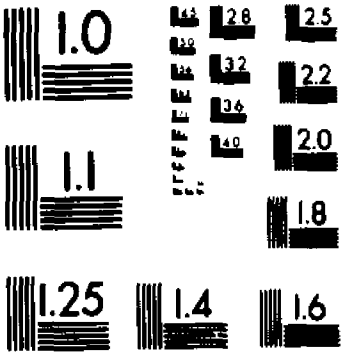

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RACIAL SELF-CONCEPT, GLOBAL SELF-CONCEPT, AND ANXIETY IN LATENCY AGE BLACK FEMALE CHILDREN

by

MELANIE CALLENDER

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

1986

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

Dec 14, 1995
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ABSTRACT

RACIAL SELF-CONCEPT, GLOBAL SELF-CONCEPT
AND ANXIETY IN LATENCY AGE BLACK FEMALE CHILDREN

by

MELANIE CALLENDER

Advisor: Professor Vera S. Paster, Ph.D.

Three hypotheses were tested to determine the relationship between global self-concept, racial self-concept, and anxiety. The sample consisted of thirty-nine black girls ages eight through ten from two urban public schools. Six factors which comprise global self-concept and three factors which comprise racial self-concept were also examined.

Although global self-concept was not significantly correlated with overall racial self-concept, specific aspects of both were significantly correlated. An inverse correlation was found between anxiety and global self-concept. No relationship was found to exist between racial self-concept and anxiety.

These results appear to indicate that the child's view of herself as a black person is influenced, but not totally determined, by her overall feelings about herself. As has been reported in other studies, anxiety is inversely related to how one feels about oneself overall.

The finding that the majority of these children had both positive global and positive racial self-concepts, and average levels of anxiety are inconsistent with that body of research which postulates a negative sense of racial self, self-dislike, and high anxiety, among black persons.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the tireless assistance of Dr. Vera S. Paster, my chairperson, and wish to thank her for her dedication, energy, and support. As mentor and friend she is always a source of inspiration. It is a pleasure and a privilege to know and work with her.

I wish to thank Dr. Arietta Slade for her assistance and thoughtful suggestions. Thanks are due as well to Dr. Anderson J. Franklin for the support assistance, and encouragement he has rendered both in this endeavor and over the past four years. They are truly the 'cream' of the crop'.

I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Laura Hines whose role, though less constant, was as important and as valued as all the others. There is no better way to discuss a dissertation than around the dining room table, in a warm house, on a cold winter day.

Special thanks to Dr. Guiseppe Costantino whose role in this study began at its inception and who has never ceased to be of assistance. His guidance has greatly facilitated this process.

All my love and thanks to Ed for his unending love, support, humor, and understanding - and for his many trips to the typist and the computer room. He has helped me to find time to enjoy life, to establish priorities - and to laugh.

Love and thanks to my family who never doubted my success, encouraged me, supported me, and loved me.

Thanks to Mrs. Deborah Heard who painstakingly typed and retyped this dissertation, to Ms. Saundra Hendricks who was a source of strength, and to the many professors, colleagues and friends who have helped me in various and often intangible ways.

Thanks to the teachers and guidance counselors, and most of all to the children with whom I worked. Each child was special and working with them was the most enjoyable part of the process.

In memory of Stanton and Hibert, both of whom continue to live in my thoughts, and who as special influences in my life, were sources of motivation.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The objective of this study was to gain a greater understanding about the self-concept of the black female child. Specifically, we were interested in examining how she evaluates herself in an overall, comprehensive sense and in her cognitions and evaluations of herself as a black person. That is, we examined the global self-concept and the racial self-concept of the child.

Self-concept formation is an integral aspect of an individual's psychological development, and the self-concept is studied as a means of understanding the behavior of an individual. From the perspective of the interpersonal theory of development, we are a product of our interpersonal experiences. During childhood, interaction with significant others plays an important role in the self-evaluative process. Repeatedly placed in the role of one who is evaluated, the child seeks approval. (Piaget, 1967). When positive evaluation is not forthcoming from the significant others, the child responds in a variety of behavioral and affective ways; anxiety may be one such response. Anxiety has been defined in many terms. For example, it has been defined as the sequence of cognitive, emotional and behavioral reactions which occur in response to stress. Anxiety is defined here as a feeling that results from one's cognitive appraisal that threat or danger to one's interpersonal security is present or implied.

As a result of the devaluation of blackness, the child is likely to encounter situations of rejection or isolation. At such times if the child desires or seeks support, friendliness or nurturance and does not receive it, his or her interpersonal security will be threatened. The manner of response evoked in this situation is a function of the child's past experiences, the evaluations of the self which were already developed, and the cognitive appraisal of the current situation. Therefore, the experience of anxiety may be seen as a response to an evaluation of a situation in an interpersonal context.

In this study, racial self-concept was treated as a separate entity distinct from global self-concept, based upon our belief that the two types of self-concept can be disparate. Sarason (1960) posits that since childrens' self-concept is less differentiated than adults', their racial self-concept is most likely not well developed. It was our contention that although the child's racial self-concept is not fully developed at an early age, children become aware of the devalued status ascribed to black persons. We will see in the review of the literature that children as young as two years of age have developed an awareness of color and race and have begun to form attitudes about it. Certainly by the time children have reached the age of children who are in this study, i.e., age eight, the development of a sense of self as a black person has ensued.

Theoretical Framework for this Study

The theoretical framework represented in this study was the 'reflected appraisals' theory (Sullivan, 1953), which posits that we base our view of ourselves on the way we are viewed by others. This is similar to Cooley's (1902) 'looking glass self' theory which posits that self-concept formation is predicated upon our perception of what others think of us.

The evaluations that we form about ourselves and others are a synthesis of our experiences and interactions with other persons in our environment, in addition to the concomitant thoughts and feelings which are stimulated in these situations. Advocates of the self-social theory of personality (see, for example, Adler, 1927; Mead, 1934; Kelly, 1955 and Sullivan, 1953) emphasize the importance of interpersonal experiences in the process of self-definition. The self is seen as an object among objects, defined in relation to others. The importance of the impact of the interpersonal environment cannot be underestimated or ignored for its role in influencing thought, attitude, self-evaluation, and behavior. However, attention must be paid to the possibility that the child does not utilize everyone's view as a basis for self-concept formation. Different people have different degrees of importance or significance to the child.

Global self-concept is related to anxiety in that children who think well of themselves will feel less threatened by aversive situations and will therefore experience lower

levels of anxiety than those who do not think well of themselves. Racial self-concept is not similarly related to anxiety. That is, a positive racial self-concept does not function to reduce one's anxiety level. Anxiety is elicited by one's cognitive appraisal that threat is present and one's ability to cope with this situation is a function of one's sense of competence which is an aspect of global self-concept.

Anxiety is not mitigated by how one feels about oneself as a black person. One may appraise a situation to be threatening and feel competent to cope with it due to attributes of the self which are not related to one's racial self-concept.

Children who have a positive racial self-concept are likely to have been exposed to significiant others who taught them racial pride. It is likely that they were simultaneously taught that many people do not view them positively because of their race or color. If as our theory posits, we base our view of self on how others view us, then it is likely that children with positive racial self-concept have been exposed to persons who expressed positive thoughts about them in terms of their racial group membership.

We will see in the review of the literature that many researchers report higher levels of anxiety among black people than among white people. It is erroneous to assume that this is due to dislike of their race or color. A high anxiety level among black people may be due to their evaluation of many situations as threatening; their responses to these situations should also be studied prior to making any conclusions about the

effect of anxiety and its role in their lives.

Taylor (1976) opposes the 'reflected appraisals' theory on the premise that it does not acknowledge the possibility of the existence of many sources which one can use in self-evaluation. He notes that while many black children may not have traditional middle class role models, frequently they are exposed to competent, proud people who cope with adverse situations adaptively; these people serve as role models. It is those people to whom the child is most committed--in an emotional and psychological sense--who have the greatest impact on self-concept formation. This is particularly so when, as a result of the interaction with them, the child's view of self is altered or sustained. (Taylor, 1976).

We agree with this criticism of the theory but believe that rather than disavowing it one should instead expand it to account for both the child's external world of significant others and the child's internal world of cognition and affect. That is, an individual is affected by the social environment yet also has an affect upon the environment, bringing to it a range of personality characteristics, attitudes and expectations.

One could posit that the black community has an effect on a black child such that if taught to be proud of being black the child will develop positive racial self-concept. This is proposed in the theory of subcultural effects. (Porter and Washington, 1979). We agree that a child raised in such an environment is likely to feel positive about his or her color.

The issue of determining which people are the sources of the child's self-evaluation, discussed previously, is answered only partially by the subcultural effects theory. The children in this study, like many children in this country, are exposed on a daily basis to those who not only do not emphasize black pride but who have negative racial attitudes. Given that the child's concept of self is a dynamic, developing entity, which significant others will have the greatest impact on the child? Like other children, black children are influenced to varying extents, by those with whom they interact. Yet perhaps unlike most children of non-minority status, the interpersonal environment of the black child is more hazardous. This is to say that in this society the potential for threat, social isolation, or rejection in an interpersonal situation is greater for black children than for non-minority children.

Rosenberg (1973) questions whether rejecting authority figures are significant others. That is, does the child value the appraisals of those who are devaluing or rejecting. The answer may be that approval is important to the development of the child's self-concept to the extent that such approval is sought.

The Purpose of this Study

The child is repeatedly evaluated by teachers, peers, parents, and family, and this will affect her self-evaluation depending on whose evaluations are important to her.

It is possible that a child may have developed a positive global self-concept yet not have developed a positive racial self-concept. That is, a child may think well of herself as a student, musician, or female yet not as a black person because of the different treatment she received in various situations. If she believed that those who are important to her treated her in a hostile or rejecting manner because of her color, this could constitute an aversive experience of blackness. Children who are evaluated negatively may respond by feeling anxious in future evaluative situations. The anxiety stimulated by past aversive experiences in interpersonal situations are then generalized to other evaluative situations.

We will see in the review of the literature that researchers have often found that high anxiety is inversely correlated with positive global self-concept. We were interested in determining if this is so in our sample of black girls and to determine the extent of intragroup differences. We were also interested in determining whether anxiety is positively correlated with racial self-concept. We chose to study the relationship between self-concept and trait anxiety, that is, the propensity to view specific situations as potentially threatening or harmful, as a means of assessing the effects of self-concept on one's view of the world. Trait anxiety is characterological anxiety and is stable over time whereas state anxiety may be defined as transitory feelings of apprehension or worry that change in intensity over a period of time. People with high trait anxiety have been found to have more frequent

elevations of state anxiety than those who have low trait anxiety.

It is important to note that we were not postulating that the experience of anxiety is pathological or maladaptive. Rather, it was our intent to determine the relative amount of anxiety experienced by children who have positive self-concepts and those who have negative self-concepts. We may infer that the child who has consistently high levels of anxiety may have the propensity to view the world as more threatening.

Racial Self-Concept and Global Self-Concept: Personal Observation

In informal discussions with children between the ages of seven and eleven, I regularly observed their awareness of the differential evaluation made by members of the society when comparing black and white children. Many of those with whom I spoke appeared to have formed discrepant views of themselves as 'a black girl' versus 'student' or 'ballplayer'. While they spoke proudly of themselves, for instance, as students or artists, they spoke of the white children as being better than they were simply because they were white. They seemed to perceive the white children as better, prettier and even smarter than they were. While there were, certainly, other children--both black and white--who were smarter or prettier than they were, the reason implied for this superiority seemed to be the fact of their color (i.e., that they were white).

The implications of such beliefs on self-concept formation is not as clear as some would believe. To assume that

their comments were reflections of 'the wish to be white' or of 'self-hatred' fails to take into consideration the psychodynamics of the individual child or her cognitive appraisal of her social environment.

In this study the child's level of anxiety was addressed in association with the self-concept. Because of past experiences in which black children have felt unfairly treated because of their skin color, the interpersonal context exerts considerable influence on the self-concept. If one consistently interacts with others who are hostile or rejecting, one may develop a response set in which the expectation is that interactions will be unfriendly and hostile.

Of equal interest in this study was whether the child's global self-concept differs from racial self-concept, and the relationship between the self-concepts and the level of anxiety. The assumptions made were that:

1. The fact that one is black will effect the child's experiences, self-evaluations, and behaviors to the extent that the 'racial' aspect of the self becomes an important component of the self. This is to assert that, despite subcultural effects, the child has experienced exposure to interpersonal interactions in the larger world which have conveyed to the child a sense of 'differentness'.

2. Global self-concept and racial self-concept are separate entities. A child can feel good about many aspects of the self yet not feel good about his or her color or race.

However, feeling good about oneself in an overall sense will facilitate positive racial self-concept.

3. Since racial self-concept can differ in positiveness from global self-concept, the two types of self-concept can have different effects on the experience of anxiety.

The purpose of this study was to determine intragroup differences of anxiety among black children based on their generalizations about various experiences, and to determine the relationship between anxiety and racial self-concept. We were interested in examining the relationship between global self-concept and racial self-concept and in studying the effect of any disparity between the two types of self-concept on the level of anxiety experienced by the child. We studied thirty-nine latency age black girls from working class families in order to gain an understanding about the relationship between these three factors.

Terminology

In order to decrease ambiguity and, therefore, misinterpretation of the views discussed in this study, the concepts as used here have been defined as follows:

1. Global self-concept - The information or cognitions an individual has about the self. (Germain, 1978). It may also be defined as the set of evaluations regarding relatively specific aspects of self. (Wylie, 1961).

2. Racial self-concept - the way that one views the self as a black person; self-evaluations about color and group membership.

3. Anxiety - A feeling that results from one's cognitive appraisal that threat or danger to one's interpersonal security is present or implied. The sequence of cognitive, emotional and behavioral reactions which occur in response to stress. (Spielberger, 1972). In this study trait anxiety is assessed. Trait anxiety is defined as level of anxiety felt over a period of time (anxiety proneness).

4. Self - a part of the total personality; it is a system composed from life experiences (Sullivan, 1953). It is not synonymous with 'ego' which is the perceptual component of the self. Self-concept is the conceptual component of the self (Garner, 1982). Self-esteem is a term often used synonymously with self-concept. It is the evaluative aspect of the self-concept.

5. Race - denotes social category based on biologic and physiognomic characteristics (e.g., skin color). Race and color are often used as synonymous terms.

6. Race awareness - the cognizance of different visual differences between race categories and the perceptual cues one uses to assign people differentially.

7. Racial attitude - evaluative response (good, bad) based on race (Williams and Moreland, 1976).

8. Racial preference - choice of person due to perceived differences in desirability because of race. It is often measured by the child's choice of doll.

9. Racial self preference - the race one would desire to be; it is measured by assessing who the child would rather be or look like.

10. Racial self classification - racial category in which one places oneself. Social race is determined by group membership, genealogical relations, consciousness of identity and legal decree. (Thomas and Sillen, 1979)

11. Attitude - system of beliefs and feelings about an object that results in a predisposition to respond to that object on the basis of those beliefs and feelings.

CHAPTER 2

A Review of the Literature

In this chapter we shall review the research which has been done on global self-concept, racial self-concept and anxiety in children.

GLOBAL SELF-CONCEPT

Global self-concept is defined as the cognitions and evaluations that one has about onesself in an overall, comprehensive sense. As such, it is a composite of the different attributes of a person such as, for example, sense of self-worth, physical attractiveness, sense of competence, and popularity, to name a few.

While there does not exist an abundance of psychological literature specifically pertaining to the development of the black child, one popular topic among researchers, particularly prior to the 1960's, was the study of the black individual's response to living in a white-majority society. The literature from this period of time focusses not on the healthy, adaptive responses of the black person in this type of environment, but rather on the feelings of self-hatred which were believed to be an inevitable personality characteristic (see for example Kardiner & Ovesy, 1951; Lewin 1948).

The results of studies that have been done with the intent of determining the child's attitudes, cognitions and affect about skin color have been utilized as a basis for generalizing to feelings about the whole self. Thus, children who have been inferred to state preference for white over brown

or black, have been characterized as disliking themselves.

Theoretical Perspectives on the Self-Concept

Numerous theories about self-concept formation have been proposed by psychoanalytic as well as social psychological theorists. Most salient among the psychoanalytic theory of the black self-concept is the study by Kardiner & Ovesy (1951) which posited that black people feel self-hatred due to having introjected white ideals and internalizing the rage they feel. They proposed that such negative 'pathological' characteristics are the inevitable result of the stress caused by living in a society in which people in one's racial group are devalued by the majority group. They theorized that all black people can be ascribed the following traits: the conviction that they are unlovable, the diminution of affectivity and uncontrolled hostility. Their behavior will be assumed to reflect their negative self-image. Similarly, Lewin (1948) asserted that those who are not accepted by the majority group incorporate the negative attitudes and responses that the majority group directs towards them. Lewin (1948) stated that feelings of ambivalence are felt by the minority person towards others of the same minority, and are a result of having adopted the values and aspirations of the majority; this can lead to ambivalence in regard to feelings about the self. More recently researchers have reported evidence to dispute the assumption that self-hatred is an inevitable result of membership in minority group that is devalued by the larger society.

In the past, social psychological theorists proposed that as a result of repeatedly assuming an inferior role to whites during their life, blacks develop an inability to view themselves as equal to whites or to develop a positive self-image. Changes in theory are often reflective of change in social climate. This can be said to be true of the change in theory about the development of the self-concept in blacks. Not until the 1960's and the emphasis on black pride, did researchers begin to examine self-concept formation from a less negative perspective. At this time, researchers began to examine the coping mechanisms and the adaptive capabilities that were an integral part of self-concept development.

Reseachers such as Thomas & Sillen (1971) have eschewed the too simple approach that predicted pathology as a consequence of black minority status. They proposed that negative self-image or self-hatred need not be an inevitable response to devaluation, because individuals react differently to stressors and learn various means of coping. Banks and Rompf (1973) criticize traditional approaches which focus only on intergroup comparisons. These reseachers state that such research which promotes the notion of the negative self-concept among blacks fails to examine intragroup and within-subject variation. It is important, they note, to assess an individual's varied responses and methods of coping with reality. Different groups may have different means of adapting to their environments; differences may also be found among individuals within groups.

Researchers interested in understanding the self-concept have paired it with other variables to determine its correlations with personality or situational variables. Studies have been done to assess the relationship between self-concept and anxiety, birth order, father absence, family size, scholastic achievement and mother's self-concept. Studies have consistently reported a positive correlation between self-concept of the child and the parents reported level of regard for the child. Parental interest and rapport are also associated with the self-concept of the child. (see for example, Wylie 1961)

The Emergence of the Self-Concept

Self-concept formation is a gradual, continuous process, which according to our thesis, is affected by social interaction. The self-concept can be said to begin to exist once the child gains awareness of self as a separate entity and as an active agent. One cannot develop a positive or negative self-concept until a concept of 'self' has been formed. (Germain, 1978). This occurs via the process of self-object differentiation.

By nine months of age the child can distinguish between self and other. The child attains the concept of person permanence prior to the concept of object permanence. Humans, particularly the mother, captivate the child's interest and the child responds emotionally to their presence. It is in this interpersonal context that the sense of self emerges (Adams, 1967).

Innate behaviors of the infant such as clinging, sucking, and following make affective interaction between child and mother more likely. (Ainsworth, 1964; Bowlby, 1958). This interchange is the source of one's future belief in one's ability to actively effect one's environment. In fact, in the absence of maternal response to the infant's cues the child does not establish a sense of self as a causal agent. (Alper, 1982; Stern, 1977).

The self-concept develops first on the level of action. At the 'action' level the child imitates the attitudes and behaviors of the mother. Gradually, with the development of the symbolic function the self-concept develops on the level of thought. With the development of the symbolic function, the child internalizes maternal attitudes via mental representations which are incorporated into the child's own self-concept as part of the self, so that the child is able to be like the mother (Piaget, 1962). As the child's experience of self and others increases, the self-concept becomes more complex and multi-faceted.

Sullivan (1953) emphasized the centrality of the mother-child relationship in the development of the foundation of the self-concept. Nurturance, protection and affection are aspects of 'mothering' which are important for self-concept development as the child seeks attention and care from the mother (Allport, 1955).

The infant experiences anxiety when his needs are not gratified, or when he feels that the environment is ungiving or

hostile. The anxiety reaction can become a distinctive factor of the child's personality so that it is used in situations and interpersonal interactions other than those in which it was primarily evoked (Horney, 1945). In Sullivan's (1953) view, the self-system, which is a product of the child's educative experiences, develops out of the child's efforts to control anxiety. As a result of learning which actions cause displeasure in the mother, the child learns not to repeat that action.

The mother-child interaction yields unconscious concepts which affect the orientation, interests, and attitudes of the child (Gardner and Moriarity 1968). This, in addition to the effects of social experiences and an increase in the ability to understand others' viewpoints, will affect the development of the self-concept.

As the child develops cognitively, he or she gains the ability to comprehend the views and attitudes of others and to use them in forming attitudes either by accepting, altering or rejecting those of others. Growth in the ability to think in a logical manner contributes to the child's ability to notice differences between one's own views and others', and to understand their signficance.

At eight to nine years of age the child begins to become more self-reliant, and the peer group gains in importance as the social world expands. The child is now able to be self-critical while wanting and benefiting from the approval of

others. (Gesell and Ilg 1946). As the socialization process and cognitive maturation ensues, the child becomes increasingly capable of understanding others and sharing viewpoints. Decentration, that is, the ability to see a view other than one's own, affects one's awareness of race as well as one's attitude toward his own race. (Spencer, 1982) The black child becomes cognizant of the devalued status which membership in his or her race has in this society.

Researchers (Coopersmith, 1967; Sears, 1970; Samuels, 1977) have consistently reported a positive correlation between positive parental evaluation of the child and positive self-concept of the child. As posited by the reflected appraisals theory, if those who are important to us like us, we will be more prone to like ourselves.

Although researchers have in the past posited that the self-concept of the black child will be negative because of adverse family conditions, Wylie (1961) reported a lack of empirical studies that show a causal relationship between family variables and the child's self-concept. Many black children have been found to have a positive global self-concept in spite of the fact that they are poor or have an 'unstable' family life. Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) emphasized the importance of individual motivation and resourcefulness as important factors in feeling good about the self despite adverse conditions.

There is an abundance of literature on the problems existent in black families: lack of positive role model, dom-

ineering female figure, economic instability, etc. (see, for example Rainwater, 1966). There is significantly less literature on the positive characteristics of the black family, that is, on the roles which black parents play in facilitating good feelings about the self, or of the ways in which the family, which may include persons who are not 'blood' relatives, provides support and guidance for its members. Often black families attempt to imbue their children with a sense of personal worth by differentiating between the personal sense of self and the negative evaluation imposed on them by the society due to their racial group membership. (Billingsley, 1968). The role of the black family is often to give the child "a sense of self as agent, one who is loved, and who can find ways of making itself adequate and skilled, ... and thereby feel able to be worthy, loving, and giving to others". (Jenkins, 1982, p. 159).

Assessment of the Self-Concept

Researchers interested in determining self-concept in black children have used dolls, puppets, pictures and figure drawings in addition to self-concept scales to assess the child's self-evaluation. They have examined variables such as race, socioeconomic status, sex of the child, and whether the child lives in an integrated or segregated environment to determine their effect on the self-concept.

Harris and Braun (1971) tested black children ages seven and eight with the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale, and reported that the children who preferred the black puppet to a white puppet had significiantly higher self-concept scores

than the children who preferred the white doll. Ward and Braun (1972) in a study of 60 black children ages seven and eight, found a significant correlation between self esteem and racial preferences. Using the Piers-Harris Self Concept Scale and the Clark and Clark doll test they found that children with "unimpaired" self concepts were more own-group oriented than those with "impaired" self-concepts.

While some researchers (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971; Healey and DeBlassie, 1974, Dillard 1976) have found no difference in global self-concept among blacks in different socioeconomic classes, others have found higher self-esteem in lower class than middle class blacks (McDonald, 1968; Soares and Soares 1971, Trowbridge, Trowbridge and Trowbridge, 1972).

According to Porter (1971) black females -- and middle class blacks in general -- are most adversely affected by the fact that they are part of a racial minority group. Due to the emphasis placed on European norms of beauty and physical characteristics, girls attempt to reject their own ethnicity or racial identity. However, due to the increase in positive black images in the media, this may have changed.

Sullivan (1971) as well as Kardiner and Ovesy (1951) delegate to the middle class black person the greatest difficulty in accepting inferior status because this class of people aspires to white ideals moreso than the lower class while the upper class finds these ideals easily attainable. Porter found more positive personal self-esteem but less positive racial self-esteem in black middle class children than in their

peers from the working class.

Willis (1977) administered the Self Observation Scales Intermediate Level, a self-report 60-item written test, to black and white male and female children in grades four through six. SES status was defined based on teacher report. Willis reported that black children gave more negative responses than did their white SES counterparts on those items in which feelings of adequacy, feelings and behaviors pertaining to the self, perceptions about home and relationships with others were noted. In contrast to the white children the black children showed more positive responses to items regarding perception of school environment. Middle class children of both races gave more positive responses than lower class subjects on items that reflected behaviors and feelings about the self and relationships with significant others.

Carpenter and Busse (1969) reported that SES, sex, and age rather than race affects level of self-concept. They found that girls had a more negative self-concept than boys and that fifth graders had a more negative self-concept than first graders. However they found no between-race differences. However, Wylie (1971) reported studies done by Rosenberg (1965), Kaplan (1971), Hulbary (1975) and Edwards (1974) which disavow the hypothesis that there is a strong association between SES and self-regard. In actuality, positive, negative and null relationships have been reported between self-regard and SES.

The children in this study are of working class families and appeared to have high levels of aspiration. The

relationship between values, aspirations and SES is not always clear and it is questionable whether negative self-concept and, therefore, low self-expectations can be assumed to exist in low SES children. Given the high degree of exposure that most children have due to media, literature, etc. it is likely that they are aware of how others live, and the options which may exist for them.

When, inevitably, the child emerges from what may have been a safe, protective environment - the family - to experience the larger society, the child uses specific groups and people as a basis for self-judgment.

The theoretical framework presented in this study, namely, that our view of ourselves is based largely on how others view us and on the cognitive appraisal of the interpersonal situations, necessitates an understanding of who the 'others' are.

For example, Powers et al (1971) state that the self-perceptions of black children will be positive because they compare themselves with other black children who are most similar in SES and lifestyle. This concurs with Soares and Soares (1966) who reported that disadvantaged children associate with other disadvantaged children and therefore will have a positive self-image.

Researchers such as Rosenberg (1979) and Powers et al (1971) proposed that because the child usually interacts with other black people the child will be protected from feeling the bias directed toward him by whites; therefore, the child's

racial self-concept as well as global self-concept will be positive.

Armstrong and Gregor (1964) proposed that since self-image is related to group identity, black children who are "insulated" in an all-black environment will experience less psychic tension than those who are in an integrated environment. This being so, it would benefit the child's self-concept to attend a segregated school where his reference group would consist of others who are most like him.

This view neglects consideration of the fact that many black children, particularly those in integrated environments, will interact with whites whose opinion the child may value (e.g., the teacher) and such children cannot be insulated from bias that may occur with white authority figures.

RACIAL SELF-CONCEPT

Numerous studies have been done to determine the child's racial self-concept, defined as the way that one views oneself as a black person, including self-evaluations about one's color and one's inclusion in the racial group.

Identification with and awareness of race are necessary prerequisites for positive racial self-concept formation. In order to clarify the process via which this occurs we will review the stages in the development of race awareness and racial identification, then examine the differential importance of various factors which affect identification of the self as a black person, and attitudes about this fact. Societal influence and interpersonal processes are emphasized for their

role in this domain. Finally, the formation of attitudes about race and the relationship between identification, preference, attitude and one's racial self-concept are discussed.

The Emergence of Racial Self-Concept

Age, socioeconomic status, residential environment, whether the school the child attends is integrated or segregated, race, skin color -- these factors and others affect the development of race awareness, identification and level of racial self-concept in the child. Allport (1954), in a study of children in a biracial nursery school, found curiosity and interest in racial differences expressed by two-and-a-half year olds.

As cognitive development ensues, the ability to make racial classifications increases. Moreland (1958) reported an increase in recognition ability with age, with the most rapid progress occuring during the child's fourth year. In the first few years of life the child is both unconsciously and consciously socialized as to how others will interact with him because of his race or color. The research which has been done to determine the child's racial awareness, identification and preference usually focus on 'color' as indicative of such. (Wylie, 1978). Sorce (1979) argued that past studies have not adequately proven the existence of racial awareness in children who were found to identify with white and prefer white over black. In his view, racial awareness can only be considererd to exist when the child shows the ability to recognize perceptually the difference between physical features which are

racial cues, and focuses on these physical characteristics when such cues are present thereby acknowledging the significance of the features. If a child does not perceive the racial characteristics or if these characteristics are ignored because they are not considered important or relevant, no meaningful interpretation may be made about preference or self-identification. Sorce cites the study done by Gitter, Mostofsky and Satow (1971) in which they report that physiognomic features more easily influenced black children's misidentification responses than did skin color.

Sorce (1979) studied 72 middle class children ages three to five, whose mean age was 4.2 years. Thirty-five children were from a segregated environment in Wisconsin, twenty-two white and twenty black children were from an integrated neighborhood and preschool. Three racial categories assessed were skin color, hair and eye area, nose and mouth area. One sketch depicted all three categories of Negroid characteristics, another sketch showed all three characteristics of Caucasoid features and six sketches depicted interracial combinations. A non-racial feature in the sketches was color of shirt collar. Only those children who correctly perceived differences in color were used; this was assessed via a discrimination task and a free classification task.

Sorce found that although the children were able to perceive skin color differences when asked to sort racial stimuli in ways meaningful to them, they did not use this information. Instead, they focused on hair-eye area more often

than skin color. Sorce asserted that instead of assuming that the children were identifying with whites, and from the studies reviewed in the following pages we will see that this is often the assumption, one should conclude that they were racially unaware. The forced choice procedure required them to make arbitrary choices since little meaningful information was available.

Therefore, it appears that for increased accuracy in determining the presence of race awareness when utilizing the method of showing pictures to children, the researcher should provide pictures in which the features of the figures are racially distinctive both in terms of color and physiognomic features.

It is possible that different characteristics are focused on by the child during the different stages of cognitive development. Researchers such as Allport (1961), Porter (1971), Goodman (1952), and Wylie (1978), have proposed stages in the development of race awareness and racial attitude. Their views differ primarily in terms of the precise age at which the different stages occur. They agree, however, on the overall process.

Wylie (1978) proposed four steps in the child's development of racial identity; here we also see her conception of development of racial awareness:

1 - the development of an awareness of race

2 - the development of awareness of inclusion in a racial group

3 - the development of an evaluative view towards one's own racial group and that of others.

4 - the development of positive or negative self-concept based on attitudes about one's own racial status.

As the child attains a clear awareness of color he or she concomitantly forms attitudes about the self which may be predominantly positive or negative. Attitudes about race and color are implicitly and explicitly communicated to the child by family members, teachers and peers. These attitudes are internalized before a clear awareness or ability to correctly differentiate between groups exists. One's color has an impact on self-perception and, ultimately, one's self-concept, if color is an important attribute to the child.

The Importance of Color to the Child as a Factor in Self-Appraisal

Clark (1950) found that race was the dominant factor in self-identification for 5-8 year old black children. Palmer and Masling (1969) found that black children used relatively more words to describe skin color than did the white children in that study. The children were asked to arrange a series of cards of baseball players from darkest skin color to lightest. They then were to describe the color of each player using words of their own choice (proper words or slang). The older children used more words to describe both the black and the white ball players than did the younger children, but the difference was significant only in the case of the black children's descript-

ion of the black players faces. The authors used the numbers of words the child uses to describe the other (non-related) related words to establish a baseline for each child. They proposed that these results suggest the importance of color to the black child. Wylie (1978) however, stated that these results are not interpretable because IQ and verbal facility were not controlled.

When studying the importance of color in influencing the child's self-concept we must consider the child's place in society and the concomittant implications in terms of status, role and ascribed value in the society. Skin color may gain importance to the child in direct relation to the importance which the society in which he lives assigns importance to it.

As a result of exposure to others' attitudes about racial status and color, the child's own attitudes about this develop.

Assessment of Racial Self-Concept

In many of the studies done to assess racial self-concept the children are asked to state or show their preference for a black or white object, doll, or person.

Studies on preference in black children, even those done in similar time periods, have found varying results, as is evident from the studies reported. Spurlock (1969) found that the black children he studied, ages four through nine, exhibited race awareness and did not display negative feelings about their color. Goodman (1952), identified black children as out-group oriented because she found that they preferred

whites over those of their own color. This may reflect the society's indoctrination of minorities in the values of the majority culture. Criswell (1939) reported that black children did not show race preference until five years of age, at which time they showed significant own-race preference.

Vocke (1971) administered the Color Meaning Test I (CMTI) to ninety black children, mean age was 5.5. years. In this test the children are asked to respond to a picture story. If the story had 'good' adjectives the child was asked to choose a black or white animal. Vocke found that while they showed bias against the color black and chose white, the percentage of blacks who did so was not so high as the percentage of whites who showed own-color preference. She cites 'subcultural experience' as having had a mediating effect on the child's preference for whites.

While the Clarks (1950) found a decrease in age with black children's preference for white dolls, twenty years later, Hraba and Grant (1970) found that the majority of children at every age showed preference for the black doll. Unlike the Clarks, these researchers also found that the light skinned black children showed as great a preference for the black doll as did the darker skinned children. It is worthy of note that the children in this study were students in a predominantly white school so that despite their preference it may not have been feasible for them to have only black friends.

As a result of their findings, Hraba and Grant proposed that choice of black or white doll does not correspond

with interpersonal behavior. The belief that the two are correlated is based on the assumption that children use the same criteria to choose friends as they do to choose a doll. Furthermore, pride in being black is often interpreted as meaning total rejection of whites. This is not necessarily so. It is likely that although black children may choose a doll that is their color when in an experimental setting in which race (color) is the only differential factor between dolls, other attributes or criteria may be considered more relevant. For example, common interests, beliefs or abilities may be considered more salient than race to the child.

In an effort to assess the validity of the Clarks' conclusions that black children show negative racial self-preference Fox et al (1973) gave their test of preference and identification to black, American Chinese and white children in integrated and segregated schools. The majority of black children showed preference for and identification with their own race. The authors cited these results as indicative of a change in the attitudes and identification in children of different generations. Regardless of sex or type of school (integrated or segregated) light skinned children showed less own race preference than the medium or dark skinned children although all were found to have an equal awareness of race and race differences. The authors noted that the light skinned child's propensity toward identifying with the white child may have been caused by concrete perceptual factors, i.e. they look more similar to the white doll than to the brown doll, and the

results might, therefore, not have been caused by a devaluation of race.

Gregor and Mc Pherson (1966) also found that southern urban black children (six to seven years of age) preferred the black doll. They used the same method as the Clarks but presented only two dolls to the child.

Durrett and Davy (1970) found that while the proportion of black subjects who identified with being black had increased significantly in the past ten years, the degree of change in the area of playmate preference was minimal. They concluded that black children were still rejecting those of their own race.

Williams and Moreland (1976) posited that acceptance of negative values associated with their color will cause children who are cognizant of their color to racially misidentify. They found that the black children who said they preferred white playments, also said they themselves were white, i.e. they racially mis-identified.

According to Banks (1976) research done in the past has not convincingly shown the existence of white preference in blacks. In support of his position he noted the existence of mostly chance responding to black and white stimuli in the majority of the preference studies. While these findings could be interpreted as indicative of non-bias in children the likelihood exists that the children were not able to understand the requirements.

Banks (1976) noted that if negative racial self-concept impacts so adversely on the global self-concept then one would not see the high level of aspiration and achievement in these individuals that has been obtained.

This concurs with the observation noted earlier, namely, that one's racial self-concept need not be the same as global self-concept and that the two types of self-concept do not necessarily have an identical effect on the behavior, values and feelings of an individual. Stated in another manner, whether or not one feels negatively about one's race (color) may have little effect on one's perceived sense of ability or worth.

Banks and Rompf (1973) studied 68 black and white middle class children ages six to eight who lived in a segregated semi-urban community. The children were asked to reward either a black or a white ball thrower quantitatively by giving him candy, or, qualitatively by declaring him the winner. The black subjects showed preference for whites in the quantitative task. That is, they gave him more candy than they gave the black player. However, when asked to state the winner the same subjects showed preference for the black player. The authors proposed that were it true that global self-hate leads to preference for whites then these results would not have been obtained. They concluded therefore that researchers who have assumed the existence of self-hate when preference for white by blacks is demonstrated, have oversimplified the discriminatory processes at work in the child's behaviors. They postulated that black children may have learned from the social environ-

ment that whites are overrewarded for their actions, yet these same black children will show preference for blacks in non-material terms.

We have seen often that when the child has stated preference for the white object the researcher has concluded that the child possesses a negative racial self-concept. Rosenberg (1979) has examined this tendency and disavows it for the following reasons:

1) racial self-concept is one component of one's overall self-evaluation; as such it may not assume great importance to some children. He emphasizes that whether one introjects one's own racial group will cause differences in racial self-concept. For example, if one strongly introjects one's racial group then one will feel as though one has been harmed when another person attempts to derogate the racial group as a whole. On the other hand, if those who dislike their color and, therefore their racial group do not introject the group, they will maintain a separate and possibly high self-evaluation.

2) other attributes may be more highly valued by the child, particularly since race (color) is an ascribed attribute and not one which one attains via one's own efforts.

However, if race is an introjected factor and the child states dislike of his or her color then we would infer negative racial self-concept. If, in addition to this, however, race or color is not an important aspect in the child's self-evaluative criteria it is possible that the child may think positively of himself in an overall sense, that is, the

child will have positive global self-concept.

Other than asking children to state preference for a doll, researchers have asked them to draw pictures of themselves. They reason that the picture will be a reflection of how one sees oneself and/or how one would like to be. According to Dennis (1968) children include both the features that they consider to be most admirable and those attributes that they wish to have. Machover (1949, cited in Fish and Larr, 1972) states that figure drawings reflect the impulses, conflicts, and compensations which are characteristic of the artist. Coles (1967) asserted that limb ommissions as well as drawing the profile instead of the full face may be reflective of the depreciated, distorted self that is conveyed to black children as an aspect of their selves, by others.

Researchers have assessed the effect of an integrated or segregated environment on the child's racial self-concept. As with the preference studies, the results reported express differing views as to the impact which this aspect of the environment has on the black child. For example Porter (1971) found differences in preference between children in a segregated environment and those in a desegregated environment.

However, Fox and Jordan (1973) found no difference in own versus other group preference between black children from an integregated environment and those from a segregated environment.

Myer (1968, in Ziller, 1973) in a study of social interest and self esteem reports that black children who were bussed from a segregated (black) school to a predominantly white school in which they were rejected, maintained a higher self esteem than those children who entered a predominantly white school in which they were accepted by the teachers and students. Myer postulated that the children in the accepting environment came to use the whites as their frame of reference, whereas the black children in the non-accepting environment evaluated themselves based on the other black children.

Negative attitude towards one's color or group, and preference for the other group, may be expressed in various ways. When Clark and Clark (1950) asked children to color a picture of a child the same color as they themselves were, they found that the tendency toward rejection of own color was most often found among the dark skinned children. They emphasized that the same has occurred in all age groups.

Conflict about their color was expressed in that study via 'escape' responses in which the child drew a human figure an un-human color (e.g. purple) so as to avoid the reality of color altogether. The Clarks interpreted this to mean that the child does not want to be brown and is therefore unhappy about drawing a picture of himself as such would be to openly admit to his desire. As an alternative he draws himself purple. The Clarks reported a decrease in 'escape' responses by the age of seven.

ANXIETY

Anxiety is defined in this study as a feeling of discomfort in the individual caused by threat to the security of the self. Individuals need to feel good about themselves and to feel that they are liked and valued; the absence of this feeling may cause anxiety. We are specifically evaluating trait anxiety, that is, anxiety proneness in children over time and events.

The existence of anxiety can be inferred from an individual's self-report, from physiological changes such as increase in blood pressure, tremors or sweating, and from behaviors such as distractibility, and inability to perform optimally (Baudry and Spielberger, 1971). Cattell and Scheier (1961) reported high correlations between psychometrically measured anxiety and clinically rated anxiety, and most studies report a negative correlation between anxiety score and lie score.

A major focus of the literature on anxiety on children has been on test anxiety, a factor which we are not specifically addressing in this study. However, such literature is briefly examined here because it can be viewed as an indication of how the child responds to the experience of being evaluated. The tendency to experience test anxiety has been found to be significantly associated with the experience of anxiety in various other situations. (Gordon and Sarason, 1955).

The high test anxious individual differs from the individual who experiences little or no test anxiety in that the former is prone to search the environment for cues, is self-oriented and personalizes situations and challenges. High test anxious people are adversely affected by personal threat (Sarason 1961). Doris and Sarason (1955) reported that high test anxious people are very self-depreciative and respond to the process of evaluation by neglecting or misinterpreting informational cues in the environment, or by finding it difficult to focus on the task. We are interested in the child's tendency to experience anxiety in a variety of social-evaluative situations. Although test anxiety and general anxiety are positively correlated, as concepts they are not synonomous (Sarason, 1960).

The tendency to experience anxiety is a highly individual matter; what makes one child anxious may not necessarily evoke the same feeling in another child. Dohrenwend (1973) noted that events which cause any type of change in the individual's activities are likely to cause anxiety. Social psychologists such as Mead (1934) and Cooley (1902) asserted that behavior is determined by the meanings that individuals assign to situations, based on cultural norms and roles of the society in which they live.

The Concept of 'Trait Anxiety'

After performing factor analytic studies Cattell and Scheier (1958; 1961) identified state anxiety and trait anxiety as two distinct anxiety factors. An individual who is high in

trait anxiety (which can also be termed characterological anxiety) can be said to have acquired a behavioral disposition that makes it more likely that he or she will perceive nondangerous situations as threatening. Ego weakness, guilt proneness, suspiciousness, and tendency to embarrassment are among the variables that loaded the trait anxiety factor in Cattell and Scheier's study.

Trait anxiety is defined as the level of anxiety experienced over a period of time. Individuals with high trait anxiety are likely to have higher levels of anxiety state when in situations where they feel their self-esteem is being threatened, particularly in interpersonal situations where personal adequacy is being evaluated. Trait anxiety is a product of past experiences in which the individual viewed a situation as threatening or harmful and responded by experiencing a state of anxiety. Although we are all capable of experiencing anxiety, persons with high trait anxiety will be found to experience it more often based on their cognitive evaluation that the environment is in some way harmful. The predisposition to chronically evaluate circumstances in the environment in a negative manner originates from one's previous experiences.

As Spielberger (1972) noted, cognitive consequences of anxiety such as attitude formation, social perceptions, and judgmental processes have a greater effect on personality development than does the anxiety itself. This, in turn, affects the child's behavior in subsequent similar situations.

Researchers such as Erikson (1963) and White (1959) note that the self-concept is enhanced by one's perception that one is competent and can exert some control over one's environment. Feelings of anxiety are likely to be reduced by feelings of self-competence.

In support of this view Hill and Sarason (1966) reported that a decrease in anxiety was highly correlated with an improvement in the school performance of children. In this study the researchers tested the children in first grade and retested them in the fifth grade, administering the test anxiety scale for children and an IQ test.

Assessment of Anxiety

Picture drawings, self-report inventories, and apperception tests have been utilized in assessing anxiety in children. These three methods are believed to be expressions of the conscious and unconscious of the individual.

Fox et al (1958) reported seeing more mutilation as indicated by absent limbs, rigidity and shading (in boys only) in high anxious children. The low-anxious children drew figures which were smiling, had arm in the down position, and depicted playfulness and humor. In this study anxiety was determined by the administation of a test anxiety and a general anxiety scale. The children of average intelligence, grades one through four were matched for grade, sex and verbal and nonverbal abilities.

Self-report inventories are also useful in measuring anxiety although the usefulness of such a test is a function of

the child's awareness of experiencing anxiety as well as her willingness to convey this to the examiner. Children who are high in trait anxiety will be likely to respond affirmatively to questions which inquire as to whether they "generally" feel anxious in a variety of circumstances. In order to respond accurately the child must be capable of accurately appraising her response in such situations.

Edwards (1972) administered the Lipsitt (1958) Children's Self-Concept Scale and the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (STAIC) to black and white elementary school children. In order to desegregate the school, the black children had been transferred to a previously all-white school. Edwards reported that the black children had higher levels of trait anxiety (A-trait scores) than the white children and the girls' A-trait scores were higher than the boys'. There was an inverse relationship between A-trait scores and self-concept, which was strongest among the black males.

Pinter and Lev (1940) administered a 'worries' inventory to fifth and sixth grade boys and girls in New York City. They reported that both sexes worry most about family, school (including tests), personal and social adequacy, economic problems and health problems. Zeligs (1939) who studied sixth grade childrens' worries, reported that they worry a great deal about their progress in school, and that this concern is directly related to their worries about personal adequacy. He also found that girls reported more worries than boys, particularly about school and the safety of those to whom they

are close.

Langford (1937) developed a personality profile of children who had anxiety attacks. He found that they were all 'serious minded', and were concerned about schoolwork and about making a good impression on others. They were also seen as timid and shy. It is likely that good school performance and high school status (i.e. popularity) are important to children because the tasks of this developmental period are to gain a sense of mastery or competence in cognitive tasks and to develop socialization skills.

Angelino et al (1956) asked 1100 high and low economic status children aged nine through eighteen what children of their age worry most about. They reported a small, steady rise in expressed concern about social relations. Like Jersild and Holmes (1953), Angelino et al (1956) found that higher SES children have worries and fears as do children of lower SES. However those of higher SES have more generalized worries e.g. of fire, dying bodily injury, being kidnapped, than those of the lower SES who worry about personal appearance, being robbed, reputations, money etc. We would expect that children will worry most about those factors in their environment which matter most to them due to a threatened sense of security.

Feelings of anxiety may lead to dissatisfaction with the self and with others. Phillips et al (1960) reported that anxious subjects (seventh graders) expressed greater dissatisfaction about themselves and others than the subjects who were

not as anxious. The authors hypothesized that since this correlation was highest for the subjects with the most intelligence, bright children were more ego-invested in school activities and had higher goals and expectations than those with less intelligence. This conclusion opposes the usual hypothesis (see, for example, Mandler and Sarason, 1952).

Lipsitt (1958) reported a negative correlation between self-concept score and anxiety score in fourth, fifth and sixth graders as measured by the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale (CMAS). High anxiety has been associated with poor self-concept and low sociometric status (Coopersmith, 1952). In a study of fourth, fifth and sixth grade boys and girls, Horowitz (1962) found consistently negative correlations between anxiety and self-concept; high anxiety was associated with low self-concept and low sociometric status. The correlation was consistent between grades and sexes. However since the correlation was low, Horowitz suggests that in order to make further predictions, other variables should be added, or, those that are used should be measured more accurately. The children were given the Children's Self-Concept Scale as well as a ranking sociometric. He notes also that although American children are accustomed to using phrases such as are usually found on self-concept scales, the same is not true for the phrases on anxiety scales.

Children who are in the lower class and have minority status have been found to have higher levels of anxiety than other children in the lower class. (Phillips, 1966a; Tseng and

Thompson, 1969). From these results one could postulate that minority status, rather than socioeconomic status, is a determining factor as regards level of anxiety. Phillips et al (1969) found that lower class, black and Mexican-American children have higher anxiety scores than white children, even once the effects of defensiveness and other coping style variables were partialled out. They hypothesized that these results could be a function of the fact that the minority children's defenses were inadequate or, "primitive", as were their coping mechanisms.

Other reseachers (Feld and Lewis, 1967; Hill and Sarason, 1966; Sarason et al 1960; Palermo 1959) have also reported that minority status, i.e. being black, is characterized by a high level of anxiety. Sarason (1966) noted that a high anxiety score may be a reflection of coping tendencies rather than anxiety only, because high anxious children have been noted to act in a dependent, conforming, approval-seeking manner in order to elicit favorable response from the evaluator. Sarason also noted that for children who have high anxiety but who act hostile and aggressive (rather than dependent) the dependent behaviors may not have met with success in past situations.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Introduction

We have seen from the literature that self-concept may affect the level of anxiety experienced by the child, and that black children were found to have higher levels of anxiety than white children. High anxiety in black children has been inferred to result from a negative racial self-concept.

This study examined the relationship between global self-concept and racial self-concept, respectively, on the level of trait anxiety. The relationship between racial self-concept and global self-concept was also examined.

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

Hypothesis 1: There is a positive correlation between positive global self-concept and positive racial self-concept. Children who think well of themselves in an overall sense tend to think well of themselves as black people.

Hypothesis 2: There is a negative correlation between positive global self-concept and anxiety. Children who think well of themselves in an overall sense will have lower levels of anxiety than children who do not.

Hypothesis 3: There is not a significant relationship between racial self-concept and anxiety. Anxiety is more closely related to global self-concept than to racial self-concept.

Sample

The sample consisted of 39 black female children ages eight to eleven whose families are of the lower SES. Other demographic prerequisites for inclusion in the sample were:

-- average intelligence as measured by the Slosson Intelligence Test
-- public school attendance
-- New York City residence for at least five years

At least average intelligence is required to insure sufficient understanding of the test materials for appropriate response.

Research Instrumentation

In order to test our hypotheses, the following materials were utilized. The Slosson Intelligence Test (SIT) was used to measure the child's intelligence. The Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children (PH) was used to measure global self-concept. The Tell-Me-A-Story (TEMAS) apperception test was used as a subjective measure of anxiety. The State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (STAIC) was used to contribute an objective measure of anxiety. The Rosenberg Racial Dis-identification questionnaire was used to measure racial self-concept.

All tests were administered to the children by the author or one other doctoral-level psychology student. The tests were administered to each child individually.

The Slosson Intelligence Test (SIT)

The SIT was designed by Slosson in 1963 for use as a screening device to evaluate the general intelligence of children and adults ages two to twenty-seven. It is used in public and private schools for clinical and research purposes. Test administration is approximately twenty minutes.

The SIT is an age scale; there are graded test questions and the raw score is converted to a mental age and then to a deviation IQ. Items on the Gesell Developmental Schedules and the Stanford-Binet were used as models for many of the test items on the SIT. Items designed to measure perceptual-motor ability are included only up to the seven-year age level, after which time the SIT is mainly auditory-verbal. A greater percentage of items on the SIT test information, comprehension, and arithmetic reasoning rather than visual, motor, or memory skills.

The sample used for standardization included all English speaking intellectual, racial and SES groups in New York State. SIT scores however, have been found to be biased towards the middle class school age child (Stone, 1975). While the SIT is not as comprehensive an assessment of intellectual functioning as is the Stanford-Binet or the WISC-R, it is better than other group tests of intelligence and other brief tests because of its relatively greater task variety. (Stewart and Jones, 1976).

McRae (1968, in Hamill, 1968) reported a correlation coefficient of .74 between the WPPSI and the SIT. Soft (1968,

also in Hamill) reports a coefficient of .94 between the SIT and the WISC. Stewart and Myers (1974) report that the WISC-SIT relation is somewhat more stable over a long period of time than the SIT-Stanford-Binet relationship.

The SIT is more closely correlated with the Wechsler Verbal subtest scores, than with its Performance subtest scores. In most studies, an equal degree of relation was found to exist between the WISC Full Scale score and the SIT score. (Stewart and Jones, 1976).

The Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale is the standard against which the SIT was devised, and scores on the SIT have been found to correlate highly with Stanford-Binet scores. When the Stanford-Binet was renormed in 1972, Slosson Educational Publications, Inc. and Armstrong and Jensen (1972) developed deviation IQ norms. Deviation IQ's are presently used instead of ratio IQ's, as they correspond more closely to the normative data for the Stanford-Binet.

All of the studies reviewed supported the use of the SIT as a screening device, to make hypotheses, and to define broad categories of intelligence, e.g. average, below average. It is in this manner that the SIT is utilized in this study. The SIT will be used to screen subjects in order to eliminate children who have less than average intellectual ability. The SIT is efficient and appropriate for this purpose.

Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children

The Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children (PF) consists of eighty simple declarative sentences to which

a Yes or No answer is given. The Scale is entitled 'The Way I Feel About Myself' and it is written for a third grade reading comprehension level. The test was administered verbally to each child; administration takes approximately 30-35 minutes.

Validity:

The statements are based on Jersild's (1952) compilation of statements from children about what they liked and disliked about themselves. The items chosen for the Piers-Harris from Jersild's data were those which aptly discriminated between subjects who were high and low on total score. The yes-no split on any included item was no more uneven than 90:10. An equal number of positive and negative statements were selected in order to control for acquiescence response set. Items which were retained after a factor analysis refer to personality attributes and emotional tendencies rather than specific talents, likes, or dislikes.

Reliability

Kuder-Richardson reliabilities for intermediate 95-item form of the PH for six samples grades three to ten was .78 (tenth grade girls) to .93 for third grade boys. (Piers and Harris, 1964). Two and four month test-retest reliability for fifth graders using the 80-item form was .77 (Wing, unpublished in Piers, 1969).

The Piers-Harris has been widely used as a research instrument and repeatedly evaluated for this purpose. The Piers-Harris will be used because it inquires about many aspects of the self. It requires that the child tell how she

evaluates various aspects of the self, that is, it is a measure of global self-concept. In addition, it provides cluster scores which measure the child's self-evaluation of her behavior, intellectual and social status, physical appearance and attributes, anxiety, popularity, and happiness and satisfaction.

Racial self-concept is regarded by some as simply another aspect of the self (Wylie, 1966). We are proposing that it is a separate and distinct entity. We are using the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire to explore the child's sense of self as a black person.

Rosenberg Racial Disidentification Questionnaire

The Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire will be used to measure racial self-concept. This questionnaire was originally administered to Baltimore public school children as part of a larger study. While Rosenberg does not report reliability and validity data, we used this test because it appeared to be a comprehensive measure of racial self-concept. A factor analysis of these questions was done by the author which confirmed the dominance of those three factors. That is, it measures three factors: pride in one's racial group, introjection of one's group, and the importance of one's race to the individual.

Rosenberg (1979) interviewed a total of 1,917 children. The sample was sixty-eight per cent black and skewed towards the working class. The subjects were interviewed in

their respective schools.

Rosenberg examined the relationship between rejection of race and global self-esteem and found that the two were unrelated. He reported that ascribed characteristics, such as race, i.e. those over which the child has no control but is born with, have less importance to the child than achieved characteristics.

Rosenberg compared the answers to these questions to the level of global self-esteem as measured by the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale. He posited that the subjects who had low group pride and who did not introject their racial group had higher self esteem. He concluded that lack of introjection of racial group can protect self-esteem. Based on these results he challenged the results of studies which report lower self-concept in blacks than in whites.

However, he stated that black children who interact mostly with white people and who have lower SES, and poor academic performance do have reduced levels of self-esteem.

TEMAS (Tell-Me-A-Story)

TEMAS was used as a subjective measure of anxiety. TEMAS I is a thematic apperception test which was designed for use with minority children. It may be used as a means of symbolically determining the child's proclivity towards interacting in a particular manner. This test assesses anxiety/depression, self-concept of competence, self/sexual identity, interpersonal relations, aggression, moral judgment and reality testing.

TEMAS cards are chromatic and the characters have been drawn so as to saliently depict the different racial and physiognomic characteristics. There are a specific number of cards given to boys and another similar set for girls; some cards are shown to both boys and girls. While the theme of each boy-girl set is the same, the picture for boys, for example, portrays only boys in the scene.

The cards tend to elicit certain answers because of the bipolar nature of the images depicted, unlike Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) cards which impose intrapsychic demands on the subject. Nine ego functions are represented in the TEMAS test. Ego functions are operationally defined as "theoretical constructs derived from observations of behaviors and motives verbalized in TEMAS stories" (Costantino, 1982). We looked at one ego function: anxiety/depression.

Anxiety/depression in the TEMAS is defined as irrational fears, pervasive feelings of unhappiness, suicidal thoughts, psychosomatic symptoms, feelings of worthlessness, crying, helplessness, feelings of loneliness, withdrawn behavior.

Piaget and Inhelder (1973) expressed the view that an image as a symbol can be used in operational representations such as recall, reconstruction, fantasy, dreams and play. The image elicited by the picture is thus a symbol used to denote the product of the integration of the percept with the past experience of the subject (Costantino, 1982).

Reliability and Validity

Each TEMAS card is scored for one to four ego functions. Anxiety/depression has moderate reliability of .487. School psychologists and clinical psychologists (seven were white, one was black, six were Hispanic) were presented with the TEMAS pictures and asked to assess which ego functions were prompted by each card. Costantino reports high agreement among the judges of 71-100%.

Procedure and Scoring

The children were shown each card and asked to tell a story about it. They are also asked (a) who are these persons; do they know each other? (b) what are they doing? (c) what were they doing before (d) what will happen next? (e) what is the main character thinking and feeling?

The child's response were written verbatim. A clinical psychologist who has scored an extensive number of TEMAS protocols rated the child's responses from (1) pathological to (4) adaptive.

The State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (STAIC)

The STAIC is a self-report measure which consists of two different scales, one of which measures state anxiety, The A-State Scale and a second which measures trait anxiety, the A-Trait Scale. Trait anxiety is defined as a propensity towards feeling threatened or in danger of being harmed in some way; it is inferred from the frequency and intensity of the child's elevations in anxiety state over time. State anxiety is a more

transient type of anxiety; it is a reaction to a specific situation.

Each scale consists of twenty statements, and on the A-Trait Scale children are asked to respond based on how they feel in general. In this study the A-Trait scale will be administered to the children as a means of determining differences in anxiety proneness between children.

The STAIC was designed for use with nine to twelve year olds, although it may also be used with children younger than nine who have average or above average reading ability, and children older than twelve who have below-average reading ability.

Administration

There is no time limit to taking the STAIC. Fourth, fifth and sixth graders can complete a single scale in approximately twelve minutes (Spielberger, 1972).

All statements were read to the child as she read along with the examiner. The examiner ascertained that the child completely understood the instructions prior to beginning the test. The children were instructed to respond to all items, omitting none.

Scoring

Scores range from a minimum of 20 to a maximum of 60. Each item is rated along a three-point scale to which the values 1,2, and 3 are assigned. For the A-Trait scale the child must respond by indicating the frequency with which a certain behavior (feeling) occurs: Hardly ever:1, Sometimes:2, or Often:3.

Development of Normative Data

The norms for the STAIC were based on two main samples: 456 boys and 457 girls enrolled in fourth, fifth, and sixth grade classes in Tallahasee and Leon County, Florida; 281 boys and 357 girls in grades four through six from three schools in Bradenton and Manatee County in Florida. Black children constituted 35-40% of the sample for both groups, due to the fact that one school which had a predominantly black population was used in each of the samples.

Norms were derived after combining the Tallahasee and Bradenton samples. STAIC A-Trait scores were slightly higher for the girls than for the boys, particularly for fourth and fifth graders. Only minimal differences were found in the A-State scores between the sexes.

Reliability and Validity

Test-retest reliability coefficients were attained for the 246 children from Bradenton eight weeks after initial testing. For the A-Trait scale these correlations were only moderate: this may be due to the instability of children's personality characteristics or to the limitations of the psychometric aspects of the scale (Spielberger, 1972). The test-retest coefficients for the A-Trait were higher than those for the A-State; this is as it should be, given the different attributes aspects of the child that the tests measure (i.e. chronic anxiety versus situationally specific feelings of anxiety).

Internal Consistency

The alpha coefficient provides a more meaningful index of internal consistency than stability correlations be-

cause states of anxiety are often transitory. Based on the Kuder-Richardson formula (modified by Cronbach, 1950) the A-Trait Scale alpha coefficients were .78 for the boys and .81 for the girls.

Concurrent Validity

The STAIC was administered to children (n=60) along with the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale (CMAS) (Castenada et al., 1956) and the General Anxiety Scale for Children (GASC) (Sarason et al., 1960). The A-Trait Scale correlated .75 with the CMAS and .63 with the GASC (Platzek, 1970).

Procedure

Consent forms were distributed to black girls in the third, fourth and fifth grade classes in two schools (See Appendix). The children were motivated to return their consent forms by the promise that they would be given a ruler. All children were tested in their school at the convenience of the teacher and the child. For example, if the teacher preferred that the child not be taken from the classroom at a given time (e.g. during Reading), or if the child wished, for example to stay in class, she was tested at another more convenient time.

The children in one school (n=20) were tested by the author or another female graduate student. In the second school (n=19), the children were tested by the author only. All tests were individually administered in an otherwise unoccupied classroom.

The children were informed at the time the consent forms were distributed that they were being invited to work with

the examiner to "tell stories and answer questions". Testing took place in two sessions on the average, although this varied based on the attention span and cooperativeness of the child. No child was made to stay longer than she wished; all were encouraged to relax and to do the best they could. After reading the test instructions to each test the child was told that there were no right or wrong answers.

The children were picked up at their classroom and taken to the testing room. Efforts were made to establish rapport with the child and to help her feel comfortable. After each session the children were accompanied to their classrooms.

The author scored the Piers-Harris, the STAIC, and the Rosenberg tests. However, a psychologist who is proficient in the scoring of TEMAS scored all the TEMAS protocols for this study. The author has also had experience in scoring TEMAS. A comparison between the author's scores and the outside scorer's scores yielded 90-95% agreement.

All test scores were correlated with one another to assess their relationship. The measures of anxiety were also correlated with one another to assess how closely they were correlated so that inferences could be made about whether they were assessing anxiety in a similar manner. The six cluster scores of the Piers-Harris self-concept scale were examined and were correlated with the STAIC, the TEMAS and the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification Questionnaire. A factor analysis was performed on the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification Questionnaire to assess which components were most prevalent.

The results of these analyses are presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

In this chapter the results of this study on the relationship between global self-concept, racial self-concept, and anxiety will be presented. The analysis of results based on sample characteristics will be examined. The analysis of the results which correspond to each hypothesis will then be presented.

There were a total of 39 subjects (n=39). Twenty of the subjects, or 51.3%, were in School 1. Nineteen of the subjects, or 48.7%, were in School 2. The mean age of the sample was nine years.

No differences were found for global self-concept or racial self-concept between grades. However, the analysis of the data indicated that children in School 2 had more positive global self-concept than children in School 1. The results are representative of a trend toward significance ($p < .057$). No differences were found in the level of anxiety, as measured by the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (STAIC) between schools or grades.

The Piers Harris raw scores were converted to T scores in accordance with the standardization scale in the Piers-Harris Test Manual. Based on their classifications of Average, Above Average, and Below Average self-concept scores, the frequences in Table 1 were noted. The data in Table 1 indicate that 14 of 39 children scored in the Average range of

self-concept. Only four children scored below average. Twenty-one children scored above average. Overall, this data indicates that the majority of these children thought well of themselves as indicated by an average or above average score.

The data in Table 2 represents the global self-concept scores of each child as measured by the Piers Harris Self-Concept Scale (PH). The Piers Harris raw scores and the cluster scores were converted to T-scores based upon figures in the Piers-Harris test manual. For the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale the mean score (T-Score) was 56.4876. The standard deviation was 9.787. The median score was 56.250. The mode was 60.00. The minimum score was 29 and the maximum score was 77. The mean score for the normative sample (Millen, 1966) was 51.84. The difference between that mean and the mean of our sample is statistically significant ($p<.05$). However, various mean scores have been reported. For example, Piers reports a mean of 56.04 in a sample of 485 public school children and, therefore, cautions against interpretation of differences in means.

Six cluster scores can be obtained from the Piers-Harris scale. The Behavior (BEH) cluster consists of 16 items which are assumed to reflect the degree to which the child admits or denies that he or she behaves in a problematic way. The Intellectual and School Status (INT) cluster consists of 17 items which are assumed to reflect the child's assessment of his or her abilities in intellectual and academic tasks. The

TABLE 1

Distribution of Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scores

Piers Harris T-Score	Classification	Subjects School 1 (n=20)	Subjects School 2 (n=19)
Greater than 70	(Very much above average)	0	2
66-70	(Much above average)	2	4
61-65	(Above average)	1	3
56-60	(Slightly above average)	4	5
45-55	(Average)	10	4
40-44	(Slightly below average)	2	0
35-39	(Below average)	1	0
30-34	(Much below average)	0	0
Less than 30	(Very much below average)	0	1

Physical Appearance and Attributes (PHY) cluster consists of 13 items which are considered to reflect the child's attitudes about his or her physical characteristics as well as attributes such as ability to articulate ideas.

The Anxiety (ANX) cluster, consisting of 14 items, is considered to be a reflection of the child's tendency to experience anxiety or dysphoric mood.

The Piers-Harris Scores were prorated after the Anxiety Score was subtracted from the total score, in order to compare global self-concept scores without inclusion of the anxiety variable. This was necessitated by the fact that anxiety is being used for comparison in this study. The prorated scores are presented in Appendix G. A comparison of the prorated score with the total Piers-Harris score indicates a statistically significant positive correlation ($p < 0.000$) between the two. Therefore the inclusion of the anxiety cluster in the non-prorated self-concept score does not alter the outcome of the correlation between it and another variable.

The Popularity (POP) cluster, consisting of 12 items, is considered to be a reflection of the child's appraisal of his or her popularity with classmates and ability to make friends. The Happiness and Satisfaction (HAP) cluster consists of 10 items which are considered to be a reflection of the child's general feelings of being happy, easy to get along with, and satisfied with life.

The statistics for each cluster score are presented separately in Tables 3-8. Raw scores, T-scores and Stanine scores are presented. The analysis of the data indicate that the mean for Cluster I (Behavior) was 13.08; the standard deviation was 2.78. The mean for Cluster II (Intellectual and School Status) was 14.05; the standard deviation was 3.46. The mean for Cluster III (Physical Appearance and Attributes) was 10.11; the standard deviation was 2.94. The mean for Cluster IV (Anxiety) was 8.61; the standard deviation was 2.47. The mean for Cluster V (Popularity) was 8.11; the standard deviation was 3.05. The mean for Cluster VI (Happiness and Satisfaction) was 8.81; the standard deviation was 2.02. When compared to the means that were reported for the normative sample it appears that our sample performed at or above the mean of the normative sample.

TABLE 2

Piers Harris Total and Cluster Scores for Children in School 1 and School 2[1]

Subject Number[1]	PHT[2]	CL1 (BEH)	CL2 (INT)	CL3 (PHYS)	CL4 (ANX)	CL5 (POP)	CL6 (HAP)
1-1	68	59	63	64	55	55	56
1-2	63	59	70	60	52	55	63
1-3	54	54	52	60	44	51	56
1-4	55	54	50	53	55	44	63
1-5	48	50	41	53	34	39	52
1-6	35	33	34	43	41	32	32
1-7	48	50	50	40	47	39	52
1-8	67	54	63	60	59	61	63
1-9	51	54	63	56	41	41	56
1-10	49	—	59	37	41	—	—
1-11	51	54	59	53	38	39	52
1-12	44	—	38	47	47	—	—
1-13	56	66	52	37	52	51	42
1-14	48	—	63	49	41	—	—
1-15	60	50	63	56	55	61	63
1-16	51	45	55	56	47	44	63
1-17	43	33	52	56	38	44	47
1-18	54	45	59	64	49	69	62
1-19	60	50	70	64	59	55	56
1-20	58	54	55	60	44	44	63
2-21	55	47	63	60	49	44	—
2-22	54	43	59	69	41	55	63
2-23	56	59	59	60	49	47	42
2-24	53	50	59	60	41	47	56
2-25	67	59	59	69	55	51	56
2-26	60	59	55	60	52	61	—
2-27	67	59	70	69	49	55	63
2-28	60	59	55	69	44	47	63
2-29	62	59	63	69	52	61	63
2-30	68	66	63	56	55	55	56
2-31	47	47	52	49	41	32	63
2-32	70	59	63	69	59	51	63
2-33	59	54	70	56	63	39	63
2-34	62	50	70	69	55	61	63
2-35	77	59	70	69	63	55	63
2-36	68	54	59	69	59	55	63
2-37	66	—	—	—	—	—	—
2-38	29	35	19	26	31	29	24
2-39	60	54	59	69	44	61	63

1/ Subjects 1-20 (School 1); Subjects 21-39 (School 2).

2/ T Scores are reported

\- Denotes missing data

TABLE 3

Distribution of Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale Scores
Cluster I (Behavior)

Raw Score	T Score	Stanine	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency
5	33	2	2	5.1
6	35	2	1	2.6
10	43	4	1	2.6
11	45	4	2	5.1
12	47	4	2	5.1
13	50	5	6	15.4
14	54	6	9	23.1
15	59	7	10	25.6
16	66	8	2	5.1
—	—[1]	—	4	10.3

— Missing data

$\bar{x}$ (T Score) = 52.457

Median: 53.778

Mode: 59

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Normative sample: 12

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Our Sample: 13.08

Standard Deviation: 7.998

Minimum: 33

Maximum: 66

Missing Cases: 4, n=35

Standard Deviation: 2.92

Standard Deviation: 2.78

TABLE 4

Distribution of Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale Scores
Cluster II (Intellectual and School Status)

Raw Score	T Score	Stanine	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency
1	19	1	1	2.6
5	34	2	1	2.6
7	38	3	1	2.6
8	41	3	1	2.6
12	50	5	2	5.3
13	52	5	4	10.5
14	55	6	4	10.5
15	59	7	9	23.7
16	63	8	9	23.7
17	70	9	6	15.8
	—1		1	

— = Missing Data

$\bar{x}$ (T Score) = 57.316

Median: 59.111

Mode: 59

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Normative Sample: 11.55

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Our Sample: 14.05

Standard Deviation: 10.66

Minimum: 19

Maximum: 70

Missing Cases: 1, n=38

Standard Deviation: 3.45

Standard Deviation: 3.46

TABLE 5

Distribution of Piers-Harris Self Concept Scale Scores
Cluster III (Physical Appearance and Attributes)

Raw Score	T Score	Stanine	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency
1	26	1	1	2.6
4	37	2	2	5.3
5	40	3	1	2.6
6	43	4	1	2.6
7	46	4	1	2.6
8	49	5	2	5.3
9	53	5	3	7.9
10	56	6	6	15.8
11	60	7	8	21.1
12	64	8	3	7.9
13	69	9	10	26.3
	—1		1	—

— = Missing Data

$\bar{x}$ (T Score) = 57.5

Median: 59.5

Mode: 69

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Normative Sample: 8.16

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Our Sample: 10.11

Standard Deviation: 10.626

Minimum: 26

Maximum: 69

Missing Cases: 1, n=38

Standard Deviation: 2.85

Standard Deviation: 2.94

TABLE 6

Distribution of Piers-Harris Self Concept Scale Scores
Cluster IV ((Anxiety)

Raw Score	T Score	Stanine	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency
3	31	1	1	2.6
4	34	2	1	2.6
5	38	2	2	5.3
6	41	3	7	18.4
7	44	4	4	10.5
8	47	4	3	7.9
9	49	5	4	10.5
10	52	5	4	10.5
11	55	6	6	15.8
12	59	7	4	10.5
13	63	8	2	5.3
	—1		1	—

— = Missing Data

$\bar{x}$ (T Score) = 48.447

Median: 48.5

Mode: 41

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Normative Sample: 8.70

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Our Sample: 8.61

Standard Deviation: 8.026

Minimum: 31

Maximum: 63

Missing Cases: 1, n=38

Standard Deviation: 3.01

Standard Deviation: 2.47

TABLE 7

Distribution of Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale Scores
Cluster V (Popularity)

Raw Score	T Score	Stanine	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency
1	29	1	1	2.9
2	32	1	2	5.7
5	39	3	4	11.4
6	41	3	1	2.9
7	44	4	5	14.3
8	47	4	3	8.6
9	51	5	4	11.4
10	55	6	8	22.9
11	61	7	6	17.1
12	69	9	1	2.9
	—[1]		4	—

— = Missing Data

$\bar{x}$ (T Score) = 49.429

Median: 50.75

Mode: 55

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Normative Sample: 8.33

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Our Sample: 8.11

Standard Deviation: 9.611

Minimum: 29

Maximum: 69

Missing Cases: 4, n=35

Standard Deviation: 2.52

Standard Deviation: 3.05

TABLE 8

Distribution of Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale Scores
Cluster VI (Happiness and Satisfaction)

Raw Score	T Score	Stanine	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency (%)
1	24	1	1	3.0
4	32	1	1	3.0
6	42	3	2	6.1
7	47	4	1	3.0
8	52	5	3	9.1
9	56	6	7	21.2
10	63	8	18	54.5
	—1		6	—

— = Missing Data

$\bar{x}$ (T Score) = 56.6

Median: 62.529

Mode: 63

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Normative Sample: 8.07

$\bar{x}$ (Raw Score) Our Sample: 8.81

Standard Deviation: 9.647

Minimum: 24

Maximum: 64

Missing Cases: 6, n=33

Standard Deviation: 1.83

Standard Deviation: 2.02

The data in Table 9 represents the TEMAS scores of children in School 1 and School 2. A high TEMAS score reflects low anxiety. The analysis of the data indicate that children in School 2 had slightly lower levels of anxiety than children in School 1 as measured by TEMAS. We have noted that these children also had positive self-concept. It is worthy of note that while the population in School 1 was predominantly black, the population in School 2 was more equally racially balanced to include black, white, and Hispanic children. The mean score for School 1 was 14.4. The standard deviation was 3.72. The mean score for subjects in School 2 was 15.42. The standard deviation was 2.14. TEMAS, a relatively new instrument, is currently in the process of being standardized. Based on the TEMAS scoring system, a score of (4) or (3) on each of the five cards is considered to reflect an adaptive response to the anxiety-eliciting depiction. The analysis of the data in Table 9 indicate that on the average, children received scores of (3) on each card. The maximum score possible was (20), that is, a score of (4) on all 5 cards. The minimum score was (5), i.e., a score of (1) on all five cards.

The scores obtained by the children on the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (STAIC) are presented in Table 10. A high STAIC score reflects high anxiety. The mean score for School 1 was 42.90. The standard deviation was 5.71. The mean score for School 2 was 38.05. The standard deviation was 5.04. The mean for the normative sample among fourth graders was 38.1; the standard deviation was 6.06. For the fifth grade the mean was 38.7; the standard deviation was 7.00.

TABLE 9

TEMAS Scores of Children in School 1 and School 2

SUBJECT	TEMAS SCORE	SUBJECT	TEMAS SCORE
1-1	13	2-21	16
1-2	15	2-22	15
1-3	15	2-23	16
1-4	13	2-24	16
1-5	12	2-25	14
1-6	14	2-26	18
1-7	15	2-27	16
1-8	14	2-28	14
1-9	12	2-29	16
1-10	13	2-30	17
1-11	18	2-31	13
1-12	13	2-32	18
1-13	18	2-33	15
1-14	15	2-34	15
1-15	12	2-35	14
1-16	14	2-36	13
1-17	13	2-37	15
1-18	18	2-38	15
1-19	16	2-39	17
1-20	15		

(School 1): $\bar{x} = 14.4$
Standard deviation: 3.72
Minimum: 12
Maximum: 18

(School 2): $\bar{x} = 15.42$
Standard deviation: 2.14
Minimum: 13
Maximum: 18

TABLE 10

State-Trait Anxiety Inventory Scores of Children in School 1 and School 2

Subject	Raw Score	Subject	Raw Score
1-1	41	2-21	42
1-2	47	2-22	42
1-3	42	2-23	30
1-4	38	2-24	41
1-5	40	2-25	40
1-6	43	2-26	37
1-7	37	2-27	41
1-8	37	2-28	35
1-9	46	2-29	35
1-10	48	2-30	39
1-11	40	2-31	45
1-12	50	2-32	32
1-13	33	2-33	42
1-14	41	2-34	43
1-15	46	2-35	26
1-16	51	2-36	41
1-17	50	2-37	36
1-18	44	2-38	45
1-19	47	2-39	31
1-20	37		

(School 1): $\bar{x}$ = 42.90
Standard deviation: 5.119
Minimum: 33
Maximum: 51

(School 2) $\bar{x}$ = 38.579
Standard deviation: 5.12
Minimum: 26
Maximum: 45

The differences between samples are not statistically significant. These scores are similar to the mean scores indicated for our sample which suggests that our sample of children is neither significantly more or less anxious than the children in the normative sample.

The Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire was used to measure the childrens' racial self-concept. A factor analysis of the questions on the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire was administered for the purpose of clarifying which factors were most relevant in determining racial self-concept. Factor analysis was done to ascertain which factors of racial self-concept were most prevalent in this sample of children and to determine whether the same factors were prevalent in this sample as in the normative sample. This was found to be so. The results of the factor analysis are presented in Table 11.

The analysis of the data in Table 11 indicates that three main factors are prevalent. There was a significant loading on Question R6, which measures the child's belief that she would be happier if not black. Therefore, contentment with being black was designated as Factor 1.

Two questions combined to form Factor 2 which is designated as a measure of the centrality of "blackness" to the individual's sense of self; they were Questions R1 and R4. These questions assessed introjection of racial group and the wish to be not black.

Two questions combined to form Factor 3 which is designated as a measure of the degree of pride and the amount

TABLE 11

Factor Analysis of the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification Questions

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
R1	.06568	**.31671	.08050
R2	.21097	.03570	***.32588
R3	.16862	.24375	***.75839
R4	.29253	**.79704	.13547
R5	.01289	.08518	.26058
R6	*.86568	.06764	.00297

* Factor 1 - Contentment with being black

** Factor 2 - Feeling of racial group membership; centrality of "blackness" to the individual's sense of self.

*** Factor 3 - Pride in being black; racial group is considered important

R1: Measures introjection of racial group
R2: Measures importance of racial group to the child
R3: Measures pride in one's racial group
R4: Measures the wish to be not black
R5: Measures the wish to be born another color, not black
R6: Measures the belief that one would be happier if one was not black

of importance of the racial group. Questions R2 and R3 assess importance and pride in racial group. Overall then, these factors, contentment with being black, importance of racial group and pride in the group, as well as centrality of racial group membership appear prevalent in this assessment of racial self-concept.

Question R1 measures introjection of racial group. That is, it is a measure of whether the child sees herself as belonging to, and part of black racial group. Children who respond in the negative to this question would be classified as having a low degree of racial group introjection.

Question R2 is a measure of the importance of the racial group to the child. Question R3 is a measure of the amount of pride the child has in her own racial group. Question R4 is a measure of the child's desire to be another color, not black. Question R5 is a measure of the child's desire to be born another color, not black, if she could be born again. Question R6 is a measure of the child's belief that she would be happier if she were not black.

There appears to be little actual difference between Question R4 and Question R5. In fact Question R4 indicates a desire to be another color in one's present life, while Question R5 appears to indicate a desire to be another color in one's next life if one could in fact be born again.

It is questionable whether the nuances are noticeable to the child. It is possible that the child's willingness to state that she would prefer to be black if she were born again is a reflection of her subconscious wish to have not been born

black. This would seem to be confirmed if the child did not state that she wished she had been born another color, not black. In actuality, however, the children gave a variety of responses to these two questions such that no actual pattern was noted.

The results of this questionnaire are qualitative and scores were assigned, according to the child's response, to each question. The questions and the children's responses to this questionnaire are presented in Appendix C.

Three hypotheses were tested to determine the relationship between global self-concept, racial self-concept and anxiety. The six clusters which comprise the global self-concept score were also examined to determine their relationship with anxiety and racial self-concept. We examined the relationship between global self-concept and racial self-concept, global self-concept and anxiety, and racial self-concept and anxiety.

Hypothesis 1: There is a positive correlation between positive global self-concept and positive racial self-concept. Children who think well of themselves in an overall sense will think well of themselves as black people.

This hypothesis was partially confirmed. The analysis of the data indicated that the relationship between total global self-concept score and the racial self-concept items was not statistically significant. Significant results were obtained between various self-concept cluster scores and specific responses to the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire.

The correlation coefficients between the Piers-Harris self-concept cluster scores and scores on the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire are presented in Table 12. The responses to the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire and total Piers-Harris self-concept scores are presented in Appendix F.

The analysis of the data in Table 12 indicate that pride in being black, importance of being black, and introjection of racial group and wish not to be black were found not to be significantly correlated with total global self-concept score.

The data from the analysis of the correlation between cluster scores and responses to the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire is also presented in Table 12. The analysis of the data indicated the following results.

Pride in being black was positively correlated with positive feelings about one's physical appearance. Children who reported liking the way they look and having positive self-attributes were more likely to feel proud of being black than children who reported a negative opinion about their physical appearance and attributes. The results were significant ($p < .024$).

Pride in being black was positively correlated with feelings of popularity. The results were statistically significant ($p < .045$). Children who reported that their classmates like them, choose them to play with and like their ideas, were more likely to express pride in being black than children who felt that they were not liked by others.

Pride in being black was positively correlated with feelings of happiness and satisfaction about themselves and their lives. Children who reported feeling happy in general were more likely to be proud of being black than children who reported feeling generally unhappy or dissatisfied with their lives. The results were statistically significant ($p < .041$).

Children who reported low levels of anxiety in the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale had greater pride in being black than children who reported higher levels of anxiety. The results were statistically significant ($p < .023$).

An inverse correlation was found between scores on Cluster II (Intellectual and School Status) and the wish to be born another color, not black. The results were statistically significant ($p < .016$). Children who reported feeling that they had low status among their classmates and that they were not intelligent, were more likely to report that they would be happier if not black than children who perceived themselves as popular.

An inverse correlation was found between the child's feeling about her physical appearance and attributes and the wish to be born another color, not black. The results were statistically significant ($p < .040$).

An inverse correlation was found between the child's level of happiness and her wish to be born another color, not black. The results were statistically significant ($p < .008$).

An inverse correlation was found between self-perceived level of popularity and the belief that they would be

happier if not black. The results were statistically significant ($p < .043$). Children who reported that they did not perceive themselves as well-liked by their classmates were more likely than chidren who believed they were popular, to report their belief that they would be happier if they were not black.

Hypothesis 2: There is a negative correlation between positive global self-concept and anxiety. Children who think well of themselves in an overall sense will have lower levels of anxiety than children who do not. A positive global self-concept functions to mitigate feelings of anxiety in potentially threatening situations. This hypothesis was confirmed.

An inverse correlation was found between trait anxiety (as measured by the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children) and global self concept (as measured by the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale). The correlation was statistically significant ($p < .001$). Although a positive correlation was found between adaptive responses to the TEMAS and positive global self-concept, the results were not statistically significant.

An analysis of the data in Table 13 indicated that significant correlations were found between total global self-concept score and level of anxiety reported by the child. For the TEMAS the correlations were in the expected direction although not statistically significant. That is, a high TEMAS score which reflects low anxiety was positively correlated with

TABLE 12

Correlation Coefficients between Scores on the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale and Responses to the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification Questionnaire[1]

	ROSENBERG QUESTIONNAIRE					
	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6
T-Score	.1710	.1556	.2258	.0366	.2572	.2447
Piers-Harris	.149	.172	.084	.41	.057	.067
Cluster I	.1479	.1059	.0094	.0745	-.1151	-.1684
(BEHAVIOR)	.198	.272	.479	.335	.255	.167
Cluster II	.1074	.1938	.2049	.0527	.3504	-.2227
(INTELLECTUAL/	.260	.122	.109	.377	.016*	.089
SCHOOL STATUS)						
Cluster III	.0855	.0838	.3230	.0092	-.2867	-.1803
(PHYSICAL	.305	.309	.024*	.478	.040*	.139
APPEARANCE)						
Cluster IV	.1926	-.0121	.3267	.0062	-.1930	.1147
(ANXIETY)	.123	.471	.023*	.485	.123	.246
Cluster V	.0515	.0353	.2912	-.1291	-.0895	-.2950
(POPULARITY)	.384	.420	.045*	.230	.304	.043*
Cluster VI	.1202	.0976	.3071	-.0002	-.4175	-.2578
(HAPPINESS/	.253	.295	.041*	.500	.008*	.074
SATISFACTION)						

[1] The top number indicates the correlation (r); the figure beneath it is the probability (p)

* Level of significance p .05

R1 - Measures introjection of racial group
R2 - Measures the importance of racial group to the child
R3 - Measures pride in one's racial group
R4 - Measures the wish to be not black
R5 - Measures the wish to be born another color, not black
R6 - Measures the belief that one would be happier if one were not black

high scores on the Piers Harris Self-Concept Scale, which reflect positive self concept.

A high score on the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (STAIC) reflects high anxiety and was inversely correlated with high (positive) score on the Piers-Harris. Children who have positive self-concept scores were more likely to obtain low scores (low anxiety) on the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children.

The results in Table 14 indicate that there is an inverse correlation between high trait anxiety and the perception by the child that she behaves badly or acts in a problematic manner. Children who reported that they behave in an appropriate manner had lower levels of trait anxiety than did children who reported that they do not behave appropriately. The results were statistically significant ($p < .026$).

In addition, the data in Table 14 indicate that there is a significant inverse correlation between anxiety as measured by the STAIC, and the child's score on the Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster IV. A high score on the STAIC which reflects high anxiety may result in a low score on the anxiety cluster which also reflects high anxiety. The implications of this will be discussed later.

An inverse correlation was noted between the child's assessment of her physical appearance and level of anxiety. Children who disliked their appearance had higher anxiety than other children.

TABLE 13

Correlation Coefficients between Scores On the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale and Responses to the TEMAS and the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children

	PIERS-HARRIS SELF-CONCEPT SCALE	
	Total Score	Prorated Score
TEMAS	.1981 .113	.3237 .128
STAIC	.4632 .001**	-.449 .003*

* Level of significance: $p < .003$
** Level of significance: $p < .001$

TABLE 14

Correlation Coefficients between Scores on the STAIC, TEMAS, and the Six Piers Harris Cluster Scores[1]

	CL1[1] (BEH)	CL2 (INT)	CL3 (PHYS)	CL4 (ANX)	CL5 (POP)	CL6 (HAP)
STAIC	-.6010	-.1792	-.2682	-.3534	.1571	.362
	(35)	(38)	(38)	(38)	(35)	(33)
	0.000*	.141	.052	.015*	.184	.421
TEMAS	.2925	.2024	.1294	.1074	.3060	-.0722
	(35)	(38)	(38)	(38)	(35)	(33)
	.044*	.111	.219	.261	.037*	.345

CL1 (BEH) BEHAVIOR

CL2 (INT) INTELLECTUAL/SCHOOL STATUS

CL3 (PHYS) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE/ATTRIBUTES

CL4 (ANX) ANXIETY

CL5 (POP) POPULARITY

CL6 (HAP) HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION

1 The top number indicates the correlation (r); the middle number indicates sample size. The bottom figure indicates the probability (p). Due to missing data, sample size differs in this analysis.

* Significant correlations

A correlation matrix of the three measures of anxiety (TEMAS, STAIC and Anxiety Cluster IV) is presented in Table 15. Analysis of the data in Table 15 indicates that a significant relationship exists between anxiety as measured by the Piers-Harris, and the STAIC. This was discussed previously. Further analysis indicates that the STAIC and TEMAS are inversely correlated and the results are statistically signficant ($p < .018$). However, TEMAS was not significantly correlated with the Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster. That is, there was not a significant relationship between self-report of anxiety and adaptive responses to anxiety. A significant relationship was found to exist between the two self-report measures of anxiety.

Hypothesis 3: There is not a significant relationship between racial self-concept and level of anxiety experienced by the child. A child who thinks well of herself as a black person may respond to threatening experiences with high or low anxiety. Racial self-concept does not function to reduce anxiety level as does global self-concept.

This hypothesis was confirmed. The correlation coefficients between responses to the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire and scores on the STAIC, TEMAS, and the Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster IV are presented in Table 16. The analysis of the data in Table 16 indicate that a significant relationship does not exist between the child's feelings about herself as a black person and her level of trait anxiety as measured by the STAIC.

TABLE 15

Correlation Matrix of Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster IV, TEMAS and State-Trait Anxiety Inventory For Children (STAIC)[1]

	Cluster IV (Anxiety)	TEMAS	STAIC
Cluster IV (Anxiety)	-	.1208	-.353
		(38)	(38)
		.235	.015
TEMAS	.1208		-.336
	(38)	-	(38)
	.235		.018
STAIC	-.352	-.3360	
	(38)	(39)	-
	.015*	.018*	

[1] The top number indicates the correlation (r). The middle number indicates sample size. The bottom number indicates the probability (p).

*p < .015

*p < .018

TABLE 16

Correlation Coefficients between Scores on the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory, TEMAS, and the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification Questionnaire[1]

ROSENBERG RACIAL DISIDENTIFICATION QUESTIONNAIRE

	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6
STAIC	-.226	.093	.028	-.257	-.083	-.034
	(39)	(39)	(39)	(39)	(39)	(39)
	.083	.286	.433	.057	.308	.420
TEMAS	.034	-.1763	-.193	-.1234	.249	-.195
	(39)	(39)	(39)	(39)	(39)	(39)
	.420	.141	.120	.227	.063	.118
Piers-Harris	.203	-.016	.325	-.0006	-.1875	-.1074
Anxiety Cluster IV	(38)	(38)	(38)	(39)	(38)	(38)
	.111	.460	.023*	.498	.130	.260

[1] The top number indicates the correlation (r). the middle number indicates sample size. The bottom figure indicates the probability (p).

*$p < .023$, Level of Significance

A significant relationship does not exist between the child's feelings about herself as a black person and the type of response given to TEMAS apperception test cards.

In summary, we predicted that children who think well of themselves in an overall sense would think well of themselves as black people (i.e. have positive racial self-concept). This was partially confirmed.

In addition, we predicted that children who think well of themselves in an overall sense would experience lower levels of anxiety than children who do not. Our results confirmed this hypothesis. Our third hypothesis, that racial self-concept would not be significantly correlated with level of anxiety was partially confirmed. Though racial self-concept was not found to be correlated with anxiety as measured by the STAIC or TEMAS, it did correlate significantly with Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster IV.

The interpretation of these results is presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion and Interpretation

Our intent has been to gain an understanding of the self-concept of the black female child. The inferences which we have made based on the results we have attained are assumed to apply to our sample only. The small sample size, its specificity to black females and to a particular geographic location preclude the likelihood that these results are generally applicable. However, it is our belief that these results are valid within the limitations of the study. They provide evidence that the self-concept of the black female child is multi-faceted and complex.

In general, our study highlights the fact that a group of randomly selected, black female children from working-class families were found to have average or above average levels of global self-concept and racial self-concept as compared to the general population. In addition, they had average levels of anxiety. As noted, the intragroup variation was relatively minor. As noted, a difference was found between Schools in level of self-concept. The children in the integrated school (School 2) were found to have more positive self-concept and lower level of anxiety as measured by the TEMAS, than children in School 1. The results represented a trend toward significance. One may speculate about which aspects of an integrated environment yield more positive self-concept than a segregated environment. While our study did not specifically address this issue, further research about the relationship between type of environment, self-concept and anxiety would be useful.

Our sample was limited to children whose families returned the consent form. Thus, it may be inferred that the children in this sample were from families whose attitudes were positive, cooperative and trusting. It could perhaps also be inferred that these parents experience less anxiety than other families. The childrens' attitudes as captured in this study may reflect their parents' attitudes.

The central thesis of this study has been that individuals develop a concept of self based on the view of significant others. Our contention is that children who have experienced the approval of significant others will develop positive global self-concept.

Just as the child's global self-concept is affected by the approval or non-approval received from significant adults, so too is the child's view of herself as a black person affected by how her color is viewed. The child may at times interact with persons who are hostile or rejecting towards her because of color. However, only those persons who are important to the child will impact on the development of racial self-concept.

As we have discussed, researchers such as Willis (1977) have compared the self-concepts of black children to those of white children and have concluded that black children generally have lower global self-concepts than do white children. Other researchers (see for example, Carpenter and Busse 1969) have reported different results.

We have posited that children with positive global self-concept will experience less anxiety in potentially threatening situations than children who do not have positive

self-concept. Researchers (see for example, Feld and Lewis, 1967; Palermo, 1959) have reported that high anxiety is characteristic of black people due to their color. Inferences have been made that dislike of one's color is related to a high level of anxiety.

In our efforts to understand the effect of racial group membership on global self-concept, we examined the two variables to observe how closely they were correlated. If it is true that persons with high anxiety have negative global self-concept then black children who have high anxiety should also be found to have negative global self-concept. If it is true that black persons have high levels of anxiety as a result of their feelings about their racial selves then the children in this study who have negative racial self-concept should have high levels of anxiety.

We have posited that the two types of self-concept, racial self-concept and global self-concept, differ but that the development of positive global self-concept is linked with the development of positive racial self-concept. Furthermore, while we proposed that self-concept affects anxiety level, it is not our belief that racial self-concept has the same effect on level of anxiety. That is, we disagree with the view that blackness per se produces high anxiety. It is likely that color is only one of a variety of conditions that are a part of the psychodynamics of the individual which combine to affect levels of anxiety. To attribute level of anxiety to race would be an oversimplification. Thus we explored race in combination with

various aspects of the self-concept to determine their relation to anxiety.

The first hypothesis was that a positive global self-concept would be positively correlated with a positive racial self-concept. We found that this hypothesis was only partially confirmed because although none of the responses to the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire correlated significantly with total global self-concept, significant correlations were found between the various Piers-Harris cluster scores and specific questions on the Rosenberg.

It is possible that these results were a factor of the instrument which was used to measure racial self-concept. That is, the Rosenberg Racial Disidentification questionnaire does not yield a total score. Thus each question bore the weight of a racial group acceptance score to be correlated independently with the total self-concept score. The child's response to each question is a function of her propensity to give socially acceptable responses, her awareness of her feelings, and her acceptance of and interpretation of the question. The lack of alternatives of measures of racial self-concept requires us to rely on this questionnaire as a measure. The difference in the children's responses to the questions support our use of it to reveal racial attitudes. As noted, none of the questions were significantly correlated with the total self-concept score, although some were correlated with cluster components.

Cluster analysis revealed that pride in being black was significantly correlated with feeling popular, having

positive feelings about one's physical appearance, being happy and satisfied with one's life in general. The children had a choice of four responses on the question which assess racial pride: (proud, pretty proud, not very proud, not at all proud). The children chose either of the first two categories. While the majority of the children reported feeling proud of being black as we have seen, some reported feeling "pretty proud" only.

Children who reported dissatisfaction with the way they look tended to report the wish to be born another color, not black. It may be inferred that racial self-characteristics are an integral aspect of the self and that discontentment with one's physical attributes and characteristics may be attributed to discontentment with one's color. However, since positive self-concept facilitates pride in one's racial group membership, it is equally likely that children who dislike the way they look are expressing general discontentment not specific to race.

It is important to note that very few of the children stated that they wished they were not black. It would seem that children who stated the wish to be born another color, not black would also wish to be not black in the present time. This was not always found to be so. In fact, most of the children who stated they would like to be black when they grow older (i.e. as they are in the present) also responded that if they could be born again they would wish to be another color, not black.

One may infer from these results that either the meaning of questions were not clear to the children or that they felt conflicted about the wish to not be black and that the seemingly disparate viewpoints are a reflection of ambivalent feelings about being black.

Children who reported that they were not popular tended more so than other children to believe that they would be happier if they were not black. From these results one may infer that feeling good about one's racial self is facilitated by the perception that one's interpersonal environment is supportive and friendly. It is also possible that children evaluate their interpersonal environment and assess it to be unfriendly towards them because they are black. In this instance the child may be reporting her interpretation of her environment which results from her being black.

We initially posited that one's racial self-concept would be important to the child and as such would be a factor distinct from global self-concept. Our results indicate that while race is important to them it is not uniquely so. In fact, in different situations different aspects of the self assume precedence. In addition, different aspects of the self may gain or lose in importance depending upon the developmental stage of the individual. The developmental task of children of this age is to attain competence in their work (Erikson, 1963). For example, latency age children such as those that comprise this sample focus on their ability to perform in accordance with the

expectations of others. That is, they compare themselves to others and strive to reach self-expectations as well as the expectations of those who are important to them. (Piaget, 1967). In our sample, low anxiety was related to the child's belief that she behaved well. It may be inferred that children who recognize that others perceive their behavior as negative, respond by feeling more anxious than others. We found that children who stated the wish to be not black tended to view their color as negative or as an impediment to their happiness. This is not to imply that there was any evidence that they dislike themselves in an overall sense. Children who do not state the wish to be another color presumably are able to focus on other aspects of the self.

As we have discussed, there were children who stated the wish to be not black. There were so few of such children (n=4) that no trends or commonalities could be determined.

The second hypothesis, that children who think well of themselves in an overall sense will have lower levels of anxiety than those who do not, was partially confirmed.

An inverse correlation was found between anxiety and global self-concept. These findings support others' contention that low anxiety level is related to positive global self-concept (Lipsitt, 1958). Anxiety as measured by the STAIC was inversely and significantly correlated with global self-concept. The STAIC requires that the child describe the presence or absence of symptoms based on how she feels in

various situations and which we infer to represent potentially anxiety-provoking situations. Thus, children with positive global self-concept were found to report fewer symptoms of anxiety.

Anxiety as measured by the TEMAS was inversely yet not significantly correlated with global self-concept. The TEMAS requires that the child tell a story about a picture card shown to her, and describe how the persons in the story reacted to what is inferred to be an anxiety-provoking situation. Thus, the person in the story either adapts to or fails to cope with the situation. The TEMAS, then, measures the child's ability to express the ability to respond adaptively to a situation. Since the STAIC was significantly correlated with the TEMAS it appears that children with few symptoms of anxiety are better able to adapt to potentially anxiety-provoking situations than others.

Since TEMAS did not correlate significantly with the Piers-Harris total score, it would appear that global self-concept has no significant impact on one's ability to adapt. This interpretation would be incongruous in view of research which has shown that self-concept affects coping style (Erikson 1963). Therefore, we may interpret this finding to be a function of the test used. However, the TEMAS scoring system is subjective in that a trained clinician must interpret the child's response and rank it as adaptive or maladaptive. As with most projective tests, there appears to be less precision on the TEMAS than on an objectively scored test such as the

STAIC where the child, not the clinician, provides a self-ranking of symptoms.

Despite these differences, the correlation between the STAIC and TEMAS were weighted in the same direction which suggests that their respective relationships with global self-concept is as expected. The differences found between TEMAS and the STAIC may reflect a difference in level of testing between self-response, and report of response style to an anxiety-provoking situation.

Furthermore, though the TEMAS scores were not significantly correlated with Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster scores, this is likely to be a function of the fact that the Anxiety Cluster correlates significantly with the Piers-Harris total score ($p < 0.000$) so that the Anxiety Cluster is a subset of the total scale. Since the correlation between TEMAS scores and Piers-Harris scores were not significant it is not surprising that the correlation between TEMAS and the Anxiety Cluster were not significant. These findings may be interpreted to mean that in our sample of black girls, feelings about oneself have an impact on the level of anxiety experienced. A high anxiety level is likely due to how they view themselves in an overall sense rather than their view of themselves as black people for as we have seen, a significant correlation was not indicated between anxiety and racial self-concept.

Cluster analysis of the relationship between global self-concept and anxiety revealed that the child's opinion about whether her behavior is problematic or acceptable to

others, was found to be significantly correlated with anxiety level. Self-report of behavior and anxiety were found to be inversely correlated as measured by both the TEMAS and the STAIC.

These results are in accordance with our central proposition. That is, children are often cognizant of their behavior, and of how it is perceived by others. The realization that they behave in a problematic manner may facilitate the propensity to be anxious in various situations. Their self-evaluation of their behavior as bad may cause them to feel ill-equipped to take the proper action in various anxiety-provoking situations. It may be postulated that the experience of high anxiety in various situations causes the child to misbehave rather than vice versa. It is also possible that the child is not anxious but associates situations with being punished.

We have, then, seen that some aspects of global self-concept are highly correlated with racial self-concept. In addition, we have seen that children with positive global self-concept had lower anxiety levels than other children. Since we found that global self-concept is partially related to racial self-concept, and global self-concept is highly correlated with level of anxiety, we next examined the relationship between racial self-concept and anxiety level.

The third hypothesis of this study was that there is not a significant correlation between racial self-concept and anxiety. This hypothesis was confirmed. The child's view of self as a black person did not appear to affect the level of

anxiety that she experienced, when anxiety was measured by TEMAS and the STAIC.

However, 'pride in being black' was positively correlated with low anxiety as measured by the Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster IV ($p < .023$). This result may have been caused by the fact that the six Piers-Harris Cluster Scales correlate highly with one another ($p < .000$). Thus the correlation between low anxiety and 'pride in being black' may be a reflection of the fact that children who scored low in anxiety on the Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster were found to have positive self-concept. As we have already discussed, positive and global self-concept was correlated with low anxiety.

It is likely that black individuals who score high in anxiety (that is, those who tend to appraise situations as potentially threatening and respond by feeling anxious) feel uncertain about how to cope with their environment. This may reflect their generalized self-doubts based on self-concept rather than a preoccupation with color.

It may be that the propensity to feel anxious is more likely a function of such aspects as one's sense of control over various situations, confidence, ability to adapt -- all of which would seem to be related to one's overall self-concept.

Myer (1968) notes that one's frame of reference is an important consideration in understanding self-concept because children who compare themselves to others whom they perceive to be similar to them will have more positive self-concepts while children who compare themselves to those who are perceived to

be 'better' or more valued, will have negative self-concepts. The children in our sample attend predominantly black urban schools and are from working-class families, so that it is possible that they compare themselves to others who are from similar SES background and who are black. However, it is likely that they are exposed to lifestyles of others - both black and white - from input from the media and literature, and realize that their lives may differ.

SUMMARY

There was not a clear, consistent pattern between the factors studied. We saw some relationship between the child's concept of self and aspects of racial self-concept. In one instance, a relationship was found between self-report of anxiety and pride in being black, in that pride was associated with low anxiety. Our sample of black girls from working-class families was found, on average, to think positively of themselves in an overall sense and as black people. The results found in this study appear similar to other studies in that a range of self-concept scores were found, though in general most children scored on the average. Thus, self-hatred does not appear to be an inevitable result of being black (as Kardiner and Ovesy postulated in 1951), and pride in racial group membership was more prevalent than lack of racial pride. Therefore, despite societal devaluation of blackness, these black children expressed positive feelings about being black. Their attitudes may have been influenced by the more recent

emphasis on racial pride, or by exposure to significant others who support positive feelings about racial group membership. One of the assumptions we made was that global self-concept and racial self-concept are separate entities but feeling good about oneself in an overall sense will facilitate positive racial self-concept.

Some, though not all aspects of global self-concept were found to be correlated with racial self-concepts. The majority of our children expressed pride in being black. These children tended to report feeling happy and satisfied with their lives. Children who perceived their interpersonal environment as non-threatening were more likely to express racial pride than others. Another assumption was made that since global self-concept differs from racial self-concept, the two types of self-concept would have different effects on anxiety level.

The children who had positive global self-concept were found to have lower anxiety levels than others. That is, positive global self-concept was significantly correlated with low anxiety level, a correlation that has been consistently reported by other researchers (e.g., Coopersmith, 1952; Lipsitt, 1958; Edwards, 1972). Thus these children performed as other children have, regardless of race. It appears, then, that the personality characteristics of the child -- rather than her color -- influence level of anxiety and feelings about the self.

While we found that racial self-concept was related to some aspects of global self-concept, and positive global self-concept was inversely correlated with anxiety, there was not a significant correlation between racial self-concept and anxiety. We interpreted this to mean that black children do not have higher levels of anxiety as a function of contentment with being black. Minority status does not in and of itself lead to high anxiety levels in children, nor is it necessarily a catalyst to negative feelings about oneself. Overall, then, the results of this study indicate that there is not a clear relationship between global self-concept and racial self-concept. Further research would be helpful in clarifying this.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The scientific community most often bases its theoretical propositions on research data which has been gathered via the use of imperfect instrumentation. This is an inherent weakness of studies and one that researchers repeatedly attempt to improve upon. In general, the limitations of this study derive from its specificity to black latency age females, sample size, and the fact that the research instruments were not as subtle as one would have liked.

In addition, the child's interest in giving socially desirable responses must be acknowledged. Though this is relevant to all tests administered in the study it may be particularly relevant in areas of racial self-concept. It may be that due to emphasis on black pride, fewer black individuals

express dislike for their color or a lack of pride in their racial group. Some black persons may feel reluctant to express their dislike of their color. Although the Rosenberg Racial disidentification questionnaire may be criticized for its lack of sophistication, it fulfills a need which has not been filled by other tests because it inquires as to the many aspects of racial self-concept. However it does so in such a direct way that we may be tapping into attitudes about color. While our results have been interpreted as reflecting positive feelings about being black, it is also possible that we are testing social consciousness about rejecting one's color.

Projective tests may be used to assess attributes other than self-concept. In this study for example, TEMAS was used to assess adaptive responses to anxiety. One of the advantages of TEMAS is that it is a projective test that is scored quantitatively. This perits the researcher to assess and compare level of response. Another advantage of the TEMAS was that the meaning of the child's response were not as evident to her. However, as we have discussed, a disadvantage of TEMAS is that the responses are subjectively scored. Since there are specific criteria for scoring, however, an advantage then, of the STAIC and the Piers-Harris is that the child is given an objective, standardized score based on her self-report. However, since there are stringent scoring criteria for the TEMAS and the scoring was done by a trained clinician, the results are considered sufficiently valid and reliable to add a useful

diminsion to our study, especially when used in conjunction with objective measures of anxiety. The TEMAS is less likely to reflect the child's reflection of the desirability of responses, and permitted a disguised expression of feeling rather than a more direct reporting of feeling required by the objective test.

Within the limitations of the instruments and the population as described elsewhere, the findings of this study appear to be valid.

Implications of the Study

We have seen that a complex relationship exists between global self-concept, racial self-concept and anxiety. Future research is needed on the healthy, adaptive ways in which black children respond to anxiety-provoking situations. During the course of life, every individual experiences some degree of anxiety. Individuals who acquire coping skills in childhood will be likely to be more capable of developing, consolidating and utilizing these skills in adulthood.

One treatment goal in the psychotherapeutic intervention of the child is often to facilitate the improvement of the child's self-concept. When planning of a course of treatment to reach such a goal, the clinician must have a frame of reference as to the etiology of the negative self-concept. If the clinician makes the assumption, based on having had exposure only to literature and theory on the inevitability of self-hate in blacks, that the negative self-concept is an inescap-

able aspect of minority status, that clinician may lack awareness of his or her ability to facilitate improvement in the child's self-concept.

Research which focuses on the negative aspects of the psychodynamics of the black child, serves the primary function of obfuscating the existence of alternatives and options which may exist for the clinician in dealing therapeutically with this issue.

It is a reality that many black children are at risk of emotional problems that result from personal and psychosocial factors such as lack of appropriate intellectual preparation for academic achievement, multi-generational poverty and other environmental factors.

These facts as well as or rather than being black in a white world may precipitate psychological distress. Therefore these factors as well as the individual's ability to adapt to change should be addressed in order to alleviate emotional distress. Treatment of the black child should take account of these complexities.

The implications of this study are that among children who have positive global self-concept, there may be an idiosyncratic relationship between that and their racial self-concept.

Black children may be considered to be in a high risk group due to hazards which exist due to being a minority in a white-majority environment.

Some children may be less susceptible to the ill-effects of this situation as evidenced by a low level of chronic anxiety. Some manifest high levels of anxiety. Our study suggests that one's basic acceptance of blackness does not affect one's overall self-concept and level of anxiety. Further studies are needed to confirm and elaborate upon this finding. For example, if we had found more variation in racial self-concept, would we have found more variation in global self-concept, or vice versa.

Finally, we believe that this study is of interest because it both broadens and narrows one's understanding of self-concept. It narrows one's understanding of self-concept in that we have seen that variation and complexity exists in the relationship between the self-concepts and anxiety in the black children we studied.

It broadens our understanding by ruling out the assumption of negative self-concept, rejection of one's color, and high anxiety as a condition of being black.

APPENDIX D

A Description of the TEMAS Cards

Card 24G: A girl studying and daydreaming about herself receiving an "A" from her teacher and about receiving an "F" from her teacher.

Card 28G: A girl in a window imagining herself being saved from a building in flames by a fireman and by Wonder Woman.

Card 29: An (adolescent) in bed dreaming of a scene showing a horse on a bill, a river, and a path leading to a castle.

Card 30: An (adolescent) in bed dreaming of a monster eating something and of a monster making threats.

Card 32G: A girl standing in front of a bathroom mirror, imagining her face reflected in the mirror with attributes of both sexes.

APPENDIX E

HOW-I-FEEL QUESTIONNAIRE

STAIC FORM C-2

NAME _____ AGE _____ DATE _____

DIRECTIONS: The sentences below are usually used by boys and girls to tell how they feel about themselves. I am going to read each sentance and you will tell me if it is true for you—if it is hardly ever true, sometimes true, or often true. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one sentence. Remember, tell me the word which best describes how you usually feel.

1.	I worry about making mistakes	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
2.	I feel like crying	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
3.	I feel unhappy	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
4.	I have trouble making up my mind . . .	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
5.	It is difficult for me to face my problems .	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
6.	I worry too much	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
7.	I get upset at home	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
8.	I am shy	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
9.	I feel I have problems	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
10.	I think about things that are not important & this bothers me	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
11.	I worry about school	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
12.	I have trouble making up my mind about what to do.	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
13.	I notice my heart beats fast	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
14.	I am afraid, but don't tell anyone .	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
15.	I worry about my parents	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
16.	My hands get sweaty	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
17.	I worry about things that may happen . .	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
18.	It is hard for me to fall asleep at night .	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
19.	I get a funny feeling in my stomach when I am afraid	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often
20.	I worry about what others think of me .	☐	hardly-ever	☐	sometimes	☐	often

APPENDIX F

Responses by Children in School 1 and School 2
To Rosenberg Racial Disidentification Questionnaire

Subj.[1]	R1	R2[2]	R3	R4[3]	R5	R6
1-1	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-2	Yes	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-3	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-4	No	Not Imp.	Proud	Black	No	Maybe
1-5	Yes	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-6	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	Yes	Yes
1-7	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Sthg else	Maybe	Yes
1-8	Yes	Not Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-9	Yes	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	Maybe
1-10	Yes	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-11	Yes	Not Imp.	Pretty Proud	Black	No	No
1-12	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	Maybe
1-13	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	Yes	No
1-14	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Pretty Proud	Black	Maybe	No
1-15	No	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-16	No	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	Maybe	Maybe
1-17	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-18	Yes	Not Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-19	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
1-20	No	Pretty Imp.	Pretty Proud	Black	No	No
2-21	No	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
2-22	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	Yes	No
2-23	No	Pretty Imp.	Proud	sthg Else	No	Yes
2-24	No	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No

APPENDIX F continued

Subj.[1]	R1	R2[2]	R3	R4[3]	R5	R6
2-25	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	Maybe	No
2-26	No	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	Yes	No
2-27	Yes	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
2-28	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
2-29	Yes	Not Imp.	Proud	Black	No	Yes
2-30	No	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	Maybe	No
2-31	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Pretty Proud	Black	No	No
2-32	Yes	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
2-33	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	Yes
2-34	Yes	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	Maybe
2-35	No	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
2-36	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	sthg Else	No	Yes
2-37	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Proud	Black	No	No
2-38	Yes	Pretty Imp.	Pretty Proud	Black	Maybe	Maybe
2-39	Yes	Very Imp.	Proud	Black	Maybe	No

[1] Subjects #1-20 (School 1); Subjects #21-39 (School 2)

[2] Pretty Important

[3] Sthg Else - Something Else (the wish to be another color) not Black

APPENDIX G

Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale Scores of Children in School 1 and School 2

Subject	PHT	Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster IV	Prorated Score	Prorated T Score
1-1	73	11	62	1.01
1-2	69	10	59	.73
1-3	59	7	52	.06
1-4	60	11	49	-0.23
1-5	51	4	47	-0.42
1-6	28	6	22	-2.80
1-7	50	8	42	-0.89
1-8	72	12	60	0.82
1-9	55	6	49	-0.23
1-10	52	6	46	-0.51
1-11	54	5	49	-0.23
1-12	44	8	36	-1.46
1-13	62	10	52	-0.06
1-14	50	6	44	-0.70
1-15	66	11	55	0.35
1-16	55	8	47	-0.42
1-17	43	5	38	-1.27
1-18	59	9	50	-0.13
1-19	66	12	54	0.25
1-20	64	7	57	0.54
2-21	60	9	51	-0.04
2-22	59	6	53	0.16
2-23	62	9	53	0.16

APPENDIX G continued

Subject	PHT	Piers-Harris Anxiety Cluster IV	Prorated Score	Prorated T Score
2-24	57	6	51	-0.04
2-25	72	11	61	0.92
2-26	66	10	56	0.44
2-27	72	9	63	1.11
2-28	66	7	59	0.73
2-29	68	10	58	0.63
2-30	73	11	62	1.01
2-31	49	6	43	-0.80
2-32	75	12	63	1.11
2-33	65	13	52	0.06
2-34	68	11	57	0.54
2-35	77	13	64	1.20
2-36	73	12	61	0.92
2-37	71	—	—	—[1]
2-38	19	3	16	-3.37
2-39	66	7	59	0.73

[1] - Missing Data

APPENDIX H

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

P.S. _____ SCHOOL _____ BOROUGH _____ ZIP CODE _____ ADDRESS _____ TELEPHONE

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

Dear Parent:

I would like to inform you that Dr. Costantino of the Lutheran Medical Center and the Hispanic Research Center is developing an apperception test for urban minority children. The test consists of 9 pictures showing children and adults in family, social and individual situations. This instrument when completed will be used to help teachers and clinicians understand the behavior of children and to help in developing programs to promote the children's intellectual and personality growth.

The testing consists of showing the pictures to your child and having your child tell a story about each picture. In fact, the test is called TEMAS, which stands for Tell-Me-A-Story. In addition, your child will be given three short questionnaires with questions such as, "I feel that I am as good as other children," "I am shy", and "I give up easily."

I am requesting your permission to have your child tell some stories in a situation which will take about one hour. This telling of stories will take place in our school during school hours and will not interfere with your child's learning. Please be sure that your child's name will not be used and that Dr. Costantino is not trying to evaluate your child specifically.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Please sign your name at the bottom of this letter and give it back to your child so that the letter can be returned to the teacher.

Sincerely,

Principal

I GIVE PERMISSION TO HAVE MY CHILD TESTED BY DR. COSTANTINO'S STAFF MEMBERS. I UNDERSTAND THAT MY CHILD'S NAME WILL NOT BE USED AND THAT THE TEST RESULTS WILL BE USED TO UNDERSTAND CHILDREN IN GENERAL.

_____
Parental Signature

Child's Name_____ Grade/Classroom_____

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