.

b) What do you admire about them.

23. Now, I'd like to know what person, persons, or events have most influenced your attitudes in 3 areas of your life. Take your time and give it some thought. (Who/what and how) What or whom do you feel has had the greatest influence on

a) your belief in yourself; your own self-respect.

b) your attitudes about living and working together with people of different races and cultural backgrounds.

c) your plans for the future.

24. a) Is there any kind of work that you might especially like to do as an adult.

b) What makes that something you might like to do.

25. a) Do you think you'd like to have a family of your own someday.

(with justification)

Yes-1

No-2

Maybe-3

Not sure-4

b) If you did, what would that family be like.

-- Conclude with participant comments and questions --

(OSIQ)

E. Clinical Impressions

Ease of establishing rapport with the investigator.

good-1            fair-2            poor-3

Ease of self-expression.

freq. discomfort-1      Occ. discomfort-2      No app. discomfort-3

Style of relating.

outgoing-1                    approp. cautious-2      pensive-3

Overall level of guardedness

high-1      moderate-2      low-3

Primary affective tone

interest-1      anxiety-2      elation-3      depression-4

Projected sense of self-esteem (inferred)

high-1      satisfactory-2      low-3

Additional Comments:

Appendix J  
Scoring Procedures and Criteria for  
Adolescent Interview Schedule

Data Domains

A. Race/Culture: child's attitudes toward and awareness of and understanding of concepts of race and culture. This domain taps the child's comprehension of these two categories in very general terms.

B. Social Orientation: consists of assessing the child's attitudes, experiences, and activities inside and outside the family unit with reference to a) crossracial/crosscultural contact and participation, and b) the child's attitudes toward participation in the society-at-large.

C. Racial Self-Concept: child's experiences, attitudes toward and understanding of his social self as an interracial person, a black person or both.

Scoring Procedures

All items and sub-items relevant to data domains A, B, C are scored as follows:

- 1 for a positive response
- 1 for a negative response
- Ø for a neutral or absent response

For each Adolescent Interview Schedule (reflecting the input of one child) each of the three data domains is totaled to arrive at a positive or negative numeric total score for each domain. Higher scores indicate better adjustment and lower scores, poorer adjustment. Each tallied item has been assigned equal weight.

The principal investigator has accomplished the scoring for all protocols. To enhance the reliability of this procedure, a clinical

psychology student who is a doctoral candidate and has thoroughly familiarized herself with the scoring criteria, has reviewed the item scoring on a random case basis. When discrepancies arose in the scoring of a particular item, that item was reviewed by both raters and a satisfactory score was determined.

### Scoring Criteria

#### Positive

A response which is scored (1) "positive" would indicate predominantly balanced attitudes towards self or others on a given issue; it also indicates adequate levels of awareness, understanding, experience, or (where appropriate) activities on the child's part. The response content may cover several aspects of a topic, e.g., the pros and cons, but the overriding characteristic of the response is that it typically exhibits a mature, non-stereotypic and balanced assessment of the issues. Clinically, such "well-rounded" attitudes and levels of social awareness are believed to be important in the interracial child's psychosocial development.

#### Negative

A response which is scored (-1) "negative" would indicate predominantly negative or distorted attitudes towards self or others on a given issue; it also indicates the absence of adequate levels of social awareness, understanding or activities. The response content may appear extreme with the presence of negative material, or it may contain racial or other stereotypy, or there is a poverty of content in subject areas believed to be important to adolescent development. Clinically, such negative or absent responses are believed to be detrimental to the psychosocial development of the interracial child.

### Zero

A "zero" or no score can indicate two things. First, that there is a poverty of content in the response, e.g., "I don't know too much about that." Second, a zero score can indicate the absence of attitudes, awareness or activities which are clinically determined to be of less immediate and crucial importance to the interracial child's development. This score addresses more the manner of response or lack of it, and not the item content per se. In this way, the child's protocol is not unreasonably penalized with negative item scores for responses deemed to be less relevant to his development and social adjustment.

### Sample Item Scoring

Item: "Are any of your friends also interracial or black or white?"

A 'no' response for "interracial friends" is scored zero. This is because having interracial friends is more or less probable given their relatively small number in the general population. However, if the child responded to this item by saying he had only black friends or only white friends, this would be scored -1. This is because in the child's social circle, he has indicated an inclusion of one racial group to the exclusion of another. A score of +1 would be assigned if the child responded that he had both black and white friends.

### Protocol Item Assignments

Domain A: items 5(abcd); 8(abc); 9; 10; 11(abc); 12(ab); 13(abcd).

Domain B: items 4(abc); 5(abcd); 12 (ab); 13 (d); 16; 17; 19(abd); 24(ab); 25(ab).

Domain C: items 8(c); 12(ab); 13(d); 14(abcd); 15(abc); 19(abd); 20(ab); 22(ab).

## Appendix K

Physical Description1. Skin Color

- |                       |                 |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1-white               | 4-light brown   |
| 2-"peaches and cream" | 5-medium brown  |
| 3-olive toned         | 6-dark brown    |
|                       | 7-(other) _____ |

2. Hair Texture

- |               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| 1-tight curls | 4-frizzy   |
| 2-large curls | 5-straight |
| 3-wavy        |            |

3. Hair Color

- |              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1-black      | 4-light brown |
| 2-dark brown | 5-blondish    |
| 3-brown      | 6-reddish     |

4. Eye Color

- |               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 1-brown       | 3-hazel/green/gray |
| 2-light brown | 4-blue             |

5. Nose

- 1-angular/thin
- 2-broad/flat
- 3-"average"

6. Lips

- 1-thin
- 2-large
- 3-"average"

7. Body Type

- 1-stocky
- 2-slim/lanky
- 3-muscular

"First Impression" Categorical Description

1-dark-skinned black

2-light-skinned black

3-dark-skinned white

a-Latin type (Hispanic looking)

b-Mediterranean type (Greek, Italian)

c-Asian type (Arab, Oriental, Indian)

d-Oceanic type (Polynesian, Hawaiian)

4-Northern European type (fair/blond white)

Appendix L  
Scoring Criteria and Procedures for  
Skin Color and Physical Characteristics

The total N=20 boys and girls were evaluated for categorical inclusion at the time of the interview. This determination was made solely by the principal investigator.

A "first impression" judgment was made initially, followed by a check list evaluation on a feature by feature basis. This check list provided a mosaic of characteristics for each child in the event questions arose about the "first impression" determination.

We were not seeking an exacting system of classification in establishing these criteria; we believe that there is as much physical variability and difference within racial and ethnic groups as between them. Rather, we were attempting to describe the physical characteristics of these children for the purposes of addressing current beliefs and theory regarding the importance of skin color and racial features on the social adjustment of interracial children.

The following ranking system has been used:

1. looks like a black person
2. looks like he could be a black person or a member of some other dark-skinned group.
3. looks like a white person.

Procedure

The participant child is ranked 1 if on "first impression" he definitely looks black to the investigator. Ranking 1 may be overlapped with Ranking 2, but is mutually exclusive of Ranking 3.

Ranking 2 indicates that the child could be black or could be a member of a dark-skinned group that is socially defined as white or other, e.g., Hispanic, southern European, Asian. In other words, a child ranked in this group, because of skin color and other features, looks "as if" he could belong to one or more groups that are not socially defined as black.

Ranking 3 was introduced to complete the spectrum of possible skin color, physical features, and "first impression" appearances. A child in this category would, at first glance, appear as someone who originates from the socially defined group - white. In theory, there could be overlapping with this rank and rank 2 while maintaining mutually exclusive relations with ranking 1.

The results of our classification reveal that all 20 children fall into rankings 1 and 2; none, however, is ranked in Group 3.

## Appendix M

Parent Interview Introduction

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the many different ways in which interracial children and their families think about, and take part in, their social environment.

In order to accomplish this, I will ask you to think about a variety of topics, both as individuals, as partners, and as parents.\* This interview will be organized into three general areas: first, we'll be talking about your experiences with friends, relatives and the community-at-large; next, we'll discuss your attitudes and opinions regarding various social experiences and social issues; finally, we will touch on some aspects of your philosophy of childrearing. In the course of this interview, I also will ask you to complete two short questionnaires.

There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to my questions because I am only interested in your thoughts, experiences, and opinions about these topics.

Finally, the information that you share with me for this study is considered privileged and I will treat it in that manner. You, of course, are not bound by confidentiality and are free to discuss this study with whomever you wish.

Because there is a fair amount of material that I would like to cover with you, for the sake of time I would like (each of) you to try to limit your responses to two or three sentences; if I need additional information on a particular item, I will ask you for further clarification.

\* modify for single parents.

Adolescent Interview Introduction

I am doing a study of young adults who come from families in which one parent is black and the other parent is white. The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the many different ways in which interracial children and the families think about, and take part in, their general social environment.

In order to accomplish this, I will be asking you to think about a variety of topics. The interview will be arranged into three general areas: we'll be talking about your immediate family first, then we'll discuss some of your opinions and experiences about race and racial differences; and finally, we'll talk a little about your experiences with friends and other important people in your life. I will also ask you to complete two fairly short questionnaires.

Overall, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers to my questions. I am only interested in your own thoughts, your own experiences, and your own opinions about these topics.

Finally, the information that you share with me for this study is confidential -- I will not share it with anybody that you know, and the study results will be reported anonymously. You, of course, are free to discuss this study with whomever you wish.

Appendix N  
**THE CITY COLLEGE**  
 OF  
 THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK  
 NEW YORK, N.Y. 10031

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CENTER  
 DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

(212) 690-6602, 3, 4

PARTICIPANT AGREEMENT AND CONSENT

A Psychosocial Study of Black/White  
 Interracial Adolescents and their Families

Principal Investigator: Philip Spivey  
 The CCNY Department of Psychology

We are engaged in a study of how interracial adolescents and their families view themselves and their social environment. The parents who participate in this study will be asked to discuss aspects of their lifestyle and experiences as a family with the investigator and complete two short questionnaires. The children who participate, aged 13 - 19, will be asked to complete two questionnaires and discuss aspects of these questionnaires with the investigator.

The identity of all participants in this study will remain confidential.

I, \_\_\_\_\_, agree to volunteer as a participant  
 (Parent's Name)  
 in the study described above; I understand that, upon my request, a summary of the study results will be made available to me. I have discussed the purpose of this study with my child(ren) and he/she has agreed to participate with my approval. I also understand that the results of the study may be published and that the identity of the participants will be anonymous; only aggregate data are reported.

(Parent) Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

cc: Family

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