A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EVALUATIVE MEANING OF COLOUR:
IMPLICATIONS FOR IDENTITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SELF-ESTEEM IN YOUNG BLACK CHILDREN

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the degree of Master of Philosophy,
Preamble

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SUMMARY

This study reviews in detail the literature on identity development in children and adolescents, drawing on the theoretical framework of George Herbert Mead and Erik Erikson. Particular attention is paid to identity development in young black children in Britain, the United States, and Jamaica. Literature on self-concept and self-esteem in young children is also reviewed in detail, and a chapter is devoted to measurement problems in this area. An attempt is made to integrate accounts of self-esteem and self-concept within the concept of global identity.

The ways in which young children acquire evaluative meanings of colour are considered, with special consideration of the development of feelings about their personal ethnicity in relation to self-esteem in young black children aged between four and seven. The argument is developed that devaluation of one's ethnic group is a manifestation of poor self-esteem.

The development of the Williams Colour Meaning Test and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure in America is described, the race-of-tester effect being discussed in detail. An adaptation of the Ziller method of measuring self-esteem, suitable for use with children aged 4 to 7 is also described.

A study is described using the Colour Meaning Test, the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure and the Ziller self-esteem measure in 414 children aged 4 to 7 in England and Jamaica. The subjects in England (white English, black Jamaican, black West Indian, Cypriot, African and Asian) attended nursery and infant schools in London. The Jamaican subjects attended an infant school in a rural area.

The results showed that black West Indian subjects, both in England and Jamaica, displayed considerable white bias in their evaluation of colour and ethnicity. The evaluation of colour and ethnicity was significantly related to the measurement of self-esteem in predicted directions, in both English and West Indian children. African children displayed the least white bias in the evaluation of colour and ethnicity. In the subjects in England, a high proportion of black and Asian children...
in a classroom was associated with a more positive evaluation of colour and ethnicity in the West Indian subjects; in contrast, white children in a minority in a classroom showed enhanced rather than diminished ethnic identity.

These and other findings are considered at some length in a discussion of ways of enhancing identity and the development of self-esteem in young black children in Britain.
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In this thesis I am concerned to discuss and describe the ways in which children come to regard themselves, and evaluate their self characteristics. In particular, I am concerned to show how the young black child as a member of a minority group in a white dominated society comes to regard himself. My particular concern is the age group four to seven years, but since I am interested in the whole of the child's development, and the roots of identity laid in these early years, I will describe identity development up to the adolescent period, and will review studies of self-concept and self-esteem in young blacks of a variety of ages.

Since much of the research in this field has been carried out in America I will frequently refer to American work, but will review fairly fully work carried out in England and in Jamaica. I am more concerned with the results of empirical studies than with the theories which underlie them. This thesis will not make any attempt at theoretical innovation; rather, I am concerned to add to empirical studies in this field, using an instrument developed in America for the measurement of young children's perceptions of colour and of the evaluation of people of different ethnic groups. The crucial inference is made, justified at some length in the thesis, that an evaluation of one's own ethnic group, positive or negative, is also an evaluation of one's personal worth as a member of that ethnic group. I attempt to bolster this inference by cross-validation with measures of self-esteem completed by the same populations.

At the same time, the measures are applied cross-culturally, to children in rural Jamaica, to West Indian children in London, and to African, English, Asian and Cypriot children in London. Such a cross-cultural comparison of self-esteem and ethnic evaluation is intended, not only to throw light on the influence which traditional West Indian society has had on how black people evaluate their self characteristics, but also to throw light on the emic-etic debate (Triandis, 1975) about the
cultural relativism and cultural universalism of certain personal reactions to social situations. A crucial question is this: is the negative evaluation of blackness universal, or is it relative to particular social systems in which whites, or "high-coloured" individuals, dominate the society to the extent that they are able to dominate the cognitive world of ordinary black people, to dictate the cultural symbols which seem to be relevant in the evaluation of personal ethnicity? The evidence from America seems to be: certainly, but less so now than in the past. My own evidence from Jamaica seems to indicate that black, rural Jamaicans still transmit to their children negative views of blackness. This is somewhat less true of the young Jamaican and other West Indian children I have tested in London schools; but still this group has a significant "white bias". But the small sample of African children I have tested in the London schools seem to indicate that these children have undergone somewhat different socialization experiences, and do not see their personal ethnicity in overwhelmingly negative terms.

Since I am concerned with the whole child, with children in educational, clinical and social work settings, and with child development in general, I will consider in detail the mechanisms whereby children come to see themselves in particular ways, and the various social influences which bear on this process as they pass through various developmental stages. It will be clear that I have a particular liking for the theoretical perspectives of Mead, Maslow and Erikson. My choice of these theorists is largely intuitive, and I do not attempt to extend or criticize these theories in any particular way. I regard these and other theories (for example, Piaget's account of cognitive development) as essentially complementary. All of them seem to me to be useful in understanding the ways which young black children develop in changing, and sometimes racist societies.
As a professional social worker, working daily with young black children from deprived backgrounds, I am particularly concerned not only with a variety of ways of measuring identity and self-evaluation, but with ways of enhancing identity development, and positive self-esteem. For this reason my final chapter is devoted to various ways in which this might be achieved.
CHAPTER 1

IDENTITY AND THE SELF

Introduction

Theories of the Self

The Concept of Identity

Conclusions
CHAPTER 1

IDENTITY AND THE SELF

"The supreme law (of life) is this: the sense of worth of the self shall not be allowed to be diminished".

- Alfred Adler, quoted by Becker (1971).

Introduction

In this chapter I will try and describe the basic theories of how children come to acquire a sense of themselves, and ideas of themselves as individuals having qualities of various kinds. I will try and relate Erikson's notion of identity to various other theories of self development, including Mead's crucial and important distinction between 'I' and 'Me'. During this account I will offer illustrative examples from the minority group situation, and will move increasingly in later chapters from the theoretical accounts of the development of the self and of identity, to empirical accounts of identity and self-esteem in black, minority groups. It is accounts of the latter type which are my main concern in this study.

Theories of the Self

Since the early part of the twentieth century, social psychological theorists have been concerned with the notion of the self. Among these are people such as Rogers, James, Freud, Allport, Lewin, and Mead. (Of course, in previous centuries, many writers and philosophers had concerned themselves with the nature of the self and its role in human conduct and motivations.) Latterly, sociologists such as Syngg and Combs (1949) have investigated the self in relation to the conscious feelings, cognitions, and perceptions the individual has of himself and his world. In an article, "The Measurement of self-concept and self report" (1963), Combs et al argue that, "The self is composed of perceptions concerning the individual and this organization of perceptions in turn has vital and important effects upon the behaviour of the individual". (p.470).
Nash (1976) has pointed out that there are basically three traditions of "self" theory. I shall begin by discussing the second tradition of self theory as it is the simplest and most obvious of the three. This involves the interactionist conception of the self and is contained in the work of James, Mead and their associates. Meadian theory suggests that the self is the product of the process during which the individual comes to accept as his own the ideas about himself that he perceives others to hold of him. Thus, this process, "taking the role of the other", shows how the child develops self-concepts, i.e. ideas about himself similar to those his significant others have of him. (The acquisition of these will be discussed later).

Mead conceptualised the self as a process that consists of two distinct but simultaneous aspects: the 'I' and the 'Me'. The 'Me' comes about through taking the attitudes of others toward oneself. It is the objectified aspect of the self, which is presented to others, and which we "see" when we take their attitude toward our self. The 'Me' is what the individual "sees" when he interacts with another person; just as he sees himself when he looks in the mirror. An individual has several 'Mes' at any one time - there is the physical me, the me in a particular interaction (being, for instance, patient, understanding and warm), the me as a parent, the me as a child, the me as a graduate student and so on.

In contemporary terminology, many of the 'Mes' that make up the self are called roles. Thus in the symbolic interaction framework, the role is a 'me' that the individual presents in a social interaction. It arises from taking the attitude of the other (or generalized other) toward one's own behaviour. However, a 'me' is not always a role. It may be a characteristic of the self that may be seen by others. A 'me' may reveal a feeling such as 'depressed' or 'anxious'; or it may be an attitude such as 'honest' or 'punctual'; but a role is always a 'me'. One plays many roles during the day (i.e. presents many 'mes'), and it is the task of the 'I' to select and integrate these various 'mes' into a sense of self.
The 'I' is logically involved in the self, however, since an objective self (formed through taking the attitude of others) presupposes a subjective aspect of the self that reacts to the 'me', and that also responds to the 'me' presented by others in interaction. According to Kimmel (1974), this aspect of the self, the I, is a "fleeting, momentary, process self; it can never be observed or objectified because it exists only in moment-to-moment consciousness; it exists only in process. In some ways, it resembles the 'stream of consciousness' that James discussed - it is moment-by-moment awareness, everchanging and existing only in process". (Because it is process rather than content it is most easily identified by the 'ing' endings on words that describe its functioning: reacting, reflecting, experiencing, feeling, interpreting, responding, etc.).

Central to the notion of the 'I' is the fact that it responds to a situation in the immediate present experience and as such is always uncertain and unpredictable. It thus introduces the possibility of novelty and of change. "The possibilities of the 'I' belong to that which is actually going on, taking place, and it is in some sense the most fascinating part of our experience. It is there that novelty arises ... " (Mead, 1934, p.237).

The 'I' exists only in the present moment since it is ongoing; we are always feeling, responding, experiencing in this present moment. Sometimes we wish to examine our response to a particular situation and in so doing we are trying to grasp the 'I' of the past moment and make it a 'me' so that we may label, examine and talk about it as an object. Consider the following example: six-year-old Danny, a black child adopted by white parents, and attending an all white school had earlier told me that "They call me Blacky Sambo at school, and I call them Pinky Face". He clearly meant that the name they called him was a disparaging one. Then, a short time later we were watching television. A black runner was competing against several white runners and Danny pointed to the television and said,
"Look, there's me". As the race drew to its climax and black and white runners contested the leadership, Danny shouted, "Come on Blacky Sambo". At that point he was developing an 'I' with regard to racial identity; his 'I' was overtly manifested at the brief moment in which he identified both with the black runner and the disparaging name which other children called him. Afterwards I asked Danny, "Do you really think that you are a Blacky Sambo?" He pulled a face and said, "I suppose so. That's what they call me". Now, he had grasped the 'I' which had manifested itself during the excitement of the race; it had become part of his 'me', part of his objective self. It seems that Danny had internalised the racial attitudes of others, and now comes to see himself as they see him.

Our self is made up of these kinds of moment-by-moment interactions between the 'I' and the 'Me' aspects of the self. Something is amiss when this kind of I-me interaction does not occur (as in some forms of schizophrenia). Most of us have a reasonable amount of interaction between what we experience and our perception of ourselves. As Mead (1934, p.229) phrased it: "I talk to myself and I remember what I said and perhaps the emotional content that went with it. The 'I' of this moment is present in the 'me' of the next moment. There again I cannot turn around quick enough to catch myself. I become a 'me' in so far as I remember what I said ... it is because of the 'I' that we say we are never fully aware of what we are, that we surprise ourselves by our own action".

This analysis of the self indicates that the individual's notion of himself is social in origin and as such is derived from his interaction with others who evaluate him in many differing ways. Sociologists such as Webster and Sobieszek have taken this a good deal further and suggest that the notion of the self is relational and specific. Self-evaluation, they say, is relative to the structure of the social situation. Both who the other is and what the situation is appear to be important. The self is an ongoing, changing, active processing characteristic of the individual.
Freud and his followers were among the first to develop psychological ideas about the self. Freud himself argued that there are three aspects of personal development, the Id (instinctual drives), the Ego (the adaptive part of the mind which brings it into conformity with external reality) and the Super-Ego (that which represents the demands of parents and society, guiding the Ego along a "moral" path). Nash (1976) pointed out, however, that self did not form the central theme of Freud's work; it was his daughter, Anna Freud, who became one of the pioneers in emphasising the importance of self images in the individual.

Like Adler, many of the pupils of Freud felt that the individual should be encouraged and helped to recognise his true goals, and reach a state of self-fulfilment or self-actualisation (Maslow's theory). Becker (1971) developed this area in relation to attitudes and argues, for example, that the narcissistic individual generally devalues other people in order to enhance his self image.

'Identity' formed the core of Erikson's study which was published in 1968. Here, like Adler, he argued that the individual and the quality of his self-value was of greatest importance. The search for integrity involves the identification with figures in the culture (which could be presumed to include own racial figures); and this is supposed to be difficult in modern Western society where models for identification are weak and goals of the society are vague. The development of ego-identity in Erikson's theory proceeds through eight stages. At each of the first seven stages, a particular problem must be solved before ego integrity is reached, in the eighth stage. Even in this eighth stage, however, ego identity is still threatened. The eight stages which unfold as the individual gets older, are: (1) trust versus basic mistrust; (2) autonomy versus shame and doubt; (3) initiative versus guilt; (4) industry versus inferiority; (5) identity versus role diffusion; (6) intimacy versus isolation; (7) generativity "doing things" versus stagnation; (8) ego integrity versus despair.
Another theorist, Abraham Maslow, has outlined a theory that for brevity is called the self-actualization theory (Maslow, 1954). This is a multiple-factor theory which posits five levels of needs (whose development also coincides with certain age stages) arranged in a hierarchy. From lower to high levels they are: 'Physiological needs' such as hunger, thirst and warmth; 'Safety needs' such as security, stability and order; 'Belongingness and love needs' such as needs for affection, affiliation and identification (presumably this includes affection for, affiliation to and identification with one's own racial group); 'Esteem needs' such as needs for prestige, success and self-respect; 'Need for self-actualization, or self-fulfilment'. The order in which these needs are listed are significant in two ways. This is the order in which they are said to appear in the normal development of the person. It is also the order in which they need to be satisfied. It might be expected then that people in affluent societies such as Britain, will manage to satisfy the needs lower in the hierarchy, and in many cases will be preoccupied with the need for self-actualization. More and more studies point to strivings for the three last levels among many West Indian children and adolescents in Britain (see Weinreich, 1978; and Bagley, Mallick and Verma, 1978; Bagley and Young, 1978).

The third tradition of self theory is closer to the 'Commonsense view' of the self, in which the self is viewed simply as a trait of the individual personality (Zelditch, 1974). Behaviour (ways of thinking and feeling) is assumed to be consistent in a variety of social situations. Zelditch sees the work of Rosenberg (1965) and Coopersmith (1967) on self-esteem as reflecting this commonsense view. To them personality is an enduring variable. Coopersmith argues, "It is from a person's actions and relative position within (his) frame of reference that he comes to believe that he is a success or failure - since all capabilities and performances are viewed from such a personal context we must know for
example conditions and standards within a given classroom, groups of professionals, or a family before making any conclusions about any individual's feelings of worthiness" (p.20). Like-Mead, Coopersmith is in fact arguing that evaluation of the self by reference to significant others is a relatively enduring process. Thus a child internalises a relatively enduring view of himself from his parents. The child's experiences in school may also give him a view of himself which is both self-confirming and enduring. Studies by writers such as Barker-Lunn (1970), Fidgeon (1970), Rosenthal (1973) point out that teacher expectations, to the extent that they label children, seem to be self-confirming. For example, a child thinking he is dull, will behave similarly. This may confirm the quite irrational, stereotyped or biased view of the teacher who then reinforces the child's feelings of dullness. This feeling is enduring to the extent that the child carries this feeling of inferiority into subsequent classrooms and even into the sphere of work.*

The relationship between self-esteem and personality is not made very clear by any theorists that I am aware of. The works of psychologists such as Eysenck and Cattell do not appear to recognise "self" as a basic concept. In their book on The Structure of Human Personality (1969), Eysenck and Eysenck make only a passing reference to self-actualisation, and no reference at all to self-esteem. Similarly, Cattell's idea of "self-sentiment" formed only a small part of his work in Scientific Analysis of Personality (1965).

Unlike the above personality theorists, others argue that the notion of the self is important and indeed central to personal functioning. Becker (1971), for example, argues that the dominant motive of man is the need for self-esteem. Hayakawa (1963) also feel that the main purpose of

* It should be emphasised that labelling does not take place in every classroom; but it does occur in a significant minority of classrooms. For reviews of literature in this field see Rosenthal (1973).
all human activity is to enhance self-esteem. It could be that personality theorists such as Eysenck and Cattell are measuring self-esteem indirectly, since for example, Eysenck's personality inventories ask questions about the self. Some of these questions are similar to those found in the inventory of Coopersmith, e.g. Eysenck asks "Do you day dream a lot?" (Eysenck's Junior Personality Inventory), while Coopersmith invites a response to, "I spend a lot of time day-dreaming" (Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory).

Scholars sometimes draw a distinction between self-concept and self-esteem. Self-concept involves an objective or cognitive appraisal of the self while self-esteem involves an emotional appraisal of the self, reflecting self-confidence. I would argue, however, that since all descriptions of the self (except descriptions such as weight, height, sex) involve a strong emotional loading, that all self-conceptions are also expressions of self-esteem. Taking Eysenck's and Coopersmith's variable of 'day-dreaming' for example - to admit that one day-dreams is to admit to an undesirable behaviour. This statement is one of fact and is inevitably involved with emotion in actually admitting it.

Is satisfaction with the self a measure of self-esteem? From their study of students' ratings of themselves and their ideal selves, Block and Thomas (1955) found that these correlated significantly with a number of MMPI scales. Other findings reflected suggestions by other investigators that a defensively high self-esteem can exist in some individuals, as a reaction to an undesirable social position (see for example, Weinreich's study (1976) of black youngsters in English schools). Block and Thomas found that students with very high self-esteem tended to have signs of personality maladjustment, in contrast with those with self-esteem ratings in the middle range.

In his publication of 1971, Becker makes an attempt to demonstrate that self-esteem is the primary aspect of human personality and motivation.
He argues that the cortex (the factor that distinguishes man from animals), with the power it bestows upon man to be self-appraising, is the basis of how the self or ego develops. Becker observes too that he in fact prefers Sullivan's idea of "self-system" as this covers all the aspects of the psyche (id, ego and superego). The self and the need for that self to be praised is of crucial importance both to the young child as well as the adult. He explains: "Alfred Adler saw with beautiful clarity that the basic process in the formation of character was the child's need to be somebody in the symbolic world, since physically nature had put him into an impossible position. He is faced with the anxieties of his own life and experience, as well as the need to accommodate to the superior powers of his trainers; and from all this somehow to salvage a sense of superiority and confidence. And how can he do this, except by choosing a symbolic-action system in which to earn his feeling of basic worth? Some people work out their urge to superiority by plying their physical and sexual attractiveness ... Others work it out by the superiority of their minds; others by being generous and helpful; others by making superior things, or money ... Others serve the corporation to get the same feeling, and some serve the war machine." (pp. 79-80). Becker adds that still others maintain their self-esteem by endeavouring to denigrate other people or groups - "Everything that reflects the outsider is undervalued, while everything that belongs to the individual and his group is overvalued." 

Hewitt in Social Stratification and Deviant Behaviour (1970), points out that there are five major components of the self: (1) an organised set of motivations to pursue certain goals such as the satisfaction of basic sex drives, to have material possessions and to be esteemed by others; (2) a series of roles to which the person is committed, along with a knowledge of how to play them, and acceptance of the norms governing the various role behaviours; (3) a more general set of commitments to social norms and their underlying values (this commitment acquired through the...
process of socialization); (4) a set of cognitive abilities which includes the ability to create and understand symbols which in turn enables the individual to give the correct response in social interaction and provides a "map" of the physical and social setting in which the individual finds himself. Hewitt's fifth and possibly most important component of the self describes the self-image (the set of ideas about one's qualities, capabilities, commitments and motives). This emerges through the degree to which an individual's motivations are achieved; and the ways in which he personally evaluates his role performance through the norms and values he has internalised; and the degree to which the cognitive abilities he has acquired enables him to understand and manipulate his environment.

Ziller (1972) argues that self-esteem or the self-system reacts to changing circumstances in the outside world. He incorporated the notion of attitudes in his analysis of self-esteem. An individual's attitude to himself and to the world in general are a central part of his personality structure. If the situation requires the individual to alter his behaviour, then the individual will change his attitudes to the things he has to do. In this way he will be reducing what Festinger (1964) calls "cognitive dissonance".

Role performance in a new situation requires the acquisition of fresh norms, and a new "me". Ziller argues that this change in norms also involves a change in attitude concerning the self. Sherif and Sherif (1967) put it thus: "A person's attitudes define for him what he is and what he is not, that is, what is included within and what is excluded from his self-image". What these authors seem to be saying is that the self concept is a central aspect of personality which is involved in the organisation and reorientation of attitudes, values and role performance. The direction of cause is problematic. However Bem (1970) points out that changes in relation to self-concept and self-esteem are sometimes due to behavioural
change in response to unavoidable environmental stimuli. In some cases, role change will result in enhanced self-esteem; in others, in the reduction of self-esteem. The latter would fall in the category of, for example, downward mobility. All this indicates that some aspects of an individual's value system and his feelings about himself (including the ways he thinks he ought to be rewarded) are somewhat unchangeable. Probably, this stability (or rigidity) of values and expectations of how the self ought to be esteemed is the result of the very powerful influences of socialisation during the childhood and adolescent years.

To complete this section on the theories, I think it is important to consider how a recent school of personality theorists have tried to integrate self theory. Epstein (1973) asks of self-theorists, "Is psychology destined to remain with two schools of thought, a subjective one in which the self-concept is central, and an objective one in which it is superfluous?" He in fact feels that the two theories are quite compatible with one another and points out that many of the differences between the two can be resolved by arguing that individuals have their own "self-theory". Each individual's self-theory arises out of his unique socialization, and the problems which he currently faces. Thus the object of each person's self-theory is (a) to optimise the pleasure/pain balance of the individual over the course of a lifetime; (b) to facilitate the maintenance of self-esteem; (c) to organise life experiences in a manner that can be coped with effectively.

According to Epstein's line of thinking, someone with a narrow self-theory (which could be due to one or more of the following - the limiting nature of socialisation experiences, lack of opportunity to develop cognitive skills, or a high disposition to anxiety), will tend to avoid situations which are likely to upset the equilibrium of his self-system. Like, Epstein, Wilson (1973) made a useful attempt at moving phenomenological and interactionist theories of the self closer to
behaviourist psychology. Both utilise the principles of stimulus avoidance, and the theory of the self as a mediator between stimulus and response. Wilson's theory is one of 'conservatism' and points out that conservative individuals have feelings of uncertainty and inferiority. Such feelings lead to a generalized fear of uncertainty. This in turn manifests itself as both stimulus uncertainty and avoidance of response uncertainty, which in turn lead to conservative attitude syndrome. Wilson thus predicted that conservatism and poor self-esteem would be related. Tajfel (1969) mentions that an important need of the individual is to preserve by various means such as rigidity, rationalisation, stereotyping, "the integrity of the self-image". As such his view may be seen to be providing additional support for a convergence between self and personality theories. As Morgan and King (1971) point out: "The self - the individual's self-awareness or perception of his own personality - develops through his being treated as a single entity during childhood. The self is what we subjectively experience as our personality. A person's perception of the self has an important bearing on his relations with others and on his emotional development".

The Concept of Identity

According to Erikson (1959), identity means a sense of continuity and social sameness which bridges what the individual "was as a child and what he is about to become and also reconciles his conception of himself and his community's recognition of him". He thus registers a certain impatience with what he calls the "faddish equation of the term identity with the question "Who am I?" (1965). Erikson continues by pointing out that nobody would ask himself this question except in a more or less transient morbid state, in a creative self-confrontation, or in an adolescent state sometimes combining both. The most pertinent question for most people then is "What do I want to make of myself - and - what do I have to work with?" This is indicative of a positive move and this
awareness of inner motivation is quite important in not clouding or
swamping the future with infantile wishes and adolescent defenses. Thus
identity contains a complementarity of the past and the future in both the
individual and the society - a "self-realization coupled with a mutual
recognition" (1959).

Erikson (1965) points out that the term identity is clinical in
origin and was based in the study of individual disturbances and of social
ills. Recently, however, it frequently refers to a more or less desperate
quest, or even, (as in the case of black peoples) to something mostly
negative or absent. Even then (i.e. when it is applied to the assessment
of a social problem) it would appear to be clinical in methodology. For
example, the consideration of identity problems involves (a) the taking
of a 'history', (b) the localization and the diagnostic assessment of
disintegration, (c) the testing of intact resources, (d) the approximate
prognosis, (e) the weighing of possible action.

One of the people who influenced Erikson in formulating his notion
of identity was William James. In a letter to his wife, James (1920)
depicted identity, which he then called "character", as both mental and
moral, and he experiences it as something that "comes upon you" as a
recognition, almost as a surprise rather than as something the individual
strenuously quests after. "It is an active tension (rather than a
paralysing question) - a tension which, furthermore, must create a
challenge "without guaranty" rather than one dissipated in a clamour for
certainty" - Erikson (1965).

James' life history was indicative of the emergence of a 'self-made'
identity, but Erikson found in Freud's history, signs of the unity of
both cultural and personal identity. In his address to the Society of
B'nai B'rith in Vienna in 1926 Freud said: " ... Whenever I felt an
inclination to national enthusiasm I strove to suppress it as being harmful
and wrong, alarmed by the warning examples of the peoples among whom we
Jews live. But plenty of other things remained over to make the attraction of Jewry and Jews irresistible — many obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction. And beyond this there was a perception that it was to my Jewish nature alone that I owed two characteristics that had become indispensable to me in the difficult course of my life. Because I was a Jew I found myself free from many prejudices which restricted others in the use of their intellect; and as a Jew I was prepared to join the Opposition and to do without agreement with the 'compact majority'.” (Standard Edition, London, 1959, p.273). To Erikson this identification with an oppressed minority group, indicates a feeling of deep communality, a cultural identity, which is in addition to personal identity.

The struggle for identity among black peoples and indeed within individual blacks could be likened to Freud's experience. This 'consciousness of inner identity' includes a sense of 'bitter' pride preserved by many among a race that has been oppressed and discriminated against. This positive identity is seen against a background of prejudice from the wider community amongst whom these minority people live. Identity here is one aspect of the struggle for ethnic survival.

It is Erikson's argument that an individual's identity, or a group's identity may be forged in relation to the identity of other individuals or groups. A dominant group may not have a clearly defined identity, simply, because it is the dominant group, and has no need to reflect on its position in society. Similarly some individuals may be extremely powerful, influential, or extraverted in personality, and not reflect on their personal identity, or where they are, who they are, and why they are, in relation to others. For the minority group, a sense of identity may be thrust upon them by the very oppression they have to
endure. Yet an adequate sense of identity may elude this group, as a result of the very oppression which makes this sense of identity seem so important. The earlier statements of James (in the letter to his wife) and of Freud (in his address to B'nai B'rith) illustrate both how crucial identity is for a group or an individual, and at the same time so difficult to grasp, and to achieve adequately.

Identity can be both personal (as in the case of James) or personal plus cultural (in the case of Freud). Many people never have a clear grasp of their identity (and can be said to have relatively little "ego strength", "self-esteem" or "self-actualization"). The average white Englishman has, perhaps, in the past had a relatively undeveloped sense of identity, simply because he had no need to reflect on his ethnic position except in terms of superiority. Calvin (1977) suggests that many English people are now, in collective or cultural terms, enduring an "identity crisis" because the old ethnic and imperial superiority has been lost, and English people are forced to reappraise themselves as simply partners in a multicultural society. The reaction of many English people seems to be a racist one - an adaptation of "premature identity foreclosure", in Erikson's term; this is a search for "a purified identity", as Sennett (1970) puts it, in his adaptation of Erikson's identity theory to account for problems in the wider social structure.

Social change may force an identity crisis upon a particular group of people or cultural group, just as the onset of adolescence may impose an identity crisis on an individual. Oppressed minority groups may be thrown into an identity crisis if the onset of the oppression is sudden and unexpected. Kurt Lewin (1940) addressed himself to this problem, writing for the Jewish community at the time of growing Nazi oppression. His answer was to suggest that Jews accept their minority group position and that they make it a position of strength. He understood that the Jewish child's greatest need was solid social and psychic "ground" on
which to stand. Although the problem of the Jewish minority situation are in some ways different from those of other minority children, such as blacks, Lewin's guidelines for parents bear some generalisation. His proposals are that,

1. The minority group child has to face the facts of his life.
2. It is best for these facts to be faced squarely from the start, by involving the child in that knowledge.
3. This applies under the best and the worst of minority group circumstances, since the conditions can and do change.
4. The minority parent can thereby set up a situation in which the child has a definite sense of belongingness with other members of the minority situation. This minimizes ambiguity, tension, and maladjustment.
5. Minority parents should treat the minority problem not as an individual and private matter but as a social issue. This will prevent feelings of self-accusation and self-pity which can otherwise result from the contemplation of the minority experience.
6. This sociological approach is especially important for the adolescent minority person. He needs to have a considerable reassurance concerning his belongingness. This is best provided through the interdependence of members of the minority group.
7. Minority parents should not be afraid of overlapping loyalties. Belonging to more than one overlapping group is natural and necessary for everyone. The real danger lies in standing "no-where" - in being a "marginal man", and "eternal adolescent".

Black parents are more disadvantaged than Jewish parents in coping with problems of identity in their children. Unlike the Jewish community, they do not have a clearly defined religious basis for their culture, with an ancient tradition and a literary and intellectual basis. The base of the black parent is too often one of extreme economic oppression, and the cultural disorganizations imposed by slavery and its aftermath. Yet the
tasks of the black parent in establishing an adequate sense of identity in their children are precisely the same as those set out by Lewin.

It is interesting to contrast corresponding "voices" from among the black population to those of James and Freud. Statements of some black authors appear to be couched in such negative terms as to suggest an absence of identity or what could be termed in Erikson's approach, elements of 'negative identity'. Take for example, James Baldwin's 'The Fire Next Time'. Here he describes a situation "where identity is almost impossible to achieve". Similarly, a great writer like Naipul - who writes in a language foreign to his roots and his skin, inevitably finds himself writing about problems of isolation and identity, alienation and rootlessness. Chris Searle describes Naipul's identity as being 'out in the void' beyond the dot of Trinidad, in an area of darkness. This very mature writer seems 'locked' inside his identity problem and as a result this preoccupation has become the object of his art. His novel 'The Mimic Men' is perhaps the culmination of this tormented feeling. Searle adds that as a vision of the disorder and ruins of a man's own identity, it is "stark and horrifying". The 'hero', examining his own devastation, has 'contracted out' of his own and anyone else's identity: "A man, I suppose, fights only when he hopes, when he has a vision of order, when he feels strongly there is some connection between the earth on which he walks and himself". In Du Bois' famous passage, found in Kenneth Clark's Dark Ghetto (1965), there are suggestions of 'invisibility', 'namelessness', 'facelessness'. On the other hand, like Erikson, I feel that those sentiments expressed by black writers should not be taken as the Negro's sense of 'nobodyness' but as a defence against the stereotypes in a world that continually betrays and humiliates him by the meanings and pressures of its dominant images: "... a social role, which, God knows, was his heritage" (Erikson, 1965). All these writers, Erikson suggests, are involved in a battle to reconquer for their people, a "surrendered identity",
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In this chapter I have offered an outline of various theories of self and identity development, in particular those of Erikson and Mead, and certain parallel theories of personal development (see Table 1). All of these theories are useful in a consideration of the development of children in minority group situations, and indeed Erikson (1965) has made a particular attempt to apply his theory to the position of black and Jewish minority group members. In the next chapter, I will consider how identity, and in particular black identity, is acquired and the particular constraints on adequate identity formation which young blacks suffer.
CHAPTER 2
THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK IDENTITY

Introduction

Identity Development

Identity: Negative and Positive

Identity: Exclusive and Inclusive

Identity: Conscious and Unconscious

Acquisition of an Identity

Language and Identity

Language and Identity: The Jamaican Experience

Racial Identification

Racial Conception

Racial Evaluation

Conclusions
Introduction

In this chapter I try and move from the theoretical concepts concerning identity development outlined by Erikson to particular accounts of identity development in black children and adolescents. The American accounts of Rainwater and Hauser seem to be particularly interesting in this respect. I am particularly interested in how black children acquire an identity, and look in particular at language as it transmits values negating blackness, with which black children have to cope as they grow up. Finally, I will argue that societal values about ethnicity are of crucial importance for the development of racial identification and evaluation in young black children, both in America and in Britain.

Identity Development

Erikson indicates that identity development has two complementing facets: (1) a developmental stage in the life of the individual, (2) a period in history (i.e. of the wider culture). There is thus a complementarity of what he calls 'history' and 'life-history'. The development of psychosocial identity is not feasible (according to Erikson) before the beginning of adolescence (just as it is not dispensable after adolescence). This is a time when (see chart) in the life of the individual, there is a sense of 'identity versus role diffusion', need for 'Esteem' (Maslow's theory) and according to my analysis, a resistance to stereotyped views of the self in establishing own identity and feelings of self worth. Another feature of adolescence is as a time "when the body, now fully grown, grows together into an individual appearance; when sexuality, matured, seeks partners in sensual play and, sooner or later in parenthood; when the mind, fully developed, can begin to envisage a career for the individual within a historical perspective - all idiosyncratic developments which must fuse with each other in a new sense of sameness and continuity". (Erikson, 1965).
It is clear that many important components of one's identity tend to be resolved around this time. If one is not able, because of societal or personal reasons, to resolve these in a positive way, then "identity confusion" may result. This is uncertainty about the role one is playing in the scheme of life. The resolution of this turning point or "identity crisis" may be conscious and deliberate, perhaps partly reflecting the adolescent's newly acquired ability to think abstractly (the stage of "formal operations" in Piaget's scheme of cognitive development). On the other hand, much of the resolution of this crisis involves emotional issues that may be relatively hidden beneath the surface of conscious awareness.

For many black adolescents, this crisis is inevitable, since because of the structure of society and the pressures of the dominant culture, they are denied the necessities with which to build an adequate 'life-history' to combat their surrounding milieu. The notion of 'identity foreclosure' (which some black adolescents may experience) appears in Erikson's discussions of precursors of the adolescent crisis (Erikson, 1959). In his writings of 1956 and 1963 Erikson referred to 'ego identity' and 'identity diffusion'. According to Marcia (1966), these refer to "polar outcomes of the hypothesized psychosocial crisis occurring in late adolescence ... 'identity achievement' and 'identity diffusion' are polar alternatives of status inherent in Erikson's theory". Accordingly, an "identity achievement" individual has experienced a crisis period and is now successfully committed to an occupation and ideology. Marcia tested 86 subjects and found that identity achievement subjects had seriously considered several occupational choices and had finally come to a decision on their own terms, i.e. these choices may even have gone against parental wishes. With respect to ideology, the subject seemed to have "revaluated past beliefs and achieved a resolution that leaves him free to act". In general he did not seem as if he would be overwhelmed by sudden alterations in his environment or even by unplanned responsibilities.
The "identity diffusion" individual may or may not have experienced a crisis. He lacks commitment and unlike his "achievement" counterpart, displayed the following attitudes in Marcia's study: has neither decided upon an occupation nor is much concerned about it; seems to have little conception of his daily routine and gives the impression that his choice could be easily abandoned should opportunities arise elsewhere; is either uninterested in ideological matters or adopts the approach that any one outlook is as good as the other, and he does not mind sampling from them all.

Marcia also mentions two other states which fall roughly between "identity achievement" and "identity diffusion". These are the "moratorium" and "foreclosure" statuses. Marcia describes the moratorium individual as one "in the crisis period, with commitments rather vague". He can be distinguished from the "diffusion" individual by the appearance of an active struggle to make commitments. He seems preoccupied with issues which could be described as "adolescent", and is constantly attempting a compromise between his parents' wishes, society's demands and his own capabilities. He gives the appearance of being bewildered and this possibly is the result of the many unresolvable issues which preoccupy him.

The "foreclosure" individual is distinguished by "not having experienced a crisis, yet expressing commitment" (Marcia, 1966). Marcia found it difficult to tell in his foreclosure subject where parental goals leave off and where the individual's goals begin. He is becoming the fulfilment of parental and societal intentions, while his beliefs (or lack of them) are virtually "the faith of the fathers living still". He appears rigid in personality and would possibly feel very threatened if faced with a situation in which parental values were disallowed.

Erikson's analysis of "identity foreclosure" reflects an arrest in ego development which assumes a "progression through time of a differentiation of parts" (Erikson, 1959). The preadolescent forms of ego identity are found in the latency period and it is during this time that the child...
is concerned about what Erikson calls "competence" (1959). For the development of competence, there should have been successful ego development in the periods preceding the latency stage, together with a facilitating environment within the latency period. Successful passage of these requirements leads to the emergence of "a sense of industry" (Erikson, 1955). There is thus a sense of "anticipation of achievement" in the next stage of ego development - adolescence.

If there is failure to resolve the latency issues, the child emerges with a sense of "inadequacy and inferiority". Associated with this failure, the child develops what is known as 'identity foreclosure', "a premature interruption in the adolescent task of identity formation" (Hauser, 1971).

There appears to be two opposite forms in which this 'interruption' can be expressed - negatively, as the "sense of inferiority, the feeling that one will never be any good"; or positively, when for example the child "identifying too strenuously with a too virtuous teacher or becoming the teacher's pet ... his sense of identity can become prematurely fixed on being nothing but a good little worker or a good little helper, which may not be all he could be".

Hauser, in Black and White Identity Formation (1971), found that the type found most commonly among his black American subjects was the negative one. He found that themes of inferiority, mediocrity, and degradation featured very much among them, both with regard to school and job opportunities, occasions "where doors were slammed at you". Looking first at the individual's sociocultural milieu, one finds the actual fact of limited choice. Hauser points out that his black subjects noticed it most directly in the area of work. There were few part-time and summer jobs available and availability appeared to be combined with distasteful kinds of work. Prospects of a better job after graduation seemed even more unlikely.
Hauser found that a second environmental constraint was in terms of "heroes" i.e. positive figures whom the Negro subjects were interested in emulating. Not only did the subjects find the talents of men such as Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson, Sidney Poitier and James Baldwin, out of their reach, but it was noticeable that the numbers of observable heroes gradually diminished over time.

What does the future hold for adolescents such as these? Hauser remarks, "Take a job market that is small and unattractive. Then add few - if any - attractive or appealing adult examples of how a boy might appear in 10 years. Then, as if the facts did not make a dismal enough picture, add restrictions as to where the black man may live and play. To further stigmatise the future there are an abundant number of men who are on the street corners ... Added to this, parents, relatives or friends appear to set poor examples for the youth. The message is thus very clear: the young, black adolescent has very few options".

One concomitant of these constraints is devaluation of the individual by his community. Erikson (1968) points out that the adolescent needs to be recognized by the community around him: "... we speak of the community's response to the young individual's need to be 'recognized' by those around him, we mean something beyond a mere recognition of achievement, for it is of great relevance ... that he be responded to and given function and status as a person whose gradual growth and transformation make sense to those who begin to make sense to him". The black adolescent can only interpret as 'misrecognition' or 'nonrecognition', society's reactions towards him both in the present and in the future. The individual's personal history and the history he knows of his race, confirms this feeling of inferiority.

That several intrapsychic consequences may be the 'lot' of the individual with such restricted alternatives, was borne out by the remarks of self-depreciation which characterised some of Hauser's subjects. Low
self-esteem is a topic commented upon by most scholars (up to 1970 at least) of the study of the Negro personality (see for example, Karon (1958), Kardiner (1951), Pettigrew (1964)). These writings all show that, given the many indications of his supposedly inferior nature, it is hardly surprising that the black youth assumes they are valid. (This, of course, fits in well with the analysis of the self reflecting the views of others made by Mead). This process is continued when this classification is not only accepted but also in certain ways maintained by the individual and his family. On the other hand, personal observations of the life styles of some West Indian families in Britain would suggest that as they continue to experience more and more prejudice against themselves they become more resolved to react against such prejudice with racial and personal pride.

Hauser comments that in America the same disadvantaging and social conditions, and limited options have a second intrapsychic effect, one of frustration and anger. Until recently (and particularly after the boys had been studied), this anger had been inhibited from overt expression and as a result had been turned in on the self. One well-known consequence of unexpressed anger or aggression is "self-hatred". This idea has been the focus of analyses by writers such as Pouissant (1967) and Grief and Cobbs (1968). Rainwater (1965) suggests that this phenomenon of self-hatred plays an important adaptive function for lower-class Negroes in their reaction to "inimical social conditions". The reasons for the adoption of this solution to the problem is yet unknown, but whatever they are, "replacing overt rage has been guilt, recrimination, and self-hate" (Hauser, 1971).

Hauser also suggests that in addition to inhibited rage, negative identifications also underlie self-hatred. He noticed that from their early years his adolescent subjects had been faced with familial figures whom they themselves despised. As he consciously acknowledges to himself his hatred of such pathetic figures, his sensed similarities to these figures, poses him with a problem, that of possible self-hatred.
It is important, I think, to distinguish between self-hate and low self-esteem. Hauser thinks that the difference is that the individual with low self-esteem says to himself "I'm not good enough; I'm lacking" while for the self-hating individual, the issue becomes "I don't deserve; I am so despicable that I'm not worthy of this or of any opportunity". Both these states, in so much that they both lead to the depreciation and devaluation of the self, are important in understanding the black adolescent.

Elkins (1963) explains that one expression of the linked themes of low self-esteem and self-hatred is in what he calls "the Sambo image" - resemblance of the 'Uncle Tom' syndrome - "Sambo ... was docile, but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing ... He (the white) might conceivably have to expect in this child (the Negro man) - besides his loyalty, docility, humility, cheerfulness, and (under supervision) his diligence - such additional qualities as irresponsibility, playfulness ... Should the entire prediction prove accurate, the result would be something resembling Sambo". Elkins views Sambo as a "social role", the behaviour expected of all who belonged to the specific social group of Negroes.

Rainwater (1965) adds that the individual's self-hatred is intensified and perpetuated in large measure by the process of "victimization" i.e. as an adaptive response to his social conditions, the lower class Negro maintains himself as "victim".

To clarify the character images of 'Sambo' and 'Victim', it is useful to look at the apparently characteristic lifestyles of lower class American blacks. There are two character styles highly relevant to Sambo and Victim. Riesman in The Lonely Crowd (1950), describes how the style is one of pleasing others, "fitting in", at almost any cost. Keniston (1962) discusses this as follows: "A few men and women attempt to find an alternative to identity in other directions. Unable to discover or create
any solid internal basis for their lives, they become hyperadaptable; they develop extraordinary sensitivity to the wishes and expectations of others. In a very real sense they let themselves be defined by the demands of their environment ... they are safe from disappointments ... he has settled for playing the roles others demand of him".

The second character style is closely related to the first. The emphasis is also on the performance of roles but with the addition of "immediate gratification" (Rainwater, 1966). Rainwater indicates that the style is "an effort to make yourself interesting and attractive to others so that you are better able to manipulate their behaviour along lines that will provide some immediate gratification".

Both these styles provide the means for perpetuating the Sambo and Victim images. Once learned (primarily within the family), the images are maintained by cues given during interaction. But, according to Rainwater, there is a third style which is related to both these character images and the issues of identity foreclosure. This character style is brought about and perpetuated by the same matrix of social conditions: "... increasingly as members of the Negro slum culture grow older, there is the depressive strategy in which goals are increasingly constricted to the bare necessities for survival ... This is the strategy of 'I don't bother anyone and I hope nobody's gonna bother me; I'm simply going through the motions to keep my body (but not soul) together'". This depressive strategy readily lends itself to identity foreclosure.

Given such pervasive character images, it is little wonder that the average lower class black adolescent in America (and perhaps in Britain) experiences limitations and constrictions in every sphere of life. It must be remembered too that there are also external restrictions on the individual and these were examined earlier. These however, are not insurmountable. Who surmounts them, and how, still seem to be a problem for psychologists and sociologists.
How relevant are these American studies of identity foreclosure in lower class black adolescents in America for a consideration of the psychosocial development of black youth in Britain's deprived inner cities? There is some American evidence that with the rise of the "black pride" movement in America, black adolescents no longer devalue themselves to the extent, and in the manner which affected a previous generation (Coopersmith, 1975). But in many respects the situation in Britain with regard to black identity is similar to the American situation 15 or 20 years ago. Blacks in Britain do not have a united movement which emphasizes black pride and black achievement, and there is no clearly successful black middle class. Blacks in Britain suffer severe racial discrimination, especially in access to employment and housing (McIntosh and Smith, 1977), and the problem seems to be particularly severe among black school-leavers, amongst whom the unemployment rate is four times that in white school-leavers. Weinreich (1978) has replicated Hauser's American work on identity and identity foreclosure and identity of diffusion in England, and has shown that many black, adolescents do suffer from severe identity problems, in comparison with their advantaged, white peers. Whether recent movements of an aggressive and semi-political nature in which young blacks take a leading role (as in Notting Hill) represent a reversal of this trend toward self-devaluation remains to be seen. For the young black child who, according to my research findings, already devalues his colour, ethnic group and indirectly himself, the path leading to identity foreclosure might eventually become his fate.

Identity Types
Positive and Negative

In Erikson's theory, every person's psychosocial identity contains positive and negative elements (Erikson, 1965). The growing human being, throughout his childhood, is presented with negative prototypes (as by reward and punishment, parental example and by the community's typology)
as well as with ideal ones. These are, of course, culturally related. Erikson adds that the individual is in fact warned *not* to become what he often had no intention of becoming, so that he can learn to anticipate what he must avoid. Thus, the positive identity is not static and is frequently in conflict with that past, which is to be lived down and by that possible future which is to be prevented. Studies of ethnic minority groups frequently show feelings of inferiority among their samples (see for example, Porter, 1971). Erikson argues that the individual belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority and who is aware of the dominant cultural ideals but prevented from emulating them, is likely to fuse the negative images held up to him by the dominant majority with his own previously developed negative identity. (Erikson, 1955, p.155).

Hauser (1971) describes negative identity as "the adolescent derivative of a failure to resolve the set of issues belonging to the developmental stage of conscience formation. It is the phase of ego development in which the conflicts between guilt and initiative become most prominent". Hauser's idea in fact came from Erikson (1958) who argues that if guilt becomes predominant for the individual, the result is "a self-restriction which keeps an individual from living up to his inner capacities or to the powers of his imagination and feeling". This of course is the essence of identity foreclosure. Negative identity is, however, a specific type of identity foreclosure. It occurs where identity formation is prematurely arrested because of the individual's commitment to that which could be termed 'alien' to him. He thus makes a more or less total choice, a single set of identifications, with the values of the despised, and may consider himself as hateful, and totally undesirable. Erikson sometimes refer to this identity pattern as a "total commitment to role fixation" (Erikson, 1968). He argues here that although the features of role fixation are most apparent at the adolescent stage, its genesis is in the oedipal stage of life: "... the display
(negative identity) ... has an obvious connection with earlier conflicts between free initiative and oedipal guilt in infantile reality, fantasy and play ... the choice of a self-defeating role often remains the only acceptable form of initiative ... this in the form of a complete denial of ambition as the only possible way of totally avoiding guilt" (p.184).

Erikson (1968) puts forward the view that one expression of negative identity is that of "snobbism". He discusses forms of snobbism as a response to the danger of identity diffusion. This is more common among middle class adolescents who rely on largely parental attributes e.g. wealth, background, fame, to withdraw attention from their identity confusion.

Overall, if examined along a continuum of identity foreclosure, negative identity would represent the negative pole, and positive identity, or the 'precocious genius' or 'pet' would represent the other. Between these polar types would be found other variations of identity foreclosure i.e. varieties of 'inferiority' and 'superiority'. Positive identity thus represents a successful passage through the developmental stages, i.e. acquisition of the skill with which to face life and to "actualize" oneself as an adult. It is a part of what Searle (1972) terms 'true identity', a non-alienated, self-actualizing state of being.

Exclusive and Inclusive

Erikson in "The Concept of Identity" (1965), remarks that identity may also be exclusive or inclusive. Exclusive identity is based on a 'totalism' "marked by the exclusion of foreign otherness". He gives as an example the transitory Nazi identity which failed to integrate historically-given identity elements "reaching instead for a pseudologic-perversion of history". Erikson also cites radical segregationism, in its recourse to an adjusted bible, and black Muslimism as counterparts of the above in America. Jamaican Rastafarianism may be another example of an exclusive identity with an unhistorical basis.
The alternative to an exclusive identity is the wholeness of a more inclusive identity. This has become a feature in many parts of the world, the struggle for more inclusive identities: "What has been a driving force in revolutions and reformations, in the founding of churches and in the building of empires has become a contemporaneous world-wide competition" (Erikson, 1965). For blacks everywhere, this is for an African identity.

Conscious and Unconscious

Erikson (1965) puts forward the view that a 'sense of identity' has conscious as well as unconscious aspects. Conscious aspects imply experiencing "increased unity of the physical and mental, moral and sensual selves, and of a oneness in the way one experiences oneself and the way others seem to experience us". This process may also be visible to others because of the individual's apparent unity and 'radiance of appearance'.

Erikson adds that the core of identity is at best 'preconscious'. For the most part it is repressed and is thus related to all those unconscious conflicts accessible only to the individual in dreams, or in flashes of insight.

Acquisition of an Identity

How does one reach a sense of self (or identity) that provides what Erikson (1968) calls "a feeling of being at home in one's body, a sense of 'knowing where one is going', and an inner assuredness of recognition from those who count"? Identity is neither fixed nor determined, as not only does socialization into new roles mean adjustments in the way the individual feels about the self, but also moments of self-conscious introspection and increased responsiveness to the needs of others may in fact continue to interact with the self throughout life.

The above suggests that the process by which the individual comes to realise a sense of wholeness; continuity between past, present and future;
and a sense of integration and continuity across various social conditions, is that of social interaction. This involves the individual taking the role of the other toward himself and taking "the role of the 'generalized other' (society) towards himself in a particularly self-conscious period" (Kimmel, 1974). In essence this is the 'symbolic interaction' process which is central to G. H. Mead's theory of the development of the self. One extreme example of the symbolic interaction process involved in identity formation is what happens in sensitivity groups. Being a trained social worker, I was (and still am to some extent) subjected to using this feedback method of assessing the self one is presenting and the 'role' one is playing. This method of providing feedback to one another is identical to taking the attitude of others toward oneself (except that in a group situation this is made more explicit).

Although taking the attitude of the other is crucial for the development and change of the self, we probably do not use this process very often in our everyday social interaction. It is most useful when one is trying to understand, define or examine the self; or in fact when the ordinary interaction process breaks down because others are not responding to the individual the way he expects them to. Mead (1934) argues that a sense of identity develops through the interaction with others with whom one shares 'significant symbols'. (Significant symbols are defined by Kimmel (1974) as gestures, words etc. that "call up the same inner response in oneself that they call up in others"). In other words, identity is developed through the process of socialization. Much of this process as well as the learning of the significant symbols involved occurs according to the complex principles of learning theory such as the modification of behaviour on the basis of the consequences of that behaviour. However, Kimmel (1974) argues that this is not simply a passive process between the socializee and his community, but is part of the selective, innovative processes of the 'I'; there is always a
complementary fitting together of the two agents, ideally maximizing the potentials of both.

In the early childhood years, a sense of identity is family bound since the child's identity is his identity vis-à-vis other members of the family, i.e. his significant others are his parents and siblings. By the age of three (see Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971; Milner, 1975), the consciousness of the self is coming into focus, and inseparable from it is the consciousness of others. The child becomes aware of himself by making comparisons and finding likenesses and differences. That is, he is trying to obtain a perspective of the world and this he does from his role within it at any one time. Of course, roles change depending on one's status within the social situation. For example, the child might take on the identity of a brother towards his siblings but that of a son in interaction with his parents. The child thus attains a notion of himself as enacting that role and this becomes a part of his identity.

A naive interpretation of this would be that the individual has as many identities as he has roles or attributes. But these are merely "the raw materials of his identity. At a given time, his identity is an abstraction from this mass of characteristics he possesses - a sample of them, on which a particular reality focusses. Any situation in which he finds himself has its own reality" (Milner, 1975). What is usually understood by identity becomes simply the notion of the self construed by the individual in his everyday reality. According to Milner (1975), it is construed from the small number of attributes which recur again and again in the different realities he inhabits. These form the core of the self and give the individual a foundation of consistency throughout his interactions.

All this does not mean that everyone who occupies a particular status or "social reality" (Milner, 1975) will have exactly the same identity. "Any one individual will arrive at a notion of his identity
partly as a result of the pressure a particular reality exerts on him—in the ghetto, for example, 'race' will be a crucial aspect of identity for many people, figuring importantly and frequently in their experience with highly emotional overtones."

Morland (1966) in his comparison of race awareness in young northern and southern children in America, found that southern white children had a greater ability to make racial distinctions than did northern whites or negroes. Horowitz and Horowitz (1936) showed that the importance of the racial aspects of the child's identity was enhanced over and above even more fundamental ones such as sex, because of the pronounced intrusion of the 'race' issue into the child's social reality. These investigators, following a comparison of the importance of sex, age, race and socio-economic status for the child, found on using three separate tests that there was "consistent, clear evidence that with the children in these communities race is a more fundamental distinction than sex ... The general order of importance of these attributes appears to be race first, then sex, age and socio-economic status". Milner (1975) also points out that there are categories which are conceptually complex, but which nevertheless features very much in the identity of the child. Although the Ulster child, for example, does not often know or understand the historical, ecclesiastic or dogmatic issues between Protestantism and Catholicism, he daily demonstrates this aspect of his identity within the streets.

Milner adds that for older members of such communities the importance of race or religion may have given way to other attributes which are more central to their notions of themselves. Other differences in identities are a result of different attributes which individuals possess and develop, their different experiences and differences in personality which produce varying emphases within identity. "Nevertheless, to the extent to which people occupy similar realities in any given social situation, so will there be some consensus as to the importance of particular attributes, and some correspondence of identities" (Milner, 1975, p.48).
The young child has very limited social experiences and as such, fewer selves. As he grows older, he incorporates his experiences outside of the family into who he is and what he hopes to become. All this time, however, his parents acting as significant others, interpret and evaluate all his behaviour according to established rules, and convey to him the qualities in himself which are appropriate to it. In the words of Rainwater (1965): "As the child tries on identities, announces them, the family sits as judge of his pretensions. Family members are both the most important judges and the most critical ones, since who he is allowed to become affects them in their own identity strivings more crucially than it affects anyone else. The child seeks a valid identity, a sense of being a particular person with a satisfactory degree of congruence between who he feels he is, who he announces himself to be, and where he feels society places him" (p.200). Thus, through his parents' appraisals, the child obtains an idea of his standing in terms of those qualities, i.e. a rudimentary sense of identity.

Some qualities such as age and sex are crucial in determining an acceptable form of behaviour. They also determine dress and treatment in different social contexts but these are usually of an expected kind. They are thus important aspects of the child's identity.

As the child develops, emulation of and interaction with significant others outside of the family becomes important for him. If for any reason this is lacking in the young person's experience, then such an individual might find it difficult to develop an adequate sense of identity in adolescence. An important example is Hauser's (1971) study of black adolescents. These boys lacked adequate role models, as not only did they find talents of possible models out of reach, but it appeared that the number of culturally available models gradually diminished over time. All through his experiences, the young person continues to be able to take the attitude of several others at once, and finally takes the
attitude of the generalised other i.e. he is able to perceive how others in general (society) would react to him. When, after adolescence, the child achieves the ability to think 'abstractly' (Piaget, 1932), he would be able to take the attitude of this abstract generalized other. This means that the individual is able to conceptualize situations that are not concretely present and is able to take a more objective view of his behaviour. His significant others expand from people immediately around him to people who are not present, such as historical figures, religious deities, or deceased parents and grandparents.

This ability to think abstractly in achieving a sense of identity continues through adulthood. Kimmel (1974) argues that the individual may base his central values and expectations for himself on the remembered or imagined expectations of these (not currently present) significant others. He adds that this may explain the noted increase in religious fervor during adolescence.

The individual's social world continues to broaden as he gets older, but his sense of identity becomes more permanent. His 'I' has succeeded in bringing a sense of consistency, continuity and wholeness out of the mass of 'mes' that others respond to in social interaction. White (1966) suggests that the motivation for this process comes from striving for self-consistency and competence. It seems too that fully formed identity could not be possible without prior development of the intellectual mastery of abstract thought and the sexual maturation which occurs at puberty. Also, the rudimentary sense of the self (or sense of identity) felt prior to adolescence is, according to Kimmel (1974), limited in abstractness, complexity and future orientation due to the absence of the ability to think in terms of possibilities i.e. Piaget's stage of Formal Operations.

Kimmel (1974) takes the view that once one's identity is sufficiently developed so "that there is a core self that is uniquely
one's own self", then one can begin interacting with others without the
fear of losing one's self in the other. That is, once there is a firm
sense of 'I', the possibility of "an 'I-Thou' or 'I-I' relationship
becomes an enticing possibility". Up to the adolescent years the
individual took the role of another toward himself to increase his under­
standing and perception of himself. Now in an intimate relationship he
takes the attitude of the other for a better understanding of the other.

It is clear then that identity formation is the result of the
symbolic interaction process. I have discussed only one method so far,
that of socialization, but will be examining the methods of direct and
indirect tuition later in this chapter. I shall now attempt to clarify
three aspects of the process of identity formation which are particularly
salient and which may be explained by the symbolic interaction theory.
Firstly, it is during a period of heightened self-consciousness and
reflexive introspection that identity formation occurs. Mead (1934) in
symbolic interaction theory does not use 'self-consciousness' in the
ordinary everyday sense. "It is the process by which the individual
becomes aware of his self and is able to reflect on it". It occurs when
one's self becomes an object to oneself and frequently happens when "the
significant symbols one is using (or hearing) do not call up the same
response in the other person that they call up in oneself; that is ...
habituated responses, gestures and acts do not work in the present
situation". For example, an individual may just have made an incorrect
response in a social situation. He then spends some time in working out
why his behaviour was misinterpreted by others and what else he did wrong.
He has one of two choices: (1) he may take the attitude of the others
toward himself and try to see himself as they saw him; (2) he may look at
himself as if he were another person and talk with himself in an intro­
spective fashion about the social interaction and the implications it may
have for his self.
Secondly, the 'I' plays an integrative role in breaking down a wide range of "roles, social selves or mes" (Kimmel, 1974) into a unified sense of self. Erikson (1968) points out "What the 'I' reflects on when it sees or contemplates the body, the personality, and the roles to which it is attached for life - not knowing where it was before or will be after - are the various selves which make up our composite Self".

Thirdly, Kimmel (1974) argues that identity formation involves sensing a continuity between "past mes, present mes and future mes". This continuity and integration is the work of the "creative" 'I' which draws upon memory (for past mes), upon the view of oneself from the point of view of others (for present mes), and upon the view of one's possible future self from the point of view of others (for future mes).

By the beginning of the adolescent years, the individual is able to take the attitude of others toward himself in complex and abstract ways. He is also able to take the attitude of an abstract generalised others. At the same time there is intellectual and somatic development which allow the individual to interact with others in symbolic, complex terms, as an adult. The idea is to decide who one is, based on the responses of others to the various selves that the individual presents, and also on one's feelings about oneself. It is little wonder therefore that adolescents are often thought of as being "self-conscious" or that they place great emphasis on the responses of members of their peer group and that, according to Kimmel (1974), they at times seem overly conforming and at other times overly defiant.

The process is complex but by young adulthood, the individual comes to a sense of who he is. This feeling is also reinforced by the people in his social reality who are important to him at that time. Kimmel (1974) adds "Part of this refinement comes about through progressive selection and limiting of the range of experience so that the developing sense of self is reaffirmed by one's experience (stepping outside that range of
experience is commonly called "culture shock"); however, one's sense of self is also broadened or reaffirmed by surprising encounters with different experiences. These experiences bring about renewed self-consciousness which may challenge the previous sense of continuity and integration or may solidify that sense by finding a fit between one's self and the new experience. However, Erikson in "The Concept of Identity" (1965), points out: "A mature psychosocial identity presupposes a community of people whose traditional values become significant to the growing person even as his growth and his gifts assume relevance for them. Mere 'roles' which can be 'played' interchangeably are not sufficient; only an integration of roles which foster individual vitality within a vital trend in the existing or developing social order can support identities".

Role learning is only one method of depicting how attitudes to the self are acquired. However, there are three overlapping processes which are primarily responsible for this, the other two being direct and indirect tuition. For the first few years of the child's life, the parents are the sole determinants of right and wrong and through the provision of tangible rewards or punishment, may affect the child's feelings toward the self. The parents also act as role models for the child. Their behaviour acts as a form of indirect tuition. Here the children reproduce aspects of adult behaviour, including styles of behaviour, and attitudes to the self and others. As Sears (1957) points out, children of two years and older have a tendency to act in a number of ways like their parents. They adopt parental mannerisms, play parental roles, and in the later pre-school years seem to incorporate the value-systems, restrictions and ideals of the parents. In a sense, then, the child identifies with the parent: his identity reflects that of the parent, and the degree to which he copes successfully with the successive crises of identity formation described by Erikson may be influenced by the kind of model the parent provides for him.
If the parent has a foreclosed or diffused identity, the psychological model he may offer to the child may be a weak one. The presence (or the absence) of a weak father for example, may affect a male child's identification with the male role. Parents who, because of repressive forces in the external environment have weak identity formation may be unable to help their children to overcome identity crises exacerbated by the forces of racism in the wider society. Thus the effects of deprivation are transmitted through generations, and the racist stereotypes held by the majority may indeed become self-confirming. This cycle of deprivation is vividly evoked by Arnoff's study (1967) of identity development amongst cane cutters and fishermen in St. Kitts and in Jamaica. Using a model derived from Maslow's hierarchy of need systems, he shows that adults who fail to actualize their potential are those whose various needs - for physiological gratification, safety, love and belongingness, and self-esteem - have not been adequately fulfilled when they were children. But the resulting foreclosure of identity prevents them from fulfilling the needs of their own children. Thus the cycle of deprivation remains unbroken.

Language and identity

A culture, said Erikson (1963), should provide an early basis for the identity of a child, since he needs to feel that as he grows that there is a "structure of meaningful wider belongingness behind his relationship with himself and his family, some supporting social strength in which he can trust". Our culture is passed down through our language and to give an adequate sense of identity, that language must give us some confidence in ourselves. Searle (1973) points out that a man's language is the basic factor determining his view of the world and of himself, and reflects a variety of socialization experiences: "His language translates his world to meaning ... If his language betrays him, his experience is deformed".

In white, British culture, along with many other European cultures, the colours black and white have traditionally had very strong evaluative
overtones. Some of the meanings and associations given to the word 'black' in the Concise Oxford Dictionary (widely used in schools) are: deadly, sinister, wicked, hateful, dismal, threatening, implying disgrace or condemnation, discredited, corrupt. In British language, literature and art, 'white' is conventionally used to depict good, pure things while 'black' is used to denote evil and badness (cf. Bastide, 1967). These usages (as will be shown in the analysis of the data on the Colour Meanings Test) may affect the way we think of objects with these colours, and perhaps even how we think about black and white people.

Bob Dixon in Catching them Young (1977) found that most Indo-European languages seem to follow a similar pattern to the above descriptions. For example, in Czech and Russian, the words for black and devil are similar. He has found such association even in the Chinese language. One can find numerous illustrations of this colour-code at work in everyday speech. Those referring to disgrace include 'black list', 'black mark', 'black sheep', 'black books'. Those which have criminal connotations include 'black mail', 'black maria'; and those referring to evil: 'black arts', 'black magic'. Those referring to death include: 'the black death', 'the black flag'. Other associations such as 'black leg', 'blackguard', and 'a black look' merely add to the negative picture which is filled out by such phrases as 'the nigger in the wood pile'. Words associated with blackness such as 'dark', 'pitch', 'shadow' and 'night' and phrases and sayings based on them, have similar connotations.

Writers such as Morland (1966) and Williams (1974) in the field of colour coding and the evaluative meaning of colour, have sometimes put forward the idea that such a situation might have arisen (since there is evidence that this association has occurred before racial contacts have taken place on a large scale) through the association between blackness and fear of darkness. This, however, does not rule out the possibility that real psychological damage may be caused by this semi-conscious racism.
built in every language. In Laing's words "we can be ourselves only in
and through our world, and when our world speaks division and guilt to us
through our language, then we are inevitably divided and guilty". (1965).

Children's literature, especially that intended for young children,
is particularly subtle in the way it might affect a child as it works more
on a symbolic and unconscious level. (It is difficult to combat the effects
instilled in this way by argument as young children cannot cope with the
necessary ideas). This will be examined in the final chapter. Bob Dixon
(1977) examines a number of types of children's literature which range from
fairly realistic stories to outright fantasies, and which depict unconscious
influences through to open damage to the identity of the young black child
in particular. He points out that the more real and overt images are
probably the least harmful, since the more the impact in symbolic terms,
the more psychologically damaging it can be for the young impressionable
child, black or white.

No nursery seems complete without at least one book from the Noddy
series, and the nurseries I visited during my fieldwork are no exceptions.
One school of thought holds that the 'golliwog' is really a 'lovable'
character, although Enid Blyton gives one little opportunity to develop
any affection for him. No doubt when Florence Upton started her series in
the 1890s this was so, but there seems very little doubt that essentially,
a golliwog is a doll with crudely stylised racial characteristics which
are African in type, and that he belongs to the patronising and condescending
category of racism which includes 'coons' and 'nigger' minstrels. Enid
Blyton depicts golliwogs as being usually naughty, and a menace to Noddy
with whom the child is obviously meant to identify. There is a vivid
association of the golliwogs with fear and darkness and this manipulation
of the emotions is backed up by rather large coloured illustrations of
two villainous-looking golliwogs tearing all Noddy's clothes from him
while two others watch all this performance with enormous smiles on their
faces. 'Black deeds' have their rewards and so the story ends with the
golliwogs having been caught, put in a sack and hampereed off to prison by
the policemen.

The above story leads me to a personal experience that Bob Dixon
related. This incident happened while he was a supervisor of students on
teaching practice in North London. For her English lesson with a group of
eight-year-olds, the student placed six large pictures of faces on the
blackboard and asked the children to imagine that these men were wanted by
the police. Each child was to choose one picture and write a description
of him so that he could be easily identified. It transpired that all the
pictures were of black men and when confronted with the implications of
this by her supervisor, the girl seemed unaware that she was indirectly
associating blackness (and black men in particular) with criminality in
the minds of the children.

Two references from Blyton's books confirm the association of gollis-
wogs with fear and fear with black faces. The most outstanding one is
found in "Five fall into Adventure" where Anne, one of the five, wakes up
in the night: "She felt for her torch and switched it on. The light fell
on the window first and Anne saw something which gave her a terrible
shock. ... Anne was trembling and Julian put his arm around her comfortingly.
'What was this dreadful face like?' he asked her ... 'I didn't see much ...
It had nasty gleaming eyes, and it looked very dark - perhaps it was a
black man's face. Oh, I was frightened ... " Bob Dixon adds that the
reference to a black face is entirely gratuitous as there is not a black
person in the book.

The kind of attitudes and values expressed in the sort of literature
I have been considering so far could, without very much doubt, lead to
self-rejection in the young black child and certain feelings about black
people in the white child.
In her first story in the book "The Three Golliwogs", Blyton found it apt to name them 'Golly', 'Woggie' and 'Nigger'. The story opens "There were once three golliwogs who were most unhappy in the nursery cupboard. None of the other toys liked them, and nobody ever played with them, because their little mistress Angela didn't like their black faces". It is noticeable that nine of her eleven stories are based on the mistaken identity of the golliwogs. (White people are notorious for their inability to distinguish black faces!)

In Spring 1975, Noddy returned to the television screen but without the golliwogs. Ruth Boswell, the adaptor, admits to the nastiness of the original Noddy and hence tried to give him a better image. Also, in the edition published by Pan Books in 1973, the golliwogs' names were changed to 'Wiggie', 'Wollie' and 'Woggie'.

Stories like Little Black Sambo are no exception to the effect which some types of literature can have on identity formation in the young child. When such warped concepts are presented through the powerful medium of literature and reinforced by the child's environment it is little wonder that teachers frequently mention that when asked to draw themselves, black children colour themselves incorrectly. Not only do black children rarely see pictures of black children like themselves in the books they generally read, but those they see are of Hauser's (1971) 'Sambo' type (see previous description in Hauser's analysis earlier in this chapter). Bob Dixon (1977) remarks "At the very least the black child can find little within literature and little that's recognizable as her or his own culture. Looking into literature for such children is like looking into a mirror and either not seeing your face reflected back, or worse seeing a distorted mask".

Before leaving Little Black Sambo, it is interesting to point out what Bob Dixon found in a North London school. I find this very relevant as my data was collected in two schools in the same area. The school in
question had put up a poster showing 'Little Black Sambo' and before long someone had written 'Sambo' under it. The school, with a sizeable black population, had had the usual trouble with the white children who were often overheard using the names 'blackie' and 'wog'. Bob Dixon adds that if the children had been using the 'Adventure in Reading' series published by O.U.P., they might possibly have read two stories by Gertrude Keir, 'The Old Mill' and 'The Circus', in which a monkey called Sambo appears. It is not difficult to imagine what fun (or distress, according to ethnic group) linking of such events could have led to for some children, and of course, the detrimental effect this might have had on the black children. Dixon asks: "Isn't it by the constant and maybe sometimes chance assembling of hosts of such details that racist attitudes are built up?" Sambo is a name normally applied to people of African race. Here it is applied to a monkey. If later these same children were watching the television series 'Love Thy Neighbour' they would have seen a similar kind of name-calling presented as entertainment.

The above discourse shows how possibly well-meaning people might be unconsciously providing for the young black child an identity that does not leave him at peace with himself.

Recently, particularly in the area of Primary education, a number of teachers have been concerned about the use of what is termed 'Jamaican English' in schools. Although most of the children involved have been born in this country, they identify very much with the country of their parents' birth. At home, black parents (most of them from Jamaica) tend to speak in patois (the local dialect of Jamaica.) Young children not only find this fascinating, but it is a source of identification with what they would regard as their homeland. Because of this I would suspect that teachers' efforts to ignore or treat as 'wrong' the use of this dialect, not only affects the child's identification with his parents, but in the long term ideas about his self and all that belongs to him.
A strong, integrating common language gives the "social health" that Erikson (1958) speaks about in *Childhood and Society*.

The Jamaican psychologist, Godfrey Palmer (quoted by Searle, 1972) points to his own childhood and education in terms of the violent shift from one language standard to another, which the West Indian child had to undergo both as a person in his own country and as an immigrant to England: "Superimposed on his home-school conflict the child has the additional anxiety of being told that he doesn't speak English. Unlike the educated West Indian who knows the difference between standard and plantation English, the West Indian immigrant and to some extent the child born in this country cannot always see the difference. He becomes insecure and hurt when it is suggested that he doesn't speak English. His immediate reaction is one of confusion, suspicion and aggression to a statement, which, if true, deprives him of the feeling of belonging that a language confers".

Contrary to the expectation of many teachers in England, changing to standard English is not merely a tightening up of a few grammatical points, or the addition of a few words and phrases (Edwards, 1977). In the process, the identity of the child is threatened, and from feeling relaxed and possibly unaware of the linguistic alienation in his dialect, he becomes anxious to catch up his 'elaborated' white counterpart. Searle (1972) feels that this is enough to "tear open the identity of the child ... Such pressure of alien language and culture on a West Indian child will often persuade him to throw aside his dialect and sense of linguistic belongingness, be ashamed of his island, his past, his skin, his hair and his folklore, and frantically and dividedly chase after the new elaborated standards of the second-hand modernity of the white man's compensations: the white skin, the acquisitive life and the divided self".

He adds that when children have a common language that is held to be an inferior one, or a language whose own words and images divide the child
from himself, speak against his skin and assert his own subservience, then that same language becomes the destroyed of his identity. In R. D. Laing's words "the choice of syntax and vocabulary are political acts that define and circumscribe the manner in which "facts" are to be experienced ... "

Another situation with regard to language which may exist both for the black and white child presents itself in terms of class rather than colour. Bernstein (1973) has shown how a version of language, be it 'restricted' or 'elaborated', tends to affect the educational chances and lives of children. He suggests that children who move from the 'restricted' to the 'elaborated' code might be restless in their search for belonging. In the words of Searle (1972) "they are moving worlds, changing identities".

Language and Identity: The Jamaican Experience

"You know Frankie, I begin to feel that what is wrong with my books is not me, but the language I use. You know in English, black is a damn bad word. You talk of a black deed. How then can I write in this language?" These are the words of 'Blackwhite', the black writer in V. S. Naipaul's story 'A Flag on the Island'. These words could have come out of someone in Jamaica, particularly at this time when even the Government is somewhat committed to 'the black cause' and the Jamaican's links with Africa. This writer's indignation is understandable as it is obvious that his identity is suffering through his use of an 'enslaving' language.

In Jamaica, the language tends to divide itself around two standards: (1) the local dialect - 'colourful' and associated with work, folklore and easy communication. Like the dialects in many other West Indian islands, it is often a language of growth and spontaneous creativity, the language of identity and belongingness which gives one a sense of being in his own world; (2) the 'Queen's English' - that used by 'the aspiring black man' and the type demanded in educational institutions.
One extreme would be to argue that for the Jamaican to use standard English whether at home or in England would be to alienate himself from his world and to divide himself from the meanings of his words. Searle (1972), himself a white man, argues that when the black man begins to talk of a white man's language in a black man's world, then he exists between "two ontologies". He quotes Derek Walcott, a St. Lucian poet who said that such a person is: "Schizophrenic, wrench'd by two styles, and the two styles are two languages, two worlds, two value systems, two opposing political stances, two skins. To change from one language to another is to change life itself: to change your language, you must change your life".

The sociologist Katrin Fitzherbert (mentioned in Searle, 1972) explains how the need for the double language standard brings its divisions in the West Indian society as well as in the psyche of the child: "The syllabus is the crux of the matter, especially as it is in standard English and the children speak a dialect at home ... The whole West Indian educational system is borrowed from England ... a working class child has very little chance of being a success in the wide society through academic achievements, since it is demanded of him to excel in terms of a language and culture he only partially understands".

In spite of the negativism that has pervaded the foregoing account, we can hypothesize that many black families can manage to avoid the destructive identity imputations of 'black' and manage to maintain solidarity against such assaults from the world around them. It is possible for children in such families to grow up with a proper sense of being a black and a personal identity that prepares them for successful participation in the wider society. It is interesting to note in this respect that Bagley,

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* Dennis Craig (1972) points out that 'patois' or Creole is a language in its own right, with a largely West African syntax, and a combination of English, Spanish, French, Dutch and African vocabulary. This language was a black cultural creation, impenetrable by the slavemasters, and a language which gave the enslaved some cultural dignity, and cultural identity.
Bart and Wong (1977) in a taxonomic analysis of data on achievement, ethnic self-esteem, and parental background in 150 black ten-year-olds in London schools identified a group of children with high self-esteem, strong parental support, and successful academic achievement. By contrast, children with poor achievement were alienated from school, had poor ethnic self-esteem, came from relatively disadvantaged homes. Noteworthy too, such children came from homes which tended to be monolingual, with parents speaking Creole rather than Standard English.

Racial Identification

"It is ... possible that certain societies create, or contribute to what might be called a 'generic' outgroup attitude" (Tajfel et al., 1971). The converse is then that the individual learns to behave appropriately towards his 'ingroup', that is, he feels a certain kind of solidarity with people like himself. This similarity or identification may be based on any attribute—sex, colour, behaviour, etc. Learning to make correct self-identification is among the number of identifications the young child has to make as he grows up. Yet, for some children, particularly those who are black, this is not simple as there is a good deal of ego-involvement necessary in the process and this varies with the social setting. It can in fact involve a blow to the ego and consequent self-doubt. (Clark and Clark, 1950). Racial self-identification then, falls within the interactionist theory of self-development. The reality of the implications of colour is inescapable in many societies in which the black child finds himself. It thus makes the development of racial identification an integral part of his total development of self. As Seward (1956) suggests "... colour is inherent in the concept of 'self'. As awareness of self emerges, it emerges in a race-conscious social context which assigns values to the perception of colour". Both Cooley (1910) and Mead (1934) emphasize that self-consciousness and self-feeling develop from interaction with others. Cooley's analysis is in terms of the "looking-glass self" while
Mead's analysis takes the form of the "me" (the expectations absorbed from others) and the "I" (the dynamic aspect of the self which carries out the expectations).

The pre-school and early primary school years, that is ages three to seven, are usually recognized as a crucial period in the growth and differentiation of the child's feelings about himself and feelings towards those who are ethnically different (Allport, 1958; Proshansky, 1966). It is during this time that the child works towards understanding his environment, categorizing objects, people and events in order to respond to them appropriately. He becomes increasingly aware of racial differences and learns labels and emotional responses associated with various ethnic groups, including his own.

There are, as Proshansky and Newton (1973) have stressed, two basic processes involved in the development of racial identification - (1) racial conception; (2) racial evaluation. 'Racial conception' is concerned with when and how the child learns to make racial distinctions at a conceptual level. 'Racial evaluation', on the other hand, deals with when and how the child evaluates his own racial group membership. Both these processes develop together, that is the child learns 'who he is' at the same time that he learns to value 'who he is'. The sum of these two processes is the total process of racial identification.

Racial Conception

For the black child 'blackness' links him with all other individuals who have the same defining features and as he grows he has to learn the general nature of his racial category. This means not only learning that he is different in colour to those who are white but what being black means in a multiracial setting, as others label and identify him in these terms. Thus identification with one's own group should be a natural process, a part of growing up, forming the nexus of the child's emerging self identity.
Investigators of the phenomenon of 'racial awareness' such as Goodman (1952) and Morland (1958) suggest that it is during the fourth and fifth years that there is the greatest increase in racial awareness. However, these writers show that the ability to make racial distinctions becomes apparent at about the age of three in both black and white children. This ability increases steadily with age and at about six years, most children are able to make these identifications accurately. Goodman points out that children first see the most conspicuous features and differences between people and they base their classifications on these. Most of the children she studied made such classifications whether the objects under consideration were dolls, pictured people or real people. She relates the case of 4-year-old Norman and Sam where Norman teasingly asked his teacher, "What colour are you?". Sam heard the question and answered for her - "She's brown". Norman agreed. "She's brown and I'm brown." Goodman remarks that this was more than simple description as Mrs. D. was considerably browner than Norman. Sam added "Yes, and I'm brown too", and proceeded to describe a number of children and teachers, not all of whom were in his class, labelling them "white", "brown" or "coloured". Goodman adds that hair form as well as skin colour is a feature of interest but is a secondary basis for classification. Children do not always label the resulting groups as adults would but it is clear that the distinctions are based on 'racial' attributes.

Studies by Hartley et al (1948) and Radke et al (1949) show that membership of an ethnic minority may be a predisposing factor in early development of ethnic awareness. Radke et al found that Jewish children, aged five to nine, were more aware of their group membership and identified more strongly with their own ethnic group than Catholic or Protestant children. Porter (1971) suggests that black children should be more aware of race than whites are because race is a more highly salient matter for them (p.25). Bruno Lasker in Race Attitudes in Children (1951).
suggested that black children have a greater realization of racial differ­
ences than white children, and Ruth Horowitz (1939) demonstrated this
process empirically. Goodman's findings among her four-year-olds were as
follows: 15% blacks and 15% whites with 'Low Awareness'; 45% blacks and
61% whites with 'Medium Awareness'; and 40% blacks and 21% whites with
'High Awareness' of their own and others' racial characteristics. Morland
(1963) found that northern blacks tended to have slightly (though not
significantly) greater recognition ability than northern whites. On the
other hand both he and Stevenson and Stewart (1958) found that southern
whites are more cognizant of race than their black counterparts. More
recently Porter (1971) reported greater correct racial awareness among
'desegregated' Boston black children, but less accurate identification
among lower class desegregated black children.

Several explanations have been put forward for these contradictory
findings. Morland (1963) claims that since southern white children are in
constant contact with black domestics they have a greater chance of
noticing racial differences than southern blacks. (The fact that both
Morland and Stevenson used white interviewers may have affected the
validity of their results in a segregated southern school). It has also
been suggested that white children in the South compared with those in the
North are more sensitive to racial issues because of the more explicit
code in the area of black-white relationships (Watson, 1973). It is felt
too that southern black children are less willing than their northern
counterparts to put their knowledge of racial differences into words.

British findings are fewer in number, but have pointed to a pattern
of racial identification in young black children which is generally
negative in nature (Pushkin, 1973; Målner, 1975). This evidence will be
reviewed in detail in a later chapter.

Racial awareness is only one stage in the black child's achievement
of 'racial conception'. According to Watson (1973), 'To attain a racial
conception, the child must not only have the ability to make racial
distinctions, but he must be able to elevate these distinctions to the
level of a general conception of the meaning of the terms 'Negro' and 'white'. He must understand and be able to use terms to relate as
well as distinguish among people."

Racial Evaluation

The black child does not learn about racial distinctions in a
vacuum. As a member of a minority group, these racial distinctions carry
emotional overtones for him. He acquires value-laden racial labels and
popular stereotypes, with which to describe his own and other racial
groups. Like the white child he is socialised to associate black with
'bad', 'dirty', 'ugly', and white with 'good', 'clean', 'nice'. These
emotionally charged descriptions and judgments serve to establish the
white group as being superior (see paragraphs on 'Identity and Language'
earlier in chapter).

Although different techniques such as drawings, doll play, picture
tests and playmate selection have been used to measure racial evaluation,
the results of these studies have largely been consistent. Except for
the results of Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968), the empirical evidence has
suggested that given a choice, the young black child in America would
rather identify himself with the white group. In other words, he does not
like being black because of the evaluative meaning of blackness. As
Watson (1973) puts it: "Does the Negro child like being Negro?
... the answer to this question ranges from a qualified to
an emphatic 'no'."

Greenwald and Oppenheim's study is the only study carried out in
America before 1970, which does not show negative identification in young
blacks. Their study was reported in 1968, a period during which black
consciousness and the notion of 'Black is beautiful' was beginning to be
in the forefront of the minds of members of many black families. This
may have influenced the results obtained. Also, these investigators introduced a "mulatto" doll into their test instead of using simply a black and a white doll. Under these conditions, only 13% of black children identified with the white doll. They thus argued that the results of other studies on black misidentification are artifacts of the procedure. They found that 38% of black children as well as 25% of whites identified with the mulatto doll. As his subjects were only three years old, many of them may not have been able to discriminate effectively between the mulatto and the white doll.

Researchers such as Clark and Clark (1947); Radke and Trager (1950); Landreth and Johnson (1953); Goodman (1952); Stevenson and Stewart (1958); Morland (1962), found that if asked to choose between a white and a black doll, the majority of three- to seven-year-olds of both races chose the white one. Morland in his study of 407 young children, found that while only 10% of white children preferred to play with children of 'the other race', 60% of black children chose to do so. In contrast, 72% of white and only 18% of black children preferred playmates of their own race.

More recently Porter (1971) found that black children in Boston tended to identify with the white group more readily than with their own group, while the white children continued to identify with their own 'kind'. However, Porter is emphatic that the groups should be looked at, not just en bloc, but according to variables such as class, contact, shade of skin colour (for blacks), and sex, as these solely or in interaction do affect identification with the child's own group.

Williams and Morland (1976) report that their Euro- and Afro-American pre-schoolers in America behave differently on racial similarity (racial identification) tasks. Euro-American pre-schoolers identified quite strongly with the Euro figures while the Afro-Americans tended to divide their choices more evenly between Afro and Euro figures. For example, when asked to make a response to the figure that 'looks like me', 47% of the
Afro children made a Euro choice, 41% an Afro choice and 12% were unclear. On the PRAM 11 racial attitude task, the results of the Afro children showed a 52% pro-Euro bias and only 12% pro-Afro bias. Williams and Norland add, however, that although their findings indicate that a large number of Afro pre-schoolers have not yet identified themselves as belonging to a dark-skinned group, the Afro child may not be "putting down his racial group"; he may be quite oblivious to the whole matter of "his race" and reacting only in terms of a general pro-light-skinned bias and/or "pro-Euro messages which he has picked up from the culture". It is noticeable that the racial similarity choices for the Afro-American child change in the direction of correct self-identification during the early years in a multiracial public school. However, although the black child correctly identified himself as black, as he grew older, he still tended to evaluate black figures negatively (Williams and Norland, 1976).

Clark and Clark (1947), Porter (1971) and other investigators in this area would argue that the black child's strong emotional identification with the white group is indicative not only of preference for this group, but also a rejection of and hostility toward his own racial group. They argue thus because they feel that this reaction is in many ways inevitable. From very early on in his life, the black child (in most societies in which he is in the minority) absorbs the cultural norms and opinions about his group, and consequently understands the opportunities (or lack of them) open to him in the future.* It is no wonder then that the black subjects in all these studies tended to identify with the group for whom 'the going is good'. Both Goodman (1952) and Horowitz (1939) have suggested that a wish-fulfilment mechanism is operating for some of the black children. Clark and Clark (1950) have also used this interpretation of wish-fulfilment and argue: "the child ... knows that he must be

* An 8-year-old black child, daughter of a friend of mine, came hom from school in tears because, she said, "I won't be able to go to university because I'm black."
identified with something that is being rejected, and something that he, himself, rejects... Many negro children attempt to resolve this profound conflict either through wishful thinking or by seeking some form of escape from a situation which focuses this conflict for them".

Stevenson and Stewart (1958) studied a group of three- to five-year-old American children and found that black children tended to see other children of their own race as aggressive, bad and those "whom other children fear", more often than white children viewed other whites in this light. Also, both black and white children more readily picked whites as 'winners in a game'.

Watson (1973) shows where "the young child's learning is not confined to behavioural stereotypes of blacks." He also learns about the reality of the black person's existence: his inferior housing, his limited opportunities for achievement, his low status, and his treatment from the larger society". Radke and Trager (1950) asked five- to eight-year-old children to choose a 'good' or 'poor' house for the white and black doll respectively. They found that 82% of the white children and 67% of the blacks gave the 'poor' house to the black doll. 77% of the whites and 60% of the black children gave the 'good' house to the white doll. This could simply be interpreted as both black and white children displaying their conception of the differing standards of living between the two groups in the wider society. However, Radke and Trager add: "For many of the children, concepts and feelings about race extend into adult world distinctions of status, ability, character, occupations and economic circumstances. Social distinctions made by whites which put Negroes in an inferior status tend to be accepted as 'natural' or 'inevitable'."

Although Radke and Trager were writing in 1950 about America, there are grounds for supposing that such processes apply to black children living in Britain today.
The two aspects of racial identification, racial conception and racial evaluation, are clearly illustrated in the Clarks' study of 1950. They found that the black child's conflicts over his racial identification is evident when he not only has to say which racial group he belongs to, but the one he would like to be a member of. The Clarks gave 160 five-, six- and seven-year-old Northern and Southern black children a colouring task in which the child was told "Colour this little boy (or girl) the colour you are". Results showed that in contrast with other measures of racial identity, 80% of the 5-year-old children correctly identified themselves on the basis of their own skin colour. This correct identification increased with age in that 85% of the six-year-olds and 97% of the seven-year-olds identified correctly.

In the second part of the investigation the children were asked to colour the little boy (girl) "the colour you like little boys (girls) to be". The Clarks found that only 48% coloured the picture brown or black while 36% coloured him yellow or white. The remaining subjects made irrelevant responses. Almost twice as many children from the South as from the North chose to colour the child brown or black and it was noticeable that a decrease in the use of brown occurred from the five- to seven-year-old children. The investigators observed that the discrepancy between the child's realistic identification and his indifference to his skin colour "introduces a fundamental conflict ... of the ego structure ... and many of these children attempt to resolve this ... conflict either through wishful thinking or phantasy" (1950). She adds that these phenomena of "self-hatred" and "self-rejection" are the reflection of society's relegation of blacks to an "inferior and humiliating status".

Over the last decade there have been several investigations which have closely followed the Clark paradigm - one has been done in the "deep South" for example; another has investigated the dynamics of skin colour and "misidentification" (Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968); and two that
have directly compared the Clark's sample in the North and Midwest with
contemporary black children. It is noteworthy that the apparent improve­
ment in the attitudes of black children towards themselves have been
paralleled by a marked reduction in the amount of prejudice which whites
display towards blacks in America (Brigham and Weissbach, 1972).

Gregor and McPherson (1964) found in their sample of six- and seven-
year-old black and white children from the "deep South" a greater own-race
identification, than in the subjects studied by Clark and Clark (1950).
Crooks (cited in Watson, 1973), administered the Clark questions to four-
and five-year-old black children attending segregated and integrated
nursery schools in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He found that the overall
number of own-race identification did not differ significantly to that
found in the Clarks' sample.

Fox and Jordan (1973) investigated a sample of 1,374 five-, six-
and seven-year-old children attending schools in five boroughs of New York.
Among this sample were 360 black children. The investigators' findings
indicated a significant and consistent reversal of the evaluation pattern
in the Clarks' study. A comparable magnitude of racial 'awareness' was
present among both groups, those of the Clarks, and those of Fox and
Jordan. When black and white children attending integrated schools as
well as children within each colour classification were compared according
to skin shade, the results pointed significantly to positive evaluation of
their own group. Light-skinned children in Fox's study made more own-race
identification choices while medium and dark-skinned children made fewer
extra-race identification than children that Clark and Clark studied some
twenty years earlier. Also, significantly more four-year-olds in the Fox
sample made positive own-race identifications than those in the Clark study,
although the six- and seven-year-olds in both samples responded in a
similar way. Like the Williams and Morland study (1976) Fox's findings
indicate that racial identification appears to be unaffected by age.
Overall then, contemporary black Northern children in the U.S.A. display significantly more positive identification with their own race than their counterparts in previous decades. The absence of an increase in racial awareness shows that this increased positive identification with the black child's own race is not due to racial awareness per se but on increased desire to be a member of that group. About 40% expressed what Fox considered to be a 'concordance' between their racial preference and their identification choices. One-third of the black children not only identified with their own race but showed a preference for members of that race. Other children identified with their own race but showed a preference for members of other races. Fox remarks that it is this group who can be seen as manifesting the "white is positive, black is negative (W+B-)" of Williams and Morland (1976) or the self rejection phenomenon of Goodman (1952) and Horowitz (1939). Four per cent of the black children showed both extra-race preference and identification. This too can be indication of "self-rejection" as there is neither identification with nor preference for the child's own group. Fox points out, however, that light-skinned children accounted for half of those with this pattern of response so that the reality of what the light-skinned child looked like was not as discrepant with his choice as it was for the other black children. A fourth pattern was of high own-race preference but identification with the 'other' race. Nine per cent of the black children displayed this choice, but again a sizeable proportion of this number were light skinned and the result might indicate their perception of the closest physical match to theirs.

In sum then, identification with one's own group is a 'normal' pattern. Over the last thirty years there has been an increase in own-race preference and identification among young black children in America. Although British studies in this area have shown little change in this direction, I would think that with a growing sense of 'black' pride among
second generation blacks, there will be a significant increase in own group identification among young black children.

Conclusions

The essence of the argument in this chapter is that living in a racist society creates a number of distinct problems for the identity of the black child. He has to cope with the racist values of the majority society which are transmitted through language and cultural symbols at every stage of his socialization. Children, including black children, learn of the salience of their ethnic categories by the age of three, and internalize views of the acceptability or otherwise of their ethnic characteristics at that age of three or four. Knowledge of ethnic differences is accompanied by a knowledge of the evaluations which society places on those differences. Often too, the minority group child internalizes to a greater or lesser degree the negative evaluations of blackness which society transmits. Herein are the roots of certain identity problems, which the child has to cope with as he grows older. The child's evaluation of himself as a member of a minority group is also intimately linked to his self-concept and self-esteem.

As I tried to show in Chapter 1, 'self' is an essential component of identity, and it is to a consideration of the nature of self-concept and self-esteem that I turn next.
CHAPTER 3

SELF-CONCEPT AND SELF-ESTEEM

Self-Concept and Self-Esteem in Multiracial Societies

Self-Esteem as a Social Construct

Relationships Between Identity, Self-Concept and Self-Esteem
CHAPTER 3

SELF-CONCEPT AND SELF-ESTEEM

"... it seems ... that one of the individual's most basic and continuing needs is for a self-image that is essentially positive"

- Newcomb et al (1965)

Self-Concept and Self-Esteem

Life in a multiracial society affects not only the attitudes and behaviour of minority group members toward the standard set by the dominant society, but also the responses to themselves and their groups. The way one looks upon himself is a product of his social experience with others. The nature of that experience effectively conditions the basic ego structure which is the central core of the self. This way of looking at one's self is defined by Coopersmith (1967) thus: "Self concepts are symbols that blend together the enormous number of varied perceptions; memories and prior experiences that are salient in the personal life of the individual. This concept of one's self ... is formed by the individual, and represents an organization of separate experiences into some pattern that provides meaning and order in his inner world". He emphasises that although the terms self concept and self esteem are sometimes used interchangeably, they refer to markedly different phenomena: "Self concept is the symbol or image which the person has formed out of his personal experiences while self esteem is the person's evaluation of that image".

One's concept of the self is initially influenced by certain basic characteristics such as one's age, sex, colour, caste and in some cases, religion. These 'ascribed' characteristics impose upon the person's choice of others with whom he interacts and thus influence his answers to the questions: Who am I? What am I like as a person?. Thus the answers to these questions come not in isolation from the society as a whole, but to a great extent in relation to the individual's position in the social
structure. 'Position' and 'structure' as used here are important variables in that they are the phenomena to be examined when the 'self concept' is being investigated. Social structure exists before the person is born and constitutes the milieu into which he or she is thrust. This social structure consists of individuals with certain beliefs, ideas and knowledge and thus each person has to see others as objects which must be taken into account in his or her conduct. (Berger et al (1966) discusses how people (as objects) influence what a person thinks of himself, i.e. certain 'objects' have certain meanings).

Before we can make an assessment of a child's self concept then, we must know his world of 'objects' and the social arrangements of the family and community into which he is born. This includes beliefs and values found in the family, attitudes towards the child at school, among his peers etc., all of which are influenced by his position in the social structures, whether he is black or white, rich or poor, urban or rural, and in such areas where it may be salient, whether he is Catholic or Protestant.*

The social structure influences self concept in many ways. The images people form of others serve as objects of aspiration for their own conduct. In both conscious and unconscious ways, people present themselves in various situations so as to exhibit the qualities and characteristics they value, and hopefully would be valued by others. Hewitt (1976) points out that the impact of social structure on this process is considerable in that the qualities and characteristics desired by the individual are to be found in others with whom the person is often constrained to interact and the valued attributes of others are themselves a factual, objective part of the world so far as the child is concerned. He adds: "The adjustment of conduct - which is what the presentation of

self is basically about — is always to a specific set of others and a particular set of standards of evaluation, and these are a pre-existing part of the world, at least as far as much childhood experience is concerned. Of course, as the child grows older he comes to find out that the standards by which people evaluate each other are mere human creations and that people in other areas and societies hold different views. It is then that some of the most important constraints on the adjustment of the child's conduct come into play.

In a complex society, 'objects' or significant others might be numerous and indeed present the child with conflicting values. This comes to the fore very much when the child starts school where the teacher's qualities conflict with those of the parents. This may prove problematic for the child not only by imposing limitations on the development of self concept but on what Hewitt (1976) (reflecting Goffman) calls "impression management" — how to live up to parental images and at the same time show qualities valued by outsiders whom the child may have to please if his goals are to be achieved. Indeed a "bifurcation of the social worlds and of the self" might result.

Conceptions of the self thus vary according to ideal conceptions of what the person ought to be; these vary according to racial, class and other differentiations. The self-concepts which emerge within particular ethnic groups are not necessarily influenced just by beliefs and values within the group itself; they may emerge through the particular contrasts between one's own ethnic group and the 'others' (outsiders) that the members of the group choose to emphasize, (or which are forced on a group). To be black therefore is not simply to live up to a set of images of what blacks ought to be like, as defined by blacks, but also to avoid (or perhaps emulate in a subordinate fashion) certain qualities and beliefs which are presumed to be characteristic of whites.
Of course not all limitations on the development of self concept comes as a result of contrasts between familial and 'other' standards. Within the family itself, parental expectations may not be clear or indeed may be too high, and in trying to adjust his conduct the child flounders in anxiety and uncertainty. Sometimes the child is confronted with images he just cannot emulate, and at other times he cannot arrange his 'self' to adjust to the expectations of others. For example, where race is salient in distinguishing and evaluating people, no presentation of the self can hide that fact. In a case such as this alteration of behaviour is probably irrelevant to the judgment others make.

What avenues are open to individual's whose self-presentations make a little or no difference to the way others view him? Firstly, the individual is free to regard the others as 'insignificant' and their evaluations as irrelevant. However, there are limits to how often and how many he can define as significant or otherwise, since there are some people whose opinions the individual cannot forever ignore, even if their evaluations are painful. These opinions continue to have an impact on the conception of the self as they continue to raise doubts where there were none before. For example, the child may regard his teacher as an 'insignificant other', but that teacher's appraisals have raised doubts about his competence and this doubt may affect his self concept long after he has left school. On other occasions the individual with a positive self concept may be in constant contact with others who do not share with him the image he has of himself. They are a constant reminder of the low esteem in which he is held not only by them but others whom he might not yet have encountered.

Positive self concept (that is, positive identity, and good self-esteem) depends on constant reaffirmation of the image one hopes one is putting forward. Thus if one continues to define the evaluations of more and more people as insignificant, then the circle of others with whom one
usually associates is reduced. As Hans Gort and C. Wright Mills have indicated, "The avoidance of interaction with negative others leads to a retreat to a circle of confirming intimate others". As such an individual goes through life he finds only a small circle of confirming others in whose company a positive self concept is realised. To the other extreme, he may retreat into private fantasy where no real others are encountered except imagined others who give nothing but positive appraisals.

Hewitt (1976) points out that apart from adjusting to images of 'specific' others, he has to be aware of a set of generalised expectations. "In any particular situation the person attends not just to his or her position in the network of roles that mark that occasion, but also to his or her "position" more generally in the "social structure" of the society as a whole, which transcends the particular situation".

As pointed out before, many of the child's earliest and most important feeling and attitudes about himself are developed within the family. Proshansky and Newton (1973) argue that for the black child in America the development of positive feelings toward the self could be very difficult because of the general feeling of resentment, anger and hopelessness that surrounds the child. The parents may in fact use the child for purposes of their own ego enhancement. As will be shown later, however, the fate of the black child whether in America or in England is not entirely a lost one because of the development of group pride among blacks generally. Even during the time when Proshansky and Newton made their review of the literature, some parents were able to provide a strong supportive atmosphere for their children which helped to foster attitudes of self worth. As the Ausubels (1958) remark: "... the consequences of membership in a stigmatised minority group can be cushioned in part by a foundation of intrinsic self-esteem established in the home". Pettigrew (1964) comes to a similar conclusion.
There are too, social class differences in family life and attitudes towards the dominant society among blacks in America. This of course has differential consequences for the self concept of the black child. For the slum child, studies by Rainwater (1966), Pettigrew (1964), and Drake (1965) depict a defeatist attitude towards the self. Rainwater suggests that for most children growing up involves developing feelings of mastery and competence over the environment, but for the slum child, this process is reversed. Such a child learns what he cannot do, about the difficulties of achieving his aims and about the futility of even trying.

The Ausubels (1958) show how the lower class child (black or white) is given more freedom outside of the home, thus decreasing the influence and impact of the parents. Socialization is then transferred in part to the peer group, and they argue that this in itself may be seen as a search for status and self esteem. Children from middle class families derive their status and self worth largely from their parents' place and achievements in society.

Wherever the black family finds itself in an oppressed minority position, there appears to be less than positive feelings of self worth among male members of the family. Because of discrimination in employment in England for example (McIntosh and Smith, 1975), the black head of the household is often unable to fulfill his role as breadwinner within the family. He develops a poor image of the self and as the conditions within the dominant society improves very little in the family's favor, the son eventually treads his father's footsteps.

It is implied from all of the above that because of the racist nature of many of the societies in which the black family finds itself, there is very little hope of its members developing a positive self image. But researchers need to examine more fully the many black families which both accept their group membership, and whose members derive positive feeling of the self from being a member of that group.
How is the self concept of the young child determined? First of all it is important to point out the differing ways in which the 'feeling about one's self' is expressed. The terms range from self, self image, self-identity, self-concept, through to self regard; with each investigator claiming that each concept envelops a greater part of the personality, or the total being. A good deal of work has been done on the self concept of the adolescent, but very little attention has been paid to measuring the self concept of the young child aged between four and seven or eight. Collier (1971) made an assessment of the instruments generally used and concluded that they were of little use with young children. In 1973, Rosen listed only ten devices for measuring self concept in children below the age of seven years. Barber (1975) points out that many of these devices may be attempting to oversimplify a very complex construct. Walker (1973) for example mentions that devices for measuring socio-emotional states such as self concept require that "... the major theoretical questions and issues (be) answered within a comprehensive theory of socio-emotional development ..."

Many techniques for measuring self concept have not been based on observational techniques of interaction, which though ideally necessary, are difficult to carry out (Rist, 1970 and 1975). Researchers interested in black identity and self concept have tended to investigate this in 'black-white' terms; but other researchers such as Samuels (1973) show that social class is a more important variable than race in determining black self concept. Coopersmith in an article in Race and Education across Cultures (1975) ed. by Verma and Bagley, points out that in addition to a global self concept, individuals form more specific self concepts that are more limited and particularistic. Thus in investigating or describing black self concept there needs to be a distinction between the global and the more particularistic self image. It is worth noting that it has not yet been empirically shown whether certain basic attributes such as
sex, race or size are so salient that they affect all aspects of the self concept. Investigators such as Clark and Clark (1947), Kardiner and Ovesey (1951), Nobles (1973), would argue that race is an inherent part of the experience of every black American. On the other hand, Rosenberg (1973) suggests that the black person is generally more acutely aware of his blackness when he is among whites than when he is among blacks. Along with Simmons he shows that the self image of black boys in a segregated setting is in fact more favourable than that found among their white counterparts. Bagley, Mallick and Verma (1978) review British evidence which points to the same conclusion.

It would appear then that the child's view of his environment and of his place in it determines his reactions and his behaviour and in turn other people's attitudes towards him which indirectly affects the image he comes to have of himself. To understand the child's concept of himself then, we need to look at the whole child and study every facet of his behaviour. Yamamoto (1973) points out that the human being attempts to be fundamentally consistent in his behaviour, and although environmental conditions as well as some temporary internal state might influence responses, a consistent behaviour is maintained if the observer is acute enough to interpret the meaning of behaviour accurately. Yamamoto adds that because self image is a concept and not a concrete entity, it's appraisal can be accomplished only by observing the behaviour which allows insight into 'the system' which determines that behaviour. "In other words self concept per se cannot be directly measured".

Basically, as the child experiences his own body interacting with the environment, he develops an image of what he is like. Beatty (1969) indicates that the young child reacts directly to his feelings rather than to sophisticated interpretations of his feelings. As he grows, he begins to see his feelings and reactions in terms of what impact they have on others around him. He adds "further development stems from the feeling
component generated in past encounters. The child indeed becomes what he thinks he is." If environmental factors distort this reality then a poor self concept will result.

Self Esteem as a Social Construct

Ziller (1972) describes self esteem as "a cognitive orientation of the self in relation to significant others along an evaluative dimension chosen by the evaluator himself"; that is, the individual's perception of his worth.

Cooley (1902) was the first to investigate the notion of self esteem which he then investigated using the metaphor of the "looking glass", describing the basic character and source of the images of themselves people see reflected in others: "A self idea ... seems to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance; and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification". In short, what happens in interaction is that the individual forms certain images of the other, imagines what the other person thinks of him and in this light thinks good or bad about himself accordingly. Hewitt (1976) terms this 'situated self esteem'. 'Cumulative self esteem' reflects aspects of both positive and negative judgments about the self made on the basis of the imagined judgments of others during experiences with situated self esteem. Repeated negative self judgments will eventually lead to an overall negative view of the self while positive views of the self will lead to positive self esteem. An inferior view of the self will lead to what Harry Stack Sullivan calls "customarily low self esteem".

Hewitt (1976) argues that one's feeling of self worth is not only a product of situated self esteem, but it is in fact brought by the individual to each new situation of social interaction. As a result it is a 'motivational' state and thus affects the way the individual becomes sensitive to others and the judgments they are presumed to make. This
situation is best explained by looking at the sensitivities produced by low self esteem.

The individual with low self esteem has a tendency (the 'I' in operation) to perceive others in a positive light, with attributes which are desirable, good, and worthy.* This fairly inevitably results in the individual interacting with the 'other' in such a way as to allow him to be more worthy than himself. If for example, blacks are forced to interact in inferior positions compared with whites, a particular type of situated self-esteem may result. It is important however, to note that people with low self esteem do not necessarily always express positive views of others, nor that his negative feeling will be reinforced. Hewitt suggests that as people impulsively form positive images of others they become aware of their own responses, "the 'I' becomes a 'Me'" and this awareness puts the responses partly under control. The individual generally makes one of three responses: (1) rationalizing imagined failures; (2) attacking others; (3) resolving to excel in the desirable qualities he sees in others but which are lacking in himself.

The last possibility is interesting in that the young black child of the future in Britain has this alternative if the race relations situation improves. If images of others come to be objects of aspiration as well as standards of judgment, then with more positive images (in employment, housing, education) within the black community, the child will be encouraged to form a similar image in himself. As Hewitt (1976) remarks, "People may, indeed, seek to present themselves to others in ways that live up to desired images". The young black child might even seek to bolster his self esteem by consciously acting in ways in particular situations that will ensure high situated self esteem.

* Rosenberg, M. (1965) shows empirically how people with very low self esteem seem sensitive to and overly concerned about the judgments of others.
So far in the discussion the emphasis has been on one aspect of the motivational implication of self esteem - its influence upon the images, the individual forms of others which in the end affects their situated self esteem and conduct. Because of low self esteem there is an unconscious tendency in the individual to form positive images of the 'other'. These images, consciously (through for example 'aping') or unconsciously, become objects of aspiration and consequently, behaviour is oriented toward these images.

One other relational aspect of self esteem is anxiety - a state of apprehension and psychic tension. Becker (1971) argues that one of the functions of self esteem is to give the ego a steady buffer against anxiety. The development of self esteem is functional for avoiding anxiety. One would expect then that the individuals who have not managed to develop adequate self esteem would be anxious persons. Anxiety is quite a familiar experience with most people. Even individuals with what could be termed high or adequate self esteem have periods of uncertainty, threat, danger, fatigue, pressure. These occasions in themselves are quite useful, aiding the person's adjustment to a potentially threatening situation.

Wilson (1973) posits a different causal chain. His argument is that anxiety proneness (which he sees as a genetic trait) leads to feelings of insecurity and poor self esteem. Like Becker's theory, this analysis sees anxiety and low self esteem as two separate phenomenon, although the empirical evidence show them to be positively correlated. A similar argument is put forward in Epstein's (1973) theory of the self.

A third explanation is that self esteem and anxiety are effectively the same thing, that is poor self esteem (as in Coopersmith's theory, 1967) is merely anxiety in context. In a study of 183 11- and 12-year olds in a Southern High School (England), Bagley and Evan-Wong (1967) found a correlation of -0.655 (with the sexes combined) between the Castaneda scale
which measures manifest anxiety, and the Coopersmith scale which measures self esteem. There is a great deal of similarity between many of the items on the Castaneda Measure of Anxiety and the Coopersmith scales, indicating that both poor self esteem and anxiety were conceptualised by the researchers in similar ways. It is noteworthy too that some investigators of self esteem use measures of anxiety as checks of validity (see Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). Many and Many (1975) compared general anxiety, test anxiety and scores on the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory in 4,367 10- to 14-year-old American students, and found the three to be strongly intercorrelated. The Many's concluded: "... the implications tend to support the possibility of reducing anxiety in elementary and junior high school age children by enhancing the way in which these children see themselves".

Morris Rosenberg (1965) provides empirical support for the relationship between low self esteem and anxiety. He found that low levels of self esteem were related to more frequent reports of psychosomatic symptoms such as nervousness, insomnia, sweaty hands, fingernail biting.

Deutsh (1960) in his study of 11-year-olds found that the black children in particular were affected by lowered self esteem. As a result they were also more passive, morose and fearful. Lowered self esteem among black children in America has also been shown by Butts (1963), and confirmation of the whole picture of low self esteem and anxiety has been demonstrated by Palermo (1959) who showed that black children experience more anxiety than whites; Mussen (1953) too showed that black children see the world as more threatening and hostile than do their white counterparts. It must be noted that these studies were carried out before the growth of 'Black Consciousness' in America in the 1960s.

Anxiety as a motivational state is interesting in itself. For individuals with low self esteem it would appear that the motivational results work in opposing directions. On the one hand, through anxiety (or
low self esteem) the individual is motivated to behaviour that resembles that which he sees in others. On the other hand, because of anxiety he is unable to present his self in a way that leads to positive images. If the anxiety state becomes somewhat acute, it might make it difficult for the person to act in ways that would present a favourable self to others. As Harry Stack Sullivan puts it: "the individual with low self esteem finds it difficult to manifest good feeling toward another person".

Anxiety can be particularly destructive in that it makes it difficult for the person to show appreciation for the other person's qualities even though the person wants to emulate them. It probably interferes with accurate role-taking as well. The individual with low self esteem seems caught between the longing to be like others whose qualities he admires and the inability to realise that aim. He has the tendency (possibly caused by anxiety) to be compelled to be responsive to a wide variety of others and this might lead to inconsistency and even greater anxiety.

Of course, not many people have absolutely low self esteem, nor do others have very high self esteem. The norm appears to be to have high enough self esteem to keep anxiety from having a paralysing influence but low enough to make the individual responsive to others' evaluation, and not insulate the person from the appraisals of others. As Ziller (1972) remarks: "High self esteem is associated with the integration of the environment". In this way the individual is less subject to environmental contingencies than his low esteem counterpart. In Witkins' (1962) terms, this individual is less field dependent and is less inclined towards oscillation and inconsistencies. "Low self esteem is associated with short term adaptation and inconsistency, whereas high self esteem is associated with long term adaptation". The learning theorist would argue that people with high self esteem exercise stimulus control and are able to be selective about stimuli to which they will and will not attend. In this way one can avoid becoming a victim of his environment. From
another point of view, high self esteem may be similar to Mowrer's (1959) concept of "hope", while low self esteem may be similar to "fear".

Ziller (1972) examined the relationship between consistency and self esteem and purport that self esteem may also be a function of self reinforcement. In this approach, self evaluation is seen as providing a mediating link between previous socialization and a person's tendency to administer self reinforcement (Kanfer and Marston, 1963). Here it is assumed that the child who knows how to successfully manipulate his environment is frequently supported by his parents. In the socialization process the child comes to adopt the point of view of the parents and gradually learns to substitute self reinforcement for parental reinforcement. Initially he identifies with the parents and reinforces himself on occasions similar to those when he has been supported by his parents. As the child gets older and as his independence increases, it is his self concept rather than parental self concept that begins to serve as a meaningful and reliable model for the reinforcement process.

Relationships Between Identity, Self-Concept and Self-Esteem

In reviewing the literature in this area, one frequently meets a confusing use of terms - a positive "briar patch" of terminology, as Hewitt (1976) calls it. The terms 'identity', 'self-concept', 'self-image', 'self-evaluation', and 'self-worth' are often used, sometimes interchangeably, but sometimes to imply different aspects of personality and personal functioning in social situations. Often self-concept is used to imply both cognition (knowledge of self characteristics) and emotional appraisal of those self characteristics. In the proceeding review I have frequently had to use the terminology of the original authors in order to convey properly the meaning of their studies.

Identity is clearly related to self-concept and self-esteem. As we saw in Chapter 1, Identity has both cognitive (knowledge) and affective (evaluation) aspects, and these two aspects are related to self-concept.
and self-esteem respectively. I prefer to use the concept Global Identity as the highest order concept, involving both self-concept and self-esteem in an integrated whole. Within global identity are the parts of the self, related to one another in particular configurations representing varying degrees of ego integration. The degree and type of integration at any point in time depends on the degree to which the various developmental crises in Erikson's scheme (outlined in Figure 1, in Chapter 1) have been solved, and the degree to which the parallel needs outlined by Maslow (e.g. for love and belongingness, and for self-esteem) have been met. The term global identity is equivalent to the notion of global self-concept outlined by Coopersmith (1975) which I referred to at the beginning of this chapter.

The hypothetical relationships of identity, self-esteem and self-concept are sketched in Figure 2.1. Cognitive identity is composed of both cultural identity (usually possessed by ethnic minorities and which was stressed by Freud) and personal identity (stressed by William James). Ethnic minorities, of course, have both personal and cultural identity. Indeed, the problem for ethnic group members is to have, within a global identity, an adequate balance of personal and cultural identity, combined with positive evaluation of those aspects of identity, in combination again with a degree of mastery over environment, and self-actualization.

I have used the term General Self Concept as a lower level concept which refers to knowledge of one's self characteristics as seen by others, and acceptance of the evaluations placed on those self characteristics by other people with whom one interacts. Hewitt (1976) distinguishes between situations (current interactions) and biographies (the sum total of internalized evaluations of the self) which make up the individual's current self-appraisal, self-worth, or self-esteem. Self-esteem is often dependent on the situation in which the individual finds himself, but there is also evidence to show that the older an individual gets, the more
**FIGURE 2.1**

Relationships of Identity and Aspects of the Self

**Global Identity or the Global Self Concept**

(the parts of the self, related to one another in particular configurations representing varying degrees of ego integration, and differing degrees of success in the resolution of Erikson's life-crisis, or fulfillment of Maslow's life-stage needs)

Cognitive Identity or Self Identity → Emotional Identity or Self Image

(knowledge of oneself as a member of a group; or as a particular person)

↑

↑

Cultural Identity  Personal Identity

↑

↑

General Self Concept

↑

Self Concept  Self Esteem

↑

Situated Self Esteem

↑

↑

↑

(knowledge of self characteristics, becoming more accurate or salient with age)

(evaluation of self characteristics, becoming more salient, integrated and persistent through prolonged and complex interaction with others)

(Evaluation of self in various situations).
identity stages he has passed, the more complex his biography and the range of others he has interacted with, the more persistent a particular style of self-evaluation will be.

Many studies illustrate this. For example, Boshier (1972) fed falsely high or low marks to a group of students. Those known through previous testing to have poor self-esteem reacted to high marks with pessimism, assuming that there had been a mistake or a random fluctuation; likewise, those with previously high self-esteem were untroubled by low marks. Only those in the middle range of self-esteem reacted with increased or reduced self-esteem to the kind of marks given to them.

Of course, for this new level of self-esteem to persist it would have to be confirmed over a long period of time not only in the academic situation but also in other spheres of interaction as well. This sometimes happens when individuals are "labelled" (e.g. when they are sent to prison or mental hospital). In the new institution their identity is stripped (as Goffman, 1962 describes in his classic work Asylums) and a new identity, based on prolonged and degrading interactions which give the individual a new, and degraded view of themselves. Schur, 1971. Some individuals survive this kind of experience; their identity is too firmly rooted to be shaken or destroyed in this way. It is important to stress that each individual has a unique identity, a unique configuration of knowledge about self, and evaluation of self characteristics based on interaction with others (a unique set of significant others some of whom he has chosen and some of whom he has had imposed upon him). He is unique too in the way in which he has solved his successive identity choices at various stages of development. This uniqueness of identity is close to the uniqueness of each human personality stressed by Allport (1963). Allport defined personality as, "the dynamic organisation within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his characteristic behavior and thought" (p.28). According to Allport,
personality is a consciously developing, goal-oriented insightful individuality that changes and develops at various stages of one’s life. This concept is very similar to that of global identity or global self-concept. Allport (1968) illustrates this well in his discussion of the individual psychological development of William James. Allport argued that all psychology should ultimately come back to the study of the unique individuals in what he described as the morphogenetic study of personality and persons. The richest and most important source of data about a person, Allport suggests, is that individual’s own self-knowledge. He is here clearly referring to the global identity or personality of the individual, and he notes that in fact many studies of ‘self-concept’ are based on general and lower dimensions of personality (1968, p.83).

There is an interesting analogy between the different types of intelligence, and various levels of identity and self-esteem. Intelligence A refers to the "true" but probably unmeasurable intelligence of a person; intelligence B is the intelligence that various psychometric tests may measure; and intelligence C is the effective intelligence the individual uses in solving everyday problems (Vernon, 1969). Global identity is analogous to "IntelligenceA", an important higher-order concept which directly influences many other aspects of personal functioning, but is extremely difficult to measure in direct or global terms. Analogously to "Intelligence B", General Self-concept, is the operational aspect of personal identity, and is measured in a variety of direct and indirect ways. Levels of self-esteem are also inferred in a variety of ways, and from a variety of types of interaction or of descriptions of self-characteristics.

Perhaps a person’s global identity can be measured by knowing how he construes himself and the world in various complex ways. Attempts have been made to measure these "personal constructs" (Kelly, 1955; Bannister and Fransella, 1971) and it is noteworthy that Hauser (1971)
and Weinreich (1978) have used adaptations of personal construct methodology to measure global identity. Weinreich has shown that level of self-esteem is part of a more complex identity structure, and in some black adolescents in Britain a high level of self-esteem is not matched by other aspects of identity integration. Somewhat similar conclusions are reached by Hunt and Hunt (1977) in their reanalysis of the data from the Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) study of black American adolescents. Self-esteem is part of identity structure; good self-esteem is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of an adequate identity. What is important is the way in which global identity integrates both past and present experiences and views of the self in a satisfactory, ongoing state, as Erikson describes in his ego-theory which I outlined in Chapter 1.

It is important to stress that identity is a developmental concept. Identity and identity problems change as the individual gets older and experiences "crises" associated with biological, social and role changes. For the young child of three, the cognitive idea of himself as separate from others has emerged; he is learning too how he differs from others. The evidence indicates that knowledge of one's ethnic status is salient trait which develops early. Such knowledge of ethnic or racial status is particularly marked in young children in minority groups, such as blacks in America. The child learns through a variety of interactions with others how to evaluate his self characteristics (which those same interactions have taught him are important or salient). For the young child, evaluations of self-characteristics are relatively uncrystallized and are highly dependent on the situation in which he finds himself (cf. Figure 1.1). Thus findings from doll studies showing that young children negatively evaluate figures like themselves and effectively devalue their self characteristics may be expressing attitudes which reflect a particular situation, rather than an embedded characteristic of the self. Negative feelings towards one's ethnic characteristics as a young child do not
necessarily predict poor self-esteem in later years. But they do imply
problems for the developing identity, for previous negative views of the
self have to be resolved and incorporated with a new identity. It is the
strength of that identity resolution, not the actual level of self-esteem
which is of overriding importance in the adolescent years and beyond.

It is important to remember too, that in adult years self-actualization
will probably involve a full, mature appraisal of self characteristics.
Such a mature individual might well have a somewhat lower level of self-
regard than would a less secure individual, for whom expressed self-esteem
has some ego-defensive function.

Hewitt (1976) in trying to integrate the concepts of self and identity
develops a complex, 12-variable model (p.81) in which he distinguishes
between (1) "situated self" (the self reacting in particular situations)
and (2) "biographical self" (the self as the sum total of previous inter-
actions). The person is an object both to (3) himself, and to (4) others.
Within each of four cells created by the interaction of the four aspects
of the self there is a hierarchy of identity, self-image and self-esteem.
This hierarchy is quite similar to the one I have developed in Figure 2.1,
but I should stress that my schema is an original one, and certainly should
not be regarded as definitive in any way. Indeed, a reading of Hewitt,
who relies strongly on George Mead's theory of symbolic interaction,
suggests that the matter is very complex. Hewitt poses the following set
of questions:

"The person is thus a complex reality - an enduring object as well
as one constituted from moment to moment, an object of his own acts and
those of others, an object involved in social relationships, with attributed
characteristics and with a sense of worth. To introduce order into this
reality, we must pay attention particularly to the relationships between
the situated and biographical aspects of the person. How are situated
self-esteem, self-image, and identity related to situated social identity,

The answers to these questions are not known; and indeed, they may not even be relevant questions. Hewitt's model may be unduly scholastic. What we can conclude with confidence is that self-esteem is crucially important in individual functioning, and that global identity is an overriding concept in which self-esteem is subsumed.
CHAPTER 4
MEASURING SELF-CONCEPT AND SELF-ESTEEM IN YOUNG CHILDREN

Formal Techniques in the Measurement of Self-Concept and Self-Esteem

Informal Techniques in the Measurement of Self-Concept and Self-Esteem

The Race of Examiner Effect on the Measurement of Self-Image

Conclusions
CHAPTER 4
MEASURING SELF-CONCEPT AND SELF-ESTEEM IN YOUNG CHILDREN

"This crayon is brown. I'll take pink because I like pink. It's a lighter color, and it's better than all the rest. Myself's not pink."

- Gregory, Negro, 5 years old.
Quoted from Porter (1970

Conceptually, self-concept and self-esteem are distinct. Self-concept concerns the cognitive appraisal of oneself, the knowledge that one is a boy, and has characteristics such as race which are similar to some and different from others. Self-esteem concerns the affective, or emotional appraisal of the self, the degree to which one evaluates positively or negatively the characteristics one knows one has. In practice, both in popular and in academic language self-concept is used interchangeably with self-esteem. In this use, self-concept implies both knowledge about oneself, and evaluation of oneself. Identity too is often used interchangeably with both self-concept and self-esteem. As we noted above, identity too has cognitive and affective elements, but the term identity is most often used to imply a negative or positive identification with the group to which one is presumed to belong.

The young child experiences his own body interacting with the environment and as he does so, he begins to develop an image of what he is like (Beatty, 1969). This self-concept and associated self-esteem continues to develop as the child grows older and begins to see his feelings and reactions in terms of their impact on those around him. It is clear then that self-concept develops during one's interaction with others and so to be appraised successfully should be done in this context. In other words, self-concept per se cannot be directly measured, as it is a concept and not a concrete entity.

Many investigators would admit to the complexity of the phenomenon and the difficulty of finding an instrument with which to measure how the child feels about himself on a deep personal level. Finding an instrument
for the young child that does not require a substantial level of cognitive and verbal skills is very difficult. Any tool has to be sensitive enough to uncover the meaning of self image, yet uncomplicated enough to be understood by the pre-literate child. There has been a tendency in many studies, even with an older age group, to use white, male, middle class results as the norm and to argue that any deviation above the norm is due to "defence mechanisms" or "ego-inflation mechanisms" (McDill, 1966). In this way many investigators have reached negative conclusions in the face of positive findings!

For ease and clarity, techniques for measuring self concept will be divided into formal and informal categories. Formal methods include those which provide background knowledge and responses with which a future sample may be compared; that is the child is being compared with his peers. Informal techniques do not purport to yield normative data, and rely on more subjective methods such as observation, conversation, etc. However, Bourisseau (1972) remarks that any assessment of the self concept does have subjective overtones and it is currently based on theoretical projections as much as on empirical data.

**Formal Techniques**

The most common type of formal technique used among pre-literate children consists of projective tests in which the child is asked to draw a picture, tell a story or dramatize a situation. Here the child unconsciously selects the most salient values, emotions and behaviour in his life experience. There is no clear direction within the task set for the child and so he is forced to draw on his inner resources. In this way there is a greater degree of self projection than is the case with tests and inventories. Van Lennep (1951) describes projection as "all kinds of utterances and expressions of the subject as far as these are personal and not decided by the rules of his society". Anderson (1951) on the other hand, feels that a person is projecting when painful (for his
ego to admit) personal traits or desires are ascribed to another person.
He continues to argue that since projection is an unconscious mechanism, it
is not communicated to others; neither is it recognised as an act of projec-
tion by the individual himself.

Figure drawings as a measure of the self image appear to be the most
popular of the projective techniques. However, it is better suited to
children in a clinical setting, since any interpretation of such a measure
without adequate knowledge of personality dynamics and developmental
sequence could be dangerous or indeed useless. In this test the child is
asked to draw a man (Goodenough, 1926) or a person, or himself. No other
instruction is given - for example, as to where the figure is to be placed
in relation to the paper. Machover (1951) argues that "underlying the
drawing techniques is the wide and basic assumption that personality
develops not in a vacuum but through the movement, feeling and thinking of
a specific body." In other words, the figure drawing is a representation
of the self, or body in its environment. Several drawings over a period
of time would be more useful in arriving at an image of the self, rather
than one single drawing at one point in time.

The scoring for a test such as the 'House-Tree-Person' test is based
either on psychoanalytic interpretation in which socio-cultural factors
do not play an important part (Machover, 1951), or drawing as an
expression of intellectual capacity (Goodenough, 1926). A child with
general feelings of inadequacy usually draws a very small figure. He sees
himself as of little consequence and feels lost in his environment. Some
children feel little attachment with their environment and a figure that
is slanted on the page, giving a drifting or floating effect, is said to
be symbolic of this state. Large drawings, touching the top and bottom of
the page, are often produced by the child who feels hemmed in and/or
threatened by his environment; he is fenced in, unable to expand, a
situation found in many authoritarian families.
The head, usually drawn first and given the greatest amount of attention, is symbolic of "social needs and responsiveness" (Bourisseau, 1972). The head contains the necessities for communication. Thus a disproportionately large head is usually drawn by the child for whom the head has some significance, such as an underachiever or a mentally retarded child. The general facial expression reflects the emotional tone of the drawing. Feelings of happiness, sadness, frustration and hostility are usually reflected in a smiling face, a sad mouth, a bewildered expression, a face with prominent nostrils and clearly defined teeth, respectively. It should be noted, however, that in a society such as ours where open expression of hostility and aggression is not acceptable, there might be some differences in the observable behaviour and the drawings of the child. Sometimes these feelings may be revealed in art work or story telling.

The eyes, hands, feet and mouth are said to be the main points of contact with the environment. Very few children before the age of seven will include all these details. Usually, the inclusion of certain details at an early age is indicative of an emotional impact involving that particular part of the body. For example, Bourisseau (1972) found that ears were included in the drawings of deaf children below the age of eight, the age at which ears usually appeared in drawings. Another child of seven years depicted knees in his drawing, and it was later discovered that the child had recently suffered a serious knee injury.

The drawing of the 'striving' child is usually found near the top of the page while the 'family rooted' child will usually place his drawing at the bottom of the page possibly adding grass or some detail in the environment to provide a feeling of attachment or security.

Investigators using this technique would argue that an observation of how the drawing is done can reveal details of the self image of the child. For example, a light, stroking line is often drawn by the insecure child; although the light line might be indicative of a low energy level which could be suggestive of depression resulting from feelings of inadequacy.
Shading tends to denote anxiety while cleaning out and working over indicate dissatisfaction.

When asked to make a drawing, the child usually makes some kind of response. The insecure child is usually hesitant, uncertain and asks several questions before beginning. Most children start by drawing the head and those who begin with the feet may well be trying to avoid contact with the environment since the head is said to be the most significant contact with the environment.

Other versions of the figure drawing technique involve the request to make a self portrait or to draw a family. In addition to all the points mentioned, above, whether the child includes himself in the picture; and his size relative to other members of the family, are all indications of how the child regards his self.

The advantage of figure drawings is that they can be administered individually as well as in a group. Individual administration gives the investigator the opportunity to observe the procedure the child uses in his drawing and his mannerisms during the process. Direct comparisons can also be made not only with the child's previous drawings but with those of his peers. However, Harris (1963) remarks that a large part of the variance in children's drawings seems to be accounted for by conceptual and cognitive factors, and drawings as such are not good guides to measures of personality. As mentioned previously, scoring of figure drawings has a psychoanalytic basis and might not be valid in non-clinical settings.

Robert Coles (1967) has used art work as a measure of the effects of social values and events on the self esteem of children. He argues that the way children draw is "affected by their racial background, and what that 'fact' means in their particular world (society) at that particular time (period in history)". However, there is some disagreement over Coles' arguments, and as a method of assessing self esteem his method is perhaps unreliable and lacks validity. There is disagreement as to what art work
actually measures and the technique for measuring the effect of social factors on self esteem may be somewhat unreliable.

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) is thought to be one of the best known measures of self esteem in young children (Porter, 1971). Like many others, however, it is best used in a clinical setting. The most popular variation of the TAT is the "Blacky Test" in which the child is requested to make up a story about a family of black dogs (Blum, 1960). This test is however thought to be unsuitable for use with black children because of its title, and its focus on colour. Also, the scoring technique disregards the possible effects of variables such as race or class and as Porter argues, the scoring stresses Oedipal themes. Overall, it relies heavily on verbal ability and so would be unsuitable for use with children with poor verbal skills.

In trying to compare the levels of self esteem of 58 five-year-old children (19 whites and 39 blacks), Porter (1971) used a combination of the self portrait and story technique. To check their colour preference, the child had to choose between drawing on one of several sheets of paper coloured white, green or brown. (Porter had expected that the black children with a strong black bias would choose a brown sheet of paper, but she found that this was not important in their selection). She adds that experience with crayons or viewing himself in a mirror did not appear to be important variables as the children had all been attending nursery schools for some years and had received practice in drawing, or they had been involved in a recent summer program where drawing and body image received strong emphasis.

After doing a self portrait each child was asked to make up a story about the drawing. In scoring, Porter assumed that a more favourable self image would be indicated by lively, detailed, colourful pictures. On this basis, that content of drawings are indicators of emotional factors, Porter used factors such as facial expression of the figure, and size and position
on the page in her assessment. A code was devised for the thematic content of the story and this included areas such as "powerlessness", "personal efficacy" and "lively daily descriptions". Each variable was scored independently by three coders.

Porter claims that her findings are meant as hypotheses rather than firm conclusions, but shows that 'personal efficacy' and 'lively daily descriptions' were more common among white than black youngsters. Although there were some class differences, overall the black children showed less control over their environment (powerlessness), their susceptibility to physical harm and negative self descriptions, than their white counterparts. Drawings of the black children showed more indications of inadequacy and generally poor image of the self (parts missing) than those of the white children.

One should not fail to take account of the anxiety-provoking presence of a white interviewer in the era before black self-confidence developed, in the late 1960s. Porter's studies were carried out in the early 1960s. Also, recency of social experience might play a part in what the child chooses to relate at one point in time. One should not underestimate the possibility of rote repetition of something the child has heard.

The Children's Apperception Test (CAT), both human and animal forms, and the Michigan Picture Test (MPT) are also frequently used measures of the image the child has of himself. Like the TAT, they should be individually administered (although has in the past been done with a group) and as such are time consuming. Not only are these tests more suitable in a clinical setting, but a series of stories are necessary to gain insight into the 'global' image of the child. Suitable pictures may be found in picture books, colouring books or magazines. The child is asked to tell a story or draw a picture of what he thinks went before and after the action in the picture being shown to him. The young child usually assumes an
identification with the small figure in the picture. Investigators interpreting the responses of the child would argue that the story the child tells about the picture and the role of the small figure in it are indicative of the child's feelings about peer relationships, adult-child relationships, or his ability to relate to authority figures and conflict situations. Bourissseau (1964) shows that in a study of six-year-olds whose reading achievement was below the prediction on the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test, there was a definite vein of feelings of inadequacy and submission in the stories. The achievers in contrast tended to relate stories where the small figure became the winner in the end.

Children with language or expression problems are obviously at a disadvantage with this method, and this should be borne in mind when using this test with the pre-literate child.

The Sentence Completion Test is another projective test that has been used to assess the self image of both children and teenagers. Though not often used with children below the age of six years, it is a good technique for revealing the child's conscious fears, attitudes, wishes and feelings. Of course, what the child says may be greatly influenced by immediate circumstances or concerns, but a series of the same projective test given at intervals should reveal the difference between fixed and fluctuating circumstances in the life of the child. The subject is asked to complete a sentence started by the interviewer with the first thing that comes into his mind. This method is very flexible in that beginnings of the sentences could be structured so as to tap a particular area of the child's experience that the investigator is interested in. This of course runs contrary to the possibility that self image is a global measure, but I would argue that in a child this is more volatile and more dependent on interaction with significant others and general external stimuli than the more formed image found in the adolescent or the adult. Because of this 'dependence' on significant others, there is no general feeling of esteem,
but a fragmented feeling of "good" in some areas of life and "not so good" in others. These words are frequently used by young children and they are usually due to the kind of reinforcement meted out to them by their significant others.

Examples of sentences for completion include:

I can't ...........
I wish ...........
I am very ........
I hate ............
My mother ........
My father ........

Sentences of this nature would give some idea of the child's family life and possibly his relationships with other members in it.

Ward and Braun (1972) argue that several studies have shown that blacks living in the north as well as those in the south (Clark and Clark, 1947; Morland, 1966; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958), and those in integrated as well as segregated schools (Goodman, 1952; Gregor, 1964; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958) have preferred 'white' to 'black'. However, with all the social and political changes in the life of blacks, there could possibly be increased feelings of competence and positive evaluation among black children and indeed, Pettigrew (1964) suggests that the child develops a concept of himself at the same time that he is learning to understand and control his environment. Butts (1963) found using the California Test of Personality as a measure, that black children with impaired self concepts perceived themselves less accurately in terms of skin colour. In the light of this Ward and Braun hypothesised that subjects with impaired self esteem would be more out-group oriented than those with good self esteem. Their subjects were 60 black girls and boys of seven and eight years. The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale together with an adaptation of the Clark instrument were used. In the Piers-Harris test the 80 items were read aloud to each child by a black interviewer. Items in the Piers-Harris scale included:
I am a happy person .................... yes/no
I am unpopular ........................ yes/no
I give up easily ........................ yes/no
I often get into trouble ................... yes/no
I am a good person ................... yes/no

Puppets were used instead of dolls in the adaptation of the Clark measure.

Ward and Braun reported a significant relationship between self-esteem and racial preference. Findings indicated that those children who made more black colour preferences had higher self-esteem than those who made fewer black colour preferences.

Torshen et al (1977) suggest the use of their Primary Self-Concept Inventory (PSCI). This is a group-administered self-report self-concept inventory for children of ages five through to eight. The scale contains 24 items which measures the child's self-evaluation in seven areas - athletics, work habits, personal appearance, relationship to teachers, relationship to boys, relationship to girls, relationship to others in general. The PSCI employs a forced-choice format in which the child rates himself in relation to his classmates on all 24 items on a three-choice scale. One example of their items is: If you learn things faster, at the same rate, or slower than your classmates, put an X in the box with the circle, square or triangle respectively. This is read aloud to the group with each alternative being put in consecutive readings.

Group-administered technique always raises methodical questions, but as a method of investigating the 'global' self concept, the PSCI is probably quite useful.

The Semantic Differential Technique is often used with young children in determining where the child sees himself along a continuum of attitudes or attributes. The Hodgkiss Self-Concept Scale for Children (HSCSC) is an interesting way of finding out how the young child sees himself. Although this adaptation of the semantic differential needs to
be individually administered, the child may be left to work on his own once he had understood what to do. The HSCSC is a pictorial form of the semantic differential model and is laid out in the form of a blue plastic board with pictures of boys or girls (depending on the sex of the child being tested) engaged in activities. The activities depict polarized concepts such as happy-sad, boy-girl, good-bad, kind-mean, pretty-ugly, sharing-selfish. In this case there are fourteen characteristics represented. The child is asked to place pegs in holes depicting whether he sees himself "just like", "almost like", or "a little like" the chosen picture.

A high score (1 to 7/negative to positive) depicts a good image of the self and the scoring technique is probably a good indicator of the particular areas of life that the child feels less in control of.

The Osgood Semantic Differential (1957) requires the child to rate himself according to a series of bipolar adjectives (e.g. 'good-bad'; 'pretty-ugly'). Porter (1971) adapted this 'evaluative' measure for use with her sample but found that even after rewording some of the choices and illustrating them with stick figures, the test was unsuitable because the children became confused and soon lost interest. It would appear that the Hodgkiss measure went further in coping with the short attention span of the young child.

Woolner (1967), using the basic technique of Semantic Differential, designed the Pre-school Self-Concept and Picture Test (PSCPT). Relating the needs, characteristics, concerns and developmental tasks of preschoolers, their parents and teachers (significant others) on ten plates of paired pictures, the child is shown each picture in turn and asked, "Which boy (girl) are you?". The child is then asked, "Which boy (girl) would you like to be?". Answer to the first question depicts the child's image of himself while answer to the second question depicts his ideal self concept. Woolner argues that the greater the agreement between the two answers, the more the child is satisfied with himself.
Ziller (1972) remarks that research concerning self-esteem has failed to emphasize the social nature of the phenomenon. Many studies in the area are of a descriptive nature and together with shortcomings of the measurement techniques, there has been very little theoretical development in the area. A few studies have relied on the self-report method. Ziller attacks this method, since he argues that self-report methods indicate a socially desirable self-esteem, that is, an evaluation of the self that the interviewee is willing to reveal or that he wishes the person to accept. Ziller's thesis of the social nature of self-esteem has led him to devise a measure that can be used in cross-cultural research, developmental research and research in general where there is some dispute as to the comparable verbal ability of the subjects. In general, he asked his subjects to place themselves along a horizontal dimension in relation to others. (Ziller's measure will be described in detail in Chapter).

Investigators such as Grossack (1963), Noel (1964), Lewin (1935) and Erikson (1963) have remarked that devaluation of one's racial group may lead not only to negative group identity, but also to feelings of inadequacy and insecurity on a deeper level. Their model assumes that the condition of anomie (Merton, 1938) created by the restricted access of blacks to American success goals is directly translated into personal demoralization within the black community. In this process, the meanings assigned to the pattern of low status among blacks are presumably internalized in the form of poor self-images.

In the light of this general view, many studies (Clark and Clark, 1947; Kudiner and Ovesey, 1951; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1950; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Brody, 1963) have supported this demoralization thesis. Others, however, (Gordon, 1963; McDonald and Gynther, 1965; Coleman et al., 1966, Bachman, 1970; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972) have shown blacks to have self-evaluations which do not differ substantially from those of their white counterparts. Hunt and Hunt (1977)
remark. "This more current research indicates that the self-appraisals of blacks are more positive than would be expected if they were directly reflective of objective structural circumstances, and that the impact of low status appears to be shaped by conditions and/or processes which work to sustain personal dignity, even where conventional terms of success and respectability are problematical."

Porter (1971) takes all this work further, and apart from interpreting the results of the black children as rejection of themselves as blacks, reports findings which indicate that class is more salient than race in determining the child's self image. She found that although there was a lower level of self esteem among her black than her white sample, the black middle class children had more positive personal esteem though less positive racial esteem than their working class counterparts. There were no class differences in the racial self concept of whites. Similarly Samuels (1973) studied 93 five-year-olds in New York and suggested that class is more potent than race in the determination of self concept. Samuels used both the 'Clark U-Scale' (1967) which consists of 53 outline drawings of paired picture situations arranged to form a dichotomy, and a modified version of the 'Self as Subject' part of the Brown Test (1966). In the latter, the child has to choose one of a pair of 14 dichotomous adjectives to describe himself and it is said to measure 'global' self concept. The Clark U-Scale covers the self concept subscales of Body Image, Appearance and Sex-Role Preference, Competence and Social Relationships.

Samuels (1973) remarked that very few studies have evaluated the relationship between particular familial patterns and five-year-old children's self concepts, usually due to the lack of adequate instruments with which to do this. He adds that both the Brown Test and the Clark U-Test show a good potential as objective measures of the young child's self feelings. The Clark U-Scale, a non-verbal measure, showed
differences between both the classes in the black and white sample. The
Brown Test only showed interclass differences in the results of the black
children. Samuels is of the opinion that defensive reactions and social
desirability responses are more likely to be manifested by the use of the
Brown Test than by the Clark U-Scale. Words such as "ugly", "dirty", etc.
are hard to accept about oneself and denial would be a possible reaction by
children who do not wish to face their negative feelings. Samuels noticed
this with some of his sample who scored low on the Clark U-Scale. Such
children laughed nervously or hesitated before giving the 'correct' answer
on the Brown Test.

It is a reasonable inference that individuals who devalue the group
to which they belong, relative to their evaluation of other and perhaps
more dominant groups in society, will also devalue themselves to a certain
extent. The logical paradigm is this: the individual knows that he
belongs to a certain ethnic group, and he is known to identify with that
group; but he devalues that group, knowing that he belongs to the group;
inevitably, he also devalues himself. Thus measures of group-devaluation
such as the Clark and Clark doll study are also to a large extent measures
of self-esteem. Saunders (1973) also takes this view and cites the study
by Gregor and McPherson (1966) using the Clark Doll Test in black
children as an indirect measure of the attitude of those black children
towards themselves. This thesis is also similar to that offered by
Trent (1957) in his study of the attitudes of black children: self-
attitudes are intimately and directly related to attitudes to others.
Trent showed that black children with negative attitudes to blacks as a
group had poor self-esteem. Because of the apparent usefulness of the
Clark Doll Test as a measure of attitudes towards the self, and self-
estee, I will review a number of studies on the methodology of the tests
used by the Clarks.
The use of dolls in establishing children's racial self-identification, and consequent esteem of the self is no novelty. As far back as 1939 Kenneth and Mamie Clark used black and white dolls to investigate the 'Development of Consciousness of Self and the Emergence of Racial Identification in Negro Pre-School Children'. Since then investigators such as Radke and Trager (1950), Goodman (1952), Landreth and Johnson (1953), Stevenson and Stewart (1950), Gregor and McPherson (1966) and Norland (1962), and Hraba and Grant (1970) have used or adapted the Clark technique. All except Hraba and Grant found that the black child, given the choice, chose the white doll in preference to the black doll. Some investigators such as Porter (1971) and Ward and Braun (1972) have modified the basic Clark design either by omitting some of the questions, adding others or using puppets (Asher and Allen, 1969) instead of dolls. In Britain, the doll technique has been used by researchers such as Pushkin (1967), Marsh (1970), Iashley (1971) and Milner (1972) and all except Marsh made findings similar to the studies done in America.

The original doll study by the Clarks (1939) covered three main areas, identity, preference and stereotypes. The test was administered individually with only the examiner and the child in the room. The child was shown two dolls, one white and with caucasian features, and the other with dark brown and negroid features. He was then requested to do things such as "Give me the doll that looks bad", "Give me the doll that is a nice colour", "Give me the doll you like to play with", "Give me the doll that is a nice doll". Morland (1963) used a series of pictures instead of dolls. The child was shown a picture which contained both black and white children of his or her own sex. Pointing to the black child in the picture, the interviewer asked "Do you like this child?". The subject was then asked "Do you like this child?" (the interviewer pointing to the other child in the picture). The final question was "Which child do you look more like?" Milner (1972) in his study used a combination of dolls and
pictures. He also asked his subjects questions which covered the areas of 'aspirations' and 'racial differences'.

Porter (1971) in her study of Boston three- to seven-year-olds, used a number of tests ranging from the original Clark material, doll play (house and television game) to self portraits and story telling. Goodman (1952) in her study of four-year-olds in Northeastern United States, used participant observation, non-participant observation, interviewing, testing, school records and discussions with nursery school staff. Tests included the use of jigsaw puzzles, miniature life toys and doll house, pictures, and clay, and dolls.

All this impressive combination and adaptation of the use of dolls and pictures in investigating children's attitude to their race is very interesting. However, there is no standardised instrument per se for use in doll studies. Each researcher makes (or orders commercially) his own pair of dolls. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1963) even introduced a 'mulatto' doll and as a result showed findings which modified previous ones of out-group orientation among black children.

I would argue that the doll test is possibly a very valid measure of racial evaluation in young children, but that because of the lack of a standardised tool, the reliability of other studies of a similar nature are probably a little suspect. Joseph Hraba (1972) too has been concerned about all these variations in research materials and questions whether the 'preference' questions in particular are measuring the same phenomenon. He looks for example at the Hraba and Grant (1969) study of young children in Lincoln, Nebraska, and particularly at their racial preference questions which included: (1) Give me the doll that you want to play with. (2) Give me the doll that is a nice doll. (3) Give me the doll that looks bad. (4) Give me the doll that is a nice colour. Asher and Allen (1969) note (like Hraba) that the racial preferences of many of their subjects changed with each request. Hraba asks: "Are the four requests \[\text{those of Hraba and} \]
Grant (1969) and presumably all the other 'doll' researchers unidimensional as presumed, all measuring racial preference? If not, which requests measure what? Hraba submits two explanations as to why children change their preferences across requests and argues that these have implications for traditional measures of children's racial preference. In a detailed analysis of the Hraba and Grant (1969) data they found that children may have changed their preferences because (a) they intend to express a liking for both races, not because of cognitive incapacity; (b) they may have experimented with their doll choices hoping for a reward.

Jean Piaget's (1952) developmental theory goes some way in offering an explanation to 'theory' (a). Piaget found that the child between the age of four and seven "... is still incapable of thinking in terms of the whole: he is preoccupied with the parts" (Maier, 1969). In the doll technique, the child is asked four times to choose between a black and a white doll. These requests purport to be unidimensional, that is measuring the same thing, racial preference. However, to the young child each question is a perceivable change, a change in wording. (Piaget changed the appearance of the liquid in the jar by changing the shape of the jar. His four- to seven-year-olds thought the quantity had also changed). Similarly with the doll technique, the wording changes, so the child changes his preference choice. Hraba (1972) found that seventy-three per cent of the children in the sample being analysed changed their preference choice at least once. It could mean that such a child concentrated more on the feature of changes in the wording and did not realise that a single question was being asked in four different ways. Hraba argues here that if this is the case, "the requests are multidimensional".

On the other hand, a child may realise that a single question is being asked - What is your racial preference? - and choose dolls of both races because of explanation (b); that is, they wish to express a liking for both races. Of course, children who possibly discern the common
dimension within the four questions and choose one race above the other may be expressing what Hraba (1972) calls "racial ethnocentrism". This is a liking for one's own race, a positive racial evaluation which is an index of good self esteem.

Katz et al (1975) used a variety of tests to measure racial attitudes in a population which included eight-year-old black and white children. The test battery included photographs of black and white people which the children had to evaluate. Low levels of correlation were found between the various measures, and a varied race of tester produced no consistent significant effect.

The use of pictures in the investigation of racial identification in young children has also been the subject of some discussion by Jahoda et al (1972). The measurement instrument consists of a set of 8 x 10 black and white pictures about which questions are asked. Jahoda (1972) argues that the differences between pictures (coloured and black-and-white) and dolls imply substantial variations in the cues available for identification. This point too was stressed by Melamed (1968) in his study of South African children. Jahoda also mentions the point made by Vurpillot (1970), that there is a possibility that semantic confusion may play some part in the child's choice. In Vurpillot's study dealing with children's concepts of 'sameness' in relation to pictures and designs, he found that "If children are asked to pick the representation 'which looks most like you', as is commonly done, there would seem to be ample scope for the selection of criterial stimulus elements at variance with the intentions of the experimenter".

Overall, it may be to the researcher's advantage to more openly recognise the great deal of uncertainty and doubt about using dolls and/or pictures in the measurement of children's racial identification. As Jahoda (1972) mentions "Further progress probably depends on detailed and systematic study of what specifically the children's responses mean".
Do adults (including experimenters) hold the same criteria of a young child's self image as that held by the young child about himself? White and Human (1976) made a study of 46 three-, four- and five-year-old children using an I feel-Me Feel inventory. The original inventory contains 40 items which measure five dimensions of self concepts: General Adequacy, Peer, Teacher-School, Academic, and Physical. Each item is a silhouetted picture of an event relating to experiences in a young child's life. At the bottom of each item are five faces which graphically represent sad, a little sad, not sad-not happy, a little happy, very happy. The child was asked to put an X on the picture of the face that shows how he feels. White and Human chose 18 items which were shown in previous factorial studies to have high loadings. The head teachers, mothers and fathers also had to complete a similar inventory, as they thought the child would. Results showed that there was a high correlation among the adults' assessment of the child's self image. However, the child's view of himself differed in many cases from the view which the adults held of him.

Lucie Barber (1975) has been critical of many of the devices used to measure the self image of the young child, arguing that they tend to oversimplify a quite complex structure. She quotes Walker (1973) who wrote that the development of meaningful measures of constructs such as self concept, require that "... the major theoretical questions and issues (be) answered within a comprehensive theory of socioemotional development ..." Barber uses this as a basis for constructing a set of measures for investigating the self image of the young child.

Barber appears to be one of the few investigators to use a complex and integrated theory of development in her analysis of the self concept of the young child. The Barber Scales of 'Self-Regard' are primarily intended for use by parents, and hence she has chosen the term Self-Regard as opposed to Self-Concept. Barber's theory is modelled by a series of hierarchically arranged levels. Each level represents 'a total integrated
personality' as a set of elements that include the affective, cognitive, personal and environmental experiences of the child. As the child moves in one direction through these levels, the model involves an increasing integration of the four elements; while movement in the opposite direction leads to increasing differentiation of the elements. Barber argues that within each of the hierarchically arranged levels, the set of elements interact exhibiting the four properties "Closure, Associativity, Identity and the Inverse". (These properties are related to the 'abelian' group of Mathematical Groups).

Barber's model of total personality is at the level at which the self is at its most differentiated form. This model involves a set of sixteen elements of personality. One of these sixteen elements is self image which Barber describes as "the 'picture' each individual presumably has of himself or herself as a total personality". She argues that there are eight specified interactions which result in the element of self image. One of these interactions involves the identity of the individual and as she regards this as not being directly amenable to measurement, the 'Barber Scales of Self-Regard' consists of seven components, and is for use with children from two through to five years.

Each of the seven scales is scored on a five point developmental sequence toward a positive image in the child. The Barber scale is useful in that each scale point is described and the parents provide examples of the child's actual behaviour. The parents themselves can work out the developmental level of their child in terms of the seven interactions.

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**THE SEVEN BARBER SCALES OF SELF-REGARD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Titles</th>
<th>Descriptive Phrases</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developing Skills for a Purpose</td>
<td>Learning skills in order to increase potential.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completing Tasks</td>
<td>Learning to persist in activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping with Fears</td>
<td>Learning to put fears into perspective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's responses to Requests</td>
<td>Learning to co-operate willingly with parental requests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with Frustrations</td>
<td>Learning roles for channeling emotions positively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially acceptable Behaviour</td>
<td>Learning to evaluate behaviour and to adjust socially.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing Imagination in Play</td>
<td>Learning to broaden world perspective by using imagination.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The Barber scales present self concept as a global construct which essentially consists of eight (seven measurable) elements. It is one of the few measures which goes some way in getting at the global aspect of the self image. Within this global measure, however, one can also discern areas in which the child has more positive feelings about himself than in others. The scales also tap the behavioural nature of self regard in that it covers all aspects of the child's development not only within a 'sterile' experimental setting, but within the setting of the home where the child is expected to be most confident and relaxed. This of course has implications for its use with black children. As Watson (1973) suggested that black children are sometimes threatened by the presence of a white experimenter and hence give responses that they think the white (superior) experimenter expects them to give. The Barber Scales of Self-Regard should help to overcome this problem as it can be completed by parents and in the family's own setting. The scales do too what Barber expects a good instrument should do - point toward the unsuspected as well as affirming the obvious.

Using a different approach to the measure of self-evaluation, Stabler, Johnson, Berke and Baker (1969) found that pre-school children rate objects associated with a white box as high in value while those associated with a black box were thought to be low in value. Stabler, Johnson and Jordan (1971) further investigated the self concepts (as related to racial membership) of 60 black and white pre-schoolers by using 32 statements reflecting self concepts as stimuli as emitted from black and white tape-recorder speakers. The children were asked to guess which of the two boxes they heard statements such as "I am good", "I am good looking", "I like myself", coming from. White children reported that they heard more positive statements coming from the white box than from the black box, while black children reported fewer positive statements from the white box. All this report was in spite of the broadcast coming from both boxes with equal intensity.
The investigators had previously found that pre-schoolers had certain attitudes to the colours black and white and hypothesised that this may influence the way black and white children view each other and themselves. This method appears a valid way to test such hypothesis. It is structured, although quite flexible, easily understood even by the younger group of pre-schoolers, easily administered and enjoyable for young children.

One's knowledge of the self has not only a cognitive but also an affective aspect to it. Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1950) found that their young black sample chose not to identify with their own racial group, possibly because of the emotional consequences this had for them. In exploring this, in addition to the doll test and the line drawing technique, the Clarks gave their five-, six- and seven-year-old subjects a colouring test. This test consisted of a sheet of paper on which were the outlines of a leaf, an apple, an orange, a mouse, a boy and a girl. The child was asked first to colour the objects and the mouse, to ascertain whether he had a stable concept of the relationship of colour to object. If the child successfully completed this part of the test he was then asked to colour the boy or girl (depending on the subject's sex) "the colour he or she is". After this was done, the child was given a picture of the appropriate sex and told: "Now this is a little boy (or girl). Colour him (or her) the colour you like little boys (or girls) to be".

This measure as a test of the affective meaning of colour for the child's self image is in many respects quite a good one. A child who belongs to a group which is constantly undervalued might feel very threatened if asked to say why he has chosen to colour himself in a certain way. This measure overcomes that and allows the investigator to classify the responses according to three types - reality; phantasy; and irrelevant or escape. Reality responses included those in which the children coloured the outline drawing with a colour reasonably related to
their own skin colour. Phantasy responses were those in which the children used colours which were markedly different from that of their own skin, e.g. yellow, white or very much lighter. Some children, although they coloured the objects correctly, coloured their own representation in a bizarre fashion by using colours such as red, green, purple, etc.

Using such a test gives the interviewer the opportunity to observe each child individually, not only with regard to the verbal responses they make while colouring the outlines, but how they go about choosing the colour and the manner in which they shade the outlines. The Clarks found that most of the children coloured themselves with "painstaking care" as compared to the matter-of-fact way in which they coloured the objects. Those who were not as careful in colouring themselves were in fact the ones who made irrelevant or escape responses.

The Clarks usefully divided the children's spontaneous comments into five categories: (1) explanation in terms of colour as the definite and deciding factor; (2) explanation in terms of ugly or pretty; (3) explanation in terms of dirty or clean; (4) evasive explanation; (5) explanations with the use of the epithet "nigger". These categories are not absolute and allow other investigators to categorise their findings in other ways.

Overall then, the Clark Colouring Test offers a greater choice of responses than either the doll or the line drawing technique. It also more successfully taps the emotional content of preference choices among pre-school children. When given the almost forced choice situation of the doll test, thirty-six per cent of black pre-schoolers previously tested preferred the colour white. On the colouring test, only five per cent of the children coloured themselves white. This finding indicates that given greater latitude in the measure, fewer black children might choose to identify with the colour white over their own colour. This test is useful too in showing the age effect of correct racial identification and possibly the conceptualisation of an image of the self. The Clarks
found that in identifying themselves, the escapist response of using a bizarre colour had disappeared by the age of seven.

Many measures of the self image of the young child identify but do not test adequately the affective aspect of the construct. It is felt that the Clark's technique, though potentially anxiety provoking for the insecure child, goes some way to measuring his attitudes to himself as a member of a particular group.

A child's position and changes of position in the social structure inevitably influences his image of himself. Understanding the social structure might then give an indication of how the child feels about himself. One way of understanding this structure is by the use of a 'sociogram', which determines the 'stars' and 'isolates' in any given group. Since the young child spends most of his time either at home or in a pre-school group, then a sociometric test could be carried out either within the pre-school group or within the home. There appears no reason why a comparison could not be done of the results in both settings. In this respect, the investigator might be able to arrive at a 'global' measure of the child's self image, as inferred from his social popularity.

The 'stars' in a sociometric test are those children selected as friends by many of the others in the group. The 'isolates' are those not regarded as desirable friends in a peer choice situation. Each child is asked which from a list of the group he would like to be involved with in either a social or academic situation. The Sociometric test was among the measures I used in examining racial identification and its correlation with friendship choices. These relationships will be examined in detail in a later chapter.

A sociogram is readily adaptable to various situations and may be used with various age levels. Spontaneous comments made by the child during the investigation can be very useful in identifying why they make certain choices or indeed why they themselves are not chosen as friends. Like
most other measures, however, a sociogram can be misleading and hence is best used in conjunction with another measure. For example, a child, may be socially amenable and a star among his peers, but still have inadequate feelings about himself. The converse is, however, unlikely to hold true; that is, it is unlikely that a child would feel good about himself if he is being isolated and rejected by his peers. Periodic administration of different tests can reveal improvement or decline in both self image and structural position. A sociogram has implications for classroom management in trying to enhance self image, and also for family counselling. Scoring the sociogram involved simply recording the choices on a graph. Once this is plotted, it is relatively easy to ascertain the number of choices each child has received, which were mutual choices, etc.

The adjective check list, some forms of sentence completion, and self-completion measures such as the Rosenberg scale and the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory, are seemingly very good techniques for measuring self image but apart from being lengthy, they are unsuitable for preliterate children.

It should be noted too that conventional reliability studies (such as reliability over time, or internal reliability) have rarely been carried out with the formal techniques outlined above; few, if any validity studies have been carried out, to see if the tests measure what they actually purport to measure; and no one has attempted, so far as I can discover, to relate the various techniques and measures to one another. It may be argued however, that such techniques should not be used formally, in a pseudo-psychometric manner, but should be treated as informal techniques (like those which are described below) giving clinical workers and teachers insights into the child's current social and psychological functioning, and giving some basis for individual interaction and therapy. Used in this way they might be more akin to the type of personal construct measure developed by Bannister and Fransella (1971) which allow an estimate of
unique personal functioning to be made. Here the basis for comparison is not the general norm for the test, but change in particular individuals over time.

Informal Techniques

Included among informal techniques are measures which are more subjective than those previously discussed, but which are no less important in investigating the young child's self image. In fact, because the young child's image of himself is very much socially dependent, the most appropriate method might be to observe him in interaction at home, at school and in the community. Informal techniques may be time consuming, expensive and in some cases methodologically suspect, but should not be excluded because of this. Ideally, these measures should be combined with more formal methods of assessment.

It would appear that the younger the child the more willing and open he is about expressing feelings about himself. By observation of what the child says and how he says it the investigator can gain insights into the child's conception of himself.

Conversations are very informative in trying to find out how the child feels about himself. If while engaged in conversation the child is asked a direct question about his feelings about himself in a particular 'area', the child is likely to be able to say just what he feels about himself. Of course, the child who lacks verbal skills would be at a disadvantage in this method; but lacking verbal skills at a certain age might itself be indicative of the image the child has of himself.

A more structured form of conversation might be profitable with some children. Bourisseau (1972) suggests that most children are quick to phantasize and thoroughly enjoy the magical aspect of making three wishes. These wishes may be centred around family relationships, hostile desires or more material things. In expanding and clarifying the statements, the interviewer gets the child to talk more and more about himself. Another
approach is to ask the child to imagine being an animal for one day, to say why they have chosen that animal and to talk about some of the things they would do. Bourisseau found in one of his investigations that one child wanted to be a dog because everyone loved dogs. Another wanted to be a tiger so he could pounce on everyone. Equally useful is to ask the child which animal he would prefer not to be. One of Bourisseau's subjects did not want to be a snake because snakes are stepped on. Did this child have feelings of being trodden on by adults?

Conversations may be engaged in by simply asking the child a question and getting him to expand on his answer. For example a child could be asked "If you could be changed and could be different from what you are, if you could be changed any way you like, how would you want to be changed? What would you want to be like?". "If you were going to a Halloween party what kind of costume would you like to wear?". "How would you change your home or your family or yourself so that you could be happier?". Interpretation of such conversations needs skilled handling. What the child says depends to a large extent on the context, how relaxed he feels and how trustworthy he thinks the interviewer is. Binkmeyer (1965) points out that there must be friendliness and mutual trust, and the child must recognise some purpose for the question.

Dreams are an important part of the lives of children and given the chance a child will report his dreams. Skilled interpretation of dreams, especially a series of dreams for each child may give some insight into how the child manifests feelings about himself.

Lerner and Schroeder (1975) suggest that the attitudes children express regarding different groups are to a great extent dependent on the demands of the experimental situation imposed on them. They point out that investigators using the 'forced choice' technique, e.g. the original doll studies, have "... defined the situation, created the task or questions, determined the response alternatives and thus 'discovered' the
exceptionless racial stereotype”. Lerner and Schroeder carried out a methodological analysis of three techniques - (1) the forced choice method where subjects chose either a black or a white doll in response to each item presentation; (2) the multiple-alternative method where the subjects chose from zero to five white dolls and from zero to five black dolls for each item presentation; (3) the open-ended interview method where the subjects made assessments about the doll that is presented to him.

The investigators tested 82 white children with a mean age of 5.9 years. The subjects were divided randomly into three groups as suggested above. In the forced choice method, the child was told that he was going to play a guessing game in which the experimenter would tell him a short story, and he should say how he thought the story would end. Twelve story-questions were used introducing evaluative adjectives such as nice, good-looking, smart, good, clean, kind, ugly, mean, naughty, dirty, stupid, bad. One question used was "One of these people is nice. He does nice things. Which one do you think is nice?". Subjects responded by choosing either the black or white stimulus.

In the multiple-alternative method the story questions were reworded to refer to a group of stimuli. For example, one question was: "Some of these people are nice. They do nice things. Which ones do you think are nice?". The subjects had to choose any number of black and/or white dolls. In both methods one and two, the right-left position of the dolls was counterbalanced across subjects. The placement was also reversed for each subject on an immediate retest, with a different random order of the items.

The open-ended interview method involved presenting a black and a white doll successively to the child. Questions pertaining to one racial stimulus were completed before questions pertaining to the other began. The experimenter places the doll in front of the child and says: "Here is a doll that looks like a person that I know. You may not know him, but you may know someone like him". Five questions were then asked about the
stimulus: (a) "What does it mean to be a person like this?"; (b) "Tell me what you think this person is like?"; (c) "What would he do?"; (d) "Is it good or bad to be a person like this?"; (e) "Why?".

Results from the open-ended interview revealed a general lack of pejorative rejection of the black figure. The authors conclude "When asked about black and white racial stimuli actively, these young white children were most likely to make similar, concrete (Physical and Physical function), neutral statements about both stimuli. Moreover, there was no marked tendency to describe the stimuli in terms consonant with those imposed upon the subjects in either the single- or multiple-alternative method".

Lerner and Schroeder (1975) admit that their results might be limited because of the idiosyncratic characteristics of the population studied. The subjects were all white enrolled in kindergarten classes of a predominantly (ninety-five per cent) white school located in a semi-rural, working class community of south-eastern Michigan. They feel, however, that the relative differences found among the groups warrant a more open-ended method of assessing children's attitudes to racial groups. I would think too that as in most Western societies it is not "ethical" to openly ascribe bad attributes to other groups, the results might have been affected by this. However, the Lerner and Schroeder method appears as adequate as most of the other informal techniques in assessing the child's image of both his and other groups. This of course has implications for how the child feels about himself as a member of that group.

Puppetry has sometimes been used to assess a child's image of himself. Most children, except the very withdrawn, delight in the dramatic, make-believe aspect of puppetry. Characters should represent people pertinent to the child's experience - parents, siblings, teachers, peers. The stories should be simple, direct, forceful and obvious. The child may be asked to dramatise or say what he thinks the ending of the story would
be like. Bourisseau (1972) suggests that if other behaviour patterns indicate that the child may have a poor self concept, then the interviewer may suggest roles for the child to play.

This method may be quite useful in that the child is helped along by the investigator and so it may be used with the child who finds it difficult to talk about himself or indeed to communicate generally. Children like make-believe and should find this test exciting. Scoring could prove difficult and like other informal methods would do better when combined with more formal techniques.

Simple observation of the child interacting is perhaps the best method of assessing a child's conception of himself. Seemingly unimportant aspects of behaviour can make a significant contribution to an assessment of the child's self image. Very often they go unnoticed or are accepted as idiosyncratic, leaving the observer unaware of significant aspects of behaviour that makes up the whole child. Bourisseau (1972) argues that the same basic feelings that result in an inadequate figure drawing are determining all expressive (and non-expressive) behaviour to a greater or lesser degree depending upon the circumstances confronting the child. A small, isolated bit of observation may or may not be significant at the time of observation but it may be a clue that indicates a need for subsequent observation using both formal and informal methods.

Some investigators have used the analysis of children's handwriting as a measure of children's self esteem. Bourisseau (1972) argues that often the child with a poor self concept will be depressed and his writing may be affected accordingly. Moshover (1951) refers to line quality as being significant in the interpretation of figure drawings. Depressed feelings can interfere with a child's ability to maintain a consistent effort. The depressed child may start with a firm, strong stroke which disintegrates into smaller, more poorly formed letters. As a sole method of assessment of a child's self image, handwriting would not be advisable except perhaps where skilled interpretation is available.
Moerloo (1962) comments that "Inflection, choice and order of words are all related to variations of human behaviour, variations of feelings and of thinking". Thus the content of a child's speech may be affected if for some considerable period of time he has held the conviction that he is inadequate. Attempts to compensate for feelings of inadequacy may result in different speech patterns. Eisenson et al (1963) relate the limited conversation of the "under-talker" to deep feelings of inadequacy and a basic feeling of lack of self worth during childhood. They also associate the "over-talker" with anxiety. Feelings of poor self worth are said to be basic to the child who may be reticent to speak or may speak slowly with limited and immature speech content. Conversely, feelings of poor self image may trigger anxiety which is displayed by a great need to reach out to peers and adults. Such a child seeks attention in any way that he can, negatively or positively.

Like handwriting, speech patterns as a sole method of assessing a child's self image could be fraught with difficulties and indeed a lot of misinterpretation. Irregularities in speech may be due to other, more basic physical reasons.

Observing a child's role in free play can be very productive as a method of assessing his basic self development. If over a period of time the child being observed is always an insignificant figure, then difficulties in social development may at least be suspected. A child who consistently plays alone usually does not know how to become involved with other children and when questioned he will defend his position by saying that he prefers to play alone or that he does not like the other children. Such a ready dislike for many children suggests that the child is having difficulty in interpersonal relationships. Bourisseau (1972) points out that this kind of behaviour may reflect basic rejection of the self.

Conversations between children may also be very enlightening. Comments such as "Jane is the biggest and I am the next biggest", reflect
a child's view of himself relative to one of his peers. Such a comment may correctly be estimating the physical size of his friend but it may also be referring to feelings he has about the relationship. Should the latter explanation hold true, and if the child holds the same attitude toward many children and in different activities, then the frame of reference for most of this child's behaviour is one of being second-best.

Bourisseau (1972) cites Cratty who suggests that: "... almost without exception, the child who has difficulty managing his body has a poor self concept". It would appear that a small percentage of pre-school children, both black and white, have difficulty in managing their body in varying degrees. Some could simply be described as 'clumsy' while others have an impaired sense of right and left, have difficulty in judging space and consequently are always stumbling over things, have an impaired sense of space, and may often have difficulty screening out auditory and visual stimuli, and hence are distractable and hyperactive. Still others perform as though their arms and legs are extraneous appendages rather than co-ordinated parts of a working unit. Such children may have difficulty with reading and writing, but are not unintelligent.

Any child with one or more of the above characteristics may become the object of laughter and ridicule when he awkwardly tries to join in 'normal' activities. This situation might lead to general feelings of inadequacy which might well permeate other areas of the child's endeavour. Observation of gross and fine motor skills and the child's reactions to any handicap due to impairment in any of these areas could give the observer some guide as to the child's feelings about himself. Going along with this would be an observation of other areas of the child's life to assess his feelings about himself on a general level.

So far in this chapter the methods for assessing a child's conception of himself have been discussed. They have been divided into formal and informal techniques; the formal covering the partially structured techniques
for which there is some background information and normative data, and the
informal covering the observation of specific unstructured behaviour. The
formal methods include several projective techniques which yield quite
concrete information. The informal methods result in more subjective appraisals than do the formal ones but it would appear that any appraisal of the self cannot help being relatively subjective. Informal methods promote general awareness of the 'whole' child and this is achieved by direct contact with the child and his environment. Listening to his conversation, interviewing him, observing him in interaction are among the procedures used in assessing a child's concept of himself. The 'language' of the body, for example, muscle co-ordination, eye expression, distance to others, may sometimes give a more accurate reflection of the child's feelings than verbal expressions.

It would appear then that there are several techniques for assessing a child's feelings about himself, some more structured than others and some yielding information that cannot or should not be directly compared with others. Some methods are best suited to a clinical setting but should also be treated with great caution because of the problems of unknown reliability and validity, and the thorny problem of observer bias and labelling of children referred to clinics as "problems". Many of the earlier studies, (for example, some of the adapted 'doll' studies) have not reported their reliability or validity. Single, often crude indices are used and methodological flaws of many kinds are present. Among these is the failure to identify the race of examiner and as Katz et al (1975) have shown empirically, the types of responses they obtained in a study of "Perceptual Concomitants of Racial Attitudes in Urban Grade-School Children", showed that a number of factors including the developmental level of the child, the instrument used and the race of the examiner were important variables. Many of the test materials are unpublished and hence are difficult or impossible to validate or replicate.
Ballard and Keller (1976) were concerned about the different methods which used children's awareness of their race, and whether all these methods were measuring the same construct. They tested 85 three- to seven-year-old black and white children who were asked to respond to the following race awareness tasks: Clark and Clark line drawing technique, Stevenson and Stewart doll assembly technique, Morland Picture interview technique, Clark and Clark colouring technique, Stevenson and Stewart doll technique, plus Morland's "validity check". The investigators found that the tests generally had low correlations with one another, which seriously questions the apparent assumption of many interviewers that these tasks are measuring the same construct. The study found low relationships even among measures using very similar response modes. It would appear too that choice of words, for example whether the word 'black' was used as opposed to 'negro' significantly influenced task performance.

Ballard and Keller point out that the problems that light and dark skinned black (and white) children may face when confronted with tasks having more restricted ranges of stimuli, have a number of implications. Firstly, the forced choices involved may not accurately represent the child's identification. With the increase in intermarriage both in Britain and in the United States, there appears to be a greater need for measures which more accurately depict the child's 'hue'. Secondly, reliability and validity will inevitably be affected when subjects are asked to choose between two equally unacceptable alternatives.

In an analysis of the Morland Picture interview Ballard and Keller (1976) found that identification with very human figures such as those found in the picture interview might prove more threatening than line drawings for blacks than whites. This finding confirmed the views held by investigators such as Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968). Perhaps the best method is skilled observation of the child's behaviour, together with a comparison with a more structured form of
assessment. Observation can prove quite expensive, time consuming and impractical in some cases. However, Stabler et al (1976) reported a study of four- to five-year-olds in which they found a correlation between playground behaviour, and response to the colours black and white as measured in a situation in which children guessed the origin of positive and negative self-evaluative statements broadcast simultaneously from black and white boxes. Aggressive white children (to both blacks and whites) were those with the greatest number of negative stereotypes of blacks. A similar finding was made in a study of English adolescents by Bagley and Verma (1975).

Self-concept is itself such a complex phenomenon that one is tempted to wonder whether it may successfully be measured. Is self-concept really measurable, especially in young children? It would appear that one's feelings about oneself do not crystallise until the adolescent years, so that what is being measured in the early years is probably an embryonic aspect of identity, an important but vestigial self-esteem which may be modified or confirmed by subsequent experiences. Periodic assessment over time will probably yield the best information. Coopersmith (1975) argues that one's level of esteem may vary according to one's experience in certain 'areas' of life. For example, the child might regard himself positively as a football player, yet negatively as a member of a family, and Ruhe and Eatman (1977) show too that the self image can change according to the context the adolescent finds himself in. They found that the self image of black students in the integrated setting of a work group changed into a positive direction. As Bourisseau (1972) remarks, "Any assessment of the self concept should ... be made with caution, for it is difficult to define and thus hard to quantify".

In conclusion we can say of the variety of informal techniques reviewed here that they may be useful for understanding the ongoing problems of individual children so far as personal functioning, self-concept and
identity formation are concerned. The techniques I have outlined represent a variety of theoretical positions, and no attempt has been made to relate the techniques to one another or to their original theoretical underpinnings in any formal way. My basic orientation is an eclectic one; but clearly, a more disciplined examination of the variety of informal techniques might be in order. Clearly too it is virtually impossible, except by the elaboration of individual case histories studied over time, to make any estimates of the reliability and validity of these various techniques.

The Race of Examiner Effect on the Measurement of the Self Image

Over the last decade, investigators have become somewhat concerned about 'experimenter effects' on psychological research, feeling that the race of the interviewer may influence the responses obtained in racial attitude tests in particular. On a more general level, in recent years great emphasis has been placed on matching interviewers and respondents by race in the United States. Summers and Hammonds' study of college students indicates that even on a self administered anonymous questionnaire, white students were more willing to admit racial prejudice when the administrator was white than when he or she was black. There have not been any large scale studies on the effect of black interviewers on white responses. On a general level, matching appears to have little effect unless the issues are highly related to the interviewer and the respondent characteristics. In some of these cases matching may conceal response errors. It is possible that black interviewees may try to give what they think are 'desirable' answers to black interviewers while they might conceal some of their militancy when interviewed by white interviewers. On the other hand, an English study by Rutter et al (1974) found that black interviewees were reluctant to respond to black interviewers since this was not seen as an appropriate role in a society in which black professionals are rare.
Sattler (1970) reviewed the available literature on the race of tester effects in racial attitude tests and concluded that, "The experimenter's race affects a number of subtle attitude and preference variables in both children and college students". In his review Sattler cites investigations by Trent (1954), Kraus (1962), Vaughan (1964), Freedman (1967) and Summer and Hammond (1966. More recently, Jahoda, Thomson and Bhatt (1972) have shown that, "while 'real self' choices remained basically stable over the two studies, the 'preferred self' ones appear to reflect the effect of the Asian experimenter." Jahoda et al were investigating the ethnic identity and preferences among Asian immigrant children aged between six and ten in Glasgow. The effect of the race of the experimenter is said to be rather 'modest' at the age of six, but reaches statistical significance at the age of ten. They point out too that the case was most dramatic in the case of the Scots. The study showed that the presence of a charming and attractive Indian experimenter completely reversed the pattern in group preferences for the Scots.

Jahoda et al (1972) also investigated his subjects' attitudes to surnames from other cultures. The impact of the own-group experimenter was very much the same, resulting in an increase in popularity of Pakistani and Indian names amongst the Asian group. On the other hand, the indigenous Scottish group remained attached to their names. This finding could mean that for these Scottish children, it is their names rather than their pigmentation or any other physical features which form the most salient part of their social identity. This, however, is simply an interesting speculation. The investigators point out that in general, the magnitude of any tester effect is likely to be partly a function of the characteristics of the population studied. In Glasgow, children are relatively tolerant and readily accepting of minority groups and hence the race of tester effect for white children was substantial.
Pushkin (1967) in his London study describes some degree of hostility towards the 'out group' by his English sample. Again Milnor (1970) mentions that "English children were vociferous in their rejection of the coloured figures in the tests". Jahoda thus tentatively puts forward the hypothesis that experimenter effects would be greatest with subjects low in prejudice towards the experimenter's ethnic group, other variables such as status, being equal.

Although the evidence points in the direction of greater favourability towards the racial group in which the tester belongs, the evidence is not clear cut. For example, Vaughan (1964) in his study in New Zealand, found no significant differences by race of tester with the white (Pakeha) group and no differences with the Maoris on tests of racial awareness. He also found significant effects of the race of tester among his twelve-year-old subjects but not among the seven- and nine-year-olds on attitude tests.

In 1955 Pasamick and Knobloch (see Pettigrew, 1964) noted that two-year-old black children were more verbally inhibited when tested by a white than when tested by a black interviewer. Among an older age group, Katz (1975) over the past ten years has consistently shown that the race of tester (whether the measure is seen as a test or not) has a significant effect on the responses of the subjects. He argues that it is the insecurity that blacks feel in relation to whites which causes them to make certain responses in the face of whites. He adds that experimentally when blacks were manipulated to feel more secure, they performed better when tested by whites. Watson (1973) in his review of Katz's work suggests that experiments have shown that the "natural" state of affairs is for blacks to feel anything but secure in the presence of whites. Thus when tested by whites, there was a tendency for them to achieve at a lower level than they are really capable of. Watson cites an experiment which shows that for a black who has to take an IQ test, being tested by a white person is as much a threat as the fear of an electric shock!
Marrion Yarrow (1958) shows in her analysis of 'interpersonal dynamics in a desegregation process' that black children become anxious in the face of 'stress', and have a collapse of self confidence and hence show low scores on self esteem measures in such cases of 'threatening integration'. It is noticeable that the white children displayed their reaction to stress in a different way. While the black children turned their anxiety inwards, the white children turned theirs outwards in fighting, shouting and dashing around.

Some investigators have shown evidence that the race of the examiner has no effects on the choices children make in attitude tests. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) made a comparison of their data on racial identification and preference with that of the Clarks (1947) who had used black examiners. Their conclusions were as follows: "... white examiners did not bring about appreciably different answers to these basic questions".

Kenneth Morland (1962, 1963, 1966) in designing his picture interview administered pre-testing procedures to ascertain the race of tester effects, if any. He found "no significant differences" by race of tester. Since this time, Jones (1968) and Gurkin (1969) have carried out two studies testing the race of examiner effects using the Morland Picture Interview (MPI). Jones divided her sixty black nursery school subjects into two groups, one tested by a white interviewer and the other by a black interviewer. The same version of the MPI was used. No significant difference was found either in racial acceptance or in racial preference scores. Gurkin (1969) investigated a group of twenty white nursery school children who were divided by the school into two equal groups. Each group occupied a separate room and was supervised by different teachers. Initially, each group was tested with the MPI, one by a black and the other by a white examiner. Three months later, an alternate form of the MPI was used with the examiners changing groups. Comparison of the scores
on racial identification and racial preference showed that the scores were not significantly different. Although their samples have been small, both these studies have shown that the race of tester has no significant effect on the responses made to the Morland Picture Interview.

Hraba and Grant (1970) in their study using the 'doll' choice method with children aged five to seven, concluded that "the race of interviewer was not related to choice of doll on any of the items for both black and white children". Hraba (1972) carried out an analysis of the Hraba and Grant (1970) replication of the Clark's (1947) study. This time, they concentrated on the preference choices and remarked that, "In regard to being diplomatic when interviewed by a member of the opposite race, there is a suggestive trend for black respondents, but no trend for whites". They concluded that the higher the self-regard of black respondents, the more likely it is that they had been interviewed by the black rather than the white tester. It is obvious then that even within the same study there can be conflicting evidence of the race of tester effect, especially when the data is analysed more closely.

In the standardization of the Pre-school Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM) Williams et al (in Williams and Morland, 1976) found that in both their pre-school and their primary school age sample, higher racial attitude scores (indicating more pro-white bias) were obtained in white children when the tests were administered by a white examiner. The findings for the primary school children were of a lesser magnitude than those of the pre-school children. On the other hand Deborah Best (1972) (in Williams and Morland, 1976) carried out a study investigating the race of tester effect on the children's responses to the PRAM II and found no evidence of such effect. Sixty pre-school white children were each given the PRAM II by two examiners. The first examiner administered the first half of the test and then left the room. The second examiner then replaced the first and administered the second half of the test. Fifteen of the
subjects were tested by the following race of tester combination: two whites; two blacks; white then black; and black then white. Racial attitude scores showed no evidence of the race of tester effect (mean scores were 17.6 with the white examiners and 17.9 with the black examiners). Any interpretation of the race of tester effect when using the PRAM II calls for some degree of caution especially as the Colour Meanings Test (CMT II), the companion of the PRAM II shows no evidence of the effects of race of tester. Also, the sample chosen by Best consisted only of white children. Hence there is no clear indication of the effect of a white tester on black children undertaking the PRAM II test.

There has been very little work done on the race of tester effect with British samples. Much of the work is interpretive (for example from the responses received by Pushkin (1967) and Milner (1970) to the dark figures), although Jahoda et al (1972) (already discussed) and Bagley and Coard (1975) have provided some empirical evidence on the tester effect. Bagley and Coard conducted personal interviews with 42 West Indian children aged between six and ten attending infant and junior schools in East London. The subjects were asked a number of questions about their preferences, for television, for books etc. but included in these questions was, "If you could be born again (just imagine being born again) how tall would you like to be? Taller or shorter than you are now? ... How fat would you like to be? Fatter or thinner than you are now? ... What colour hair would you choose to have? ... What colour skin? ... " Half of the 42 children interviewed were seen by a white English interviewer, and half by a black, West Indian interviewer. Sixty per cent of the black children (25 out of 42) wanted to change either their eyes, hair or skin colour for European characteristics; 19 per cent (8 of 42) wanted to change all three. When responses to black and white interviewers were compared, 13/21 questioned by the black interviewer and 12/21 questioned by the white interviewer wanted to change some personal characteristic
for European features; and 4/21 questioned by the black interviewer and 4/21 questioned by the white interviewer wanted to change eye, hair and skin colour. It is clear that in this English study varying the race of tester made no difference whatever to the responses of the black children. Perhaps this was because the test was an indirect method of measuring self-evaluation, which was not particular salient or anxiety provoking for the children involved.

Only one study of experimenter effect in Jamaica comes to hand. Miller (1972) made an investigation of the reports of Jamaican adolescents on beauty and body image. The sample consisted of 158 male and 255 female students aged thirteen and fourteen. They were divided into six groups and six female experimenters administered similar open-ended questionnaires to the groups (one to each group). The experimenters included a Chinese, an Indian, a black with 'natural' hair style, a black with 'straightened' hair, a mulatto and a white woman.

The questionnaires were administered under the same conditions and Miller concluded that "From the consistency with which certain patterns are obtained in this study it would appear that the experimenter influence due to personal attributes are not at all pervasive". The students appeared to describe their ideal beauty and body image quite independently of the attributes of the experimenter. On the other hand, Miller questions his findings in a previous study (Miller, 1969) of the concepts of beauty and body cathexis where Miller, a mulatto, personally administered the questionnaires and found that the subjects' ideal type was a person with mulatto characteristics.

Miller adds, however, that one cannot conclude that it is immaterial who the experimenter is. What effect the experimenter has, appears to be more crucial in circumstances in which subjects are required to make a critical assessment of body image, rather than in situations where subjects have to report their Ideals in terms of beauty, or make assessments which are complimentary about Body Image.
On balance then, it would appear that the issue of the race of tester effect is still unresolved and might still be for some time to come. The evidence points to the conclusion that on some tests, for example those investigating racial attitudes as opposed to racial preference or colour attitude, the race of tester does result in subjects making responses which are favourable to that racial group. But one should not be as sweeping as Vaughan (1964) or as Jahoda et al (1971) who respectively concluded that "provision of own race E's should be considered an automatic control"; or "an additional experimenter belonging to the minority group ought to be used". From these assessments it would appear that whenever tests on black children are being carried out in the area of 'race', then the examiner must be black. Since it is being suggested that the white tester influences the responses of black children in the direction of greater favourability towards his (white) racial group, then the opposite should also hold true, that the black examiner would influence the respondent into reflecting attitudes in favour of the 'in-group'.

Only a split-half design such as that illustrated by Best (1972) would demonstrate the true effects of the race of tester, which in her case was nil. Williams and Morland (1977) have also suggested that the use of a "teaching machine" which they tried in one of their pilot studies of the PRAM would minimise tester effects. In this case, the test was administered by a semi-automated machine. This kind of device may help to determine all kinds of experimenter effects including racial ones.

Milner (1972) in his analysis of the general information on the race of tester effect suggests that it is difficult to elicit 'true' attitudes (if such exist); we can only get a 'locus' of responses dependent upon situational variables. "Each response is equally valid; and the 'effect' may well mirror real-life changes in the person's orientation between inter- and intra-racial situations". He adds that it is impossible to explain away out-group orientation by the 'stressful' presence of an
outgroup examiner, as even in those studies which have shown experimenter effects and which have substituted own group examiners' (black) (Trent, 1954; Vaughan, 1964), the out-group orientation has not disappeared. The overall conclusion, on the evidence available, can only be that the race of the examiner can in the majority of cases affect the magnitude of out-group orientation; but that when it does, it is not to a substantial degree.

The race of tester then has implications for the measurement of the self image of the young child. If, as most of the evidence (though few) show, the black child tends to be more out-group oriented when tested by a white examiner, or that he has a collapse of self confidence due to stressful impact of the white examiner (Yarrow, 1958), then there might be a case for using experimenters from both races in future. Of course, this might result in introducing yet other variables and the possibility of the black child giving 'socially desirable' answers in the face of the black interviewer. The matter is quite complex and only pilot studies with the introduction of each new method will show whether the race of tester has any effect. It could be that not all the tests of racial identification are measuring the same construct, and so it would be unwise to suggest or assume that the race of tester will have an effect on all tests of group orientation. Hypothetically, the race of tester effect will be less where a formal method for measuring self-esteem is used, since the very structure of the test will have an important 'situational' influence. The race of tester effect could be greatest in the use of informal techniques, where the interaction between child and investigator, which so often forms the basis of the technique, is a situational variable influencing outcome. Thus in a situation of informal interaction, a white child, for example, will make different responses to a black interviewer than to a white. This is an interesting problem on which there is no evidence at present, and is an interesting area for further research.
Conclusions

It is clear that measurement of self-esteem in the young child is an important and challenging area; and also that reliable and valid measures still remain to be developed. There are many ways in which pre-literate children's conception of themselves can be studied, and perhaps the richness of the variety of methods reflects the many "situated selves" which the young child has. It is clear too that the examiner herself may have an important influence on how the child responds to any test; indeed, the test situation itself is one in which a particular and valid self is presented to the world. Such is the case with the black child and the white interviewer. The young child attempts to construe the world in terms which he assumes are relevant to the tester's expectations or the realities of the situation as he perceives them; this is not an invalid response, but we should be careful in generalising from tests in which the situation itself may have been an important determinant of response.

In this interesting field of developing tests of self-conception relevant for very young children I hope to do more work. The adaptation of the Ziller method that I have used in the empirical work reported in the present thesis may be a useful start in this work.
CHAPTER 5

SELF-ESTEEM AND SELF-CONCEPT IN BLACK CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Self-Esteem and Self-Concept in Black Americans

Ethnic and Self-Evaluation in Jamaica

Self-Esteem and Self-Concept in Black Children and Adolescents in Britain

Conclusions
Chapter 5

SELF-ESTEEM AND SELF-CONCEPT IN BLACK CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Self-Esteem and Self-Concept in Black Americans

Until recently, any reader of the literature on the psychosocial functioning of blacks in America, could not help but be overcome by the overwhelming pointer to a race of people doomed to a life of poor self concept, poor self esteem and a 'foreclosed' identity. On the basis of the view of the "caste-like" relationship between blacks and whites (Sutherland, 1942), lack of status, economic insecurity, discrimination, social isolation, feelings of rejection, isolation, powerlessness, and inadequacy, investigators from the 1940s to the 1960s showed where blacks would inevitably come to think of themselves as inferior to whites. Thus Kardiner and Ovesey in *The Mark of Oppression* (1951) argued that the adaptation of the black individual "... is oriented toward the discrimination he suffers and the consequences of this discrimination for the self-referential aspects of his social orientation". In other words, as blacks are continually perceiving negative images of themselves through the reactions of others (presumably whites) to them, their self concept and esteem cannot but suffer. At one extreme, this results in passivity and resigned acceptance; and at the other extreme, to open expressions of rage and aggression (Grier and Cobbs, 1968). The former is assumed to be the most common as given white superiority, the latter would be met with retaliatory aggression. Pettigrew (1964), reaching similar conclusions to those of Kardiner and Ovesey remarked "the personality consequences of this situation can be devastating - confusion of self identity, lowered self esteem, perception of the world as a hostile place and serious sex-role conflicts".

Given all of the above, what hope has the black child of developing positive attitudes towards himself or his own racial group? The findings of Clark and Clark (1947); Badyke and Trager (1950); Morland (1963) point
to the tendency of young black children to identify with the majority group (whites) and reject their own racial group. Inferences from these studies suggest that feelings of inadequacy, self doubt and self rejection are also likely to be present in such children. Among reports of children studied one finds comments such as "color casts a shadow faint or strong over the lives of these children ... " (Goodman, 1962). Coopersmith quotes earlier writers who propose of black children that: "They learn early that the world is white and they are black ... that beauty, success and status all wear a white skin"; "They acquire an awareness of stigma ... a handicap which disqualifies them from full social acceptance"; "By resisting identification with their own racial group and with parents even young Negro children experience ego-deflation and loss of self esteem". Other writers suggest that from age four onwards black children prefer to model themselves after others who closely mirror the white ideal (Asher and Allen, 1969; Asubel, 1959; Brody, 1963; Clark and Clark, 1947; Davis and Dollard, 1940; Drake and Cayton, 1962); that they regard whites as their significant others (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951; Pettigrew, 1964; Poussaint and Atkinson, 1970); and that they see themselves as being generally "ugly", "unworthy of affection" and "bad" (Johnson, 1941; Radky and Trager, 1950).

Deutsch (1960) claims to have made extensive observation of black children and reports that the young black child has a negative view of himself, partly from the fact of being black and partly because the wider society views him as inferior and so expects inferior performance from him. Proshansky and Newton (1968) show where the black child comes to associate black with 'dirty', 'bad' and 'ugly' and white with 'clean', 'nice' and 'good'. This association inevitably leads the child to regard his racial group as inferior to whites.

In 1966, Rainwater suggested that it is within the crucible of the black family that the child comes to perceive himself as being incompetent, powerless, inadequate etc. He remarks: "... in lower class culture human
nature is conceived as of essentially bad, destructive and immoral and consequently in the identity development of the child he is constantly exposed to identity labelling by parents as a bad person. The matriarchal structure of the average black slum family has been identified as being potentially bad for the personality development and behaviour of the black child, especially the black male child. This situation, according to Rainwater (1966) and Pettigrew (1964) may lead to serious sex-role conflict, lowered self esteem and confusion in self-identity. Rainwater shows too where the black youth is surrounded by "inappropriate" or "negative" models and as such is unable to think positively of himself or to construe the future in a hopeful way. Hauser (1971) points to the long term effects of "identity foreclosure" for the young black child. He claims that the pessimistic outlook of the black adolescent towards the future together with the absence of 'heroes' or the presence of poor ones have much to do with one another: "Related to the missing heroes and abundant real failures are the dismal and tenuous images of the future. There is little that is desirable and obtainable in the future".

What is clear from some of these pessimistic studies is that the black child, along with other members of his race is psychologically doomed to a life in which 'others' and themselves view the self as irredeemably inferior. In fact some investigators were so convinced about such a portrait of blacks that anyone failing to fit into this category was likely to be suspect. Grier and Cobbs (1968) show that some blacks have in fact come to share this view of their psychological status, and have even come to regard their deviation from the norm as indicative of mental illness.

Erikson (1964) and Pettigrew (1964) have warned about the tendency of researchers to overgeneralise from incomplete and limited findings about black Americans. They argue that not enough was known about the positive and negative elements within the black personality and indeed within the black community for general statements to be made about the psychological
influence of the black experience on the identity, self concept and self esteem in young blacks. Taylor (1976) in a re-examination of the literature on the psychosocial development of black children and youth has been very critical of their thesis which appears to be in the vein of "... a member of a disparaged and discriminated against social category is likely to internalize the meaning appended to the culture's stereotypes and to the social realities of the way he is treated, and thus come to conceive of himself in cognitive and evaluative terms very similar to the discrediting rejection accorded his group by the society's majority" (Gordon, 1969).

This of course presupposes, according to Mead's (1934) theory, that the child has come to regard himself in ways that he thinks his significant others see him. More investigators with this idea in mind unquestionably regarded the white majority group as the black child's reference group. In Matza's (1964) terms, such scholars had an attitude of "hard determinism" toward the problem. The black individual was regarded almost like a puppet, unable to manipulate his environment or to select and cultivate features of identity he thinks are desirable.

Rosenberg and Simmons (1973) and Nobles (1973) have empirically shown how the significant others for the black child are often to be found not among the majority white group as previously thought, but in the family and among the black community. They have shown that as long as the child remains in an environment in which his ethnic group is in the majority, then he is able to perceive of himself in very positive ways. His evaluations of himself comes out of comparison with his immediate peers and depends on the way he is treated in relation to others in his family and community, how his family is treated relative to others, and how he performs in relation to others within his group (Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968).

In appraising their evidence relating to the lack of differences between the self esteem of the black and white children, Rosenberg and
Simmons remarked that factors such as poverty, disorganised families, rejection of blacks by whites, poor school performance and the low status of the black race, did not have the adverse effects as previously assumed. In fact where being a member of a broken family was the norm, this seemed to have given the child some support. He is unlikely to be teased about his poor academic performance or indeed to suffer because of the low status to which the white race had assigned his group. In this situation the black child is likely to attribute the white race's judgment to white irrationality, rather than to black inadequacy. Rosenberg points out too that the black children do not believe that the negative stereotypes held generally about their race actually applies to them as individuals. The author concludes: "By such mechanisms as use of a black comparison reference group, individualizing interpretation rather than accepting judgments of their group, and minimizing distinctions in areas in which they are less valued by society the black child is able to maintain a level of self esteem quite similar to that of white children" (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1973).

Coopersmith (1975) examines the notion of "defences" in relation to self esteem in blacks, and argues that the self image and self esteem of the black person is complicated by virtue of being a member of a minority group, the status of which has compelled him to maintain separate and often conflicting pictures of who he is and the manner in which he can obtain self respect. Because of the history of slavery and the continued expectations of whites for deference and conformity on the part of the black man, he has had to display an attitude of being virtuous, agreeable and capable in order to gain 'respect'. Both Taylor (1973) and Coopersmith (1975) have pointed out that this does not necessarily mean that blacks do not feel powerful, independent and assertive, but that their 'pious' behaviour was simply a facade, presenting a picture that they did not in fact hold of themselves. For example complacent and conforming behaviour found by investigators may have been a disguise for a
self image that was depressed, assertive or belligerent. Such a facade held by the black person (child or adult), has served to protect him from harsh treatment but has also on many occasions served to be a source of "uncertain identity and uncertain self esteem" (Coopersmith, 1975). Nobles (1973) remarks that the disparity between overt actions and private self perceptions and evaluations seems true of very many blacks. They have had to present a confusing self image because of the complexity of difference in responses to the black and white community.

Studies of young children which have shown low self esteem and poor self-identity among blacks (Clark, 1969; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Proshansky and Newton, 1960; Morland, 1958) but these have also reported the tendency of these children to identify more with their own group with age, and a strong tendency to "blame the system" for the disadvantaged position they are said to occupy. Rosenberg and Simmons (1973) show that for example, the child who did poorly in school tended to defend his image by regarding the school marks as unrepresentative of his intelligence, by belittling the importance of intelligence as assessed in school and by believing that his parents supported him and regarded him as bright in spite of his marks. This is clear indication of good appraisal of the self.

Hauser (1970) and Henderson (1967) point to the lack of 'adequate' or 'positive' role models within the lower class black community for black boys in particular. The assumption is clear. Positive or adequate models need of necessity to be middle class (and preferably white) in orientation. But is this image necessary for the lower class child, and in particular the lower class black child? Indeed, Koppor (1968) argues that for the average black youth, middle class models, black or white, may not be as useful or effective as someone from among his own group (socio-economic, racial) who displays possibilities for achievement and competence. Taylor (1976) argues that the black youth is exposed daily to models within his own community who show attributes of competence inspite of privation and adversity.
Baughman and Dahlstrom (1964) examined the self image of black and white children in the eighth grade in several southern communities in America and concluded: "When we turn to the self concepts of these children, their interview statements about themselves are markedly positive. This is particularly true for the Negro children ... There was a tendency for more Negro than white children to say that they were very satisfied being the kind of person they were". Baughman in Black Americans (1971) compared black and white southern children; Rosenberg (1965) investigated a large sample of black youth in a northern city; and McGill et al reported on a nationwide sample of both black and white youth and made similar findings to those of Baughman and Dahlstrom. Hraba and Grant (1970) also found that black children in an interracial setting are not necessarily white oriented.

This pattern of similarly high self esteem between black and white youngsters appears to persist through teenage years and on to adulthood. Rosenberg and Simmons (1973) show a pattern of high self esteem among their sample of fifteen-to nineteen-year-olds. In fact in this sample, blacks were shown to score significantly higher on measures of self esteem than their white counterparts. Gordon (1963) and McDonald et al have shown similar findings on their samples of junior college students and high school seniors in an area in the south.

Taylor (1976) points to inadequacies and inconsistencies in the data on the assessment of black self esteem, and remarks that the psychological state of blacks is often compared with "some standard of mental health that does not obtain even for whites". He obtains his evidence from McCarthy and Yancey (1971). Research has largely been 'problem' orientated and have tended to emphasize the negative aspects of the psychosocial development of blacks, using the conduct of whites as the norm, and untoward responses of blacks as indications of 'abnormality'.

Many of the studies suffer from weakness in methodology and data analysis,
lack control groups or control within groups and some investigators have based their results on extremely small samples. The renowned study by Kardiner and Ovesey, *The Mark of Oppression* (1951), was based on a sample of 25, half of the subjects being 'patients' at the time of the study.

Overall then, it would appear that there is very good evidence to suggest that the self esteem of blacks in America is in general as good as that found among their white counterparts. There is evidence too that this positive conception of the self does not diminish after the childhood years but that there is increased tendency for the black child to identify more with his group. That factors such as poverty, rejection by whites, family disorganisation, low status of the black race and poor school performance should lead the black child to devalue himself, has largely been unfounded assumption. What recent evidence does show is that what undoubtedly affects how the child regards his self image is what his significant others, that is, those with whom he interacts on a daily basis (parents, teachers, members of the black community) think of him. Rosenberg and Simmons suggest that if the significant others like the child, respect him and have favourable opinions of him, then there is very little doubt that a healthy self esteem will be established.

We should note too that there are a number of studies from America showing that adult blacks do have poorer self-esteem relative to whites (Kaplan, 1973 and 1975; Jacques, 1976; Clements and Sauer, 1976). We can interpret these findings as meaning either that blacks who were adults when the revolution of "black consciousness" and the change in white attitudes and behaviour took place in the 1960s are still suffering the legacies both of institutionalized racism, and internalized self-derogation; or that adult blacks have different problems to solve, and are more exposed to the competitive world of employment in which race is still to some extent a disadvantaging factor. St. John (1971) in an important paper shows that in the long run having been to an integrated school leads to
higher levels of self-esteem in young adult blacks, compared with blacks who have been to all-black schools. The ultimately important factor is the level of achievement, which in turn leads to greater economic success. And, as Clements and Saur (1976) show, lack of occupational success is a major cause of dissatisfaction with the self in adult blacks. Ruhe and Entman (1977) show in fact that an integrated work situation can lead to enhanced self-esteem in blacks. An all-black culture may protect its members against both white racism and competitive capitalism; but all too often the price is one of relative poverty.

Gordon (1972) reinforces this point in his study of a large sample of blacks in the northeastern U.S.A. Overall, blacks had significantly poorer self-esteem levels than whites; but occupational aspiration and expectation of success was a stronger determinant of self-esteem than was race. The experience of occupational success leads to better self-esteem. And no one has yet argued that blacks do not want, or need occupational success, and its concomitant, educational success. The paradox of the much-quoted Rosenberg and Simmons study is that the average level of achievement of the high-self esteem blacks in non-integrated schools was significantly poorer than that of the high achieving blacks (with less self-esteem) in integrated schools.

The general conclusion is that despite poverty and the sufferings caused by racism, blacks have managed to protect themselves psychologically through a culture which has largely been ignored by whites. This has been true from the days of slavery onwards, as Genovese's masterful survey of life under slavery in America makes clear (Genovese, 1974). Added to this "positive sub-cultural identity" is a genuine increase in black consciousness and positive evaluation of blackness which was pioneered by Malcolm X and others in the early 1960s. Malcolm X spoke up for the first time, publicly at least, for "The beauty, and the worth, of blackness ... The legitimacy of defending oneself, by any means including violence. The
irrelevance of integration for the black poor, and the self-loathing implied in begging for it ... The necessity of confronting power with power. The urgency of black control of the black community". (Goldman, 1974). According to Goldman, his biographer, Malcolm X declared that, "Once we accept ourselves, we're acceptable to everyone". He called in short for an end to self-hatred with which black Americans, conditioned by history and contemporary white European aesthetic and cultural values, had come to regard themselves. Malcolm X knew that there was an alternative, viable black culture which protected black people, just as it had protected black slaves. But he knew too that there was considerable ambiguity amongst blacks on the primacy and the legitimacy of that culture. White culture ruled, everyone knew that. To join white culture was to join it on second class terms.

Things changed, dramatically and paradoxically, as a result of the black power movement stimulated by Michael X. White America only made concessions, and acknowledged the sleeping creed of equality of opportunity, after the growing black power movement had forced such change upon them. Then, and only then has it become feasible for blacks to enter an integrated society on equal terms with whites. Pettigrew's goal (1972) of "true integration" (as opposed to "false integration" in which blacks are subordinate to whites, and "ghettoization" in which blacks through separate are still economically inferior to whites) appears to have been brought nearer by the changes in America which have come about in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Indirect indices of identity, such as the use of hair-straighteners and skin-bleaches by American blacks, have shown a marked change in America since 1969 (Condie and Christiansen, 1977). The authors suggest that hair-straightening and skin-lightening represented a rejection of black physical characteristic, and an identification with whites. It is apparent too that favourable change in racial identification has been accompanied by an
increase in self-esteem amongst blacks (Polite et al, 1974). In Conger's (1977) model, black pride reduces alienation from the self, and enhances self-esteem in other areas. The battle which American blacks have been fighting is not yet over. It is clear that many vestiges of institutional racism remain, not the least of which is the de facto segregation practised in Northern cities such as Chicago and Boston, and the continuing legacy of poverty and unemployment (Wayson, 1975; Glatt and King, 1975). Black Americans, Baughman (1971) suggests, still pay a high price in other areas of personality for the degree of self-respect and self-esteem which they have retained in the face of oppressive white racism. This is brought out clearly in Hunt and Hunt's (1977) reanalysis of the data collected by Rosenberg and Simmons on 1,917 Maryland adolescents. The Hunts note the paradox in this study - blacks have poorer school performance, but slightly higher self-esteem than whites. What effectively happens is that peers support the black child in the non-integrated school in accepting lower standards of success. In a sense, success is devalued, and poverty and counterculture alternatives are idealized. But there is a price to pay for this. While white boys in the Rosenberg and Simmons survey appeared to develop a highly integrated and focused identity, the black boys' self-attitudes focused increasingly with age around differentiated aspects of identity. In such a pattern - with esteem remaining conventional in its grounding, and sense of personal power showing the clearest movement towards a compensatory self-esteem (located in the shadow of counter culture), other identity commitments, including that towards sex-role, became less clear. The whole pattern of identity was indeed dualistic and somewhat fragmented, and seemed to have developed to enable black boys to deal with cultural dualities by avoiding a clear withdrawal from conventional values and identity options, while moving partially in the direction of accommodation to restricted opportunities to achieve these goals.
What the long-term sequels of this "fragmented identity" is in black boys is difficult to say, but the finding is certainly compatible with Hauser's (1971) view that some black youths have "premature identity foreclosure". It is possible that high self-esteem in black youth relates to an aspect of the self, the self presented to everyday life and indeed to white researchers; but the identity foundations of this presented self may give cause for concern. It is worth noting too, that virtually all the major studies of black self-esteem in America have been carried out on males. But one study of a large sample of both males and females (Datesman et al., 1975) has shown black females in certain situations to have particularly low self-esteem. Some supportive evidence comes from the study by Burbach and Bridgeman (1976), which showed that eleven-year-old black females have the poorest self-esteem of all groups tested.

Studies of attitudes to self and to one's own ethnic group in children aged less than seven in America have produced less optimistic results than those with older, especially adolescent children. Although in the previously quoted study by Fox and Jordan (1971) of young children in New York, a majority of black children evaluated black positively, nevertheless a significant minority still evaluated white positively (and by implication themselves, negatively). Such negative evaluation of self characteristics is not due to a failure of black children to identify themselves as black. Indeed, young black children are considerably more aware of their ethnicity than are white children (Feinman and Entwistle, 1976). This heightened conscious of ethnicity is presumably a function of minority group status.

In the most recent American replication of the Clark and Clark doll studies, Moore (1976) studied a population of black five-year-olds in the mid-west, and found that 45 per cent expressed a preference for the white doll, while 40 per cent had negative perception of the black doll. Somewhat similar findings were made by McAdoo (1970) in a study with black preschoolers in the rural south. Sciarra (1972) concluded from his study of
the acceptance of blackness in black boys in a mid-western city that, "This study strongly supports past findings which have validated the denial of color among negroes and the espousal of a model which is nearer in appearance to the majority white group. The findings seem to indicate that the slogan, "Black is Beautiful" is more a concept in rhetoric than in actuality; that is the degree to which this cultural concept has been internalized by the subjects in this study ...

Somewhat similar conclusions have emerged from the studies by Williams and Morland (1976) using the Colour Meanings Test and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure, which require young children to evaluate various objects and people of different colours. At least half of the black subjects had strong white biases in their evaluations. Williams and Morland are among the few authors of the many studies in this area who control for race of the examiner. One wonders - were the Clarks black, or white? And what difference would it make to results if small children are tested by a black, rather than a white researcher? Clearly the possibility exists, as Cummings and Carrere (1976) have asserted, that the researches of many white investigators in this field have employed ethnocentric and racially biased methods, and have in turn come to ethnocentric biases in their conclusions.

Gordon (1974) concluded her review of literature on the self-concept of black Americans with the suggestion that the methodology of many studies in this area was open to question, and indeed many researchers might find what they were looking for, rather than what was really there. Put another way, children might tailor their responses according to the assumed needs of the researcher, black or white. This might explain the uneven pattern of findings, sometimes contradicting one another, in this field. Recent work by Williams and Morland (1976) is welcome because it overcomes many of these methodological biases with the development of a carefully standardized instrument. The recent work of Chang (1976) is
also welcome on methodological grounds. She found that "black" children in integrated schools had significantly better self-concepts than children in non-integrated schools. But this interesting finding is probably explained by the fact that many of these black children were in fact the children of mixed marriages, a growing phenomenon in America (Chang, 1974).

In a theoretical review of self-evaluation in blacks and whites in America, Heiss and Owens (1972) pointed to three explanations for the variations observed between groups: (1) variations in the significant others for different ethnic groups; (2) the degree to which any ethnic minority has subcultural or countercultural values and standards; and (3) the degree to which an ethnic group has "unmasked" the source of its alienation or deprivation, and does not indulge in self-blame for a depressed socioeconomic condition. We would add a fourth possibility - that many studies do not control for race of tester, plus the artefacts of interpretation which could affect many studies using thematic material.

Finally, we can conclude from this review of American studies of identity, self-concept, self-esteem and self-evaluation, that:

(a) In contrast to earlier studies, a substantial number of studies have shown that black children, especially adolescents, do not have significantly poorer self-esteem than white children. Indeed, blacks in all-black schools have significantly better self-esteem than blacks in integrated schools.

(b) However, this self-esteem which may be due to an increase in black consciousness in the 1960s, with an accompanying reappraisal of black people and institutions; or indeed, may always have been present in black subcultures, is not without its cost. The global identity of blacks, including that of blacks in non-integrated schools may suffer from a certain fragmentation. Longer term research suggests that educational and occupational success which is achieved by blacks in integrated schools is a more potent factor in lifelong self-esteem, and the successful resolution of the successive identity "crises" described by Erikson.
Studies of group and personal evaluation in young black children in America show a clear improvement over time. Nevertheless, a substantial minority of black children in some studies, and a majority in other studies, still evaluate white positively, and black (or themselves) negatively. Williams and Morland (1975, p.257) stress that such findings should not be taken to imply "self hatred" in black children; they are simply picking up the dominant messages from the culture in which they live (be that culture black or white). However, "... we have seen that a pro-Euro attitude appears to persist long after the observed changes in racial identification and preference, and does not become pro-Afro until the teenage years. This seems to portend a problem of self-esteem for the school age Afro child who identifies with, and chooses to associate with, a racial group which he still evaluates somewhat negatively, relative to the majority racial group" (p.258).

The problem for the adolescent black child is not that of self-esteem as such, but that of integrating that self-esteem within a secure and non-fragmented global identity, which can withstand stress and trial and which is not arrested, as Erikson might have it, at the "black is beautiful" stage. Put most brutally, there is a danger of a fixation at the level of adolescent narcissism. The problem for black educators and social workers is that of establishing an identity which is broad, strong and flexible, rather than narrow and perhaps brittle.

Ethnic and Self-Evaluation in Jamaica

In his cartographic account of the history and social structure of Jamaica, Colin Clarke (1974) presents a telling diagram of "race and status in Jamaica" (p.20). Three pyramidal diagrams represent class and colour gradations at three points in time, 1800 during slavery, 1850 a few years after emancipation, and in 1970, eight years after independence from Britain. What is remarkable is that the design of these three pyramids is virtually the same at these three points in time. From the base of the
pyramid up to a point covering some three-quarters of its area blacks are represented - slaves in 1800, and the lower classes in 1850 and 1970. In the upper central band of the pyramid the "free-coloureds" (descendants of unions between masters and slaves) are represented; in 1850 and 1970 the descendants of these free-coloureds (the overseers and the artisans of the slave period) have become the middle classes. At all three points in time whites occupy the peak of the pyramid, in the same proportion - less than five per cent of the population. In 1800 they were plantation owners. In 1850 and 1970 they were the upper classes, the power elite. The only noticeable changes in 1970 were that a small group of East Indians (brought in to work on the plantations after emancipation) now occupy the very lowest strata of society, and even smaller groups of Chinese and Syrians have joined the middle class group, mainly as traders, but with some penetration of the upper class. Both Michael Manley the current prime minister, and Edward Seaga the former prime minister and opposition leader, are of Syrian descent, and are in fact related to one another. As Clarke says, "Since emancipation in 1834, Jamaica has experienced no legal colour bar. However, the 'white bias' has remained important, socially, psychologically and symbolically" (1974, p.20). Colour remained as an almost caste-like distinction up to emancipation from British colonial rule in 1962. Until then many private schools, for example, would admit only white or light-skinned pupils.

The most comprehensive account of the significance of colour in Jamaican society is Fernando Henriques' *Family and Colour in Jamaica*. This was first published in 1953 and reprinted in 1968. In his foreword to the 1968 edition Henriques writes that, "I feel that much of the basic material of the book remains as valid as it ever was ... In my opinion the changes which have occurred have left the basic institutions of the society unchanged" (p.17). My experience as a Jamaican also indicates that Henriques' account is a valid one.
Henriques writes of class conflict in Jamaica that: "Where a hybrid population is created through concubinage or marriage the conflict is intensified as it now has a physical basis. The mentality of the hybrid is governed by the fact that he may experience rejection from both groups, native and ruler ... The coloured person in the West Indies represents a unique phenomenon in the hybrid world. He is generally almost entirely ignorant of African culture and despises what little he does know as being primitive and connected with the undesirable, that is the black. According to his colour he is the prey to much anxiety as to whether he will be able to achieve or has achieved by the white minority" (p.53). The devaluation of an African identity, including the devaluation of blackness is part of the value system of the black lower classes in Jamaica, who by and large accept the legitimacy of the system which emphasizes fair skin and white physical features. The devaluation of blackness is embedded in the language of Jamaica (see Chapter 2 of thesis, on language and identity in Jamaica).

Micro status systems at the village and the family level place much emphasis on physical appearance. For instance, a person might exhibit European-like features, but his hair might be more African than European. In such a case, Henriques argues, his colour status in the society would be determined by the colour of his skin. This individual would rank above a person whose features were more African. A dark person with 'good' features ranks above a fair person with 'bad' hair and features. Henriques points out that Jamaican fair women are acutely conscious of the slightest possible change in their skin colour. In the average family, both black and coloured, the semantics of colour are salient. "Ugly" is synonymous with black; "nice" hair means light, curly hair while "bad" hair is negro hair; if one child in a family is fairer than the rest he is favoured, not only in everyday rewards, but is singled out for education; even in the lower class black family, fair characteristics are revered, and Africans are
seen as a distant, untrustworthy people practising various forms of heathenism, including cannibalism. Although many African social customs survive in Jamaica, they are never recognised as such, and the memory of an African ancestry as such is painful to the people, suppressed or denigrated.

"Marrying fair" is a means of social mobility; a family in which a fair child is born feels it has both a social and economic asset. "Behaviour within families of all colours and classes illustrates the depth of colour feeling. If, as often happens, the children in one family are of different shades of colour, the most lightly coloured will be favoured at the expense of others. From adolescence to marriage the darker members of the family will be kept out of the way when the friends of the fair or fairer members of the family are being entertained. The fair child is regarded as the best asset of the family, and nothing must be put in the way of its success in the form of marriage which will raise the colour status of the next generation" (Henriques, 1968, p.61). Henriques wrote this passage in 1953; in my opinion it is still a relevant comment on the Jamaican rural family 25 years later, in 1978. In my own family, for instance, there is a major division between the 'fair' branch, and the 'dark' branch (I belong to the latter).

Henriques interviewed a cross-section of 200 lower class individuals and reports them as saying, 'Colour affects the job you get'; 'Colour certainly helps as regards a job'; 'If I were fairer I would get a better job'; 'Fair people get a better job in Jamaica'; 'If you have a little 'cleaner' colour you may get through quicker than the black one'.

Today it is easier for an educated black person to obtain professional employment in Jamaica, but still many commercial organisations only employ fair, Syrian or Chinese people in positions which directly deal with the public. Educational success is a necessary, but by no means a sufficient requirement for upward mobility by a black man. But the
The educational system itself is still largely ascriptive, and from the age of seven children are rigidly streamed on the basis of colour, class and sex. The lower streams in primary schools are almost exclusively occupied by lower-class, black boys. Girling (1974) carried out observational studies in primary schools in rural and urban areas of Jamaica, and showed that teachers interacted with certain pupils in ways which favoured them. At the same time, other pupils (boys, lower class children, and black children) were interacted with on a less favourable basis, and in ways which depressed their academic achievement. Despite this strong basis of ascription in the educational system, the large majority of ordinary people still accept that educational failure is the fault of the individual, rather than of the system (Foner, 1973). Kuper (1976) argues that the manifest failure of lower class black children in the educational system is seen as a factor justifying the existing status and privilege of fair people. This ideology is still shared by all classes (apart from the highly deviant religious sect of Rastifarianism, which rejects the values of striving, and of conventional education), and the black, lower classes see their lack of educational success as largely their own fault. Ironically, their lack of success is a direct result of both discrimination by the light-coloured middle classes, and self-discrimination - self-acceptance of the value that black is bad, and undesirable.

No studies have been carried out in Jamaica (nor indeed in any British-speaking Caribbean country) which I can discover, on self-perception, self-regard, self-esteem, identity, or evaluation of personal ethnic characteristics which has used young children as subjects. A number of studies have however been carried out on older children, and in particular on adolescents and older students. These are worth reviewing, since they point to a devaluation of ethnic identity which almost certainly had its roots in early childhood socialization.
Vernon (1969) in his monograph *Intelligence and Cultural Environment* which compared aspects of cognitive functioning in cultures in Africa, Europe, North America and the Caribbean, included in his test battery the Goodenough Draw-a-Man test, which has sometimes been used as a test of racial identification (see Chapter 3). Vernon's fieldwork was carried out in 1963, and included samples (boys aged 10½ to 11 years) from both rural and urban areas. Vernon noticed considerable differences in the ability to draw a man between urban and rural samples. Urban children had a much more sophisticated drawing ability than rural children. But both urban and rural children were similar in that, "not a single drawing attempted to portray skin colour or other local cultural features, apart from occasional palm trees" (Vernon, 1969, pp.173-174). Vernon does not go into such detail about the Goodenough drawings of his Ugandan, Eskimo and American Indian subjects, but it is clear that the figures drawn by both Ugandan and Eskimo boys displayed considerably more sophistication than those drawn by Jamaican boys.

Phillips (1973) in his monograph *Adolescence in Jamaica* mentions a number of studies of self-concept in adolescents, including his own work, and unpublished thesis work. King (cited by Phillips, 1973) asked 200 12- to 15-year-old boys and girls at a junior secondary school in the urban areas of Kingston, Jamaica, to write freely on the topic, "All the things I like about myself and all the things I dislike about myself". Analysis of the responses showed that physical self was the most frequently mentioned of the categories used by these pupils. Within the category of "physical self" most concern was expressed with 'skin-colour' which seemed to include all the race-related physical characteristics, including actual skin colour, hair, nose and lips. King observes that "... this reflects the shade and race consciousness which is so pervasively a part of the Jamaican and West Indian psychological make-up". Considerable ambiguity was expressed by these adolescents - they took pride in their
blackness, but they yearned for long straight hair, a straight nose and, sometimes, blue eyes. One girl wished her 'hair was straight down the back like the Chinese or East Indian', and was glad that she was not 'fat and black'. Again a 15-year-old boy wrote, 'I am black and I wish I could be born again and become a little clearer'. A 14-year-old girl wrote, 'The thing I would like to do is to be born over, and have tall hair, blue eyes, and to be white'.

Phillips (1973) reports a study carried out with students at a teacher training college carried out in the early 1960s. Subjects were asked to complete informal essays on the topics "I myself; the person I think I am; the person others think I am; the person I should like to be". A comparison with similar responses of English students at training college in England indicated that the Jamaican students tended to be more uncritical and laudatory concerning themselves. Phillips accounts for this result by explaining that the Jamaican students were in the main drawn from advantaged social backgrounds, and were in the main 'fair' rather than 'black'. Few of their peers, especially those in rural areas, would have equalled their achievement. The same could not be said of the English teacher trainees. An alternative explanation which Phillips proposes is that the Jamaican students were exhibiting defence mechanisms. "Many forces have been trying to impress on them a sense of their own inferiority and inadequacy, But they cannot live with a self picture as unlovely as this. So they seek reassurance and internal peace by conceiving themselves as much better than they actually are" (p.39).

Further research is cited by Phillips which shows that white and fair (i.e. 'high-coloured' negroes) individuals expressed greatest satisfaction with their self characteristics, followed by those with 'clear' features, and then the brown, dark and black individuals in that order. Parallel to this, the white and fair adolescents had general anxiety scores which were significantly lower than those of other groups.
The most comprehensive studies of self-concept and self-esteem are those of Miller (1969 and 1972). Miller's subjects were 987 boys and girls aged 11 to 14 attending high schools and junior secondary schools in urban Kingston. The subjects completed an open-ended description of self-characteristics, with questions such as "What do you like about yourself?" and "What do you dislike about your body?" Subjects associated Caucasian characteristics as desirable, and negroid characteristics (hair, skin, lips, nose, skin colour) as undesirable: "The stereotype of the beautiful girl is almost identical to that of the handsome boy in terms of facial features and colour. The beautiful girl has Caucasian features and is Fair and Clear in colour, as in the case of the handsome boy ... " (Miller, 1969, pp.86-7).

Miller proposes an interesting theory of the inflation of self-esteem in his subjects. He suggests that the reaction to an unfavourable social environment will be a high self-rating. If, later, the individual's environment or personal circumstances improve, then the individual will be able to accept and admit his inadequacies and his self-rating will be somewhat lowered. A change to a very low self-rating may however indicate maladjustment. Miller found this to be particularly true of the physical aspect of the concept of the self, and operated most strongly during adolescence.

Phillips (1973) cites further research on occupational status and satisfaction with self. Education in Jamaica is highly valued, and educational and occupational success are a major basis of both social stratification and personal evaluation (Pomer, 1973). Those who succeed in the Jamaican educational system (in the main, children from middle class families who also have 'fair' physical characteristics) and who achieve subsequent occupational success are much more likely to have positive self-esteem.

Kathryn Tidrick (1973) has investigated aspects of evaluation of skin colour in 111 students attending the University of the West Indies and
the College of Art, Science and Technology in Kingston. Subjects were shown a picture of either a white adult, or a brown Jamaican adult, and were asked to ascribe, by means of a thematic Apperception Test, need for achievement to the individual described in the picture. Higher need for achievement was attributed to the white rather than the brown figure; and light-coloured subjects attributed more need for achievement to the white figure than did dark-coloured subjects. At the College of Art, Science and Technology, where subjects tended to be both darker, and destined for lower level technical qualifications, projected need for achievement was less. The least need for achievement was expressed by black students evaluating the dark-coloured subject. Moreover, black upper class subjects projected significantly less need for achievement than did light upper class subjects. Reviewing this and other evidence Tidrick concludes that, "It seems fair to say that a persistent white bias in Jamaican society contributed substantially to the results".

It should be noted that all of these studies, with the exception of that of Vernon (1969) have investigated urban subjects in relatively advantaged settings. Yet there are considerable rural–urban differences in Jamaica; 77 per cent of the population are black Africans, and this ethnic group is both economically disadvantaged and disproportionately rural dwelling. Many of the subjects studied by Phillips, Miller and Tidrick were not African, but of mixed ancestry; given the patterns of racial disadvantage endemic in Jamaican social structure, these subjects are likely also to come from relatively advantaged backgrounds. The research by Foner (1973) and Kuper (1976) suggest that rural Africans evaluate themselves according to the dominant standards of the coloured or 'fair' ruling class. We would expect (other things being equal) that black Jamaicans living in rural areas will still possess the detrimental attitudes to themselves and their ethnicity which are the legacy of colonial domination, and a stratification system based on colour.
David Lowenthal (1967), comparing a number of West Indian societies, indicates that the rigidity of the class/colour system in Jamaica meant that virtually the only way to achieve occupational and educational advancement was to emigrate. In consequence, many black, rural people have left Jamaica for Britain, Canada and America. In my own case, for example, it was unthinkable that a girl from a black family in rural Jamaica should go to the University of the West Indies. Like my brothers and sisters, my access to higher education has been in institutions outside the island. Nancy Foner (1977) discussing the adaptation of young Jamaicans in Britain also found that the majority of migrants to Britain came from rural areas, and came from lower status families.

Foner suggests that, "Black skin has long been devalued in Jamaica. This stems from Jamaica's history as a plantation colony based on African slavery ... White bias has permeated the entire society since the eighteenth century ... I would argue that it is mainly because being black stands for being poor in Jamaica that so many black Jamaicans place a negative value on black skin" (Foner, 1977). As she makes clear, this diagnosis held true until very recent times. What is important, I think, is that the parents of Jamaican children in British schools today grew up in a society which devalued blackness; that devaluation was accepted by the vast majority of blacks, who themselves formed the majority of the population. Unlike America, the mystifying ideology of the inferiority of blackness still has a powerful hold.

Self-Esteem and Self-Concept in Black Children and Adolescents in Britain

In the previous section I have tried to show that the ideology of the inferiority of blackness has had a powerful hold in Jamaican social structure, and still affects much of everyday interactions of Jamaicans. Black Jamaicans who came to Britain (where they comprise between 60 and 80 per cent of blacks in London, varying according to area - Bagley, 1975; C.R.C., 1977) have faced considerable racial discrimination. This
discrimination is based on skin colour, not on lack of familiarity with British colour, as the P.E.P. 'situation tests' make clear (McIntosh and Smith, 1974). Yet the very fact of experiencing such open discrimination has made many blacks realise the clearly racialist nature of English society. As Foner (1977) writes, "Much of the mystique of whiteness to Jamaicans has in fact been undermined in England. Jamaicans face such widespread discrimination in England, and because white skin is no longer necessarily linked with other attributes of status and power, Jamaican migrants are not so awed by whiteness in England. While the whites encountered in Jamaica were usually in positions of prestige and authority, in England they are nearly all members of the working class ... Jamaicans seem to be less deferential to whites generally in England - including high status whites - than they were in Jamaica. And because they receive unequal treatment on the basis of their skin colour, a good number are, for the first time, seriously challenging the inferiority of blackness".

In her interesting analysis, the anthropologist Foner suggests further that the move to England, has, for the first generation of Jamaican migrants, led to the emergence of new cultural and social patterns - a kind of creolisation. The meaning of two cultural symbols, education and black skin, as well as patterns of family life, are not the same as they were in Jamaica; but neither are they the same as those found among English people. Neither Jamaican nor fully English, they often look to their blackness as a basis for identification. Other things being equal, we would expect the ethnic self-evaluation of Jamaicans (and indeed, of other West Indian migrants in Britain) to change over time, as their identity reference points change.

A number of British studies have used doll or picture choice to investigate racial identification and preferences in young children (Pushkin, 1967; Marsh, 1970; Laishley, 1971; Milner, 1972). The studies of Pushkin and of Laishley have been concerned however with the development
of prejudice and ethnocentrism in white children. Pushkin studied children aged 3 to 7 in three London districts which varied in the number of black residents and in the amount of racial tension in the area. He found that in doll choice tests the white children's dislike of the black dolls rose sharply with age, with the sharpest increase in the sixth year. The per cent of children rejecting the black dolls in various projective situations rose from 9 per cent at age three, to 27 per cent at age six, and 56 per cent at age 7. Moreover, rejection seemed to reflect recent experience of interaction with black children. Contact in an area more pervaded by racial tensions and adult hostility seemed to engender more hostility in the children, who were presumably reflecting adult views of blacks. As one six-year-old boy told Pushkin, when offered the choice of sitting himself (as the white doll) next to the black doll, "If I have to sit near him I'll have a nervous breakdown," (Pushkin and Veness, 1973).

What is interesting in terms of the present review is the reaction of the black children who had to interact with these white children who were learning the norms of prejudice. Pushkin does not give very much information on this topic, and we are left to speculate whether the rejected black children accepted this evaluation of themselves, or whether there was any incipient development of black identity as a counter to white racism.

It is clear that the forces of racism in Britain have had a stressful effect on West Indian family life. Because of racial discrimination in both employment (which limits income available to spend on housing) and in housing itself (denial of access to the subsidised public housing occupied by nearly a third of the British population) Commonwealth immigrants have perforce settled in the most depressed city areas. For children this means attending schools whose buildings are old, poorly equipped, ill-served by teachers, and attended by lower class white children whose attitude to education is itself one born of alienation.
Because of the problems of low income and the high cost of housing, many West Indian mothers with young children work long hours. In a London study of mothers with children of school age, four-fifths of West Indian mothers were in employment, compared with a half of English mothers with children in the same schools. (Bagloy, 1975). While their mothers work, pre-school children are placed with "daily minders" (nursery school places are extremely scarce, and are usually allocated to children of one-parent families; about a fifth of West Indian households fall into this category).

The reports of conditions in the homes of these minders (Jackson, 1973) have drawn a picture of as many as ten children kept in one room during the whole day in conditions of "Dickensian squalor", and given the minimum of cognitive stimulation and emotional care. Jackson estimates that at least half of West Indian under-fives are so "minded". The mothers of these children have, after work, little time or energy to interact with their children in ways which are conducive to normal intellectual or emotional growth. This supposition has been corroborated by clinical investigation of 100 West Indian mothers in London (Stroud et al, 1967). Many of the mothers in this study were working in order to maintain mortgage payments on poor quality housing; many seemed to be clinically depressed; and many had children with various behaviour problems. In 13 of the children studied a curious self-denigration syndrome was observed, which transcended the observed tendency of black children in Britain to disparage their ethnic identity (Milner, 1972). The 13 pre-school children in Stroud and Moody's series had developed aggressive tendencies towards children darker than themselves, and regarded themselves as actually being pale or white.

Another syndrome was observed by Prince (1967) in a study from the same London hospital - that of "pseudo-autism". Twenty-three West Indian children were observed who had many of the features of autism - aloofness, withdrawal, apathy, loss of speech, and non-response to stimuli.
However, the condition seemed to be distinguished from true autism by social background factors. Twenty of the mothers were seriously depressed, and 14 of them were working; 17 of the children had been separated from their mothers for long periods, and the majority had been "daily minded".

Another London study by Pollack (1972) of 104 English and 107 West Indian three-year-olds in a London general practice has confirmed the depressing picture painted by other workers. Two-thirds of the mothers of the 75 West Indian children in Pollack's study were working long hours; 95 per cent of West Indian children had never had a holiday compared with 38 per cent of English children; 88 per cent of West Indian children had not been on a family outing in the previous four weeks compared with 20 per cent of English children. The family income and housing conditions of the West Indian families were significantly poorer than those of their English counterparts. The homes of the West Indian children were frequently heated by unguarded paraffin stoves, and no less than 60 per cent of the West Indian children had suffered burns, compared with 35 per cent of English children. Significantly more black children had suffered eczema, asthma, or bronchitis (corroborating the earlier findings of work by Hood et al, 1970). Forty-eight of the 75 West Indian children had at some stage been "minded", and four-fifths had experienced more than one minder; 11 had been through the hands of four or more minders. According to Pollack's criteria, only 55 per cent of West Indian mothers, compared with 92 per cent of English mothers, were able to give their children "adequate mothering". Most alarming of all, the West Indian children had significantly lower scores than their English counterparts on scores measuring linguistic, adaptive, and personal-social skills. Pollack concluded: "... it is unusual for there to be any one person to make the average West Indian child in this study feel particularly needed and loved. He is not made to feel that he is a human being in his own right, precious to his parents, and with all the dignity which a human being possesses."
Due to the meagreness of contact between him and his parents, he is deprived of many of the advantages which a greater degree of personal contact can offer. As a result he develops a weak sense of his own identity" (Pollack, 1972, pp.142-3).

Weak identity structure is inferred by Pollack and other clinical writers; but no psychological studies have directly measured identity in young black children and indeed, such an investigation is fraught with methodological difficulties. Self-esteem and self-concept are also difficult to measure in young children (see Chapter 3). One apparently valid method of measuring self-esteem in young black children is to use a measure of self-identification coupled with an evaluation of group (and by inference, individual) characteristics. In a doll study for example, we can reasonably infer that children who know that they are like the black doll, or picture, but say that this picture or doll is bad or undesirable are in some way making judgments of some kind about themselves.

An important British study in this area is that by Wälner (1972). Wälner studied 100 West Indian, 100 Indian and Pakistani, and 100 white English children aged between five and eight, attending infant and junior schools in Brixton and Southall in London. All the children were attending multiracial schools. Wälner used adaptations of the classic doll and picture techniques used by the Clarks and by Morland (see Chapter 3). The main areas investigated were Identity (e.g. "Which doll looks most like you?"), Preferences (e.g. "Which one do you like best?") and Stereotypes (e.g. "Which one of these two men is the bad man?").

All of the white children chose the white doll in response to the question "Which doll looks most like you?", but only 52 per cent of the black children and 76 per cent of the Asian children made the correct choice, choosing the black or brown doll respectively. A similar pattern emerged in the family identification tests - 35 per cent of the black children, and 20 per cent of the Asian children misidentified either the
mother', or 'brother' or 'sister' or both. All of the white children
would "rather be" the white figure; but so would 82 per cent of the black
children, and 65 per cent of the Asians. In response to questions about
preferences for different ethnic group figures, six per cent of English
children made outgroup choices, while 74 per cent of Asian, and 72 per
cent of black children made outgroup choices. None of the white children
had negative stereotypes of their own group; but 65 per cent of Asian
children, and 72 per cent of black children had negative stereotypes of
their own group.

These results pose the problem of whether these young black and Asian
children who failed to identify themselves properly gave such responses
because they thought they were white: that is, whether the responses of
the ethnic minority children were the basis of cognitive confusion which
results from being a minority group, rather than resulting from group and
self devaluation as such. Milner discounts this possibility however, since
the children did not show cognitive confusion in other areas. He suggests
that the pattern of cause is the other way round: because many ethnic
minority children evaluate their group in negative terms, they will in
turn deny that they are black or brown, but will say they are white.
Thus group-evaluation and self-evaluation are intimately linked. Milner
suggests that this identification of oneself as white is a measure of
poor self-esteem in his black subjects, and is at the same time a measure
of a confused identity.

A study using a different methodology but reaching largely similar
conclusions was carried out with random samples of children in East London
aged 5 to 10 (Bagley and Coard, 1975). The subjects were asked, in the
context of a longer series of questions, "If you could be born again (just
imagine being born again) how tall would you like to be? ... (and then
after several questions about physical characteristics) ... What colour
hair would you choose to have? What colour skin? ... " Responses were tape
recorded, and race of tester was varied; in fact, no significant differences between black and white investigators emerged. Eighty-eight per cent of the white subjects did not want to change their skin colour, compared with 57 per cent of the 42 black subjects. Sixty per cent of the black children wanted to change their skin colour, their hair colour or texture, or their eye colour, or all three. The black children in the study were also questioned about their knowledge of Africa. The responses frequently reflected the cultural stereotypes of colonialism: 'They're diseased. They don't live good lives ... the people don't wear clothes, they live in the jungle ... sometimes they have to be servants ... it's hot. The people are coloured, and they dance about ... I don't like it. People will think that all coloured people are like that". Other questions indicated that the West Indian children had little knowledge of their Caribbean heritage, or of West Indian heroes such as Marcus Garvey. Children rejecting their ethnic identity tended to have low scores on a test of cultural knowledge (concerning Africa and the Caribbean), and tended also to be seen as behaviour problems by their teachers. Bagley and Coard suggest that aggression expressed in the classroom may result from a combination of the alienating influence of a white oriented curriculum, and poor self-esteem and weak identity formation in some black children.

In a study of 10- and 11-year-old black West Indian children attending four schools in working class areas in London, Bagley, Bart and Wong (1978) found that poor personal and ethnic self-esteem was related to educational underachievement, alienation from school, pessimism about the world of work, parental authoritarianism, and parents of Jamaican origin. Conversely, black children whose parents came from Caribbean areas other than Jamaica tended to be better educated, more economically successful, less authoritarian, and had children with higher levels of self-esteem. No direct comparison was made of levels of self-esteem between white and
black children in these schools, but this study is interesting because it points to a complex of circumstances which may influence self-esteem and identity formation in black children. Children of Jamaican parents seem to be in the most depressed circumstances, have the poorest self-esteem, and are particularly likely to underachieve. A study of a large population of 10-year-olds in London schools (Vaarlam, 1974) has shown that West Indian children are particularly likely to be seen as being ill-behaved by their teachers; and they are also likely to be underfunctioning on tests of reading. Vaarlam suggests that failure in reading is likely to precede the manifest behaviour disorders which appear to be particularly common amongst black children in London schools. This higher proportion of "behaviour disorders" in West Indian children can be interpreted in several ways: it can be seen, in clinical terms as a reflection of a general pattern of psychological maladaptation which includes poor self-esteem and a poorly integrated global identity; or it can be seen as a rebellious reaction against an alienating school system; or the behaviour disorders may be an artefact of the bias in teachers' perception (since the instruments used are usually completed by teachers). It is possible that all three factors are at work. It could be that school itself is an alienating institution which contributes to the poor self-esteem of many black children, and that their incipient behaviour disorder or rebellion is a confirmation of the initial prejudices of teachers.

Studies of self-esteem, self-concept and global identity in West Indian adolescents in British schools have produced interesting, but sometimes conflicting results. Bhatnagar (1970) studied 174 West Indian boys and girls, and 200 English adolescents of a similar age attending secondary schools in East London. The West Indian subjects had markedly and significantly poorer levels of "adjustment" in comparison with their white peers. "Adjustment" was a global measure covering social relations, feelings of personal satisfaction, good self-concept, and freedom from
anxiety. Adjustment was not found to increase the longer the West Indian children had been in the British school system.

Hill (1970) used the semantic differential technique to measure a variety of evaluations of the self and others in 400 English and West Indian adolescents sampled from a larger population, attending schools in the West Midlands. Although West Indian adolescents did not, in comparison with their English peers, tend to devalue themselves, they were much more likely than the English subjects to see their home and parents in negative terms. Conversely, West Indian subjects saw school in a much more favourable light. The West Indian adolescents too expressed 'a tremendous desire' for whiteness, both for themselves and in their future friends, neighbours, and boy or girl friends.

Pearson (1974) in a study of Leicester found a notable lack of social cohesion within the West Indian community, and he observed that individualism was a central feature of adaptation: "It has been shown that individualism has often been seen as a psychological phenomenon which centers on an 'individualistic personality' which encourages self-hate, marginality and negates the formation of meaningful group identities which, in turn, encourage communal association" (p. 303). Dove (1974) studied 545 teenagers of various ethnic groups attending three London comprehensive schools. She found that West Indian adolescents showed much more confusion over their ethnic identity than Asian and Cypriot adolescents. Dove suggests that confusion over identity should diminish in West Indians over time, especially in those born in Britain. The salience of English racism, she suggests should mean that the longer the period of residence in Britain, the less the confusion about ethnic identity. This identity would be focussed by racist forces, which deny the possibility of the integration of the minority group. Hill (1975) however in a study of Birmingham adolescents suggests that the longer West Indian adolescents have been resident in Britain, the more likely it is
that they have high levels of neuroticism as measured by the Eysenck scale, in comparison with their English peers. What is possible is that a prolonged exposure to the forces of English racism has negative rather than positive effects on the adaptation, identity and self-esteem of black adolescents, especially if they form a small minority in a school dominated by largely racist ethos.

Lomax (1977) examined self-esteem (by means of a sentence completion test) in a large girls' secondary school in London. In this school over two-thirds of pupils were West Indian, and although these black girls were disproportionately allocated to lower streams, they had significantly higher levels of self-esteem than their white peers. However, West Indian girls born in Britain had poorer self-concepts than West Indian girls born in the Caribbean. Thus despite the supportive context of a school in which the majority of pupils are black, a longer exposure to English culture had a depressing effect on self-esteem.

Louden (1977) used the measure of self-esteem developed by Rosenberg and Simmons (1973) in a study of 375 adolescents from various ethnic groups attending secondary schools in the West Midlands. He found that, overall, there were no significant differences in self-esteem between ethnic groups. However, West Indian girls had higher levels of self-esteem than Asian girls, who in turn had higher levels of self-esteem than English girls. Louden found that in general, the higher the concentration of blacks in a school, the higher the levels of self-esteem in the black pupils. The relationship was curvilinear however, and it was the group of West Indians in schools with medium concentrations (between 30 and 50 per cent of blacks) who had the highest levels of self-esteem. Louden suggests that a whole variety of factors in the school may influence self-esteem in various ethnic groups, including the degree to which minority groups are insulated from various types of white racism:

"Broader social forces have operated to place the great bulk of minority
group adolescents in a racially insulated environment, and this environ-
ment establishes certain barriers to assault upon feelings of personal
worth. This is one reason why the self-esteem level of black adolescents
as a group is not as low as one might otherwise expect ... In many cities
in this country most black adolescents live their daily lives in essentially
black worlds and actually have little exposure to white adolescents" (p.324).

Jones (1977), noting that West Indians are often successful in
sporting activities, examined the hypothesis that success in sport would
be associated with higher levels of self-esteem in black pupils. The
subjects of his study were 1,612 English and West Indian adolescents
attending London secondary schools. The measure of self-esteem he used
was the 23-item measure of general self-esteem, derived from the Coopersmith
scale (Bagley and Evan-Wong, 1975). First of all, Jones found that both
West Indian males and females had significantly poorer levels of self-
esteem than their white peers. Jones found that the following items in
the General Self Esteem scale showed significant differences between West
Indian males and English males, and between West Indian females and English
females: "My parents expect too much of me"; "I get easily upset when told
off"; "There are many times when I feel I would like to leave home"; "My
parents understand me" (negatively); "I can't be depended upon"; "I'm
pretty happy" (negatively); "Things are all mixed up in my life"; "I often
feel upset at school"; "No one pays much attention to me at home". The
items, "I often get discouraged in school" and "I'm a failure", distinguished
between West Indian boys and English boys only. On the following item,
both West Indian boys and girls had significantly better self-esteem than
their white peers: "I'm proud of my school work". West Indian boys had
significantly better self esteem than white boys on the items, "I often
wish I were someone else" and "I can usually take care of myself", while
West Indian girls had significantly better self-esteem than white girls on
the items "I often feel ashamed of myself" and "I spend a lot of time
daydreaming".
Jones observed too that the West Indian pupils were much more likely than whites to use the sporting and social facilities of the school in the evenings, using the school rather than the home as a focus of activity. Although West Indian pupils were much more likely than whites to be included in school sports teams, and to excel in sport generally, this success in sport was not correlated with self-esteem levels. Although English pupils who excelled at sport had higher levels of self-esteem, this was a function of their generally higher stream level. Blacks, even those excelling in sport, were generally in lower streams, and it was probably this stream membership rather than sporting success which was the most powerful influence on self-esteem. Those West Indians who were in higher streams tended to have levels of self-esteem which were equal to those of their white peers in the same stream. Jones found that blacks involved in sports teams with whites did not as a result increase their out-of-school friendships with whites. Moreover, teachers far from seeing sporting ability as a positive aspect of West Indian achievement, saw this achievement in sport as part of what they thought was the generally aggressive mode of behaviour of black pupils.

The most comprehensive British study of self-esteem in adolescents in different ethnic groups is that carried out by Bagley, Mallick and Vorma (1973) who used the short version Cooper smith Self-Esteem Inventory (Bagley and Evan-Wong, 1975) in a larger battery of tests administered to 1,400 pupils aged 14 to 16 in 39 schools in urban centres in Britain. Of those studied, 141 were West Indian and 137 were Asian. For the ethnic minority pupils, two white, English comparison subjects were drawn from the same class. In this way, sex, stream, level of achievement and locality were controlled. The mean levels of self-esteem showed that white males had the highest level of self-esteem, followed by black females, white females and black males. The black males had significantly poorer self-esteem than their white peers, but there was no significant
difference in levels of self-esteem between black females and white females. However, black females had significantly better levels of self-esteem than black males.

These researchers also investigated the relationship between the number of black pupils in the school, and the level of self-esteem. The relationship for males was, as in Louden's study, curvilinear, with those in the school classes with middle levels of ethnic concentration (between 10 and 29 per cent black) having the highest levels of self-esteem. The relationship for girls was linear, with girls in the classrooms of highest concentration (more than 30 per cent black) having the highest self-esteem, and those in the lowest levels (less than 10 per cent blacks) having the poorest self-esteem. Overall, these relationships were greater than would have been expected from chance fluctuation alone.

These various results of children of different ages, in varying types of urban and school settings, using a variety of different instruments, have produced varying results. But there is enough evidence to indicate that West Indian children and adolescents, especially boys, have problems in coming to terms with a racist society whose pressures are such as to devalue their identity, and to depress their levels of personal esteem. Those results which show that a group identity (as represented by the number of black children in a school) is protective of self-esteem are both interesting and welcome, and suggest some similarity to the American situation described by Rosenberg and Simmons (1973).

The British work of Weinreich (1978) showing problems in global identity in West Indian adolescents, and the location of self-esteem in particular parts of that identity structure is paralleled by the American work of Hunt and Hunt (1977) who reanalysed the Rosenberg and Simmons data and showed a certain fragmentation of identity in black adolescents. As a general working hypothesis, I would suggest that the more problems the black child has had to cope with as he develops (such as being "minded",
being separated from a parent, living in depressed housing, failing to
have his linguistic and cultural needs met by his teachers, and rejection
by white peers) the more problematic will be the development of his global
identity, the more precarious the levels of self-esteem he has attained,
and the more difficult it will be for him to solve the various "identity
crises" described by Erikson (1968).

Conclusions

In this chapter I have reviewed the findings of empirical studies on
the self-esteem and self-concept of black children in America and Britain.
The earlier writings of many American psychologists were full of gloom, and
saw blacks as irredeemably stigmatized by "the mark of oppression",
symbolized by their skin colour. There has been a marked reorientation
in studies published in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies. These more
recent studies have shown that it is by no means inevitable that black
children have poorer levels of self-esteem than whites; much depends on
the social context in which the black child finds himself, and who his
significant others are. In addition, the development of the "black pride"
movement has almost certainly contributed to a reorientation of black
views of the self.

Nevertheless, the strong residual effects of negative colour identifica-
tion means that black American children still have certain problems to
contend with in identity development which are qualitatively different
from those which white children have to face. The ultimate expectation
of educational and occupational success is probably an important factor in
identity development in black adolescents, and subsequent self-actualization
in adulthood.

The history and social structure of Jamaica has been such that the
black masses have traditionally revered white values, and indeed, studies
on self-concept of Jamaican adolescents have indicated that the majority
of black Jamaicans prefer white or fair physical characteristics.
In Britain, Jamaican and other West Indian migrants have suffered severe racial discrimination, which has depressed the quality of care which mothers can give to their children, and this has in turn had adverse effects on identity and cognitive development in young black children. Work by a number of researchers on self-perception has been reviewed; this has indicated that black children generally have negative self-perception, in comparison with whites. But black adolescents in school classes with a high proportion of their ethnic peers do not have poorer self-esteem than whites, a finding paralleling some American studies. Work on identity development in black adolescents indicates however that growing up in a racist society presents them with considerable problems in identity development.
CHAPTER 6
THE EVALUATION OF COLOUR AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLOUR MEANING TEST
AND THE PRE-SCHOOL RACIAL ATTITUDES MEASURE

Introduction

The Evaluation of Colour

The Development of the Williams Colour Meaning Test (CMT)

The Development of the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM)

The Evaluation of the Colours Black and White, and of
Black and White People, in Different Cultural Contexts

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CHAPTER 6

THE EVALUATION OF COLOUR AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLOUR MEANING TEST

AND THE PRE-SCHOOL RACIAL ATTITUDES MEASURE

Introduction

In this chapter I shall briefly review the literature on colour evaluation in various cultures, and the development of John Williams' Colour Meaning Test (CMT) and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM) for measuring aspects of the evaluation of colour in young children. It is argued that results from the use of these measures reflect both ethnocentricism and pride in their own group on the part of white children; and the internalisation of negative stereotypes about colour and a devaluation of their own group, on the part of black children. It is argued further that the CMT and PRAM are indirect measures of self-esteem in young black children, and that negative evaluation of blackness (and by implication of self-characteristics) constitutes a particular problem in the identity development of the black child and adolescent.

The Evaluation of Colour

In Western cultures, the colour black has many negative connotations, and indeed the negative symbolism associated not only with black objects but with black people as well is part of Western Christian tradition (Bastide, 1967). Whether this negative symbolism results from the symbolic rationalisation of power structures in which white people have traditionally dominated and exploited black or brown people, or whether the symbolism derives from a more universal aversion to blackness (perhaps associated with a fear of darkness) as Williams and Morland (1976) suggest, is a matter of controversy.

The anthropological literature on colour classification and the affective meanings attached to such classifications show that the matter is extremely complex (Berlin and Kay, 1969). Although basic colour terms can be identified which are universally salient, the meaning which each
culture attaches to such colours is by no means universal. In Britain a black day is not a good one; nor is a black mood, a black side, a black sheep, blackmail, black arts, black looks and so on. But among the Baraguyu of Tanzania (and probably among other pastoral Masai groups) black is not the colour of badness, but is the colour of permanence, fulfilled potential, wisdom and age, maturity and fruition. Black is the colour too of the longed-for rain clouds which mean that grazing will improve, and cattle prosper (Rigby, 1977). For the Baraguyu too, red is the colour of the warriors, of bravery and youth. White is the colour of children and uninitiated adolescents; the colour of women, and of lack of status.

Witkowski and Brown (1977) show that in virtually all cultures there are two dimensions of colour, black-white, and red-white. In the first dimension, whiteness is associated with warmth and light (or hotness and scorching sunlight) and black with darkness and coolness (or relief from the scorching sun). In the second dimension, red is warm and dark, and white is light and cool. But there is no evidence from this anthropological work to suggest that there is any universal association between "blackness" and "badness". Rather, this connotation seems to be the cultural creation of Indo-European cultures which have assigned black or dark people to inferior class, slave or caste systems. The symbolism of the inferiority of blackness is the symbolism of power, and a cultural creation (Bastide, 1967). As it was created, so it can be undone, by cultural change.

The Development of the Williams Colour Meaning Test (CMT)

Williams and his colleagues, noting a clear tendency for the colour black to be evaluated negatively in many Indo-European cultures (Williams and McMurtry, 1970; Adams and Osgood, 1973; Williams and Morland, 1976) have developed first of all a scale for measuring the evaluative meanings which young children give to the colours black and white. The scale in its
most developed version contains twelve sets of pictures (Williams, Boswell and Best, 1975). In each set of pictures a black and a white animal are shown, in random order. For example, two identical horses, one white and one black stand side by side. The child is shown the picture and told: "Here are two horses. One of them is a kind horse. He lets Billy pet him and give him apples. Which is the kind horse?" The child then has to choose which of the two horses, black or white, is the "kind" horse. Two stories are told for each stimulus picture at different points in the test. The list of stimulus items is given in Appendix A. The method of scoring is to assign zero if positive characteristics are assigned to the black animal, and one if negative characteristics are assigned to the black animal. An aggregated high score indicates a high degree of negative colour evaluation. Application of the binomial theorem established the limits within which a random choice would fall - if a child attached neither positive nor negative meanings to the colours black and white he would be expected to choose randomly, and his score would fall in the middle range. A child "without bias" would have a score in the range 10-14, while a score of 0 to 7 would indicate a definite black bias, and a score of 17 to 24 a definite white bias.

The version of the Colour Meaning Test or CMT which we have used in the present study is the CMT II, the final version of the test (Williams, Boswell and Best, 1975). The twelve pictures of pairs of black and white animals are described by 24 stories containing 12 positive adjectives (clean, good, nice, pretty, smart, friendly, happy, healthy, helpful, right and wonderful) and 12 negative adjectives (bad, dirty, mean, naughty, ugly, stupid, cruel, sad, selfish, sick, unfriendly, and wrong). The standardization group were 320 children aged between 40 and 91 months (average 61 months) living in North Carolina; Half were black, half were white, and the sexes were equally distributed between these two groups. Correlating split halves of the test indicated satisfactory internal reliability.
It appears that varying the race of tester does not affect responses to the CMT II. It is clear too that black children have significantly lower scores (fewer white biases) than white subjects. Nevertheless, despite these somewhat lower scores, it is clear that there is much bias towards evaluating white positively, and black negatively. This is brought out by the categorization of the scores into groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Chance Expectancy</th>
<th>White %</th>
<th>Black %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>Definite B+/W- bias</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>Probable B+/W- bias</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>No bias</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>Probable W+/B-</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-24</td>
<td>Definite W+/B-</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus nearly a third of the young black children had a definite white bias, and a half had some white bias. Less than one per cent had a clear black bias. Although Williams categorizes scores in the middle range as indicating no bias, it could be that these represent the scores of children who are ambiguous about the evaluation of colour, including their own. To this extent the CMT may be an indirect measure of self-evaluation. This case will be argued in greater detail for the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM) to which the CMT is related.

Williams and his colleagues found that CMT II had no significant correlation with age in these young subjects, nor with the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. This indicated that the tendency to evaluate blackness negatively had clearly developed by the age of three, and did not change very much between the ages of three and seven. Williams speculates that the early emergence of this negative association of blackness may indicate
the existence of some archetypal reaction to darkness: "The young human is, after all, a diurnal animal who requires reasonably high levels of illumination to interact effectively with his environment and who may find the disorientation associated with darkness to be intrinsically aversive. Coupled with this is the fact that most of the child's major need satisfactions - for activity and stimulus change, for human interaction, and contact - take place in the light and not in the dark. The gist of the argument is that the early experiences of the young child with the light of day and dark of night may cause him to develop a preference for light over darkness, which may then generalise to the colours black and white" (Williams, Boswell and Best, 1975, p.506).

Williams and his colleagues then argue that cultural influences build on these "natural" aversions or preferences, and the aversion to blackness rapidly becomes generalised to a generally negative view not only of black objects, but of black or dark-skinned people as well. I am unimpressed with this aspect of Williams' theory; the evidence to support these speculations is lacking, and he ignores the anthropological evidence on the subject, including that from Africa which suggests that it is by no means inevitable that a "natural" aversion to blackness shall develop.

Williams regards the cultural influence on views about blackness and black people, though important, as secondary. My view is that despite the evidence on high scores on the CMP in all groups in America, Europe and Japan (see the review of cross-cultural studies, below) culture must be adduced as the major variable influencing the development of colour and racial evaluation in young children.

There is no denying however the strength of the evidence that in many cultures black is evaluated negatively, and that black children themselves (though to a lesser degree than white children) have internalised this negative evaluation of blackness. Stabler and his colleagues too (1969 and 1972) have shown, using different methods to those developed by
Williams, that young children of all races in America tend to attribute negative qualities to black objects. These various findings lead Williams and Morland (1977) to conclude: "In sum, the Stabler studies add much to our knowledge of the responses of Euro-American children to the colors black and white. When Stabler's findings are combined with those from the Color Meaning Test studies, there is an impressive array of evidence of a pervasive tendency toward positive responses to the color white and negative responses to the color black among young Euro children" (p.74).

The Development of the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM)

Parallel to the CMT, Williams and his colleagues have developed a Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure. The final version of this instrument is known as the PRAM II (Williams, Best and Boswell, 1975; Williams, Best, Boswell, Mattison and Graves, 1975). The format is quite similar to that of the CMT II in that pictures 8" by 10" in size, each containing coloured representations of two figures, are presented to the child. He is told a story, and has to choose one of the figures on the basis of his evaluation. The pictures in the PRAM II are all of pairs of people. Twenty-four different pairs of individuals are presented, of adults, adolescents or children. One of the figures is "white" (has pinkish skin complexion) while the other is identical in every respect except that his or her skin colour is medium brown, and the figure has dark hair and brown eyes. Interspersed with these 24 pictures are 12 pictures measuring sex-role identification, showing two similar figures, half of whom are black pairs and the other half white, in which a man is contrasted with a woman, or male child with a female child. The purpose of this test is to assess the child's cognitive development and to act as a distractor to the child, so that the real implications of the PRAM test may be disguised to some degree.
At the outset the child is shown a picture of a white boy and a white girl. The child is told: "Here are two children. One of these children has four dolls with which they like to have tea parties. Which child likes to play with dolls?" Among the later pictures is one, for example, showing a white woman and a black woman, in relation to which the child is told, "Here are two women. One of them is a nice woman. She does nice things for her husband and children. Which is the nice woman?" (A full list of the stimulus phrases is given in Appendix B). The 24 adjectives used in the evaluation of racial choice pictures are similar to those used for the CMT, although the stories (relating to people, rather than animals) are completely different.

Scoring of the PRAM II involves a score of 1 for any response indicating the negative evaluation of the black person in the picture, and the score of zero for the negative evaluation of the white person. As with the CMT the binomial theorem can be applied to define scores in the middle range which would have occurred in the case of an 'unbiased' observer, choosing on a more or less random basis. The maximum score on the PRAM II is 24 (indicating much white bias, or W+ as Williams categorizes it) and the minimum is 0 (indicating much black bias or B+/W-).

The standardization sample for the PRAM II were 272 children aged 37 to 86 months (average 65 months) attending kindergartens in North Carolina. Half were white and half were black, with the sexes equally divided within each group. Race of examiner was varied, and the mean scores on the PRAM II were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White subjects</th>
<th>Black subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White tester</td>
<td>18.66</td>
<td>15.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black tester</td>
<td>15.28</td>
<td>14.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16.97</td>
<td>14.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Standard deviations not given by Williams).
Both black and white subjects tested by the black tester had slightly more favourable racial attitude scores in favour of blacks, but the overall race-of-tester effect was not statistically significant. No significant age or sex effect was observed. Split-half reliability was satisfactory, and test-retest for 57 of the subjects with a year's interval between testing indicated satisfactory over-time reliability.

Categorization of the PRAM II scores shows the extent of "white bias" in the responses of the black subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Chance Expectancy</th>
<th>White %</th>
<th>Black %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>Definite B+/W-</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>Probable B+/W-</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>No bias</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>Probable W+/B-</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-24</td>
<td>Definite W+/B-</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that over half of the black children have a definite or probable white bias in their racial evaluations: that is they overwhelmingly see the black adults, adolescents and children presented as having negative characteristics, and the white adults, adolescents and children as having positive characteristics.

Both black and white children in the various studies had high scores on the sex-role test; even children of three had a rather clear idea of sex role stereotypes (Williams, Bennett and Best, 1975). This clarity of perception increased with age, and was also higher in children with higher scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary test. But the PRAM II choices (indicating that by and large a strong white bias emerges early) do not change with age. PRAM II scores have no significant correlation with age, nor with the sex role scores, nor with the IQ measure. PRAM does however correlate strongly with the CMT II, between 0.49 and 0.63 in various subgroups (Williams and Morland, 1976). Thus the tendency to evaluate the colour black negatively is related to the tendency to evaluate black people
negatively; and this tendency, in both black and white children, is formed early and remains stable up to the age of eight years.

Williams, Best, Boswell, Mattson and Graves (1975) suggest that: "It would appear that the PRAM II procedure represents a substantial advance in attitude assessment procedures for pre-school children and should facilitate the study of many interesting and important questions dealing with the origins, development, and modifiability of racial attitudes in young children" (p.16). With this statement we can entirely concur. The PRAM represents a standardized instrument which can for the first time allow systematic techniques to be used in the measure of the attitude of young children to ethnic and self characteristics, and which allow comparable cross-cultural studies to be carried out.

Clearly the PRAM AND CMT are reliable instruments; their general validity is less clear, and this will have to be established through correlational and observational studies. The present enquiry, which reports correlations of the PRAM and the CMT with measures of sociometric status and self-esteem in children of various ethnic groups in Britain and Jamaica, may be seen as an attempt to assess the validity of the measures developed by Williams and his colleagues.

The Evaluation of the Colours Black and White, and of Black and White People, in Different Cultural Contexts

The historical aspects of skin colour evaluation in different cultures have been usefully summarized by Goldberg (1973) who shows that in many different cultures skin colour has been used as the basis of the differentiation and often the oppression of one group by another. It is probably a coincidence of ecology that whites were often able to dominate darker skinned people; but in doing so the fairer skinned people developed a symbolism of colour which incorporated the structural inferiority of darker people into a set of linguistic codes which reinforced the power of the fairer people; sometimes too this power was rationalised on a metaphysical
basis as in India, where to be born with a dark skin (or to be born a woman) is evidence of sinfulness in a previous life (Béteille, 1967).

Japan provides an interesting case study in the comparison of colour and racial evaluation across cultures. Wagatsuma's (1967) historical account makes it clear that for many centuries white has been a valued ideal skin colour, and brown or yellow a devalued one. Goldberg (1973) reviews Japanese studies which indicate a definite preference for light-skinned people and groups, and a similar, though less intense, reaction to the colours black and white. However, religious and linguistic symbols in Japan stress the balance rather than the polarity of the evaluation of black and white. Goldberg suggests that darkness is much less a fear-arousing stimulus than in the West. The Japanese word gen means blackness, darkness, mystery, occultness. Gengen means profundity (literally, black black), gempu a dark atmosphere, or deep feeling or solemnity; yugen (profound dark) means mystery or subtlety. The black belt (as in Judo) is awarded to the master, the white belt to the novice. Shiroto (literally, white person) is a novice, layman, or amateur. Shiroto is also a virginal woman, one without experience but also with respectability.

Goldberg and Stabler (1973) argue further that black and white in Japanese symbology show a more harmonious and complementary balance of opposites. They argue too that because of the frequent co-sleeping arrangements of Japanese families (Japanese children never sleep alone before puberty, and usually sleep with both adults and other children) fear of the dark (and of blackness) is much less likely to develop than in America. Goldberg, Iwawaki, Yukawa, Iwata and Ikogami (1977) used Stabler's method of asking the child to choose which of two boxes, black or white, positive and negative messages were emerging from (they were actually emerging from both). The pre-school children were also asked to sort various objects coloured black and white into "good", "bad", "liked" and "disliked" groups. They found that, unlike comparable American samples
completing a similar task, there was no marked attribution by these Japanese pre-schoolers of the positively evaluated messages to the white box, or of the black objects to the disfavoured categories. There was still, however, a significant bias in the Japanese data for white to be favoured over black; but the bias was clearly not as marked as in the American children.

Saburo Iwawaki has translated the CMT II and PRAM II stimulus materials into Japanese and, using the original pictures of black and white animals and people, administered this version of the CMT and PRAM to 75 Japanese children aged 40 to 73 months (Iwawaki et al., 1977). White bias occurred in both the CMT and the PRAM, but nevertheless the scores of the Japanese children were much closer to those of black Americans than they were to those of white Americans, and significantly lower than those observed in any of the white European groups (see below). The CMT and PRAM correlated 0.55; the correlation of CMT with age was 0.66; and the correlation of PRAM with age was 0.44. These highly significant correlations indicate that, in contrast to samples in other cultures, age is a significant predictor of CMT and PRAM. Put another way, Japanese children aged 3 and 4 have very little colour bias, and the large majority of their scores fall in the middle or "no bias" range. But by the age of 6 and 7 clear colour biases are emerging as the children apparently learn cultural stereotypes about colour from the mass media, and perhaps from other sources. This interesting suggestion is certainly compatible with Goldberg's (1973) view that Japanese attitudes to colour have changed quite markedly in post-war years as a result of a new international outlook in Japan. Japan, argues Goldberg, now identifies with the developed, white world and is embarrassed by any association with the poor, brown people of Asia. This new "Caucasian" identification may be transmitted through media sources, and not via traditional socializers in the family; this could account for the relatively benign attitudes of very young children to the stimuli of black objects and people, and the later change in those
attitudes. Other aspects of culture change may be associated with a similar change in attitudes. Bastide (1967) suggests that the "Aryanization" of Christ and Christian symbols followed contact with and domination of African peoples; and Walvin (1973) has argued that British attitudes to blackness and black people took an increasingly negative turn in the nineteenth century as responses to, and rationalizations of, colonial activity in Africa and India.

Given the history of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere, of many European powers, we would expect European samples to indicate a significant amount of pro-white and anti-black bias when tested with the Colour Meaning Test and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure. Research in France, Italy and Germany (Best, Naylor and Williams, 1975; Best, Field and Williams, 1976) indicates that this is so. Samples of 65 French children, mean aged 5.11 years; of 24 Italian children, mean age 5.7 years; and of 56 German children, mean age 5.6 years, all indicated a significant amount of white bias on both CMT and PRAM. The Italians showed the most colour bias, and the French the least. The small size of these samples should be borne in mind, however, and larger samples might have revealed a different rank order.

It is important too, whether for these white children, having a strong white bias is not only a reflection of cultural values, but also a statement about self characteristics - an implicit statement that, "I'm white, and my mummy and daddy are white, and we're all good". The only British study of the CMT (no British studied has previously used the PRAM) by Dent (1976) of 28 children, argues that the forced choice nature of the CMT means that the child is required to consider the badness or goodness of colour in dichotomous terms, and it is inevitable that white children will have high scores (indicating much white bias) on the CMT. There is some strength in this argument; the white child is forced to consider his own colour as good or bad, and he frequently chooses white as good. A
similar point is made by Lerner and Schroeder (1975). But if this is true, we must ask why so many black children in the American studies by Williams and his co-workers (Williams and Morland, 1976) did not in the face of this forced choice situation, overwhelmingly choose the colour black, and black people, in favourable terms. If the CMT and PRAM are measures of self-evaluation on which white children, when faced with a choice between "white is good" or "white is bad", usually choose white as good, why is not the converse true for black children? Either the CMT and PRAM are indeed measuring cultural stereotypes regarding colour evaluation, or black children by and large have negative self-evaluation, or both things occur, and the cultural symbols implying that black things are unwelcome and inferior reinforce the poor self-concept which young black children have, a self-concept which reflects their interaction with whites in a white-dominated society.

The Colour Meaning Test and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure as Measures of Self-Concept in Young Black Children

Before considering the PRAM and CMT as measures of self-evaluation in young black children, we have to consider the cognitive aspect of such measures - whether young children can actually tell black and white figures as being basically different from one another, and whether they realise that the figures are similar both to themselves and to their parents. There is evidence (reviewed by Milner, 1975) which shows that young children, from the age of three onwards, can tell the difference between black and white people; but when it comes to identifying themselves as black, they express some reservation. Williams and Morland (1976) show that black children are much more likely than white to say they "look like" a white model than are white children. Moreover, this misidentification is most likely to occur in black children who would "rather be" the white figure. These findings are consistent with the British doll studies of Milner (1972) which have been interpreted as showing that black children
who reject their personal ethnic characteristics tend to misidentify themselves. Judging who one looks like is for the young child an indication of an affective, rather than a cognitive judgment, and is an indirect measure of his self-esteem. As Williams and Morland (1976) put the matter: "We conclude that for many of the children the 'look like' item was not primarily cognitive/judgmental but was heavily affective in nature. It is as though these children said, 'I don't really like any of the children in the picture so I will pick the one I prefer or would rather be.'" (p.230)

Williams and Morland (1976) do not directly interpret the tendency of black children to evaluate black negatively as an indication of poor self-concept. They say, rather that such children may have difficulty in identity development as they grow older. Though the notion that "black is beautiful" may be increasingly accepted, at the base of this developing black identity, the child has to cope with the pervasive norm of the negative aspects of blackness, which white society has fed to him through a variety of types of socialization. "... we have seen that a pro-Euro attitude appears to persist long after the observed changes in racial identification and preference, and does not become pro-Afro until the teenage years. This seems to portend a problem in self-esteem for the school-age Afro child who identifies with, and chooses to associate with, a racial group which he still evaluates somewhat negatively relative to the majority racial group. These conclusions suggest that the critical period for the development of self-esteem in the young Afro-American is not - as is often proposed - in the pre-school years, but in the early school years when his Afro identity has been established but his pro-Euro attitudes continue to linger" (Williams and Morland, 1976, p.258).

There is a considerable amount of literature, summarized by Ehrlich (1973) that attitudes to others are related to attitudes to oneself. Ehrlich summarizes the literature in a series of "summary statements". Particularly relevant for our present discussion is his Principle of
Socialization that "People develop attitudes similar to those of their primary agents of socialization" (p.121); further, "Parents engage in child-rearing practices which directly shape the patterns of self-attitudes and attitudes toward people in general that children may develop" (p.123); and most important, the Principle of Self-Congruity that "The more favorable are a person's self-attitudes, the greater the number of acceptable targets and the more positive their attitudes toward them; the more negative the self-attitudes, the greater the number of unacceptable targets and the more negative are attitudes towards them" (p.130).

According to these principles, children learn both attitudes to others and attitudes to themselves from their socializing agents, and attitudes to self and attitudes to others develop in relation to one another. Poor self-esteem is related to prejudice; and poor self-esteem is also related to prejudice against one's own group. This was illustrated clearly by Trent's (1957) study of some 200 black children in the New York Area, aged 9 to 18. He found that poor self-esteem was related to derogatory attitudes towards negroes, and he concluded that, "Although the data of this study do not indicate whether perception of self determines perception of others or whether the reverse holds, clinical experience indicates that a child develops an awareness of 'I' before an awareness of 'we' or 'they'. Accordingly, we may interpret these data as suggesting that if a child does not accept himself as a person of worth and value, he may tend to perceive groups, including his own, in a derogatory and hostile fashion ... the data presented here show that the self-accepting child gives a positive appraisal of his own and other groups" (p.30).

Ward et al (1972) also found that young black American children who positively evaluated black rather than white dolls, had significantly higher levels of self-esteem.

These findings are perfectly consistent with the interpretation of the Williams and Morland (1976) results, that black children who devalue
blackness have problems in the development of identity and self-concept. Other writers have drawn similar inference. Stabler, Johnson and Jordan (1971) for example directly interpret their results with American preschoolers showing that black children identify the "black box" with the negative messages, as an indication of poor self-concept in this group. They conclude that, "Attitudes toward the colors black and white may influence the way black and white children view each other and themselves" (p.2097). Louden (1977) too, in a detailed review of the literature on self-esteem in minority groups concludes that, "Much of the ethnic self-concept literature indicates that a relationship exists between individual self-concept and the way the individual views his own ethnic group". Louden's own data on black and Asian adolescents gathered in Birmingham, England, provides some evidence in support of this proposition.

We can add to Ehrlich's principles that of ethnic and self-evaluation: "The more an individual devalues his own ethnic group, the more he directly or indirectly devalues his own ethnicity; and the more he devalues his own ethnicity, the poorer will be his self-esteem".

Conclusions

I began this chapter by noting the pervasive trend in Western, Christian civilization for black to have negative associations, a characteristic which seems to be prevalent in many Indo-European cultures. The source of this negative association between blackness and badness is controversial; some have seen it as virtually archetypal, while others have seen the negative associations as cultural symbols justifying racial domination. I am inclined to the latter view. Evidence from Africa seems to indicate that blackness is not devalued in the same way that blackness is devalued in Europe and America.

Williams and his colleagues in America have devised reliable instruments for measuring both the evaluation of the colours black and white, and the evaluation of black and white people by young children.
These instruments allow, for the first time, cross-cultural work to be done, and I have reviewed studies using these instruments (the CMT and the PRAM) carried out in America, France, Germany, Italy and Japan.

Young, white children in several different cultures evaluate white, and white people in markedly positive terms; this is perhaps to be expected, and is a reflection not only of cultural stereotypes but also of their generally positive self-image. If the CMT and PRAM are measures of self-concept for white children, then logically the responses of black children indicating much devaluation of black people and blackness should indicate poor self-concept.

Other evidence indicates that there are reasonable grounds for making such an inference: that the negative evaluation of blackness by young black children indicates an internalization of some of the general cultural stereotypes transmitted by a racist society. Williams and Morland (1976) have pointed to the fact that many young black children misidentify themselves as white (in contrast to white children, who only atypically misidentify themselves). They produce evidence to show that this is an affective and not a cognitive response; it arises because these children don't like being black, not because they simply misperceive themselves. Williams and Morland see this misidentification and negative evaluation of colour not so much as a problem for self-esteem (which is relatively undeveloped in young children, and is often situationally related) but as a problem in the developing identity of the young black child. In his crucial adolescent reorientation (or "crisis") he must come to terms somehow with the previous views of his own blackness. There are various ways, negative and positive, of doing this which I have touched on in previous chapters. My general point is that a consideration of the development of colour attitudes in young black children throw light on the identity problems of the developing black child. And it is with global identity, the integrating and overriding aspect of the self, that I am chiefly concerned.
CHAPTER 7

MEASURES, SUBJECTS AND HYPOTHESES

The Ziller Measure of Self-Esteem

The Sociometric Test

The Colour Meaning Test and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure

The Schools Studied

The Subjects

Hypotheses
In this chapter I will describe the instruments used in the empirical study - the Ziller measure of self-esteem, adapted for use with very young children; a measure of sociometric choice; the Colour Meaning Test; and the Pre-School Racial Attitude Measure. The schools in London and Jamaica where testing was carried out will also be described briefly, as will the age, sex and ethnic status of the samples.

The Ziller Measure of Self-Esteem

We chose the Ziller method of assessing self-esteem (Ziller, 1969 and 1972) not primarily because of its theoretical underpinning, but because it is the only method of some reliability and validity which seems independent of reading ability, and is therefore suitable for use with young children. The manual for the Ziller scales (Ziller, 1970) suggests that the methods can be used with children as young as five; we have attempted to use them with some adaptation, with children as young as three.

Ziller's theory is based upon a combination of Adler's (1927) view of the essence of human development in relation to other human beings, and Festinger's (1954) theory of social comparison. Since the individual's environmental adaptation demands are primarily social in nature, one of the most crucial adaptation demands stems from the individual's inability to maximise his own "need satisfaction". The satisfaction of the needs of others must be considered simultaneously, Ziller argues. Thus, there exists an inherent conflict between self and others evolving from competing needs for independence, autonomy and mutuality, self-orientation and other-orientation. In the cognitive theory of personality which Ziller proposes, it is assumed that social adaptation is mediated through self-social constructs. He proposes that social stimuli are screened by the individual and translated into personal meaning through crude topological representations of the self in relation to significant others.
This topological relationship is crucial both to Ziller's theory and his proposed method of measurement. He suggests that individuals have "mental maps" of the social situations in which they have been, and are likely to be in, and represent themselves spatially in relation to significant others. Feelings of distance and proximity to, for example, good and bad, or influential and weak, individuals and groups are important. Self-esteem and various other aspects of self-other relations (social interest, self-centrality, power, marginality, identification, inclusion, and openness) are measured by presenting the individual with various shapes, usually circles, in differing configurations. The individual is asked to place himself in relation to these shapes, representing himself as a shape (again, usually a circle).

Ziller (1972) summarizes a number of studies which show the reliability and validity of his methods, which have subsequently been utilized by a number of researchers to demonstrate change in self-esteem in relationship to changing group situations (Ruhe and Eatman, 1977). Sociometrically unpopular children have been shown to have poorer self-esteem than others (Ziller, 1964), as have children described as behaviour problems. Immature school behaviour is related to poorer self-esteem, as is minority ethnic status, and being later born (Ziller, 1972).

The method for measuring self-esteem which Ziller proposes involves the presentation of six horizontal circles approximately one inch in diameter. The subject is then asked to place various "individuals" in these circles such as "someone who is failing", "the strongest person you know", and "yourself". Ziller (1970) emphasizes that these measures are still in a developmental stage, and I felt justified, after pilot studies, in developing a version of this measure which could readily be understood by very young children.

The measure was simplified in the following way: six horizontal circles, diameter 1½ inches, were presented to the child. He was then
given a cardboard circle on which was drawn a matchstick person, and told
"This is a very good boy (girl) who is always doing things well. His (her)
teacher is always praising him (her). Which circle should the good boy (girl)
go in?" Then the child was handed a similar cardboard circle with a figure
on it and told, "This is a very bad boy (girl), who is always doing things
wrong. People often get cross with him (her). Which circle should the bad
boy (girl) go in?" Finally, the child was handed another, similar circle
and told, "This boy (girl) is you. Which circle should you go in?" The
spacing of the self in relation to the bad or good figure was then scored.
Scoring was in five categories, numbered four to zero, four being maximum
self-esteem (complete separation of self from bad figure, and proximity to
good figure) to zero, representing minimum self-esteem (complete proximity
of self to the bad figure, and complete separation from the good figure).
The various degrees of combination of separation from the good or bad
figure, and proximity to the good or bad figure were scored in the three
intermediate categories (see Appendix C).

It was felt that this slight departure from Ziller's original stimulus
material and scoring method was justified in the search for a method of
measuring self-esteem with children aged less than five. It should be
stressed however that there are no prior indications of the reliability
and validity of this modified method for assessing the evaluation of the
self in relation to others. Details of the modified stimulus material
are given in Appendix C.

Occasionally during the testing I questioned children about the
reasons for making extreme choices. The replies almost universally
indicated the validity of the topological measure. Six-year-old Marie,
when asked why she put herself next to the "good" girl, and far away from
the "bad" girl, replied, "I want to be good too". Similarly, 6-year-old
Garfield replied in answer to a similar question, "Because I'm good".
Lisa, aged five, said likewise, "'Cause I'm a good girl".
The Sociometric Test

The sociometric test is traditionally a measure of the child's popularity with his peers in the classroom (Fleming, 1959). The measure I have used is one developed by Evan-Wong and Bagley (1969) in which the child is asked to choose two children from his class to go on a trip to the seaside with. The choices are aggregated for each child. Some children are not chosen by others at all, and are thus "sociometric isolates". Some children are chosen many times, and are "sociometric stars", highly popular in the classroom. The majority of children are chosen perhaps two or three times. We can also use this method to establish the degree to which children in multiracial classrooms chose friends across ethnic lines. Research in Britain by Jelinek and Brittan (1975) has shown that in fact inter-ethnic friendships in the classroom are at a lower level than would be expected on the basis of random interaction in the classroom, and that the number of cross-ethnic friendships declines with age.

Sociometric status is crucially related to self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967; Ziller, 1972). Children who are isolated in the classroom are more likely than others to have poor self-esteem. Bourisseau (1972) in fact argues that the sociometric status of the very young child is in itself an indirect measure of self-esteem. Certainly, sociability and popularity are related to feelings of self-worth in relation to others (Tolor, 1977; Richman and White, 1971).

John Williams (1962) has shown that acceptance of oneself is positively related to the degree to which an individual expects others to accept him. He has extended these concepts in his work on race and colour in young children (Williams and Morland, 1976). Black children who chose white children whom they would "like to sit near", "like to work with" and "like to play with" were significantly more likely to display white biases in the PRAM II. Moreover, black pre-schoolers who said they preferred whites as playmates were more likely to think that they looked like whites, and
preferred whites in various tests, including the PRAM (Mabe and Williams, 1975). Harris and Braun (1971) in another American study found that black children with poorer self-concept were more likely to make outgroup (i.e. a white preference) choices.

Stabler and his colleagues (1976) observed the free play of black and white pre-schoolers, and confirmed that those who had previously associated the "black box" with negative characteristics were significantly more likely to play with whites.

It can be concluded then that the sociometric test is both a useful alternative to the measure of self-esteem, and a possible validator of such measures. Sociometric status should be related not only to how the child sees himself, but also how he evaluates his own ethnicity, and the ethnicity of those whom he would like to have as friends. In elaborating these hypotheses for the present study I have employed three measures derived from the sociometric test:

(1) the raw sociometric score - this assumes that the number of children in the classes compared is approximately the same, and that the ethnic balance is similar too. These criteria are met in the groups of classrooms for which I have used the sociometric measure;
(2) a measure of sociometric isolation - being chosen by none of the children in the classroom, scored as a binary variable;
(3) the number of outgroup choices the child makes, 0, 1 or 2 (since he was asked to choose two friends to go on holiday with). If an English child chooses one friend who is, say, West Indian, he has an outgroup score of 1. If a West Indian child chooses two English friends, he has an outgroup score of 2. West Indian, African and Indian children were classified together as an ingroup, as were English and Cypriot children.

* The question asked was, "I want you to pretend that you have won a competition, and the prize is a week's free holiday by the seaside. I want you to tell me the names of two children in your class who you would want to take with you."
This dichotomous scoring reflects colour rather than national origin. Thus an African child choosing a West Indian child as a friend, for example, was judged to be making an in-group choice.

I did not use the sociometric measure in the two nursery schools studied because of the small size of the classes. For the opposite reason, the very large class size (50 plus) in the Jamaican school studied prevented its use; the Jamaican classes studied were ethnically homogenous, although I did measure skin shade of the respondents in three categories, dark, fair and light.

The Colour Meaning Test and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure

The CMT II and the PRAM II were completed by each child. These tests have been described in detail in the previous chapter, and details of the stimulus materials are given in Appendices A and B. In the test sequence the CMT was administered first, and then the PRAM, followed by the Ziller test, and finally the sociometric test. The CMT and the PRAM were administered according to the manual for the CMT and PRAM (Williams et al, 1974).

Ideally I would have liked to include more measures, and test a wider range of hypothesis. I would have liked to include, for example, some cognitive tests, measures of identification, and various exploratory methods of assessing self-esteem. But the tests I did use took up to half-an-hour to complete, and this is the maximum period for which children of four or five can concentrate without attention lag. More tests would have meant testing on two separate occasions, and this would have created even more difficulties for the teachers who allowed me to test their children. Since each child had to be tested individually, in a private room, the testing meant a stream of children going in and out of the classroom all day. Furthermore, since I have tested over 400 children, I have spent over 200 hours on this individual testing, and the inclusion of more tests would have meant a reduction in sample size. It is worth
noting that I have tested personally as many children on the CMT II and PRAM II as all of the American studies reported by Williams and his associates (1977); and at least twice as many children than were tested by the researchers in France, Italy, Germany and Japan.

Included in the PRAM II is a Sex Role measure, establishing the degree to which the child correctly assesses the correct sex roles for men and women (as judged by conventional sex role ascription) correctly. This is to some extent a cognitive measure, and has significant correlation with the Peabody test in the American samples (Williams and Morland, 1977). Moreover, accurate knowledge about conventional sex roles develops early in children (Williams et al, 1975). Such accurate knowledge appears to be shared by children in a variety of cultures (Best et al, 1977).

The Schools Studied

In these days when race relations is a politicized issue, and when teachers are sensitive about criticism and the uses to which school-based research with race relations as a focus is put, it is often difficult to gain access to schools for research purposes. It is virtually impossible to gain access to schools in the Inner London Education Authority area, and my main study was carried out in two infant schools in the Outer London Borough of Haringey. Entry to these schools was by means of personal contact, and both headmistresses had an enlightened interest in the race relations area. A number of the teachers in the infant school classes I studied were black or Asian, and multiracial materials were frequently used. It is probable, then, that I have been working in schools with a particularly progressive policy in the multiracial field. To this extent, the results from using the CMT and PRAM might be expected to show less white bias than a study in schools where a different atmosphere prevailed. In other words, my estimates of colour bias in the children tested may be conservative ones.
Both schools are situated in an area of North London characterized by a high percentage of immigrants, from the West Indies, Asia, Africa and Cyprus. The schools are not situated in depressed areas and there was no question of an SPA designation for the schools. The majority of parents were from the skilled working class, and lived in late-nineteenth century terraced houses. Some aspects of parental background and pupil performance in children from one of these schools are outlined in the thesis by Bart (1976).

One of the weaknesses of the present study is that no measure of parental class is available for the children studied. Teachers cannot supply exact information about parental occupations on which such a classification can be based, and one must interview parents themselves. Such interviews were beyond the scope of the present study. Bart (1976) interviewed a random sample of parents of 44 West Indian children attending one of the schools I studied, and his figures on parental social class give some indication of the probable social class profiles for West Indian children in this school. Using the Registrar General's five social class groupings, Bart gives the following figures for occupation of supporting parent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class I and II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 (11.4%) Professional &amp; Managerial</td>
<td>13 (29.5%) Skilled manual &amp; Non-manual</td>
<td>16 (36.4%) Semi-skilled</td>
<td>10 (22.7%) Unskilled or Unemployed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the majority of parents are in manual occupations, most frequently of a semi-skilled nature.

It is difficult to know how social class background might contribute to responses of black British children to the CMT and PRAM.* It seems a

* cf. Williams and Morland (1976): "... there are no data relating PRAM II scores to the child's socioeconomic background, a variable which Porter (1971) found to be related to the racial attitudes of the preschool children whom she studied" (p.122).
fair generalization, both from Bart's data, and the general knowledge I acquired about the surrounding areas that the large majority of children tested, both black and white had parents who belonged to the manual working class. Bart found that household income in the black families he studied did not correlate particularly well with social class, and all families he interviewed were in reasonable economic circumstances. What we can conclude safely is that manifest poverty was not particularly prevalent in the families of the children I studied.

In addition to the ten classes in these two infant schools studied, children in two nursery schools in Haringey serving the same area as the infant schools, were tested. I have also tested a small number of mixed-race children, with one white and one black parent, who belonged to Harmony, which is an association of multiracial families.

The school in Jamaica where I tested children in three classes was one which I had attended as a child, and which my small brother attended until recently. I have been a teacher at this school, as have several of my sisters. I was thus probably known to the children as the member of a family which had been associated with the teaching staff of the school for some years. The school is a single story building, with a corrugated iron roof. The school is built on a square, with classrooms open on one side facing on to the square. The children were tested individually in the headmaster's office. The 117 children tested were all of those in the first year classes aged less than seven. Testing was carried out in January and February, 1977; the English testing took place some nine months earlier.

The school is situated in the parish of Clarendon, in the southern part of Jamaica. The soil is poor and dry, which means that families cannot prosper from growing their own produce. The land is heavily planted with sugar cane, and most males work on the plantations, or in the associated industries. The school is situated in a rural area, and has a
good scholastic reputation, so that children from quite far away are sent there by their parents.

Europeans are rarely seen in this area, and the majority of the people there are black, indistinguishable from Africans. Yet, as I stressed in earlier chapters, Jamaican education and language are dominated by white concepts. Whites rule powerfully, but from afar, through the consciousness of the people, transmitted from generation to generation.

There are very few books actually in the classroom as learning is mainly by the rote method. The textbooks used were in fact stacked in the headmaster's office and this gave me a chance to have a thorough look at the materials being presented to the children. Those seen were not unlike many used in British infant schools as these children in Jamaica were being prepared to sit in later years the Common Entrance Examination (the equivalent of the British 11+), and still later the London, or Oxford and Cambridge GCE examinations. The Jamaica School Certificate, the equivalent of the English GSE, was introduced some ten years ago but it still based on British type syllabuses, and is also generally regarded as much inferior to the overseas GCE examinations.

The contents of the greater proportion of the 300 or so books I inspected depicted experiences which would be quite alien to the children. Many of the books tell of people with light skins, long auburn hair; or fair skins, blond hair and blue eyes; autumn leaves and spring flowers; snow, barns, sheep, etc. For the black child with short, nappy hair whose everyday experience is of sugar cane fields, bush fires because of the dryness of the land, pigs, goats, attending church as a means of recreation and the many individual facets of life in Jamaica, the materials presented are an alienation of his true existence, a denial of the worthwhileness and the relevance of his real world, and his real self.

One should point out however that since Jamaica became independent in 1963, there has been some effort to produce and use books which relate
directly to the 'black man' in Jamaica. These are mainly of a historical nature and depict the lives of heroes such as Marcus Garvey, Sir Alexander Bustamante and others. Many of these books tell of the slave and Maroon uprisings. One's major criticism of these books is that they fail to relate directly to the experience of the young black child, and are directed mainly at older children. But appropriate materials and methods of teaching are essential from the very beginning if the black child is to grow up with a sense of worthwhileness and dignity.

During the time that I was undertaking the research, there was a debate in the Jamaica Teachers' Association as to whether children in primary schools should be taught and examined in 'patois', the everyday language of the people. (At Secondary School level one has to be 'polished' and so the use of patois at this stage was thought to be out of the question!) Media reports suggested that most of the teachers were against the use of patois, even in the primary school, and indeed expressed the view that the encouragement of the children's "native" language would be a retrograde step, and would handicap the children at the secondary stage. The matter is still under consideration. My feeling is that to deny the black child (in Britain or in Jamaica) a language which gives him a feeling of identity, belongingness and "a sense of being in his own world" (Searle, 1972) is to deny him an important aspect of identity formation. Katrin FitzHerbert, whom I quoted in Chapter 2, described the situation aptly when she said that, "The syllabus is the crux of the matter especially as it is in standard English, and the children speak a dialect at home ... The whole of the West Indian educational system is borrowed from England".

Implicitly, teachers are associating patois with badness - for example, their use of patois for reprimand, but never for praise. It was noticeable that reprimanding a child was frequently, and especially with younger children, done in patois. Because of the size of the classes (each
of the classes studied had at least 50 pupils) correction by 'reasoning'
or other methods was rarely used. It was felt (as I did as a young
teacher twelve years before, in this same school) that this was the
language of the people, and the one which children could understand most
readily - hence its use for reprimand. This fact, and the confused debate
about the use of patois at the primary level illustrate the ambiguous
attitude which teachers have toward patois as a bona fide language.

Craig (1972) points out that patois (i.e. Creole) is not simply a "broken
form of English, but a language in its own right, having a mainly West
African syntax, and a combination of English, Spanish, Dutch, French and
English vocabulary."

All this, together with the rest of society's attitudes to those
with dark skins, is likely to affect the children's responses to measures
such as the PRAM which give an indication of how children view themselves,
and others like them. In the area in which the school is situated there
are very few families with 'fair' skins. Yet fairness of skin is a revered
social characteristic. During the socialization process (of which the
education system is a part) negative attitudes to blackness are passed on
as part of a general cultural tradition. For example, it is not uncommon
to find that fairer members of the family are treated in more favourable
ways. In the school too, teachers interact more favourably with fair
children, as Girling's Jamaican research (1974) has shown.

Some parents, when a child has been naughty, may be heard to remark,
"You black and ugly like African". Often, the words "black" and "ugly"
are used interchangeably. The ideal is to be white, like the children in
the textbooks from England. In this and in many other subtle and similar
ways, the child's ethnic identity is formed, an identity in which a
negation of blackness has a central part.
The Subjects

The age and sex distribution of the subjects, according to ethnic grouping, is given in Table 7.1. The English and West Indian subjects in the four London schools have been divided into two groups, so that age trends can be estimated. The London children with one or two Jamaican parents have been separated for analysis so that a direct comparison with the Jamaican children in rural Jamaica can be made. The children with African, Asian and Cypriot parents have not been separated into age groups because of the small numbers involved.

All of the African children but one have parents from Nigeria or Ghana. The Cypriot group contains children from both Greek and Turkish communities. The Asian group is a heterogenous one, and contains children with parents from India, Bangladesh, East Africa, Mauritius, and Guyana. Thus children classified as "West Indian" in the London subjects have parents who are of African, or negro descent. The number of Harmony children (with one black or Asian parent, and one white parent) is small, but a group with which I hope to do more work in the future.

Classification of the children into ethnic groups was made on the basis of personal observation of colour, and information supplied by teachers. The basis of classification was the ethnic group to which the father belonged; some of the West Indian children may in fact have a West Indian father and an English mother, but in the absence of exact information these were included in the general West Indian group. All of the African children had parents who were both African; I believe too the Cypriot and Asian groups do not include any "mixed" children, though I am not absolutely certain of this. The white, English group probably contains a few children with one or two parents from Wales, Scotland, Ireland and perhaps from elsewhere in Europe. All were however manifestly "white". A few children with Italian fathers were excluded from the study.
# Table 1

**Age and Sex Distribution of the Subjects in England and Jamaican Samples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Group</th>
<th>Age in Months</th>
<th>Per cent Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>In London</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A) 73 white, English children (&quot;Older English&quot;)</td>
<td>77.57, 6.69</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) 27 white, English children (&quot;Younger English&quot;)</td>
<td>53.70, 6.16</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) 78 black, West Indian children (&quot;Older West Indian&quot;)</td>
<td>78.49, 6.85</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) 35 black, West Indian children (&quot;Younger West Indian&quot;)</td>
<td>58.51, 7.66</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E) 68 black children of Jamaican parents in London schools (included in groups C and D)</td>
<td>71.91, 7.39</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F) 23 black, African children</td>
<td>71.77, 8.19</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(G) 30 Cypriot children</td>
<td>68.53, 13.62</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H) 17 Asian children</td>
<td>69.94, 13.68</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>In Jamaica</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) 117 black, Jamaican children in rural Jamaica</td>
<td>80.41, 4.56</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>In England</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) 14 mixed-race children (&quot;Harmony&quot; group)</td>
<td>60.75, 14.61</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypotheses

This study is primarily one using a new instrument (the CMT and PRAM) in which I have set out to establish basic levels of colour evaluation in British and Jamaican children in comparison with children previously studied in other cultures, as part of a general consideration of identity development in black children. The study is basically one of establishing parameters, but I offer the following tentative hypotheses:

(1) White children in the British sample will display similar levels of colour bias to white children studied in America and Europe.

(2) Black children in the British sample will display significantly less colour bias than white children in the same school classes; but nevertheless, the amount of white bias they display in their evaluation of colour and of coloured people will still be considerable.

(3) The black British children will show levels of colour bias similar to those black American children tested by a black researcher.

(4) The black British children will show significantly less white bias than black Jamaican children.

(5) Self-esteem as measured by the Ziller test will be related to white bias in the black British subjects (the more the white bias, the poorer the self-esteem); self-esteem will have the opposite relationship in white subjects (the more white bias, the better the self-esteem).

(6) Sociometric status will be related to self-esteem, isolated children in particular having poorer self-esteem.

(7) Children choosing friends across ethnic boundaries will have differential levels of both colour bias and self-esteem.

(8) Scores on the Colour Meaning Test and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure will be highly correlated; but these scores will be unrelated to age, sex, and cognitive orientation, as judged by the Sex Role measure.
CHAPTER 8
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Reliability of the CMT II and PRAM II in Children in the London Schools

Mean Values of the CMT II and PRAM II in Different Ethnic Groups

The Sex Role Test and the CMT II and PRAM II

Proportions in British, Jamaican, American and European Samples with White and Black Biases in the CMT II and PRAM II

Self-Esteem and Colour Evaluation

Skin Shade and Colour Evaluation

Ethnic Balance in the Classroom, and Teacher's Ethnicity

Outgroup Choice and Colour Evaluation

Extreme Scorers on the PRAM II and the Phenomenon of Switching in Colour Evaluation between the CMT II and PRAM II

Self-Evaluation and Identity Development in Black Children

Summary and Conclusions
CHAPTER 8

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter I present the main results from the study of colour evaluation in children aged 4 to 7 in schools in England and Jamaica. Since I am the first research worker to use the PRAM II in Britain, I felt it necessary first of all to establish reliability of this test with the subjects in the London schools.

The Reliability of the CMT II and PRAM II in Children in the London Schools

There are two main ways of establishing the reliability of a scale: by examining its internal structure; and by correlating it at different points in time, using the same population of subjects. I have not carried out over-time testing with the CMII and PRAM II, and the estimates of reliability are based on an examination of internal structure. The simplest test of this type is to split the test into two halves, and examine the correlation between these two halves. If the test is internally reliable, then the two halves of the test should have high and significant correlations with one another. Table 8.1 shows the correlations between the split halves of the CMII and PRAM in the various ethnic groups I have tested. All of these correlations are statistically significant, and the majority (all in the case of the PRAM) are in excess of .500. For all 400 subjects combined (the 'Harmony' children were not included in these calculations) the correlation between the first half of the CMII with the second half is .571; and the correlation of the first half of the PRAM with the second half is .753, indicating a very high internal reliability for this test. This finding is in line with the American estimates of internal reliability for the PRAM II (Williams and Mörland, 1976).

A more detailed estimate of the internal structure of the PRAM II has been made by means of a principal components analysis. Data for all of the younger English subjects (N 27), younger West Indian (N 35), and random samples of older West Indian (N 44) and older English (N 48) for
the PRAM was examined in detail. Sub-sample data for the older children was used, rather than complete data, because of the extremely time-consuming nature of coding individual items for computer analysis. The 24 items in the PRAM II were coded for each individual, according to the responses to the right hand figure in the pair of two identical figures (identical that is, except for skin colour) in each picture. The story accompanying each picture contained an evaluative word (kind, ugly, friendly, etc.), and the child had to choose which figure the story applied to. Thus for the first set of figures choosing the right-hand figure - the white child - as appropriate to the story (about a kind child) was scored positively, in the direction of seeing the white child as kind. A similar procedure was employed for all other items (see Table 8.2).

The first component in an unrotated principal components analysis was examined, on the assumption that this would represent a "general factor" reflecting a high degree of intercorrelation between scale items. This expectation was confirmed, since the first, unrotated component account for 27 per cent of the total variance in scale items; the next component accounted for only 8 per cent. The loadings on this general component are presented in Table 8.2. Included as marker variables were age, sex, ethnicity, and total scores on the CMF II, PRAM II, and the Sex Role measure contained within the PRAM test.

Since factor loadings above 0.30 can be regarded as statistically significant (Nunnally, 1967), we can see from Table 8.2 that 20 of the 24 PRAM items load in a significant, and positive direction. The four items which do not load at this level (but nevertheless in the appropriate direction) are "White kind", "White healthy", "Black sad" and "Black unfriendly". What this implies is that whatever else the general stereotypes of colour which both black and white children subscribe to, neither are particularly likely to see blacks, as compared with whites, as unkind, unhealthy, sad, or unfriendly. However, there is relative consensus
between the two groups in seeing blacks as not "nice", as "bad", as not "clean", as "stupid", as not "wonderful", as not "pretty", as "naughty", as "cruel", as not "good", as not "smart", as "dirty", and as not "right". All of these items load at 0.50 or above, and indicate the core of the stereotypes which whites have of black children, and which black children have of themselves. Being English loads on this component 0.34 indicating that white children are somewhat likely, though not spectacularly, so, to hold these views to a greater degree than black children.

Neither age nor sex load significantly on this general component; nor does the Sex Role measure, which is to some degree a measure of cognitive ability (Williams and Morland, 1976). The "item to whole" correlations of PRAM II have been calculated in the second column in Table 8.2. This technique simply correlates the total scale with all of the items making up the scale. It will be seen that the correlations of the items with the total scale are very similar to the loadings on the general factor; all of the correlations are statistically significant. This finding combined with the fact that PRAM II has a very high loading on the principal components analysis, indicates the general internal reliability of the PRAM II. We can proceed with further analyses of the CMT II and PRAM II with the confidence that they are indeed reliable measures.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Correlation of first half of CMT with second half</th>
<th>Correlation of first half of PRAM with second half</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English, $N = 100$</td>
<td>.587**</td>
<td>.690**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian, $N = 113$</td>
<td>.544**</td>
<td>.806**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African, $N = 23$</td>
<td>.774**</td>
<td>.841**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot, $N = 30$</td>
<td>.370*</td>
<td>.725**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian, $N = 17$</td>
<td>.717**</td>
<td>.734**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Jamaican, $N = 117$</td>
<td>.455**</td>
<td>.622**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of above subjects, $N = 400$</td>
<td>.571**</td>
<td>.753**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 5 per cent level
** = significant at the 1 per cent level
### Table 8.2

The Internal Structure of the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure II in a Combined Sample of 154 English and West Indian Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Loading on the General Factor in a Principal Components Analysis</th>
<th>PRAM II: Item to whole correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White kind</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.29**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black ugly</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.36**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black friendly</td>
<td>-.43</td>
<td>-.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White wrong</td>
<td>-.45</td>
<td>-.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black nice</td>
<td>-.68</td>
<td>-.63**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White bad</td>
<td>-.60</td>
<td>-.58**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White healthy</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.20*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black sad</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.26**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black clean</td>
<td>-.63</td>
<td>-.58**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White stupid</td>
<td>-.54</td>
<td>-.58**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black selfish</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White wonderful</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.61**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White pretty</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.58**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black naughty</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.56**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black happy</td>
<td>-.49</td>
<td>-.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White cruel</td>
<td>-.56</td>
<td>-.53**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black mean</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.54**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White good</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.60**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White helpful</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.49**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black unfriendly</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black smart</td>
<td>-.61</td>
<td>-.57**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White dirty</td>
<td>-.58</td>
<td>-.56**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black right</td>
<td>-.50</td>
<td>-.47**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White sick</td>
<td>-.38</td>
<td>-.38**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Marker variables**

| CMF II                    | .41                                                           | -                                  |
| PRAM II                   | .98                                                           | -                                  |
| Sex (female)              | -.03                                                          | -                                  |
| Sex Role measure          | .17                                                           | -                                  |
| Age                       | -.01                                                          | -                                  |
| Ethnicity: English        | .34                                                           | -                                  |

* = significant at the five per cent level  
** = significant at the one per cent level or beyond
Mean Values of the CMT II and PRAM II in Different Ethnic Groups

The mean values for the CMT II and PRAM II in the various ethnic groups I have tested are given in Table 8.3. On the CMT II the group with the highest score (indicating most preference for the colour white) are, the Cypriot children, followed by the older English children. The groups with the lowest scores are the Africans in the London infant and nursery schools. There is a noticeable difference between CMT scores of younger and older English children, indicating an increase in white preference with age in English subjects.

The group with the highest scores on the PRAM II tests, indicating a strong preference for white figures, are the older English children, and those with the lowest score, the African children. The Jamaican children in the U.K. West Indian sample have very similar CMT and PRAM scores to their West Indian peers in the London schools. However, they have PRAM scores which are significantly lower than those Jamaican children in rural Jamaica (Table 8.4). The mean score of an "unbiased" population, preferential in colour choice for neither black nor white colours and figures would be 12.0 on both the CMT and the PRAM. Only the African children have a mean on the CMT near to the hypothetically unbiased mean; all other groups have means above this level. Only the African and the Harmony children have means close to or below 12.0 on the PRAM.

The correlations between the CMT and the PRAM are shown in the third column in Table 8.4. The correlations range from .23 to .75; the most consistent correlation is that of .51 in the 73 older English children. Again, these correlations are compatible with those reported in American work (Williams and Morland, 1976), and imply that ethnic evaluation is based on biases in colour coding.
Table 8.3
Mean Scores of Different Subject Groups on the CMT II and the PRAM II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Group</th>
<th>CMT II</th>
<th>PRAM II</th>
<th>Correlation between CMT and PRAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In London</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A) Older English</td>
<td>16.51</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>18.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) Younger English</td>
<td>14.11</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>16.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Older West Indian</td>
<td>16.19</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>13.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) Younger West Indian</td>
<td>15.43</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>14.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E) Jamaican</td>
<td>15.91</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>13.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F) African,</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>10.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(G) Cypriot,</td>
<td>17.07</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>17.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H) Asian,</td>
<td>15.29</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>17.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) Jamaican,</td>
<td>13.53</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>15.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) Harmony,</td>
<td>13.42</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>12.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = correlation significant at the five per cent level
** = correlation significant at the one per cent level
A comparison of mean scores in some of the main groups in Table 8.3 is presented in Table 8.4. The key results for the CMT II are that younger English children have significantly lower scores than older English children; and U.K. Jamaican children sampled have significantly higher scores than the Jamaican children in Jamaica. The U.K. West Indian children have similar levels of colour bias on the CMT as their white, English peers.

The most outstanding difference in the comparison of the PRAM means is the much higher scores of older English children in comparison with their West Indian age peers. There is an interesting contrast, too, between the means for U.K. Jamaicans and rural Jamaicans on the PRAM - now the U.K. Jamaicans have significantly lower mean scores than the children in Jamaica. The tendency of black children in the U.K. samples to move from colour bias on the CMT II to a somewhat decreased bias on the PRAM II is an interesting phenomenon, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

Table 8.5 shows the correlations of CMT and PRAM scores with age and sex in the various ethnic groups studied. Sex is by and large independent of colour evaluation, and is only significant in the Cypriot group (boys having higher PRAM scores). Age has a number of significant correlations. In general, children's colour bias tends to increase with age - this is true for all English children, younger West Indian children, Cypriot children, Asian children, and rural Jamaican children (for this latter group, for the CMT only). Presumably these older children have a clearer idea of how the wider world classifies and stereotypes people; and increasingly, the black children come to see themselves in terms of these prevalent stereotypes. The only exception to this generalization is the case of the PRAM in older West Indian children, where there is a tendency for scores to diminish with age, in contrast to scores on the CMT. This implies some kind of "splitting" in colour consciousness, which has interesting implications for identity formation. This is discussed later.
Comparison of Mean Values for CMT II and PRAI II between Selected Ethnic Groups (Calculated from Means and Standard Deviations in Table 8.3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison and direction of difference</th>
<th>Difference between means</th>
<th>Value of t</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.M.T.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger English less than Older English</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger West Indian less than Older West Indian</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older English more than Older West Indian</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger English less than Younger West Indian</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. Jamaican more than Rural Jamaican</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.R.A.M.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger English more than Older English</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger West Indian more than Older West Indian</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older English more than Older West Indian</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>5.63</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger English more than Younger West Indian</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. Jamaican less than Rural Jamaican</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 8.5

**Correlations of Age and Sex with CMT II and PRAM II in Different Ethnic Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Older English N 73</th>
<th>Younger English N 27</th>
<th>All English N 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>PRAM</td>
<td>CMT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>-.076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex (female)</strong></td>
<td>.083</td>
<td>-.097</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Older WI N 78</th>
<th>Younger WI N 35</th>
<th>All WI N 113</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>PRAM</td>
<td>CMT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>-.184</td>
<td>.422*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex (female)</strong></td>
<td>-.095</td>
<td>-.191</td>
<td>.128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African N 23</th>
<th>Cypriot N 30</th>
<th>Asian N 17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>PRAM</td>
<td>CMT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>.311*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex (female)</strong></td>
<td>-.019</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>-.009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Harmony N 14</th>
<th>Rural Jamaican N 117</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>PRAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>.226</td>
<td>-.233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex (female)</strong></td>
<td>.351</td>
<td>.326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 5 per cent level  
** = significant at the 1 per cent level
It is clear that in some comparisons between groups, age should be controlled in comparing mean values of the GMT and PRAM. I have attempted to do this by calculating the statistic Eta, which is derived from analysis of variance. Eta measures both linear and non-linear relationship; when relationships are linear, the value of Eta is identical with Pearson's r. Squaring Eta gives the amount of variance accounted for by the correlation between the two variables. The value of Eta is always positive. Table 8.6 presents the "multiple classification analysis" based on analysis of variance, and the derived Eta correlation, controlling for age and sex. For the GMT-II, analysis of variance is clearly significant (according to the F ratio), and Eta too is statistically significant. PRAM II also varies significantly across ethnic groups, and Eta, controlling for age and sex, is highly significant.

In conclusion, we can say that these significant variations show that the GMT and PRAM have variations across ethnic groups which point in the direction of the general validity of the scales, for black groups have less white bias than do white groups; but nevertheless the overall mean scores of the groups still indicate a considerable amount of residual white bias in the majority of black subjects, both in England and in Jamaica. Only the small group of African children have relatively low scores on the PRAM, implying that perhaps cultural background and family situation are as important as the wider environment of school and society in the emergence of colour biases.

The Sex Role Test and the GMT II and PRAM II

Williams and Morland (1976) showed that in American children, the Sex Role test which is incorporated in the PRAM II had significant correlations with the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test; but both the Sex Role Test and the Peabody PVT were unrelated to colour bias. In my English study I was not able to use any cognitive measures, so the Sex Role test (which seems to measure the accuracy with which children can identify conventional sex roles) may be a useful alternative.
### Table 8.6

**Analysis of the Variance of CMT II and PRAM II Across Selected Ethnic Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>CMT: Deviation from overall mean</th>
<th>PRAM: Deviation from overall mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>-1.47</td>
<td>-4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Jamaican</td>
<td>-0.86</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK West Indian</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CMT:** $F$ (df 5, 399) $4.86$, $p$ less than .001

*Eta, controlling for age and sex, .26, $p$ less than .01.*

**PRAM:** $F$ (df 5, 399) $7.47$, $p$ less than .001

*Eta, controlling for age and sex, .30, $p$ less than .001.*
Table 8.7 shows the correlations of the Sex Role test in the English and West Indian children included in the principal components analysis reported in Table 8.1. CMF has no significant correlations with the Sex Role test; PRAM and Sex Role knowledge are correlated in younger English children, but not when the English age groups are combined. Age itself is quite strongly related to Sex Role knowledge in the English subjects. However, in West Indian subjects an increase in knowledge of (or acceptance of) sex role stereotypes is not significantly related to age. Rather, as they grow older, West Indian girls show a significant tendency to reject conventional sex role stereotypes. This is compatible with my personal experience that West Indian girls are unlikely to accept conventional sex role subordination with equanimity. The differences may of course reflect a different balance of roles in the West Indian family system, in which women, occupying matriarchal or economically disadvantaged roles, are more likely than English women to take on male-type roles.

We can conclude that the correlations of the Sex Role measure in the white, English children are similar to those of this measure in white American children. But the Sex Role test does not operate as a cognitive measure for the West Indian children, who see sex roles rather differently.
Table 8.7

Correlations of the Sex Role Test with GMT II, PRAM II, Age and Sex in English and U.K. West Indian Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Younger West Indian N 35</th>
<th>Older West Indian N 44</th>
<th>All West Indian N 79</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GMT</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAM</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex (female)</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>-0.30*</td>
<td>-0.28*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Younger English N 27</th>
<th>Older English N 48</th>
<th>All English N 75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GMT</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAM</td>
<td>0.44*</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.45*</td>
<td>0.45**</td>
<td>0.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 5 per cent level
** = significant at the 1 per cent level or beyond

Note: "Older" English and West Indian children randomly selected from the total populations available of 72 and 78 respectively.
Proportions in British, Jamaican, American and European Samples with White and Black Biases in the CMT II and PRAM II

Williams and Morland (1976) have applied the binomial theorem to responses to the CMT and PRAM in showing the range of scores that an unbiased or random respondent would give. Scores in this unbiased range are those of between 10 and 14. Scores above this level, from 15 to 24 are greater than would have occurred by random or chance expectation, and indicate a significant "white bias". Scores of 9 or less are below chance expectation, and indicate a significant "black bias".

I have categorized the scores of my British and Jamaican respondents in this way, and compared them with proportions similarly classified which have been reported by Williams and Morland (1976), Best, Field and Williams (1976), and Best, Naylor and Williams (1975). It will be seen (Table 8.8) that 60 per cent of my white, English subjects have a white bias on the CMT, compared with 62 per cent of the U.K. West Indians, 74 per cent of white Americans, 51 per cent of black Americans and 55 per cent of the largest European group, the French. My African subjects have the least degree of white bias on the CMT in comparison with all other groups tested so far, both by Williams and his colleagues, and by myself. Thirty per cent of the Africans have a black bias on the CMT, compared with 3 per cent of U.K. West Indians, 8 per cent of Rural Jamaicans, and 7 per cent of black American children. Clearly, in all black groups except the Africans, there is considerable white bias on the Colour Meaning Test.

The results for the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure show a somewhat different pattern. Nearly three-quarters of the white, English children have a significant white bias in evaluating black and white figures, compared with 53 per cent of white Americans, and 63 per cent of white French children studied by Williams and his colleagues. Forty per cent of U.K. West Indians have a significant white bias, compared with 53 per cent of rural Jamaican sample, and 53 per cent of the black American group.
While the figures for the U.K. West Indian group are encouraging in comparison with those for both the Jamaican and American groups, we should bear in mind that still 40 per cent of the black West Indian children in the North London schools I studied had a significant white bias. Only the African children had more black bias than white bias; in comparison, only 14 per cent of the U.K. West Indian group had a black bias. And it is "bias" at this level which might represent an adequate level of self-evaluation, or self-esteem, in the black child. If we take the results for the white children in Britain, America and Europe as indicating the kind of ethnic self-evaluation necessary in a group with adequate self-esteem, then we would expect 60 per cent or more of black children with adequate self-evaluation to have significant black biases. Even the African children in my London sample do not have a degree of positive evaluation of blackness at this level. Only 3 per cent of the rural Jamaican children I tested have a positive black bias, or a positive evaluation of their own ethnicity. This is despite the fact that the large majority of children in the Jamaican sample had never seen a white person. But clearly they had internalised the ideology of the superiority of whiteness, and the inferiority of their own physical characteristics, transmitted by the general cultural and educational system. It is interesting to note that the children of Jamaican parents in the London sample showed somewhat less white bias (45 per cent as against 53 per cent) and somewhat more black bias than rural Jamaican children (13 per cent as against 3 per cent). It looks as if the experience of living in a multiracial society has to some extent enhanced the ethnic consciousness of these children. This is certainly compatible with Foner's view (1977) that Jamaican migrants to Britain see whites in ordinary, and indeed in humble roles, rather than in idealised or high status ones, as is the cultural tradition in Jamaica.
I should stress that I am not using the terms "white bias" and "black bias" in a generally negative or pejorative sense. I expect white children to have, by and large, a white bias in their responses to the CMT and PRAM: such responses merely indicate the adequacy of their self-esteem and levels of self-evaluation. By the same token, one would ideally expect black children to have predominantly black biases on the CMT and PRAM.

In Tables 8.9 and 8.10 the cumulative distributions of CMT and PRAM are presented for the U.K. English and West Indian subjects, in comparison with the distributions of the raw data for the American subjects (Williams and Morland, 1976). For the CMT, the black and white subjects in the London sample do not have significantly different distributions, when these are compared by the non-parametric test of distributions, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (Siegel, 1956). There is however a highly significant difference between the black and white American subjects, the latter having much more white bias. White English subjects have significantly less white bias on the CMT than white American children; but black American children in the Williams and Morland sample have significantly lower levels of white bias on the CMT than do West Indian subjects in the London sample.

When the distribution of responses to the PRAM are compared, U.K. West Indians have significantly less white bias than their white peers in the same schools. U.K. whites and U.S.A. whites have similar distributions; but U.S. whites have significantly more white bias than U.S. blacks; and U.K. blacks have significantly less bias than U.S. blacks. In comparing the British and American results one should bear in mind that Williams' data was obtained in North Carolina, and might not be typical of responses of black children in other areas of America (although no significant difference was found when the responses of the North Carolina sample were compared with those from a sample of New York children). It should be borne in mind that the normative data given by Williams and Morland was based upon a varied race of tester. The black tester tended to produce
Table 8.8
Proportions in U.K., Jamaican, American and European Groups with White and Black "Biases" in the CMT II and PRAM II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>CMT: &quot;Black bias&quot;</th>
<th>CMT: &quot;No bias&quot;</th>
<th>CMT: &quot;White bias&quot;</th>
<th>PRAM: &quot;Black bias&quot;</th>
<th>PRAM: &quot;No bias&quot;</th>
<th>PRAM: &quot;White bias&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>15-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 100</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK West Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 113</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK Jamaican</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 69</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 23</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK Cypriot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 30</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK Asian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 17</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>70.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Jamaican</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 117</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White American</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 159</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>74.2%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black American</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 176</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White German</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 56</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White French</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 65</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>55.4%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>63.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Italian</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 24</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Normal distribution" | 15.4% | 69.2% | 15.4% | 15.4% | 69.2% | 15.4%

Note: Figures for American, German, French and Italian children obtained from Williams and Morland (1977), Best, Field and Williams (1976) and Best, Naylor and Williams (1975).
Table 8.9
Cumulative Distribution of Scores on the CMT II in Black and White
English and American Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score on CMT II</th>
<th>UK White %</th>
<th>Cum.%</th>
<th>UK Black %</th>
<th>Cum.%</th>
<th>USA White %</th>
<th>Cum.%</th>
<th>USA Black %</th>
<th>Cum.%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
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<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-21</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>96.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-23</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>99.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| N              | 100        | 113    | 176        | 159    |

**Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of Significance:**
- UK white of UK black, Chi-squared, 2 d.f., 1.15, p greater than .10.
- US white of US black, Chi-squared, 2 d.f., 17.54, p less than .001.
- US white of UK white, Chi-squared, 2 d.f., 12.83, p less than .005.
- US black of UK black, Chi-squared, 2 d.f., 9.84, p less than .01.

**Note:** US data obtained from Williams and Morland (1976).
- UK blacks are those with West Indian parents.
## Table 8.10

Cumulative Distribution of Scores on the PRAM II in Black and White English and American Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score on PRAM II</th>
<th>UK White %</th>
<th>Cum.%</th>
<th>UK Black %</th>
<th>Cum.%</th>
<th>USA White %</th>
<th>Cum.%</th>
<th>USA Black %</th>
<th>Cum.%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>36.8</td>
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<td>14-15</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>80.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-21</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-23</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>96.4</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 100 113 159 176

Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of Significance:
- UK white vs UK black, Chi-squared, 2 d.f., 53.05, p less than .001.
- UK white vs USA white, Chi-squared, 2 d.f., 0.67, not significant.
- US white vs US black, Chi-squared, 2 d.f., 11.28, p less than .01.
- US black vs UK black, Chi-squared, 2 d.f., 12.87, p less than .005.

Note: US data obtained from Williams and Norland (1976).
- UK blacks are those with West Indian parents.
more favourable attitudes to the black figure, but her overall effect was not significant. The tester for the U.K. and Jamaican samples was black, and this may have produced some pro-black responses in the children tested. It should be borne in mind too that the schools I tested had generally favourable attitudes to multiracialism (which is why they allowed me to test the children), and a third of the teachers in these schools were black (African, or West Indian of African descent) or Asian. Multiracial materials were quite frequently used in these schools. It is possible that black children in less progressive schools, and in areas where blacks are few in number, might have significantly more white bias in their responses to the CMT and PRAM. This is an interesting area for further study.

Self-Esteem and Colour Evaluation

An important argument of this thesis is that the CMT and the PRAM especially are measures not only of colour evaluation, but of self-evaluation. Black children who evaluate black figures negatively may be seen as having negative views not only of the group to which they belong, but of themselves. If indeed the PRAM is a measure of self-esteem, then we would expect it to have some correlation with a more conventional measure of self-esteem. White children with strong white biases would have higher self-esteem; but black children with white biases should have lower self-esteem. As explained in the previous chapter, I have developed the Ziller non-verbal measure of self-esteem for use with children aged between 4 and 7. I must stress that the development of the test for this age group is experimental, and no previous studies of reliability and validity are available.

Table 8.11 shows the correlations of the Ziller measure with CMT II, PRAM II, being an isolate, popularity score (derived from the sociometric test, discussed below), and sex. My original hypothesis, that Ziller would be related to CMT and PRAM in appropriate directions,
is borne out, for some groups at least. English children (and older children particularly) who have higher scores on the Ziller measure, indicating better self-esteem, display more white choices on the CMF and PRAM. Conversely, older West Indian children with fewer white biases in the CMF and PRAM also tend to have better self-esteem. This is true also for the PRAM in the rural Jamaican sample. Correlations of the same order (between 0.2 and 0.3) also emerge for Cypriot, African, Asian and U.K. Jamaican children, but fail to reach an acceptable level of statistical significance. It should be borne in mind that even if significant, correlations at this level do not explain much of the variance in the measures concerned; either the self-esteem measure contains a considerable amount of measurement error (and with no estimates of reliability and validity this remains a possibility), or there are many other important influences on self-esteem. Probably both factors pertain.

The mean levels on the Ziller measure show interesting variations. The higher the score, the higher the hypothetical self-esteem (the nearer the child places the figure representing herself to the good figure, and the further from the bad figure). The white, English children have the highest level of self-esteem, and the rural Jamaicans the lowest. Analysis of variance (reported in Table 8.12) shows that these differences are, overall, highly significant. These differences are certainly compatible with the general interpretation that self-esteem bears some relationship to the subjective evaluation of one's ethnicity.

There are some other indicators of the validity of the Ziller measure: it correlates significantly in some (but not all) ethnic groups with the social isolation and popularity ratings in ways which would be predicted from previous research on self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967; Ziller, 1972). There is a clear trend in all ethnic groups for popularity to be positively related to higher self-esteem. The implications of social isolation are less clear, and although the direction of the correlation
Table 8.11

Correlations of the Ziller Measure of Self-Esteem with CMII, PRAMII and Sociometric Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Older English N 73</th>
<th>Younger English N 27</th>
<th>All English N 100</th>
<th>Cypriot N 30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMII</td>
<td>.287*</td>
<td>.201</td>
<td>.274**</td>
<td>.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAMII</td>
<td>.322**</td>
<td>.307</td>
<td>.318**</td>
<td>.207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociometric</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolate</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>-.193</td>
<td>-.162</td>
<td>.413*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity Rating</td>
<td>.197</td>
<td>.233</td>
<td>.198*</td>
<td>.312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex (female)</td>
<td>-.123</td>
<td>-.236</td>
<td>-.138</td>
<td>.158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Esteem Score</td>
<td>2.88 (SD 1.03)</td>
<td>2.07 (SD 1.14)</td>
<td>2.66 (SD 1.16)</td>
<td>2.18 (SD 1.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older West Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMII</td>
<td>-.278**</td>
<td>-.082</td>
<td>-.237*</td>
<td>-.240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAMII</td>
<td>-.246*</td>
<td>-.137</td>
<td>-.202*</td>
<td>-.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociometric</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolate</td>
<td>-.188</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td>-.147</td>
<td>-.131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity Rating</td>
<td>.203</td>
<td>.292*</td>
<td>.209*</td>
<td>.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>-.106</td>
<td>-.240</td>
<td>-.123</td>
<td>-.061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Esteem Score</td>
<td>2.50 (1.14)</td>
<td>2.05 (1.12)</td>
<td>2.30 (SD 1.27)</td>
<td>2.48 (SD 1.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMII</td>
<td>-.196</td>
<td>-.417</td>
<td>.314</td>
<td>-.131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAMII</td>
<td>-.266</td>
<td>-.278</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td>-.275**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociometric</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolate</td>
<td>-.304</td>
<td>-.235</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity Rating</td>
<td>.532*</td>
<td>.317</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.352</td>
<td>.326</td>
<td>-.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Esteem Score</td>
<td>2.62 (SD 1.76)</td>
<td>2.5 (SD 0.78)</td>
<td>2.33 (SD 1.23)</td>
<td>1.91 (SD 0.85)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 5 per cent level
** = significant at the 1 per cent level or beyond
### Table 8.12

Analysis of the Variance of the Ziller Measure of Self-Esteem Across Ethnic Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Deviation from Grand Mean (2.31)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK West Indian</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Jamaican</td>
<td>-0.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ F (d.f., 5, 399), 7.94, \quad p \text{ less than .01} \]

\[ \text{Eta (controlling for age and sex)} \quad .24, \quad p \text{ less than .01} \]
is as expected in all ethnic groups, the correlation is significant only for one ethnic group (Cypriot). In general, we can conclude that the Zillor measure of self-esteem does have some validity when used with very young children. The correlation of the self-esteem measure with skin shade within some ethnic groups, reported in the following section, is a further indicator of possible validity.

Skin Shade and Colour Evaluation

I rated the skin shade of the West Indian, Rural Jamaican and Asian children according to three categories. The first category (which included all the African subjects) was Dark. The majority of West Indian and Jamaican children fell into this category, and a minority of the Asian children. The second category was medium, and the third category fair, including some West Indian children. A further category, white, included all the English and the Cypriot children. This latter group have dark hair and brown eyes, but so far as I could judge, white skin. It should be stressed that this colour classification is a subjective one, and there was no other judge available to make independent ratings. The classifications may reflect my cultural biases, and might not be the same as those of, say, an English observer.

Table 8.13 indicates that in Jamaican children in the London sample (but not in the West Indian children as a whole) skin shade is significantly related to self-esteem - that is, the lighter the skin, the better the self-esteem. This is an interesting finding in view of the literature on self-esteem and the meaning of colour which I reviewed in an earlier chapter, and is certainly compatible with earlier findings (Philips, 1973) in Jamaica.

It will be seen that when all the U.K. subjects are combined, PRAM is significantly related to skin shade. What effectively this means is that skin shade is acting as a proxy for ethnicity; the fairer the skin, the more white choices on the PRAM. This does not hold, however, for the CMT.
Table 8.13

Correlation of Skin Shade with CMT II and PRAM II in Different Ethnic Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UK West Indians N 113</th>
<th>UK Jamaicans N 68</th>
<th>Rural Jamaicans N 117</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAM</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziller self-esteem measure</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.25*</td>
<td>.23**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity Rating</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asian N 17</th>
<th>Harmony N 14</th>
<th>All UK Subjects N 400</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAM</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.37**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziller self-esteem measure</td>
<td>-.30</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>-.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity Rating</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 5 per cent level
** = significant at the 1 per cent level or beyond

Note: Skin shade rated 0 (dark, including all Africans), 1 (medium), 2 (fair), 3 (white, including all Cypriots)
Ethnic Balance in the Classroom, and Teacher's Ethnicity

Some American writers (Banks and Gambs, 1972) have suggested that ethnic balance in the classroom is an important influence upon how black children see themselves. I have been able to examine this possibility in the two infant schools in North London, since the range of black and Asian children in the ten classes studied was from 7 per cent to 74 per cent of pupils. These percentages include West Indian, African, and Asian children, and I have taken them to include the total in-group, being all the "coloured" children in the class. The analysis reported in Tables 8.14 and 8.15 is based on West Indian children only; the numbers of African and Asian children were too small to make separate analysis feasible. For a similar reason, data on Cypriot children was not analysed separately.

In Table 8.14 I have compared the rank orders of the mean CRT and PRAM scores in the West Indian and English children in the ten classes. The results are extremely interesting. There are clear and statistically significant relationships between per cent black, and fewer white choices in the CRT and PRAM. What this implies is that in an environment in which the majority of children are black or Asian, evaluation of colour and ethnic characteristics is more favourable amongst black children. It looks too as if the proportion of black and Asian children has to be over 50 per cent before this increase in ethnic self-acceptance is marked.

The data for the English children on the CRT show no significant variation across classes with differing proportions of white children. However, the rank order correlation with PRAM levels is both negative and highly significant. What this means is that the fewer the white children there are in a classroom, the more likely they are to evaluate white positively. It is as if being a minority accentuates consciousness of ethnic characteristics in these white children. The converse is not true of black children. Being in a minority in a classroom is associated with a devaluation of ethnic characteristics, rather than a heightened
### Table 8.14
Comparison of Rank Orders of Proportion of Black and Asian Pupils, and Mean Scores of CMI II and PRAM I in 10 Infant School Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School class</th>
<th>Rank of Black %</th>
<th>Rank of CMI mean in West Indian children</th>
<th>Rank of PRAM mean in West Indian children</th>
<th>Rank of CMI mean in English children</th>
<th>Rank of PRAM mean in English children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7% black; teacher English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33% black; teacher English</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36% black; teacher West Indian (black)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39% black; teacher English</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50% black; teacher English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59% black; teacher West Indian (Asian)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63% black; teacher English</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67% black; teacher Tamil</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67% black; teacher English</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74% black; teacher English</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rho: Per cent black, of Rank of CMI in West Indians, 0.51, p less than .1, greater than .05

Per cent black, of Rank of PRAM in West Indians, 0.91, p less than .01

Per cent black, of Rank of CMI in English, -.023, p greater than .10

Per cent black, of Rank of PRAM in English, - . 787, p less than .05, greater than .01

Note: Per cent black in above rankings includes West Indian, Asian and African children; mean rankings for CMI and PRAM based on data for West Indian children only.

White children include both English and Cypriot children; mean rankings for CMI and PRAM based on data for English children only.
consciousness or evaluation of them. Perhaps this interesting and para-
doxical result reflects the general position of blacks as a minority group,
and whites as a majority group. In general, whites do not need to reflect
on their ethnic characteristics because of their majority status; but in a
situation in which whites are more powerful, and determine many colour
conceptions embedded in ordinary language, blacks in minority situations
tend to devalue themselves relatively to whites.

Four of the ten classes had black or Asian teachers. I have tried
to isolate the possible influences of teacher's ethnicity on CMT and PRAM
scores by means of analysis of variance (Table 8.15). The effect of ethnic
balance (measured by a classroom with more than, or less than 50 per cent
black or Asian in the class) on CMT and PRAM scores in West Indian children
remains highly significant when age and sex of child, and race of teacher
are controlled. The same is true for the PRAM scores of the English
children. A similar exercise for the effect of race of teacher clearly
indicates that it makes no difference to CMT or PRAM scores of West Indian
and English children, whether or not the teacher is English, or black or
Asian.

I have carried out similar analyses of variance for the Ziller self-
estee.ms measure across school classes with differing ethnic balance, and
race of teacher. Although in the predicted direction so far as ethnic
balance is concerned (black children in classes with above 50 per cent
black or Asian tend to have better self-esteem) the overall effect is not
statistically significant. The variation of self-esteem according to race
of teacher is nearly random. What one can safely conclude is that in this
sample, having a black or Asian teacher makes no difference to ethnic self-
evaluation or self-esteem. But for black children, being in a majority
clearly makes a difference to ethnic self-evaluation; and it affects, to
a lesser extent, personal self-esteem.
Table 8.15
Analysis of the Variance of CMP II and PRAM II Across 10 School Classes containing 175 pupils, with Differing Ethnic Balance, and Race of Teacher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Deviation from CMP grand mean</th>
<th>Deviation from PRAM grand mean</th>
<th>Deviation from CMP grand mean</th>
<th>Deviation from PRAM grand mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50% or more black or Asian in class</td>
<td>-0.38</td>
<td>-0.75</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 50% black or Asian in class</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or Asian teacher</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English teacher</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of variance:
**CMP**
West Indian pupils compared across classes with differing proportion of black pupils, F (d.f. 1, 90) 4.31, p less than .05, greater than .01.
Eta (controlling for age, sex, and race of teacher) 0.28, p less than .05, greater than .01.

English pupils compared across classes with differing proportion of black pupils, F (d.f. 1, 83) 0.52, not significant.
Eta (controlling for age, sex, and race of teacher) 0.05, not significant.

West Indian pupils compared across classes with English or Black/Asian teacher, F (d.f. 1, 90) 0.54, not significant.
Eta (controlling for age, sex, and ethnic balance in classroom), 0.06, not significant.

English pupils compared across classes with English or Black/Asian teacher, F (d.f. 1, 83) 0.42, not significant.
Eta (controlling for age, sex, and ethnic balance in classroom) 0.09, not significant.

**PRAM**
West Indian pupils compared across classes with differing proportion of black pupils, F (d.f. 1, 90) 7.65, p less than .01.
Eta (controlling for age, sex, and race of teacher) 0.39, p less than .001.

English pupils compared across classes with differing proportion of black pupils, F (d.f. 1, 83) 5.47, p less than .01.
Eta (controlling for age, sex, and race of teacher) 0.32, p less than .01.

West Indian pupils compared across classes with English or Black/Asian teacher, F (1,90) 0.33, not significant.
Eta (controlling for age, sex, and ethnic balance in classroom) 0.11, not significant.

English pupils compared across classes with English or Black/Asian teacher, F (d.f. 1, 83) 1.53, not significant.
Eta (controlling for age, sex, and ethnic balance in classroom) 0.16, not significant.
Outgroup Choice and Colour Evaluation

I have investigated outgroup choice - choosing children in the socio-metric test from a different colour group - using data from nine classes in the two London infant schools studied. One class was excluded because it had only 7 per cent of children who were black or Asian. All of the other classes had a third or more pupils who were black or Asian, thus allowing a reasonable possibility that choosing individuals from one group or another was not determined by the lack of available choices.

The in-group for West Indian children was taken to be West Indian, African and Asian children; the out-group was taken to be English or Cypriot children. Only the out-group choices of West Indian and English children have been statistically analysed, since numbers in the other ethnic categories were too few for this purpose. Table 8.16 shows that in West Indian children, making outgroup choices tends to be correlated with higher scores (i.e. more white choices) on the PRAM. The converse is true of the English children, but although in the expected direction, this correlation is not statistically significant. Being a sociometric isolate is positively related to white choices in the West Indian children, indicating perhaps that West Indian children who have no black friends are more likely to evaluate whites positively.

Extreme Scorers on the PRAM II and the Phenomenon of Switching in Colour Evaluation between the CMR II and PRAM II

If time permitted at the end of testing, I asked children with high scores on the PRAM to explain why they had chosen white figures so frequently. The replies indicated the general validity of the test. Thus, Sean, aged nearly seven, told me, "Anything white is better. Black is bad. White people are kinder ... " Cynthia, a dark-skinned child of Jamaican parents, said, "Well, I just like white people". Her teacher told me that in a classroom task in which children had to write a prayer, she wrote, "Thank you God for white people".
### Table 8.16

Correlations of Data Derived from the Sociometric Test with CMT II and PRAM II in English and West Indian Children in Nine School Classes with Proportion of West Indian Children Ranging from 25 per cent to 65 per cent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>English N 59</th>
<th>West Indian N 89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>PRAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup choice</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>-.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociometric isolate</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity Rating</td>
<td>-.28*</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(less to more)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 5 per cent level  
** = significant at the 1 per cent level or beyond

Note: "Outgroup choice" for English children was the choice of a West Indian, Asian or African child in the sociometric test; for a West Indian child, the choice of an English or a Cypriot child.
Mary, an English girl of six was embarrassed when I asked her to explain why she had chosen the black people as bad. She looked at me sadly, as if to say, "You're not bad, Miss". But when I asked her directly about a picture, "Is she bad because she's black?" Mary replied without hesitation, "Yes". Shuri, a dark-skinned Indian girl aged nearly 7 said that she liked the white people because they were near to her colour. "Those are black," she said, pointing to the dark-skinned figures in the pictures, "and I am brown".

John, an English boy, explained that he didn't like the black figures in the PRAM; nor did he like the coloured children in his class, which is why he hadn't chosen any to go to the seaside with him. Diane thought black people were "mean"; Jacqueline, another English girl, replied likewise. When I asked her why she thought the black figures were mean, she replied, in circular fashion, "Because they're brown".

What I found most interesting were the black children who had high scores (indicating much white bias) on the CMT, and low scores (indicating a significant black bias) on the PRAM. Thus Loraine, aged 6, a West Indian child, had a score of 23 on the CMT. But as she began the PRAM she said aloud: "I'm black, and I don't see why black people should be bad", and had a score of only 1 on the PRAM. Since a number of black children made similar switches from white bias on the CMT to black bias on the PRAM, I decided to look at this phenomenon in more detail. In Table 8.17 are presented the proportions of West Indian and English children switching from extreme scores (15 or more, or 9 or less) on the CMT to extreme scores in the PRAM. Thirteen per cent of the West Indian subjects in the London schools made switches from a white bias on the CMT to a black bias on the PRAM. Very few English children made such extreme switches, in any direction. The differences between the two ethnic groups in this respect

For the sake of confidentiality, first names of children have been altered.
is highly significant.* Maybe the black children suddenly realised the meaning of the test, and the fact that I too was black. Like Stephen, a West Indian child who stopped halfway through the PRAM, looked at me and said, "This lady looks like you. I don't think she's bad" (and who thereafter chose the black figures as good), there had perhaps been a change in the way a child sees himself as a black person. In terms of the Meadian theory which I outlined in Chapter 1, "The 'I' exists only in the present moment since it is ongoing; we are always feeling, responding, experiencing in this present moment". We take the 'I' of the past moment, and make it the 'me' of the present. So Stephen, in this moment of realization that he was black, and that black people are not bad, had experienced in this moment of self-consciousness, a new dimension of his self, a new aspect of his identity.

Self-Evaluation and Identity Development in Black Children

The results of the data analyses seem clear enough: black children have a significant amount of white bias in their colour and ethnic evaluations. Only African children come anywhere near to evaluating blackness and black people in positive rather than negative terms. This ethnic self-evaluation is related to poor self-esteem, and to a number of other sociometric characteristics, including ethnic balance in the classroom.

These results have important implications, I think, for the consideration of the black child's identity development. Global identity is built from multiple images of the self, integrated in various ways and degrees with one another, and reflecting a variety of cumulative and interacting experiences as the child grows older. The negative evaluation of his colour by the average black child in the schools I studied implies that he has to cope with this negative self-evaluation as his identity develops.

The older black child, member perhaps of a peer group which no longer

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* None of the children in the sample in rural Jamaica made extreme switches from white bias on the CMT to black bias on the PRAM. Three per cent of the subjects made switches in the other direction, however.
### Table 8.17

**Extreme Switching in Colour Bias in English and UK West Indian Children**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West Indian N 113</th>
<th>English N 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White bias in CMF II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(score 15+) and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black bias in PRAM II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(score 9 or less)</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Both CMF II and PRAM II      |                   |               |
| scores in "normal" range (10-14), or in adjacent categories | 85.8% | 96.0% |

| White bias in PRAM II,       |                   |               |
| (score 15+) and              |                   |               |
| Black bias in CMF II         |                   |               |
| (score 9 or less)            | 0.9%              | 3.0%          |

**Significance:** Chi-squared (1 d.f., combining the bottom two categories) 9.79, p less than .005, with correction for continuity.

**Note:** In the 117 subjects from rural Jamaica, the proportions in the three categories were 0 per cent, 96.6 per cent, and 3.42 per cent. This is not significantly different from a "normal" distribution.
devalues blackness, has to cope with this residue, perhaps exercising a powerful but latent influence, of negative feelings about himself. Only a longitudinal study of a similar sample could tell exactly how this might happen, and what coping mechanisms the children might utilize. It is interesting to note that Bart (1976) studied a sample of 10-year-olds in the junior school attached to one of the infant schools in which I worked. His findings were somewhat pessimistic. The majority of the 10-year-old West Indian children he studied had poor ethnic self-esteem, below average academic performance, and clear signs of alienation from the school system. It is probably inevitable that a substantial number of the black 4- to 6-year-olds I have studied will follow a similar path.

Obviously there are multiple influences on the ethnic and personal esteem manifested by the black children in my sample. Cultural background clearly makes a difference. The African children in my sample have much lower levels of white bias than their West Indian peers; but presumably the school and the wider society treat these children in similar terms, simply as black. The positive evaluation of blackness which many of the African children displayed is clearly derived from cultural background, transmitted to the children by their families. Clearly the family is a most important agent in the development of both ethnic and personal esteem, and many West Indian families, both in the London and the Jamaican samples have transmitted negative views of blackness to their children.

Skin colour seems to make a difference, and the "fair" West Indian child may have particular identity problems in that he is treated as black by the wider society, but is particularly likely to evaluate white figures positively. To identify white, and be treated as black must create particular tensions in identity development. It is interesting to note that the small sample of Harmony children I studied, with one black and one white parent, seemed to have fewer problems of this type. But these children had parents who belonged to an association, one of whose purposes was to enhance the ethnic consciousness of their children.
Structural factors seem to be important too in the development of ethnic self-evaluation, and the finding that black children who are not a minority in a classroom have more positive ethnic self-evaluation is an important one. The policy implication is clear: isolated black children, unless they have strong family support, are likely to have difficulties in their ethnic self-identification. Conversely, white children who are in a minority in the classrooms I studied do not have poorer ethnic self-evaluation. As a matter of policy, there would be no harm, and probably much benefit, in encouraging the development of school classes in which blacks are in a majority.

Summary and Conclusions

At the end of Chapter 7, eight hypotheses about colour evaluation and self-esteem were tentatively proposed. It is probably worthwhile to repeat these hypotheses, and then after each hypothesis to summarize the pertinent findings.

1. White children in the British sample will display similar levels of colour bias to white children studied in America and Europe.

   This hypothesis is partially supported. Sixty per cent of the white, English subjects have a significant colour bias on the CMT, compared with 74 per cent in the Americans studied by Williams and his colleagues, 66 per cent of Germans, and 55 per cent of French. Seventy per cent of the English subjects had a significant bias on the PRAM, compared with 61 per cent of white, American children, 61 per cent of Germans, and 63 per cent of French. Although these biases are in the same range, there are some significant differences between mean scores, as indicated in Tables 8.9 and 8.10.

2. Black children in the British sample will display significantly less colour bias than white children in the same school classes; but nevertheless, the amount of white bias they will display in their evaluation of colour and of coloured people will still be considerable.

   This hypothesis is supported for the PRAM, but not for the CMT. Sixty-two per cent of the UK West Indians have a white bias on the CMT,
compared with 60 per cent of the white, English subjects. Forty per cent of the West Indian subjects have a white bias on the PRAM, compared with 74 per cent of the English subjects, a highly significant difference.

(3) The black British children will show levels of colour bias similar to those black American children tested by a black researcher.

Although there are overall differences between the UK West Indian and the black American samples (more white bias on the CMT in the UK group, but less white bias in the UK group on the PRAM), when race of tester is taken into account the PRAM scores of the two groups are quite similar. Differences on the CMT remain when race of tester is taken into account, however, and there is clearly much more white bias in the responses of the UK West Indian children to the CMT. The UK African group however display much less white bias on the CMT and PRAM than either the UK West Indian group, or the black American group.

(4) The black British children will show significantly less white bias than black Jamaican children.

This hypothesis is not supported for the CMT, since rural Jamaicans show rather less white bias than do the UK West Indian subjects, and the UK Jamaican subjects. But with regard to the PRAM, the UK West Indian group has somewhat less white bias than the rural Jamaican group.

(5) Self-esteem as measured by the Ziller test will be related to white bias in the black British subjects (the more the white bias, the poorer the self-esteem); self-esteem will have the opposite relationship in white subjects (the more white bias, the better the self-esteem).

This hypothesis was supported by a number of significant correlations, in the direction predicted, clearly indicating that the CMT and the PRAM are to some extent measures of self-esteem. A black child who devalues blackness and black people is to a significant degree, devaluing himself and manifesting poor self-esteem about his ethnicity.
Sociometric status will be related to self-esteem, isolated children in particular having poorer self-esteem.

This hypothesis was partially supported; it emerged however that sociometric popularity was a stronger correlate of self-esteem than was isolation from peers. But in general, these correlations do indicate the validity of the measure of self-esteem.

Children choosing friends across ethnic boundaries will have differential levels of both colour bias and self-esteem.

This hypothesis was partially supported; children choosing friends from within their ethnic group tended to have higher levels of evaluation of their ethnic characteristics. But the correlation was statistically significant only for the West Indian group.

Scores on the CMT and the PRAM will be highly correlated; but these scores will be unrelated to age, sex, and cognitive orientation, as judged by the Sex Role measure.

These hypotheses were partially supported. The CMT and the PRAM are strongly related; and are uncorrelated with sex. However, there is a significant tendency for CMT and PRAM scores to increase with age in some groups. Colour evaluation is generally unrelated to the Sex Role test.

In Chapter 7 I stressed that these were tentative hypotheses; they were, of course, made in advance of the data analysis, and the general support for these hypotheses is both interesting and welcome.

In sum, we can say that the CMT and the PRAM are important measures of colour and ethnic evaluation which can be used cross-culturally. They are reliable and valid measures in the British and Jamaican contexts. The variations across ethnic groups are additional indicators of validity.

Our interpretation of the CMT and the PRAM as measures of self-evaluation, and therefore as measures of self-esteem appears to be justified by the correlations obtained. The Ziller measure of self-esteem too seems to be a promising measure of self-esteem for use with young children.

The relationship between colour evaluation and the proportion of black children in the classroom, for which I made no specific predictions,
is an important finding, with some policy implications which I discuss in the next chapter. The teacher's ethnicity is not per se important; what is most important, perhaps, is the kind of curriculum with which she is involved, and there are certainly possibilities for improvement in this field. I discuss these possibilities in detail in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 9
IDENTITY ENHANCEMENT: A REVIEW OF TECHNIQUES FOR CHANGE

The Enhancement of the Self-Concept: Some Programmes and Suggestions

Culture

The Family

The School

Experimental Methods

Conclusions
The Enhancement of Self-Concept: Some Programmes and Suggestions

Given the relationship of individuals to each other, feelings about the self are never fixed and static. As he participates in social relationships, the individual is always open to continual socialization and modification. Society is "an open horizon for man's ongoing self-realisation" (Sharp et al, 1975). This is a lifelong process, and begins in early childhood. Butler (1969) suggests that by the age of three the young child has developed a reasonably well integrated view of himself. This becomes the core and precipitator of all his future behaviour. He suggests that "Life is not over at age three, but the general view toward the world and toward one-self is already present. Possibilities for change are always present, but the longer a behaviour persists the more difficult it is to change". This indicates therefore that at as early an age as four the child might be able to respond to attempts to improve any negative views of himself.

Educators have made attempts towards this end by the setting up of 'compensatory education' programmes, but for the young black child with a negative view of himself and his ethnicity, these attempts have not been very successful in trying to break the cycle of deprivation created by these societies. What appears to be necessary is an 'educational' programme which would relieve the young black child of the tremendous burden of feelings of inadequacy and inferiority which seem to become integrated into the very structure of his personality as it is developing.

In the rest of this chapter I shall be suggesting ways of improving the self image of those young black children who have fallen prey to the 'white over black' situation which generally exists in most societies where the black family finds itself in a minority situation. These attempts will be considered under the following headings: culture; the
family; the school; and experimental methods with direct reference to the British situation. It is felt that more emphasis should be given to the enhancement of the self at all levels, but especially in the pre-school child because, as Gordon (1969) remarks, "For very young children, negative self view may be as damaging as physical illness or as actual physical handicap".

**Culture**

The attitude of the young child towards himself and towards others results largely from his social interactions with other human beings. This of course does not dismiss the possible influence of genetics in influencing the impact of the general cultural milieu on the individual. Human behaviour is a result of both biological and environmental influences, nature and nurture.

Language is the medium through which the culture of a particular society is transmitted to the younger members of that society. Learning theorists would argue that it is through word association that the emotional meanings of words are conveyed. Similarly the extinction of certain response tendencies should go some way in reducing the associations conjured up in the minds of individuals when they use certain words. The radical extremist pointing to the racist association of many words, suggests that the dictionary be re-written; but I would suggest that it is not simply a matter of rewriting, but of a fundamental change in the emotional meanings attached to certain words. For example, the young black child is continually exposed to the association of black with 'badness' and white with 'goodness' (see Chapter 2). Such symbolic association is plentiful in every day speech, children's and adult literature, in religion and in the mass media.

How does this cultural symbolism affect the pre-school black child? Some of the research evidence suggests that contact with the cultural symbolism only indirectly affects the child's tendency to evaluate white
positively and black negatively, because up to the age of three, this tendency is learned from the linguistic and social norms of the family, rather than from the wider society. Developmental psychologists such as Brian and Goodenough (1929) have suggested that children between the ages of three and six tend to group objects on the basis of colour rather than form. Phyllis Katz (1976) took this further and suggested that "... A child's perceptions and concepts about people should follow the same rules as their perceptions and concepts about other kinds of stimuli. The processes underlying the effects of reinforcement should not differ, whether the child's social learning concerns table manners, or who is welcome as a friend in the house". Prior to the exposure to the cultural influences of society the child "feels" that white is good; and following 'indoctrination' from general cultural symbols the child comes to know that white is good (Williams and Morland, 1976).

Learning theorists propose that extinguished response tendencies will not become re-established unless they are reinforced again. This would suggest that simply altering the evaluative meanings of colour names would not affect how the black child comes to regard himself in any substantial way. What is necessary is a change in the very fabric of the society, a change in the situation where whites enjoy greater privileges than blacks, and where generally there is a "white over black" situation. On a macro level there is need for a change in the avenues to 'the means of production' for the average black person; and on a micro-level, a change in the 'consciousness' within the black family.

One of the first things the young black child comes to realise is the privileged position of most of the members of the white group over his own. Whites occupy positions of power, live in better houses, receive better education and hold better jobs than members of the black minority group. (This of course is not a function of minority group status as such, if one cares to examine the South African situation).
In areas where members of the black community tend to excel, for example in sport, it is sometimes thought that such excellence is a function of genetics. A situation such as this cannot in any way serve to enhance the esteem in which the young child holds his group and indeed himself (cf. Jones, 1977, who demonstrates this empirically).

Williams and Morland (1976) have suggested that heavy emphasis upon race as a social classification may serve to "alert young children to the importance of race and sensitize them to racial messages, including those which contain racial bias". Recently, the question of 'immigration' has become an election issue. Anxieties of parents are passed on to children and hence for many of them 'race' is an emotive subject; it does matter to which race you belong. The young black child hardly has any other choice but to conclude that to belong to the black race and to be an 'immigrant' is bad, and therefore he is bad.

However, blackness can mean something positive for some black people. The rise of the black consciousness movement in the late 1960s has led many black people, not only in the United States but also a significant minority in Britain, to see themselves as basically 'good' human beings. Williams and Morland (1976) have suggested that the use of the words "black" and "white" to refer to the two groups "... invites the child to generalize the colour meanings to the racial groups: if these people are called 'white', they must be good ones, and if these people are called 'black', they must be bad ones". This means (they suggest) that the black community, by expecting the black child to identify with the word black in a positive way, is putting an added burden on to the child as he in effect has to say to himself, "I am bad and it is good to be bad". Here the authors overlook the notion that blacks are not simply passive recipients of the views the white majority group hold of them. Instead there has been a positive redefinition of 'black' and 'blackness' within many black communities. (See Chapter 4). Concomitant with this racial
awareness, there has developed a redefining of standards of beauty. This total redefinition by blacks, a relative to what has traditionally been regarded good and beautiful, has provided a healthy atmosphere in which the young black child is free to develop positive feelings about himself and others like him. In Conger's (1977) model, black pride reduces alienation from the self and increases self esteem in other areas.

Some researchers consider some members of the black community to be alienated from society, but this might be a wrong assessment of the situation. Members of the black community can and do have adaptive mechanisms for coping with the racist nature of the society. Some blacks in Britain can develop a positive subcultural identity (found mainly among the youths of the black community). Research by Louden (1977) in Birmingham, for example, showed the development of "shadow values" and "shadow talk" among the black youth. These youths felt secure within this 'culture' which incorporated reggae, pseudo Rastafarianism and patois. This is one area (they feel) that the whites will not be able to infiltrate and hence devalue. There is some indication too of the development of a comparative reference group within the black community itself. The young black child now has the choice of identifying with black models and heroes within the black community. These, however, are few in number; and but for institutionalised racism they could have been greater in number. On the other hand, since the development of alternative 'cultures' mainly belongs within the domain of second generation West Indians, the very young black child may be caught between the allegiance to the traditional values of his parents and those of the younger generation, that is, his older sisters and brothers who in turn may be in conflict with their own parents over their rejection of the values of white society.

The church has been an important vehicle in the black community for tackling problems of everyday life. However, Louden (1977) feels that the traditional black churches have failed the youth of the black community
because they have not realised their potentiality as a "substitute society", as well as a source of spiritual enrichment. Instead, the youth have found a new image through their own subculture.

It is clear from the above discussion that the black child's notion of himself arises from an interactional process between himself and the society. At the present time the nature of British society is such that, unless the racism so deeply embedded in the very fabric of the society is changed, the young lower class black child has very little chance of developing a positive image of himself. All the major institutions including the political, economic, social and educational have put the black child and his family in a disadvantaged position. The key to any change then needs to be an institutional key. There is too a need for change in the mentality among many members of the black community. This is not helped by the present form of racism which when translated into the historical quality of contacts between blacks and whites, also serves to reinforce the black individual's notions of personal and community inferiority.

Although it is true that blacks seem to be more likely to be affected by poverty and low socioeconomic status than their white counterparts, it is also true that blacks learn to cope in unique ways. The basic question for the black community is: "How can a wider range of strategies be provided in the face of the institutional nature of the barriers to an adequate self concept?" Perhaps the answer lies in attacks upon key institutional practices. The setting up of the Commission for Racial Equality and its powers of investigation, of not only individuals but institutions, may go some way in aiding the black community in its struggle for a better deal in a multiracial society. And eventually too it is hoped that the notion of 'Black is Beautiful' will become more than a mere rhetoric for the black community in Britain.
The Family

Ehrlich (1973) in reviewing studies concerned with the effects of types of child-rearing practices upon attitudes suggests that such studies are of importance because, firstly they show the influence of the parents "... on the development of the child's self-attitudes and his or her concomitant attitudes toward others, including the parents themselves"; and secondly, the influence of the parents "... on the child's ability to cope in problem-solving situations".

Rosenberg (1953) was the first to produce an extensive piece of work demonstrating the importance of parents in the development of self esteem. He studied 5,000 American High school students and found that the level of parental interest, encouragement and support of the child was a much more important determinant of self esteem than ethnicity or social class considered by themselves. Parents who were not very interested in or who did not give support to their children in their activities (grades in school, activities with friends) tended to have children who had poor self esteem. Rosenberg's data suggested that extreme parental indifference was associated with lower self esteem and was even more deleterious than extreme punishment or control of the child. (Lack of love, failure to treat the child with respect, failure to give him encouragement and a tendency to consider the child as something of a nuisance was interpreted as parental indifference). The author argues that the child who comes to think of himself as not being worthwhile in the eyes of his parents soon comes to think that he is indeed a worthless person. In other words, the child begins to internalise the views of his significant others. Williams et al (1971) reached a similar conclusion, in a study of young black children, suggesting that both harshness and parental indifference lead to poor self esteem.

Coopersmith's (1967) study of ten- to twelve-year-olds, which included interviews with their mothers, showed that a combination of lack
of parental guidance and a relatively harsh use of discipline and punish-
ment, with a stress on force rather than on love were the conditions most
conducive to the development of poor self esteem. In contrast, firmer and
more consistently demanding regulations by the parent combined with love
and affection for the child were likely to lead to high self esteem. Also,
as long as the child saw that punishment and restriction were expressions
of the parent's concern for him, punishment did not have any harmful conse-
quences. Inconsistent discipline and irrational punishment were however
likely to lead to poor self esteem. In concluding, Coopersmith (1967) adds
"The most general statement about the antecedents of self esteem can be
given in terms of three conditions: total or nearly total acceptance of the
children by their parents, clearly defined and enforced limits, and the
respect and latitude for individual action that exist within the defined
limits. In effect, we can conclude that the parents of children with high
self esteem are concerned and attentive toward their children, that they
structure the world of their children along lines they believe to be proper
and appropriate, and that they permit relatively great freedom within the
structures they have established".

Although Coopersmith's (1967) investigations were among ten- to
twelve-year-olds and their mothers, there is no reason to assume that
investigations (albeit with a different tool) among four- to seven-year-olds
would have yielded very different results. Similar patterns of child
rearing among families with younger children may well result in children
having poor self esteem because their parent or parents are irrational
(in the child's eyes), punish them sometimes for some misdeeds while com-
pletely 'overlooking' similar 'offences' on other occasions, or indeed did
not discipline them because of sheer neglect. Conversely, high self esteem
can be fostered in a young child when Coopersmith's three conditions are
enveloped in the socialisation process.
Coopersmith's findings suggest that authoritarian and highly conservative parents induce poor self-esteem in children. Authoritarian parents are unlikely to allow latitude and freedom of action and decision only within clearly defined boundaries. Following this vein one can safely assume that authoritarian parents are much less likely than their 'liberal' counterparts to adopt a pattern of child-rearing which demonstrates love and affection for the child and are more likely to demand obedience and conformity for its own sake from the child, rather than in relation to some end which is perceived by both parent and child as being rational. It may also be that authoritarian parents do have poor self-esteem themselves, and the relationship they have with their children involves the transmission of not only authoritarian attitudes, but also deprecating attitudes to the self. If parents themselves have poor self-esteem it is difficult to see how they can effectively foster positive feelings about the self in the children for whom they have care. Not only in their words but also in their actions do they demonstrate to the young child feelings they have about themselves, but feelings they expect the child to have of himself.

Like Coopersmith, Gecas (1972) points out that self-esteem may vary according to context. He found in his study of adolescents that parental support had the strongest relationship to self-esteem in situations relating to everyday tasks. Father's support was particularly related to self-esteem in the boys he studied.

Since the 'sphere' of young children is fairly narrow and the parents feature very much in their every action, parental support is even more significant among this age group than among older children. Gecas (1972) found that his older subjects indicated that their "real selves" could be identified most readily in their peer group situation. Some two years later, along with Thomas and others (Thomas, Gecas, et al, 1974) in a study of American adolescents, Gecas concluded that, "The child who has received little or no love from his parents rebels against their efforts to exert control over him and turns to new, alternative life styles for values,
ideals and role models. New peer groups come to form an alternative and
powerful source of self esteem for such people. The very young child is
unlikely to have such an alternative and so the importance of parents in
showing love and affection for the child is again demonstrated. Williams
et al (1971) in investigating the impact of parental constraints on the
development of behaviour disorders, pointed out that the black lower class
child has fewer alternative sources of self evaluation and so is more
vulnerable to parental influence.

One may now conclude that parents have a very important part to
play in fostering good self esteem in their young children. It has not
been possible to draw very much upon data relating directly to very young
children, since very few researchers have attempted to investigate this
phenomenon. However, the material presented in this thesis tries
indirectly to point out the significance of parental relationships with
their young children by outlining how children acquire attitudes not only
to others but to themselves, and points to the crucial importance of
parents in transmitting to the child societal values about the merit of
minority groups in society.

Rainwater (1965) points out that the family is the crucible of
identity formation for the black child. For the young child the impact
of the parents is indeed very strong. This would suggest therefore that
the parents could be similarly effective in enhancing self esteem in a
child who has developed negative attitudes towards himself for one reason
or other. Work will be reviewed in a later part of this chapter which
will indicate the effectiveness of parents in attempting to foster
positive feelings about the self in children with poor self esteem. Such
parents would endeavour to be less authoritarian and domineering towards
their children, would permit greater latitude within the structures they
have established for their children, would accept them totally and be
concerned and attentive toward these children. Since Gecas' (1972) findings
pointed to the importance of the same sex parent in fostering good self esteem in the child, then change in how the child regards himself may be achieved by concentrating on the relationship between such a parent and the child.

Gecas et al (1974), arguing along the line of the 'Mirror' theory (Mead, 1934) versus the 'Model' theory (Bandura, 1963) investigated the relationship between the child's self concept and that of his parents. They found that the overall trend of the data demonstrated that the child's self concept was more closely related to his parents' perceptions of him than to his parents' self concepts. The findings thus supported the 'mirror' theory and so have implications for how parents and others who assume this role for one reason or the other (residential workers, nursery officers, daily minders, case workers) regard a child. A child with poor self esteem is very vulnerable to opinions others have of him (Hewitt, 1976) and so unless significant others interact with such a child in a positive way, constantly reassuring him as to his good qualities and helping him to improve the poor ones, such a child will continue to see himself as having little worth.

As shown in Chapter 2, the child with low self esteem has a tendency to compare himself negatively with the positive qualities which he sees in others. This leads to the derogation of the self. (This does not necessarily mean that such a child expresses positive opinions of others). The child eventually comes to be aware of his imagined negative appearance to others and may seek to defend himself in many ways. In a Day Care unit with which I am professionally involved, one particular response of such a child comes to mind. Joan is the darker of two children of a single second generation West Indian mother in Britain. She is constantly told by her mother that she is ugly, "no good" and would be "eaten by monsters" if she didn't behave herself. It would appear that Joan sometimes used the medium of the unit to carry out this 'death wish'. She would quite
viciously 'attack' other children and then take herself off to dark corners with the hope that 'the masters' would get her.

Hewitt (1976) points out that the child with poor self esteem may also make other responses to this state. He may rationalise what he sees as his own failures or he may indeed attempt to become like those whom he regards positively. A perceptive nursery officer might recognise this and encourage such a child to participate in activities which will allow him to realise that which he seeks to emulate.

It was also argued in Chapter 2, that anxiety is one of the manifestations of low self esteem. Parents and others (play group workers, teachers, nursery officers) who are involved in the care of such a child would help to enhance his feelings about himself if they help him to avoid situations to which he is particularly sensitive, and as a result quite vulnerable. Anxiety can be a paralysing experience for the young child, and as it interferes with conduct may lead to misinterpretation of the child's behaviour. He may become labelled by others as someone of little worth and eventually comes to regard himself thus. I feel caretakers have an obligation to such a child to help him through such a difficult period, as children are as susceptible to change (for the better) as they are to the adverse perceptions others have of them.

A British study by Marsh (1970) shows how it is possible for not only black but white children to regard black positively. Marsh investigated the 'cognitive awareness' and 'value association' of two-to seven-year-old black British (parents from West Africa), and white children. These children were all fostered by English families in East Sussex. Positive images of their parents and their origins were encouraged by these foster parents, and as a result the children regarded blackness and black people positively.

Over the past few years black professionals in Britain, and more so in America, have been concerned about the problem of identity development
in black and mixed race children fostered or adopted by white families. Marsh's findings suggest that it is the quality of the information given to the child by the caretakers, and also how the natural parents (in the case of the fostering situation) present themselves to the child that affect how the child will come to regard himself as a black individual. Marsh showed that the black parents involved in his study were always elegantly dressed during their visits to foster homes, and were able to bring gifts for their children. The children and foster parents therefore had positive images of them. The fact that the natural parents were students and were to hold prominent jobs in their country of origin may have contributed to the images others had of them.

Of the thousands of black children in care, most are in the care of white adults. It is felt though that the perceptive white caretaker can be just as effective in creating a positive self image in the young child, as the black parent might be. The child's basic need is for love and security, and when he has these he will begin to see himself and others like him in a positive way providing this is encouraged by the significant others in his life. Many black children are fostered or adopted by families in areas where they may be the only, or one of the few black children. This situation does not preclude the formation of a positive feeling about blackness, and hence about the self. The child simply needs positive feedback as to his worth as a black person and his general feelings about himself will thus be enhanced.

One of the basic necessities for the creation of good self esteem in the young child is for the parents (especially the mother) to have an adequate self image themselves. Copeland (1977) outlines many reasons why some black women have negative feelings about their worth and suggests ways of improving this. Using Mead's (1934) self theory paradigm as a frame of reference Copeland provided counselling services for a number of black women with the aim of: (a) offering continuous supportive counselling to
foster positive self concepts, at the same time accentuating individual strengths; (b) encouraging self exploration, and (c) helping such women to manipulate the environment so as to elicit positive responses. With these aims achieved with most of her 'clients', the conclusion may be drawn that such women, when they themselves become parents, should be able to offer the sort of environment to create positive self regard in their children. Such parents too should be able to adapt the tools learnt to enhance the self esteem in enhancing identity development in any child for which they have charge.

Self-concept is learned through a gradual process of interaction with others. This can be positive or negative depending on how one's significant others regard one. For the young child, the family is the 'crucible' of self concept formation. Because of the nature of most societies in which the black family finds itself, parents are sometimes not able to offer the positive feedback necessary for good self concept formation in their children because they themselves have come to regard themselves negatively. On the other hand, one's feeling about the self may be altered, in ways similar to those through which this feeling has been acquired. The process is gradual, but not very difficult to achieve in young children. The young child is flexible, reacts easily to positive reinforcement and hence is susceptible to change.

It should be stressed too that although the black child in care has a double set of problems, not only from being in care but also from being an individual whose needs to develop positive sense of ethnic identity are probably not met (Pace and Clark, 1977), being brought up in a "normal" West Indian family in Britain is by no means a guarantee of positive identity formation. Such families are particularly likely to be authoritarian (Bagley, Bart and Wong, 1978), as they are in Jamaica (Bagley and Young, 1978). Such authoritarianism is not conducive to the development of positive self-esteem, for the reasons I have outlined in the preceding
pages. Moreover, West Indian parents have probably internalised the negative view of blackness which derive from the imposed "white" culture, dating from the time of slavery. As we saw in the results of the empirical study using the Colour Meanings Test and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure, being a child from a West Indian, rather than an African family is a strong predictor of poor ethnic self-esteem. It seems that African parents are much less likely than West Indians to transmit to their children cultural symbols which imply that being black is a negative characteristic. If West Indian parents could "debrief" themselves, or rid themselves through mutual group counselling of these negative views of blackness, then they could transmit to their children a much more positive self-image.

Raymond Giles (1977) an American who studied a number of multiracial schools in England, reports that: "... one problem related to West Indian identity stemmed from the fact that many West Indian parents seemed to want their children to be cut off from the West Indies, and become white. West Indian parents were described as having 'a real faith in English education', and although black children were aware of the realities of education in working class schools, they could not communicate this reality to their parents". (p.147). The deference which West Indian parents have for the educational system (a cultural value derived from their socialization in the West Indies) is probably interpreted by British teachers as indicating that these parents accept the goals and purposes of English education, even if that means transmitting a negative evaluation of "blackness".

It is felt that the black parent can best help the young child by (as Kurt Lewin (1940) advised the Jewish parent to do) aiding him in accepting his minority group status, and using it as a position of strength. Parents should treat the problem not as an individual and private matter but as a social issue which in the end would lessen the likelihood of self-accusation and self pity. The minority child needs to feel a sense of belongingness with other members of his group. This is best provided
through the interdependence of members of the group. At the present time the West Indian community still appears to be divided by island factions, unlike the Asian community which is more united in its fight against that which serves to devalue their group. Lewin points out that this sense of belongingness serves to minimize ambiguity, tension and maladjustment in the young child. Finally he suggests that minority parents should not be afraid of overlapping loyalties, since belonging to more than one group is natural and necessary for everyone. Where the danger lies is in standing "nowhere", that is, in being a "marginal man". West Indian parents are particularly prone to this situation. Unlike the Africans or Asians, the historical link with Britain renders them the victims of certain beliefs. For example, it is felt by many educators that as West Indians should be able to speak the English language, the need for extra tuition in this area is not necessary, and so extra teachers are not employed to this end. But as it is clear that mastery of the English language does affect performance in other areas of the school life than the West Indian child is clearly at a disadvantage given his background in Creole (Bagley, Bart and Wong, 1978). In Lewin's (1940) terminology he is standing "nowhere", a "marginal man", in that he devalues Creole, but may not have mastered standard English.

The mixed race child (the result of the union of black and white parents) suffers from both cultural and genetic marginality. However, such a child is regarded as black and in most cases is treated thus. It behoves the parents of such children to help them to develop a feeling of belongingness with the group to which they feel most affinity. It is unlikely, though not impossible for the mixed race child to identify with the white group for a number of reasons, not least of which derives from the identification of the parents. But many mixed race children accept a black identity and derive great support from the black community.
The importance of parents in the formation of not only personal and ego identity but a group identity which is sound, strong and supportive should now be clear. It is through interaction with parents that the child first comes to learn of his worth as a human being and as a member of a particular group. It has been shown that a combination of authoritarianism and lack of parental guidance is likely to result in a poor self image in the child. The optimum family climate appears to be one in which there is love and concern for the child, combined with structures which permit some degree of freedom for the child. The child comes to see himself as his significant others see him. For the first few years of the child's life, the parents are his only significant others and as such the image he comes to think they have of him affects how he regards himself, not only in the present but may affect his future self-regard as he interacts with others in the way he thinks they would have him act. The family is the crucible of identity formation and in consequence is the most effective instrument of change for the child with poor self esteem. One should not overlook, however, the possibility of alienation, powerlessness, fatalism and anomie which are so prevalent among many poor, working-class black families (Rainwater, 1965). The young child from such a family might have very little to draw on emotionally. He would be at a disadvantage because the economic insecurity of his home often does not enable him to develop an adequate sense of trust in society. Such a child is also less likely than his middle-class counterpart to develop a sense of autonomy and initiative, since not only does he have fewer opportunities to do so, but lower-class families often have ambivalent attitudes toward child independence (Rainwater, 1965). Successful identity formation becomes a more complex task when the young child experiences difficulties in mastering these basic requirements of survival. Such children see their parents as being helpless in their social milieu and this realization severely weakens the impression of strength that children need to feel in their parents.
Many lower class black families do succeed in aiding the young child in mastering the basic phases of development. Ausubel and Ausubel (1958) emphasized that "the consequences of membership in a stigmatised racial group can be cushioned in part by a foundation of intrinsic self esteem established in the home". The average black family, however, having to overcome the influences of racism, does have a rather momentous task of helping the young child to establish a positive and healthy self esteem.

Raymond Giles (1977) in his survey of the West Indian experience in British schools points out that the West Indian parents put great faith in the education system, and see the school's role as that of providing all that the child needs to develop into a responsible citizen. It is important therefore to discuss the role of the school in establishing and enhancing self esteem in the young black child.

The School

In addition to the family, the education system is the most important institution of socialization in this society. As McNeil (1969) points out, "The terms 'education' and 'socialization' should be considered synonymous ... for education is the primary means of socializing all children after they reach the age of five". In many ways the family has delegated the responsibility for the supervision of the child's development to the school. In the case of many West Indian families in Britain, this is almost total (Giles, 1977).

The school is thus an integral part of society and as such is responsible for instilling a set of normative values which support, not challenge the existing societal values. Since it places people in line for access to 'the means of production', it should develop the social as well as the individual aspect of the child. The current concern by groups such as Harmony (a group comprised of families for whom multi-racial living is an every day experience) about the education system is to make education relevant to the needs of the black or mixed race child as an
individual and as a social being. Educators need to accept the black child on his own terms and work to achieve its goals by serving as an ego-supporting, meaningful institution which encourages diversity. In this way the black child should be helped to 'actualize' his self by utilising his cultural background, and not having to ignore or denigrate it. At the present time the education system to a large extent ignores the black sub-cultural element of British society. What the black child needs is an experience which enables him to develop a positive personal and social identity. (Social identity refers to an external manifestation of the black child's perception of who he is). This feeling of self worth will only become a possibility if the group to which the child belongs is accorded dignity and the freedom to make choices over a wide range of opportunities.

Apart from its function of transmitting culture in a formal way, the school has the role of influencing social change. There is need for more recognition of the latter role and the use of the school in improving the 'lot' of the black community in Britain. For a number of reasons, black families experience difficulties due to poor housing, economic deprivation and lower status schools in deprived urban areas. Such schools can result in the young child experiencing crises of self respect, possible feelings of inferiority and rejection of the self. The school, even in such neighbourhoods may continue to create the illusion that only middle class white norms of behaviour are acceptable. Thus the black child is forced to abandon his black identity if he wants to be rewarded by society. He comes to see himself as unimportant and therefore excluded. So far, the educational experience for the young black child in Britain is in the majority of schools, unaccepting and essentially rejecting of the social and cultural backgrounds of his people. It is in this area that a change needs to occur.
One should also not forget the effect of teacher expectations on the development of self-regard. Rist (1970) outlines the self-fulfilling prophecy of teacher expectations on children's performance, and Rosenthal (1973) in a detailed review shows that 'the pygmalion effect lives'. What young black children need are teachers who believe they can learn, who expect them to learn and who teach them with this optimistic expectation. Teachers whose naiveté and cultural biases lead them to expect less from black children should never be teaching such children. A teacher does not need to be an avowed advocate of the inferiority of the black race to damage the emotional and intellectual growth of black children. Because such children, along with their parents do not present the 'correct' cues indicating their desire to learn, their intentions may be misunderstood. Little (1978), in discussing reasons for the scholastic underachievement of black children in London schools goes so far as to suggest that,

"Teachers are a most important influence ... they stereotype West Indians by expecting poor work and bad behaviour from them; the children may then live up (or down) to these stereotypes ... The teachers are only reflecting the attitudes of the dominant British culture, which denies West Indians a sense of their own ethnic identity and personal worth".

What then can schools do to enhance the self-esteem of young black children? So far teachers in Britain have been making one of three kinds of responses to the problem: (1) they regard "children as children" and ignore cultural background; (2) they make 'patronising' efforts to include usually 'old' material about parents' homeland; (3) they help children to develop a sense of identity and awareness of themselves as social beings in society (Giles, 1977). The solution appears to lie in a system which treats each child as an individual and as a contributing member of a social peer group. The only way the young black child can sense that he is respected as a person by his teachers is by their expectations of him, his achievements and through their provision of parameters for accomplishment. The
young black child will only succeed if the education he receives is relevant to his everyday life. He needs to feel a part of what he should be experiencing through books, language etc. This is the only way he will develop pride in himself as an individual and in his group as something worth identifying with. Pride does not come through the rhetoric of "I'm black and I'm proud" but through achievement, and demonstrable achievement in fact.

The implication here is that if the black child is to learn and if he is to have a positive self concept, then the school setting must provide curricular experiences that will foster self esteem in the black child, or, in other words, help him to meet his need for esteem.* But, how can the curriculum be made relevant for the young black child? Efforts in Britain have so far concentrated on children of Secondary school age where innovation is introduced in Social or Religious studies. (Taylor, 1974).

Although Williams and Morland (1976) suggest that efforts toward change are probably best concentrated on this age group, there is no evidence to suggest that efforts to enhance the self esteem of four- to seven-year-old black children through the curriculum would be valueless. Experience in America (Giles, 1974) warns us about the ineffectiveness of so-called 'Black Studies' programmes. These are programmes which largely cover the areas of the homelands from which blacks originate, namely Africa and the West Indies. Giles (1974) assessed the impact of such a programme over a nine-month period and found that it had very little effect in changing the attitudes of the black children towards themselves and indeed their prejudices against people who actually lived in these areas. Instead, an approach was advocated which would (a) bring about respect and appreciation for people of diverse ethnic backgrounds; and (b) instil in the pupils ethnic pride as a first step towards self respect.

* of the proposals put forward by Samuels (1977).
Bagley and Coard (1975) in Race and Education Across Cultures show that a sample of West Indian children in London primary schools, aged between 5 and 11 by and large held negative, stereotyped views of Africa and Africans. Knowledge of Africa frequently reflected the cultural stereotypes of colonialism: "They're diseased. They don't live good lives ... the people don't wear clothes, they live in the jungle ... sometimes they have to be servants ... it's hot. The people are coloured and they dance about". Overwhelmingly, the black, West Indian children thought that Africa was a poor and backward region. The physical likeness of West Indians and Africans was seen primarily as an embarrassment. Five-year-old Phillip, for example, of Africa, said: "It's a big country. Some of the people are black and some of them are white. Some are nice ... the whites. The blacks are, are (embarrassed pause) ... I don't know".

It is clear therefore that one task is for the teacher to attempt to dispel such stereotypes as it would be unfair to burden the young child with identifying with a group that he does not respect. Young children should be helped to understand that similarities and differences are a basic condition of life in Britain and helped to accept ethnic distinctions as a basis for the realisation of self worth. Such children should come to realise that self respect and group respect are based on the way any people conduct themselves, in their own culture. The best example is set by the teacher who respects the young black child for what he is, and in so doing, helps him to respect himself. Before being asked to accept Africans, black children should first have pride in themselves as 'Black British'. It goes unsaid that teachers should themselves be unprejudiced and that their approach to education especially in an inner city area should be a multicultural one.

Some schools and nurseries (and all of the schools and nurseries used in my study fall into this category to some extent) have already been making positive attempts toward creating 'a positive self identity'
in many black youngsters. Giles (1977) in his British survey found that "culture" at this level was introduced through food, clothing, stories, games, music and dance. These were things that the teachers felt that children of that age could experience themselves. As shown in Chapter 5, black British children do tend to identify very strongly with their parents' country of origin with the result that their need for a supportive 'cultural education' is clear. I am of the opinion, however, that since many four- to seven-year-old black children now in Britain were in fact born here, one good way of tackling the problem of poor self image in any such children would be to work within the context of their present situation. Giles (1977) reports one such attempt in his survey of teaching materials used in nursery and infant schools. He found that the teachers tried to produce material which reflected the fact that black people "existed". A library of photographs of black children engaged in activities within their own community was organised and the picture booklets were used for individual and group discussion.

Some schools even developed a photo competition in order to help to improve the black child's image of himself. The teachers in such establishments felt that as a result of this scheme, the children's attitudes toward learning and toward themselves had improved - "Just the fact that they saw nice pictures of themselves seemed to be very pleasing to the children". Observations by the Headteacher led her to believe that the black children responded positively to what she termed "culturally-based material".

American evidence on the use of 'free schools' or supplementary schools (Betts, 1975) has shown that the programmes used in these settings do have a positive influence on self concept. Similar projects carried out in Britain have also yielded very encouraging results. Supplementary schools - both those run by parent groups and those set up by 'official bodies' such as the Local Authority, have in so far as they have been
evaluated, been fairly successful in their aims of trying to improve the black child's image of himself. An evaluation of one such scheme set up in Deptford revealed that "By the end of the year, the children had gained more confidence and self-respect" (Black, 1977). In 1970, a "supplementary service" project was set up in Waltham Forest, north-east London, which used teaching materials based on the West Indian culture. An assessment revealed that significantly fewer West Indian children are now being referred to schools for the educationally subnormal. Lawrence (1973) shows that educational achievement may be improved if there is an improvement in the child's image of himself. It is possible that the children in the Waltham Forest project improved academically because their feelings about their general self worth had also improved. It should be borne in mind that control groups were not used in these evaluations, and that the evaluation was often done by the people carrying out the programme.

Two of the aims of the North Lewisham Supplementary school project were, (1) to improve the self image of the children, which in turn would lead to increased confidence and hence better work performance; (2) to raise the level of the child's awareness of her/himself as a black person, through positive emphasis on her/his culture and history and so assist the child in finding an identity which is not alienating. This project ran initially for one year and catered for twenty-five children between seven and eleven years old. An evaluation of the project after a year showed that, "The children on the scheme were found to benefit greatly from the environment where they and their work were appreciated and where they were able to grow in an atmosphere where their blackness was not invalidated through unaware omissions ... " (Report on the North Lewisham Project - November 1975 to December 1976).

What is it that accounts for the apparent success of these projects in improving the self image of young black children? The method of assessment (validity and reliability) is unknown and so any interpretation calls
for careful consideration. But there are a number of important features of these projects. The materials used related directly to the background of the children involved; they reflected the children's needs and daily life. The books (for example, the Ladybird Sunstart Reading Scheme and the Nelson's West Indian Readers used by the Lewisham Project) reflected the multiracial nature of the society. The very high teacher/pupil ratio gave the children the individual attention many of them needed to feel secure in the learning environment. In the Deptford scheme for example, there were five teachers for twenty children. The flexibility and sensitivity which the teachers showed was remarkable, and possibly this sensitivity is much more important for the enhancement of self esteem than the amount of materials used. The author of the report on the Lewisham project (1976) remarks: "Were the materials ... available in schools, but were nevertheless insensitively handled in a way through which unaware racism shone through, the children could be adversely affected and their self image damaged".

Contrary to the experience of many of the teachers interviewed by Raymond Giles (1977), there was a great deal of parental involvement in the activities of the Supplementary schools. The parents showed an interest in their children's achievements and were willing to be involved with their activities as long as they were assured of the nature and value of their contribution. From the previous discussion on the value to self esteem of parental involvement in the young child's activities earlier in this chapter, it may safely be concluded that this might have helped in the formation of positive feelings of self worth in these children.

There is no doubt that these supplementary services are serving an important function for a small section of the black community, but they do not, in any observable way, alter the thinking of educators in the ordinary school where the majority of children (including those
Concerned parents and parent groups have been trying to put pressure on education authorities and head teachers to alter the thinking, largely middle class and white, in schools so as to reflect the general nature of society. As mentioned previously, some schools try to introduce the idea of multiracialism through music, dance, games, food, clothing and books. Others have adopted the 'whole school' concept which was pioneered in South London by the ILEA. J. Mack (1977) commenting on one of the schools which adopted this approach, remarks: "Now, up on the walls and in the classrooms and library, are pictures and materials from the West Indies and Asia, as well as Britain. The children's self portraits reflect the racial balance".

Would the change being suggested involve local education authorities in much extra expenditure? It would not appear so. The final conclusion in J. Mack's article suggests that, "Ravenstone changed without much money, books or materials being pumped in. All schools could do the same tomorrow".

The regard a child's teacher has for him could be reflected in the content of the lessons being taught to him. The size of the majority group, however, affords the child some degree of protection against a biased curriculum, as the results of my empirical study (Chapter 8) have shown. Means (1972) points out that it is extremely difficult for a small minority of black children surrounded by white children to develop positive feelings about themselves. Much of the contents of the School Council's study of schools all over Britain (1978) show that where there are only a few or no children from a minority group in a school, many of

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1. See recent report of "Race and Teachers: the Schools Council Study" (New Society, 16.2.78.). It is noteworthy that the publication of this report has been prohibited by the N.U.T. mainly because it shows how many teachers make incorrect assumptions about the awareness and implications of 'race' among children of four years and above. This assumption, of course, affects their teaching methods, and the contents of their teaching materials.
the teachers did not feel that it was important to take into consideration that in fact the children were living in a multiracial, multicultural society. They felt it was not necessary to demonstrate this in the contents of their teaching materials. The young black child of course needs to feel some identification with other members of his group for him to benefit effectively from a multicultural emphasis within the curriculum. My own finding is that a composition of at least 50 per cent black is necessary. Means (1972) however, suggests that in order for the black child to maintain his ethnic identification, there probably needs to be a minimum of twenty to twenty-five per cent black enrolment in an integrated school. "Even so," he continues, "black children require a great deal of home support, relative to who they are". Studies by Louden (1977) and Bagley et al (1978) show that a group identity (as represented by the number of black children in the school) is protective of self esteem. Their studies suggest some similarity to the situation described by Rosenberg and Simmons (1973). Of course, the school should in effect reflect the neighbourhood, so that in an all-black neighbourhood, the composition of the school would be similar. The consequence for self-esteem is then somewhat different.

Racial composition is important for many reasons not least of which is that an imbalance may lead to the confusion by the teacher of personality and racial factors as influences on, say, aggressive behaviour. The behaviour (aggression, withdrawal, passivity) of the lone black child in a classroom may either reinforce stereotypes or be generalised to the other members of the class. In the situation where there is a sizeable number of minority group children, the number would be big enough for play styles to vary and the uncomfortable effects of labelling to be, to some extent, reduced. There has been no systematic study of the effects on his self esteem of what Porter (1971) calls "the lone integrator", but there is very little doubt that the negative effects would be lessened by a more equal racial mix.
If at all possible, race and social class should not mutually reinforce each other. As in the situation above, differences in play styles, level of achievement etc. may be interpreted not only by other children, but also by teachers and some naive researchers, as being due to race rather than class. Little (1975) in an article in *Race and Education Across Cultures*, edited by Verma and Bagley, shows that the level of achievement in black 10-year-olds in London schools is significantly less than that of white children of the same age. The naive researcher might interpret this difference as indicating a real lack of ability in black children; but in fact, as Little shows, the difference can be explained by the social class of the area from which the black children come. Black families in fact, live in particularly disadvantaged areas of the city, and are forced by various kinds of discrimination, into the least prestigious types of employment, which in turn has adverse consequences on achievement.

It should be stressed too that the overriding factor in enabling the young black child to gain positive feelings about himself is not that he is fortunate enough to be among the 'middle class' but that the play material and curriculum stress racial acceptance and as such reflect the general nature of society. Books showing people of different colour should be free of negative connotations about black and blackness. Whenever positive associations do occur, these should be reinforced and stressed by the teacher. As indicated above, blacks often find themselves confined to the lower rungs of the occupational ladder (through no real fault of their own). Teachers, however, can indicate to children the need for all types of occupations for the functioning of society and the possible reasons why certain people tend to occupy certain roles.

Misinterpreted, this could be taken to mean that the teacher is introducing 'race' into the classroom which young children do not notice unless it is pointed out to them (Report of the Schools Council, 1978).
However, if skilfully handled, these issues could be used indirectly to shape the attitudes of young children (whites included) to others and themselves. There are times too when direct comments about 'race' may be effective. For example, if political or historical events are being discussed, black as well as white leaders should have a place in the discussion. The same is of course true for music and art. Black music is particularly important in the life of the black child. The lyrics are expressions of where blacks have 'come from' and where they are 'going to'. It would be unfair to the young black child to lead him along a false path by trying to inculcate in him, ideas that neither he nor his group believe about themselves.

Porter (1970) points out that another important aspect of integration is parental involvement. In the light of the implications of the discussion earlier in this chapter on the influence of parental involvement with their children's activities at school, Porter's conclusion is apt: "If the parents are given the opportunity to interact in the pursuit of common goals, like the planning of innovative school programs, their own racial attitudes may be modified".

In an integrated situation, the teacher needs to have, among other skills, the ability to handle racial incidents. These require immediate and skilful handling. The passing of an obviously negative racial remark against a child of another group, even if this could be assumed to be echolalia, requires that, for example, the child be firmly told that this is unacceptable behaviour. It would be unwise to dwell too much on the unacceptability of this behaviour as not only may this attract the attention of everyone in the class, but the offender and indeed the victim may begin to think that what was said was probably correct and simply unpopular among the victim's group.

What is clear so far is that for the young black child to develop positive feelings about himself and other members of his group, we need,
among other things, a sound educational system combined with an active stress on interracial tolerance. By this I do not mean that some mention of 'race' should be allocated to Bible Studies, Social Studies, Black Studies, etc. (or indeed to, as Porter (1971) calls it, a weekly "tolerance hour"). The atmosphere of the classroom, created by the teacher's attitudes, play equipment, teaching materials may be more effective in enhancing the self esteem of the young black child than any direct teaching about 'race'.

Firstly, however, the attitudes of teachers in general have to be changed so that they realise and recognise that Britain is essentially a multiracial, multicultural society. Teacher training programmes including in-service training, have a large part to play in the changing of attitudes among teachers, particularly head teachers who have a great deal of influence on the contents of teaching materials. Not many teachers, as shown by the Schools Council report (1978) believe that young children of four and five years do possess, or are beginning to develop, "racial attitudes". Teacher training programmes therefore do have a duty to provide opportunities for investigating interracial materials even if the teacher concerned wishes to teach in an all-white school.

What influence can the school have in the light of the evidence on the influence of the mass media, including television, on the way young children regard themselves and others? The school cannot be set apart from society and so inevitably reflects the current thinking and nature of society. It is not surprising to find that teaching materials do not reflect the multiracial nature of the classroom; society (reflected in the school) has not yet come to terms with the multiracial, multicultural nature of itself. The issue here is that society has to first come to terms with itself, and then the schools may begin to reflect this in their teaching materials. The young child spends most of his waking hours at school and so it behoves the school to do its duty by him by providing him with positive images of himself and his people. Black parents as shown
previously, rely heavily on the impact teachers can have on most aspects of their children's development. These parents do try, when they feel that their efforts are valued, as in the situation of the Supplementary school, to help where they can. Some individual teachers wish to help the young black child and his group, but lack the knowledge to translate their intentions into positive classroom situations. Others are not convinced of, or are not willing to accept the multiracial nature of the classroom - "they are all the same" or "they do not matter". Such people should be helped to examine the nature of their prejudice or better still, would be best kept out of the multiracial classroom altogether.

In concluding, there is very little doubt that the late 1970s demand that materials used in the classroom should be multiracial in content. Such a proposal is viewed as one that will carry the young black child beyond the single classroom and under the guise of experiential education, circulate the child through the school into the surrounding community and back into the classroom. The underlying process is one which can involve the young child in a degree of individual freedom and the opportunity to know and understand his fellowmen.

How is the Commission for Racial Equality concerning itself with the 'problem'? It has consultations and conferences with local education authorities and Colleges of Education on the educational implications of a multiracial society. It has stimulated the development of liaisons such as the home/school links and has suggested programmes for cultural and religious education in schools. The Commission has also initiated a register in which Colleges of Education indicate whether (a) they have courses with a multiracial emphasis, and (b) teaching practice in a multiracial setting is afforded those students who want to make use of it. This register allows exchanges to be made if necessary. Most Community Relation Councils have educational panels which may act as agents to help ethnic groups meet such needs as supplementary schools, day nurseries and
adventure playgrounds, theatre productions which portray their cultural heritage or current life situation, mobile book displays of multicultural literature etc. A number of community projects enable children, both black and white, to get to know more about their own and other groups with the hope that tolerance will replace ignorance.

Is there any indication that the introduction of multicultural teaching materials into the classroom does improve the self regard of young black children? I shall be considering this very question in the next section, but it must be pointed out at this stage that the long term effects of these experimental methods have not been proven and so any conclusion as to their positive effects should be drawn with some reservations.

Experimental Methods

A fair amount of research has been carried out on the modification of the young black child's self concept through (a) introduction of 'special' materials for a limited period, and (b) conditioning. However, generalizations are extremely limited by the methodological flaws inherent in many of the studies. Many lack proper controls, sufficient sampling techniques and clear descriptions of methodology. What is clear from the results of these studies, however, is that the periodic 'injection' of special material designed to improve the black child's sense of worth is ineffective. As I have argued earlier in this chapter, the "whole school" concept, i.e. changes in the entire curriculum and indeed in the attitudes of the teachers, seems to be the answer in any attempt to improve the black child's self concept. This approach is necessary not only for the younger age group but also for older children, as a number of studies have demonstrated (e.g. Freyburg, 1967; Grant, 1973; Simms, 1976; Dimos, 1970; Wilder, 1977) no significant change in self concept following 'incidental' teaching of 'Black Studies'. 
John McAdoo (1970) administered the Pre-school Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAAM II) to a group of black pre-schoolers. Following a programme designed to give the children a positive experience in learning about the group to which they belong and to help them to develop positive feelings about themselves as members of that group, he found that the children displayed slightly more white bias than they did before the project was set up. The programme consisted of songs, stories, games and art activities for three one-hour sessions each week for a period of six weeks. Pre- and Post-test mean scores on the two halves of the PRAAM II were 7.48 and 8.48 respectively. In other words, this brief "injection" programme actually made things slightly worse.

Another study carried out by Patricia Walker (1971) compared the PRAAM II scores of two groups of Euro-American and two groups of Afro-American pre-schoolers before and after the introduction of a 'special curriculum' to one each of both groups. The programme consisted of a fifteen- to twenty-minute story period conducted by their class teachers, for six weeks using books which portrayed blacks in a favourable manner or showed them playing or working together with whites in a mutually satisfying way. The other two groups used books which dealt with animals or they simply discussed 'informational' topics. Results revealed "no appreciable change in PRAAM II scores as a result of the special curriculum received by the two experimental classes."

Another even more detailed study was undertaken by Deborah Best (1973). Best controlled for both teacher and curriculum variables but found that neither of these had any significant effect on post-test scores in the direction predicted.

The last three studies are clear indications of situations where there have been "injections" of special curriculum. What is not surprising about them is that they have failed to change the young black child's attitudes toward himself and his group. I shall now review four
studies which have demonstrated some change in children's attitudes towards themselves and others like them. What is noticeable about these studies is that they come somewhat nearer to the idea of the 'whole school' concept mentioned earlier. In so doing they have managed to show some change in attitudes. These studies relied on materials which represented the child's present situation, and the materials were presented as part of the children's regular curriculum and not as a separate subject. The race and personal commitment of the teacher appeared to be a significant factor, in that in cases where these were the same as that of the members of the class the materials presented appeared to have had some effect on feelings of self worth.

Anna Yancey (1972) exposed a group of seven-year-old white American children to what Williams (1977) calls a "multifaceted total push approach" which was aimed at the development of positive associations with the colour black and with dark-skinned people. At the end of a thirty-day period, she found that the mean score of her subject dropped from 9.80 to 6.15 on the two halves of the PRAM II. This indicated that by the end of the course, the children were just as likely to associate both bad and good words with both types of figures.

Yancey's study differed from the others outlined above in at least four respects. Firstly, to the children, the course appeared to be an integral part of their ordinary curriculum, as Yancey was their regular class teacher. (In an earlier chapter, I pointed out that children, and particularly black children, appear to become very anxious in the face of threatening, new situations especially when presented by a white person. It is unlikely then that their attitudes to themselves would improve if they are suddenly 'confronted' by a white researcher with materials which the researcher himself thinks should be relevant material for the young black child).
In the other studies, the researcher simply visited the schools, administered the tests and carried out their post-test investigations. Their commitment was possibly at the level of needing to gain their Ph.Ds, or being able to produce an article. Yancey appeared to have had a personal commitment to the project and this may have created an atmosphere where the children felt willing and able to participate in the project. Yancey's outline of her project indicates the third way in which her study differed from those which failed to show any significant difference in attitudes towards self and others on post-test:

"Each day a biography of a famous American negro was presented to the experimental group followed by a short discussion and the reading of one or two (dependent on length) library books about black children ... The stories either showed clear illustrations of black children or adults as central characters or else they showed multiracial situations with Blacks and Whites as central characters. The stories selected also portrayed Blacks in a positive manner without negative stereotypes ... (The children) were allowed to make short comments about the story as it was presented, but discussion was withheld until the completion of the story ... On Friday of each week the children became involved in special art activities using either black or brown as the predominant colour. During a ten- to fifteen-minute free time period existing immediately after lunch, the children were encouraged to individually express their own creative notions concerning the colour black or black people. Rainy afternoons provided an opportunity to show film strips or movies in place of the scheduled recess ... All of these films depicted black people and/or the colour black in a favourable perspective."

Another facet of the study was scheduled each day for 2 p.m. when the experimental group returned from maths classes. This involved
the selection of a slip of paper from either a black or a white box ... The white box contained slips of paper with messages, 73% of which were neutral and 23% of which were positive. In the black box were messages, 75% of which were positive and 23% of which were neutral. No negative messages were contained in either box. An example of a neutral message was "George Washington was the first president of the U.S." - Positive messages included such things as an extra 10 or 15 minutes free time period, or a treat such as two black jelly beans ... The choice of boxes was determined by a majority vote". (Yancey, 1972, pp.24-26).

It is clear that Yancey tried to put forward the positive side of black and blackness as often as was possible. Fourthly, from previous evidence that children tend to develop certain 'bad' feelings about black people at the same time that they are developing bad associations with the colour black (Williams, 1970), Yancey tried to get the children to not only associate positive things with black people but also with the colour black, through art work and the black and white box game.

What do we learn from Yancey's (1972) study regarding changing young children's attitudes towards black and blackness? Yancey carried out her study with white children but there is no obvious reason why the same procedure should not work to some degree with young black children. The approach young black children need is one in which the researcher, preferably their own class teacher, is fully committed to the idea so that the 'effort' no longer becomes a project but a way of life. The idea that 'black is good' should percolate all aspects of school life using current material, and should not be set aside for set periods as though black is only positive from two to three o'clock each day. The ideal situation would be one in which the teacher, like themselves, is black and recognises the need for positive efforts towards black self concept formation.
Andrews (1971) investigated the effects of "Black Studies" on the self concept of 78 five-year-old black children from three kindergarten classes in Southern U.S.A. The children were exposed to curriculum materials which focused on the everyday life of black Americans, their institutions, their symbol systems, roles and relationships within the black community, as well as information about ancient through to contemporary Africa. All three teachers were black and the material was presented as part of the regular curriculum, and not as a separate subject. Two research instruments were administered before and after the treatment period of four months: the modified Piers-Harris children's self concept test and the ABC Inventory Readiness Test. Periodic classroom observations of the children were recorded by the researcher and the teachers. In addition, the children's creative poems, dictated stories, songs, plays, art work and other original products were displayed during the four-month period. One of Andrews' conclusions was that: "Negro children developed a more positive self concept as a result of being exposed to the program".

What comes over from the above study is that the children felt valued for their efforts. They were able to display their accomplishments. Maslow (1954) (discussed in Chapter 2) claims that one of man's basic needs is to be esteemed. This accomplished, the child continues to value himself given the support of his significant others. Andrews' (1971) study therefore goes one step further in demonstrating what the young black child needs in order to develop positive feelings about himself as a member of a group which many others regard as second rate.

Burton and Weissbach (1974) compared two groups of black seven-year-olds who attended either a community-controlled or a public school. On the administration of the Clark doll test, they found that the children who attended the black community-controlled school displayed more own-race identification than those in the other group. The community-controlled school was staffed entirely by black teachers, used materials which
represented black people's present experience in America, and concentrated on achievements rather than 'downfalls' among black people, and continually encouraged the children in their efforts.

Very few studies have been carried out in England which have set out to investigate the impact of 'cultural' teaching on four- to seven-year-olds. Researchers have concentrated on the older age group of twelve- to fifteen-year-olds. However, one well-recognised study was carried out between 1973 and 1974 by Dr. David Milner. Following his previous study of four- to eight-year-olds in 1970, he concluded: "We felt that the absence of black personnel on the whole in British schools denied black children models with which they could identify". Thus, after a year's exposure to black teachers and multicultural materials, fewer black and Asian children displayed a preference for whiteness. The pre- and post-test instrument was the Clark Doll Test. On the pre-test, thirty per cent of the West Indians said they looked like the white doll and seventy-eight per cent wanted to be like the white doll. Figures for the Asian children were thirty-one and eighty per cent respectively. Post-test figures showed that only ten per cent of both West Indian and Asian children identified with the white doll and only twenty-four per cent of West Indians and twenty-eight per cent of Asians wanted to be white.

The lamentable dearth of curriculum development in this area in Britain leads me to suggest that firstly educationalists need to recognise that children of three years and above do possess certain 'attitudes' about black and blackness. More black teachers should be trained, and employed, in multiracial schools; more multicultural literature should be introduced; and a 'whole school' policy, instead of 'injections' into areas such as Religious Education, Social Studies, etc. should be developed. The older generation of the black community needs to come to terms with the need, emotional and physical, for black children to develop a special pride about being black. This done, they then need to put pressure on
educationalists to provide their children with the necessary experience to develop positive feelings about themselves and their group.

Unfortunately, there is very little evidence to suggest that attitude changes induced by experimental intervention will persist through time. This is an added reason why the experience needs to be a continuous and reinforcing one for the black child if the change is to be permanent. Banks (1972) in his survey of attitude change suggests that there is a tendency for modified attitudes to revert to the pre-experimental ones although the effects of the experimental treatment may not diminish completely. The most important variable appears to be the attitudes and predispositions of the teacher.

Williams and Morland (1977) commenting on the changes and lasting effects of such programmes, remark: "... these changes can be accomplished not only in an interpersonal, interview-type situation, but also via a teaching-machine procedure. We observed that the effects of the direct behaviour modification were not confined to the training situation per se but generalised to a testing situation involving stimulus materials not employed in the training situation. There is evidence that modification effects can be observed one year following the original training. Thus, direct behaviour modification procedures can bring about a general and somewhat persisting change in racial attitude in young children".

Another method by which the young black child's view of himself may be modified is through a process known as 'conditioning'. Some psychologists have demonstrated that attitude formation in human beings is subject to a process of conditioning that is similar to that by which Pavlov's (1927) dogs learned to salivate when presented with a sound or light. This process is termed 'classical conditioning' and occurs when there is an association of certain words or actions (unconditioned stimulus) with a certain stimulus (conditioned stimulus). In the case of the modification of a white bias, the colours white and black are associated with words
which have heavy emotional overtones. Other psychologists attempt to modify attitudes using the principles of 'operant conditioning'. In these cases, the subject's response is followed by positive or negative reinforcement. Reinforcement may be given through words or actions. I shall be discussing the latter category first as attitude change in young children appears to be more amenable to change by this method than by the former. The pre- and post-test instrument used in most cases is the PRAM II. This is indicative of the recency of (a) the idea that young children do have racial attitudes; (b) the nature of these, and (c) the assumption that these may be modified.

Williams and Edwards (1969) were the first researchers to carry out investigations of the modification of young children's attitudes to the colours white and black and to light and dark-skinned people, through behaviour modification. Their subjects were white American pre-schoolers who were given the CMF I, in which each choice was followed by positive reinforcement or punishment. Positive reinforcement consisted of saying "fine" or "all right" to the child and giving him/her three candies, and was done when the child made 'unconventional' responses. For choosing black with "good" words and white with "bad" words, the child was rewarded. Punishment consisted of saying "no" and withdrawing two pennies which had been given to the child at the start of the procedure. This happened when the child chose white animals in response to "good" adjectives and black in response to "bad" adjectives. Williams and Edwards found that their 64 experimental subjects abandoned their initial white bias and eventually developed a 'moderate' black bias, after they were exposed to twelve trials. The twenty children in the control group continued to display a white bias. Two weeks after the completion of the trials, the children were given the PRAM I and results showed that while seventy per cent of the control subjects displayed a pro-Euro bias, only forty-eight per cent of the trained subjects did.
It could be seen then that a modification of the white bias had resulted in a reduction in the pro-Euro attitudes that the trained children originally displayed. No long term follow-up of the subjects was attempted, but other evidence suggests that the effects of "one-off" programmes such as this will rapidly fade (Best et al, 1975).

John McAdoo (1970) in another part of his study described earlier in this chapter, examined the effects of positive and negative reinforcement on the attitude of 65 three- to five-year-old black children over an eight-week period. An attempt was made to balance the race, sex and experimenter bias of the testers. Black students were used as experimenters. The training procedure involved the loss of pennies when a 'customary' response was made to black or white animals and the giving of candies when a 'non-customary' response was made. Post-test data showed that racial attitudes can be changed in both a positive and a negative direction. Like Williams and Edwards (1969), they found that negative reinforcement caused greater changes in attitudes than positive reinforcement.

Assuming a relationship between culturally induced connotations for the colours black and white and attitudes toward black and white people, Shanahan (1972) attempted to neutralise the children's connotations for black and white objects (animals and toys) using a positive/negative reinforcement schedule. Shanahan found that a positive/negative reinforcement was successful in modifying the black-white colour connotation of his twenty-eight experimental subjects, in comparison with controls. He found also that race was a significant factor in colour connotation modification, with black subjects demonstrating a more positive connotation for the colour black and a more negative connotation for the colour white than the white subjects. What was important about Shanahan's findings was that successful black-white colour modification did not significantly modify the experimental subjects' racial concept attitudes as measured
by the PRAM II. One of the reasons he gave for this finding supports my claim for the 'whole school' concept when trying to influence a child's feelings about himself. Shanahan remarks that: "A second factor affecting the failure of successful black-white connotation modification to significantly alter racial concept attitudes may have been the supportive multiracial nature of the subjects' classroom". What he means is that the general and customary classroom environment was a much more powerful determinant of racial attitudes than any short-term experimental technique.

Another study similar to those described above was carried out by Richard Traynham (1974). He tried to modify the white bias (on the CMI) and hence the pro-Euro bias (on the PRAM) of forty five-year-old and forty eight-year-old white American children. Reward and punishment were used for unconventional and conventional responses respectively and he found that two weeks after training, children at both age levels in the experimental groups were now displaying an appreciable degree of pro-Afro bias as demonstrated on the PRAM II. The control group continued to display the usual pro-Euro bias.

Margaret Spencer (1973) showed that modification of attitudes may be achieved even when reinforcement (positive or negative) is delivered by mechanical means. She used a mechanical puppet to deliver reinforcements to three- to six-year-old black and white children, initially in response to black and white animals and later in response to light and dark-skinned figures as shown in the PRAM II. Spencer's findings indicated that a pro-Euro bias may be weakened by modification of the white-black colour bias and also that this may be modified even further by direct training. The training procedure was just as effective for the younger children as it was for the older ones.

A few researchers have attempted to modify children's colour and racial concept attitudes through the association of white and black with words which are 'high in affective meaning'. Jeffrey Collins (1973) found
no difference on post-test CIL II and PRAM II scores for white American pre-school children who were exposed to tape-recorded stories - one group listening to a story in which white animals were described positively and black animals described with a number of negative adjectives, while a control group listened to a story where there was no reference to colour.

Thomas Parish (1972, 1976) undertook two studies in which he used a classical conditioning technique. In his study of 1972, he trained white American pre-schoolers to associate the colour black with words such as "cake", "Christmas" and "friend". The post-test measure was a version of the CIL II in which the child was presented with pictures (singly) of black animals and asked, for example, "Is this a smart dog or a stupid dog?" Parish found a reduction in the association of black animals with 'bad' adjectives, but also found that the children's attitudes to figures with dark skins had not altered (as shown by the PRAM II).

Parish exposed his white pre-school subjects to a projection of the colours black, orange, blue and green on a wall. Each colour was presented thirty-six times but the colour black was always associated with a positive word which the children had to repeat. The children were divided into groups which received training for differing lengths of time - two, four and eight sessions. Parish's argument following his 1972 experience, was that perhaps it was the length of the training session which was the important variable. On post-test administration of the PRAM II, he found that the Euro (i.e. white) bias previously found among the group had been reduced in comparison to the length of the training period so that the eight-session training displayed an unbiased position overall. Parish's conclusion was that classical conditioning technique can be effective in modifying the young child's attitude to the colours black, and white, and to light and dark-skinned people.

What Parish's (1976) study does illustrate is that young children's (black or white) attitudes to dark-skinned people cannot be changed quickly
or by short-term methods. Because of the cultural connotation of the colours black and white, they have come to what may be termed a 'logical' conclusion about people who have been designated as belonging to these colour groupings. The implications of these attitudes are even more important now that many dark-skinned people prefer to be called 'black'.

While the above researchers reinforced their young subjects within a specific setting at certain times of the day, other investigators have adopted an interactionist approach to the modification of attitudes. This seems to me a more sensible approach since attitudes are acquired through interaction with significant others. This, however, does not preclude the use of the former. The locus of symbolic interactionist theory as expressed by James (1890) and Mead (1934) is that self-concept is cultivated by the process of social contacts and interaction with key significant others. Davidson and Lang (1960) found that the evaluations children make of themselves are related to their teachers' evaluations of them. Using this theory as a base, Washington (1976) trained the teachers and parents of thirty-six black American three- to five-year-olds from a number of Day Care centres, in methods of systematic reinforcement. Before the children became involved in the project, Washington held workshops for parents and teachers together covering the following areas: (1) systematic use of positive reinforcement by teachers (weekly one-to-one conferences accenting a child's successes, identification of strengths and mutual goal setting); (2) systematic dissemination of self-awareness information to the child on a daily basis (twenty-minute small group informational and activities session each morning); (3) systematic parental attention and positive reinforcement of the child's school work (parent/child homework form).

What appears to be happening in Washington's (1976) scheme is that significant others are concentrating on helping the young black child come to a better view of himself through a success-oriented pattern of
learning. It is no understatement to suggest that many teachers do have lower expectations of their black students than of their white ones (Rist, 1970). Washington thus trained his teachers to highlight accomplishments and set goals for the child with his help. Daily self awareness sessions helped the child to recognise positive things about himself and his family together with accomplishments of other black people within the community. In his scheme, Washington recognised the importance of parents, as attitudes need to be reinforced throughout the day and not simply for a few hours of the day as depicted in the other studies using the conditioning technique. Parents were expected to spend a few minutes each week with the child discussing the goal that he or she is working on and accomplishments throughout.

The post-test instrument used was the Brown IDS Self Concept Referents Test in which the child had to respond to eleven bipolar adjectives (good-bad, happy-sad) first in terms of his own perception of himself, and then his perception of the teacher's perception of him. Results showed that the children exposed to the treatment perceived their teachers as having higher expectations of them than those who had not undertaken the treatment. The findings also lend support to the notion I explored earlier in this chapter that parents can play a key role in helping young black children to develop positive self concepts. As in the examples of the supplementary schools, parents were involved in a meaningful and significant way.

The importance of 'make-believe' as a method of enhancing self-esteem in young children has been encouraged by Smilansky's (1968) pioneering experiments into the impact of sociodramatic play. She concluded that following a course of sociodrama, children developed increased creativity, heightened concentration, more abstract thought, greater flexibility and empathy toward others, improved imitation of models and enhanced self-awareness and self-control. Smilansky suggests that sociodramatic play should be built into the curriculum of nursery
and infant schools, since an "as is" attitude or capacity for fantasy is necessary for a "rounded personality". Erikson (1940) has indeed shown that imaginative play can reduce anxiety by enhancing a child's sense of mastery over the unknown and over new and unfamiliar roles and relationships.

Noble et al. (1977) exposed ten deprived urban American children (ten controls) to the experience of sociodrama and found that after 6 four one-and-one-half hour sessions, the children drew themselves and adults more accurately than before, increased the number of physical descriptions of the current self, gave more statements indicating appreciation of individual differences and showed an awareness that these physical differences would persist in the future.

A second group of children were allowed to see themselves in action by means of a videofeedback. These children were also able to draw themselves more accurately than before, became more aware of their individual differences and were more verbally able to describe themselves than previously. Having seen themselves in action, the children were better able to envisage themselves in the future, and Noble adds: "Even at one level they were only aware that the colour of their hair, for example, would not change". At a more fundamental level the children increased the number of institutional role descriptions of themselves in ten years' time.

Noble (1973) also undertook some research among adolescents which showed that, as in symbolic interaction theory, "identity is harnessed to social context and in turn regulates overt behaviour". Both this and the above work with younger children suggest that the self becomes something of an object, or what Mead (1934) calls a "me", which may be critically evaluated when it is seen on a television screen or indeed extended through sociodrama. Noble found that children were not willing to view the video recording of themselves whenever they suspected that they were behaving in ways they would be ashamed of - just as an accurate reflection of such a self would be painful if reflected by people such children respected.
There are a number of strengths within this study, which if used with young black children should help to improve their general view of themselves as individuals and as members of a particular group. Any attempt to improve self image in young children through largely 'verbal' means is unlikely to be as successful as a non-verbal technique such as that used in the sociodrama or videofeedback. Sociodrama allows the child to, among other things, "act as a shadow to the expressive drama leader", move to dance and rhythm, mime and act out such familiar everyday scenes as a local wedding, washday at the launderette, father returning home. The "expressive leader" can help the black child by choosing to portray leaders within the black community with which the child would be familiar. Reggae and 'soul' music has a lot to offer the black child in terms of rhythm and 'feelings' (general atmosphere) within the black community, what they feel about white, so-called 'superiority' and what attempts they are making to deal with the situation. If one examines the rhythm and the 'movements' in America since the late 1960s one sees for example, how the "African Twist" revived the continued identification with Africa as did the 'naturals' (hairstyle), handshake and the daishiki. The "Tighten up" signified the need to close ranks against the oppressor and the "Lickin' Stick" showed disdain for the weapons of oppression. A climax was reached during the summer of 1968 in the explosiveness of the "Black Power Stomp" (Banks et al, 1972). Mimicking and acting familiar scenes within the black community can lead to an awareness of the importance of one's group and indeed one's self worth as a member of that group.

A young black child may view himself on the video screen taking a leading role in a group activity. This might well give him confidence to repeat the action in the future. Katz et al (1975) suggest that working class children (and many black children belong to this group) do not learn middle class standards and methods of self appraisal. It would appear that such children need practical situations from which to appraise
themselves and be appraised. I would think that a video screen would serve
a similar purpose in enhancing the self image as seeing photographs of
oneself and others like one (as discussed earlier in this chapter) would do.

What is clear so far is that there are a number of ways the self
concept of the young black child may be improved especially in relation to
himself as a member of the black race. There is no doubt, however, that
periodic "injections" of the notion of black and blackness into the
curriculum or at home is not enough to give the young child the confidence
he needs to withstand the implications, colour connotation and emotional,
of being black in a country where the majority of people are white and
more powerful socially and economically. Lloyd (1967) examined the
positive effects of a deliberate attempt to induce a positive attitude
towards the self image of 'blackness'. He taught the children to respond
to the taunt of "blackie" or "blackman" with "I know I'm black. So are
you and you should be proud of it". For this to become more than a
rhetoric for the period of the investigation, this programme, like those
employing either forms of the conditioning technique, will need to be
reinforced within other areas of life (such as the family) together with
other social institutions.

The best and most obvious approach to the enhancement of self
concept to my knowledge is a symbolic interactionist one. The technique
of operant conditioning falls somewhat into this category as it involves
the administration of reward and punishment by the child's significant
others. It is likely that conditioning techniques will fail when not
carried out by familiar and significant others, such as teachers and
parents. The attitudes of the significant others are therefore of crucial
importance if the attempt is to succeed. A number of the studies used
only white children as their subjects, but there is no evidence to
suggest that the modification of attitudes would not have been as
successful if the children had been black.
There is very little evidence of the lasting effect of modification of the pro-white/pro-Euro bias as measured by PRAM II. Best et al (1975) for example, followed up thirty of their thirty-nine black and white preschool subjects trained by operant conditioning techniques a year previously. They found that a majority of the children had reverted to a pro-Euro bias. This finding suggests that perhaps there had been no change on a macro level, i.e. other social institutions and perhaps the schools the children attended, did not portray an unbiased attitude towards the colours black and white or toward light and dark-skinned people.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it seems clear that conditioning techniques to change attitudes towards blackness, and towards oneself will only be effective if (a) they are administered by the child's significant others; (b) they are long-term techniques, incorporated into daily routine over a period of months; (c) there is multiple reinforcement for attitude change from peers, teachers, parents, the wider environment of the school, the neighbourhood, and the institutions of the wider society.

I have dealt with various techniques for changing attitudes to oneself and one's group because I think it would be valuable to replicate them in experimental studies which attempt to incorporate at least the first two conditions listed in above paragraph - that is, administration by those who are familiar to the child and those whom he respects; and administration over a long period of time, so that multiple reinforcements are built into the milieu in which the programme takes place.
CHAPTER 10

FINAL CONCLUSIONS: ETHNICITY, SELF-CONCEPT AND IDENTITY
FINAL CONCLUSIONS: ETHNICITY, SELF-CONCEPT AND IDENTITY

This study has been about the development of identity in black children. Identity is an extremely complex phenomenon, and concerns, within a matrix of developmental changes, all the things a person is and all the things he experiences. These elements of experience are incorporated in increasingly complex ways into the individual's identity: who he is, how he perceives himself, and how he chooses behavioural options; or is forced to behave when confronted with various role alternatives.

I have been unable to deal empirically with this whole developmental process, and the crucial years of adolescence. I have dealt instead with the early years of development of the black child, the period between three and seven years when consciousness of colour emerges, and evaluations of colour and ethnicity begin to be internalised.

The major empirical findings are as follows. Two standardized instruments for measuring the evaluation of colour and ethnicity in young children, the Colour Meanings Test (CMT II) and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM II) have been found to be reliable and valid measures in a British context, and they are probably valid too for use in the Caribbean. These instruments allow, for the first time, standardized comparisons of the evaluation of blackness and of black people across cultures, and within cultures at different points in time. It has been shown, in various groups, that the evaluation of colour as such is related to the evaluation of people of different colour.

As expected, young children in rural Jamaica displayed a considerable amount of pro-white bias, as did young West Indian children (including those of Jamaican origin) in the British schools studied. These strong white-biases imply that these young black children experience both problems of self-esteem concerning their ethnicity, and longer term problems in identity formation, as they have to come to terms with both
the fact of their ethnicity, their own early evaluation of that ethnicity, and the ways in which society evaluates ethnicity. There are interesting signs of identity conflict in the young black children in my British sample. Unlike their counterparts in rural Jamaica, whose evaluation of colour and ethnicity are equally negative, young blacks in my British sample displayed a "splitting" of levels of evaluation of colour and ethnicity, displaying more negative evaluation of colour than of ethnicity. Indeed, a significant minority of the West Indian children in the British sample switched from an extreme white bias on the CMT to a strong black bias on the PRAM. These children were, I think, beginning to appraise their ethnic identity in different terms, and the presence of a black interviewer in this test situation may have influenced this changing evaluation of blackness.

Whether this change in colour evaluation in the 18 per cent of my UK West Indian sample is a permanent one is difficult to say. Studies of change in colour evaluation, reviewed in detail in the previous chapter, have indicated that change is unlikely to be permanent unless the stimulus for change is multifaceted and long term; involves the child's significant others; and is reinforced by other important institutions in the child's life.

The sample of children in rural Jamaica, where white people are rarely seen, but where fair-skinned people (descendants of the overseers of slave times) still hold considerable prestige and power, show considerable biases in the evaluation of personal ethnicity. It is likely that the profound social and political changes that have taken place in Jamaica in the past two years are likely to have repercussions at the local level, and may affect the consciousness of both adults and children. The massive electoral victory of the People's National Party in 1977 and the change in national mood that preceded and followed the change in government was one in which the colonial traditions and the white domination of cultural and educational institutions were consciously attacked. In Jamaica now
people of property and privilege, the fair-coloured elite, the
administrators and the professors are sorely afraid and are leaving the
island as fast as they can export their capital.

The upsurge of black pride which is accompanying these social
changes is affecting schools as well as other institutions. If Jamaica
had the capital, she would design and print her own school textbooks,
instead of importing British ones which portray white people and white
attitudes. All Jamaican children are now learning Spanish, and Cuban
materials may be increasingly used in Jamaican schools. The Cuban
government has already built and equipped a junior secondary school. In
the Jubilee year of 1977 the Queen went to the Bahamas and Barbados. She
did not come to Jamaica; instead, Fidel Castro made a triumphant tour.

I think that it is likely that these radical changes in Jamaican
social structure will be accompanied by an increasing emphasis not only on
indigenous resources and institutions, but also by an increasing emphasis
on the potential of ordinary black people to come into their own, to run
their country. Power and self-enhancement go hand in hand. How quickly
will these changes affect the ethnic self-consciousness of children in
infant schools? This is an empirical question, and one which I may be
able to answer by means of further study with the CMT and PRAM in rural
Jamaica from which my sample was drawn.

The social changes which will affect the ethnic self-consciousness
of black children in British schools are of a different order, and relate
specifically to the position of blacks as a minority group in Britain. A
full, radical identity enhancing change in the ethnic consciousness of
black children and adolescents will not take place until black people in

1. Of recent bias in the textbook linked to the English GCE syllabuses
in human biology by A. Vines and N. Rees, Human Biology, published by
Pitman in 1973, and in use in some Jamaican high schools: "In the
last 500 years it is Western civilization that has made the greatest
advances and it is now spreading all over the world. The great
religions, Christianity, Mohammedianism, Buddhism, and the great art,
literature and science have all emanated from the Europiform peoples". (pp.36-37).
Britain identify themselves as a community, with communal interests in mutual support in the face of a generally racist and discriminatory society. Ideally, at some time in the future, the black West Indian community in Britain will be able to transmit to their children a positive evaluation of blackness which is of the level displayed by the African children in my London sample.

Two interesting and important policy implications emerge from the empirical study. Ethnic balance in the classroom does make a difference: the more black children in a classroom, the better the ethnic self-concept in the black children in those classes. At the same time, the ethnic self-concept of white children who are in a minority in these classes is not impaired, but rather seems to be enhanced. The model this points to is a pluralistic one, in which black and white co-exist in the same classroom, but have each a developed sense of ethnic self-consciousness. There is no reason why pride in one's ethnicity should lead to the devaluation of the ethnicity of others. But obviously the teacher's role is important here if pluralism in the classroom is to work.

The consequences of a failure by teachers to recognise the importance of ethnicity in identity development can be serious. I came across the case recently of a young child of Gujarati parents who was recently referred to social services. He refused to speak Gujarati at home, rejected his parents calling them "niggers", and denied that his skin was in any way dark, like that of his parents. In this case racism combined with the predominantly white culture of the school had led to an acute crisis of identity in this child. The school needs to transmit to children of all ethnic groups both knowledge of their traditional culture and language (including Creole, in the case of West Indian children), and a knowledge of and respect for, the culture and ethnicity of other children in the school.
A further interesting finding from the empirical study is that friendship choices outside the child's own colour group were associated with some devaluation of personal ethnic identity. Previous researchers have tended to deplore the tendency for children to make ingroup choices as they move up the junior school and into the secondary school. My own view is that this tendency is not to be deplored, but represents the development of valuable in-group support for children who would otherwise be ethnically isolated. Other research (reviewed by Bagley, Mallick and Verma, 1978) indicates that in older children, a higher proportion of black children in the classroom is associated with increased levels of self-esteem; this is certainly compatible with the view that the development of supportive in-groups in the classroom are important in the development of positive ethnic self-concept, and good self-esteem, which are essential elements in the development of a healthy identity structure, and an adequate level of self-actualization.
APPENDICES
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PRAM AND CML PROCEDURES

The Pre-school Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM) has been developed in order to assess the attitudes of pre-literate children toward Euro-American and Afro-American persons. The Color Meaning Test (CML) is a companion measure which has been developed to assess the attitudes of such children toward the colors white and black. Both procedures are picture-story techniques, and they share the same general rationale in which attitudes are assessed by means of children's responses to simple evaluative adjectives contained in the stories which they are told. A child who consistently selects one type of stimulus figure in response to positive, evaluative adjectives, and a different type of figure in response to negative adjectives, is in effect, displaying a positive attitude toward the former and a negative attitude toward the latter. This approach represents a simplified, downward extension of the evaluation factor of the semantic differential which has been shown to be an effective way of assessing attitudes among older children and young adults.

The same sets of evaluative adjectives are used for the PRAM and CML procedures. The stimulus figures differ with the PRAM pictures representing light- and dark-skinned human figures while the CML pictures represent white and black animal figures. In the original version of both procedures, twelve evaluative adjectives were employed to produce score ranges of 0-12. Both procedures have recently been revised and doubled in length to produce score ranges of 0-24. We will describe here the two revised procedures - known as PRAM II and CML II. Additional details concerning PRAM I and CML I may be found elsewhere (Williams and Robertson, 1967). Both PRAM and CML I have usually been administered by young women, but sex of examiner seems to have no effect on the scores obtained.

* reproduced from the Manual for the CML and the PRAM (Williams, 1974).
The PRAM II stimulus materials consist of 36 color photographs; 24 racial attitude pictures and 12 sex-role pictures. The CMT II stimulus materials consist of 12 color photographs.

**Preschool Racial Attitude Measure II (PRAM II)**

PRAM II is an individually-administered, picture-story procedure for the assessment of racial attitudes in young children. The procedure also yields a measure of the child's awareness of sex-typed behaviors which serves as a useful control measure of general conceptual development. PRAM II has been used successfully with children as young as three years of age and as old as nine. Administration time is approximately twenty minutes. The procedure is so designed that the first and second halves of the procedure constitute parallel short forms which may be administered separately, at different times.

**Test Materials**

The PRAM II test materials consist of 36 colored photographs and 36 associated stories. Twenty-four of the pictures and stories are used in the assessment of racial attitude while the remaining twelve are used to obtain the control sex-role score. The twenty-four racial attitude pictures each depict drawings of two dark-haired human figures which are identical in all respects, except that one has a pinkish-tan skin color ("Euro-American") while the other has a medium-brown skin color ("Afro-American").

In the series of 24 racial attitude pictures, figures of both sexes are employed, and a variety of ages - from young children to "grandparents" - are represented. The figures in the series are drawn in a variety of sitting, standing, and walking positions, with the pictures being otherwise generally ambiguous as to any activities in which the persons represented might be engaged. The twelve pictures used for the sex-role items each display a male and female figure of the same general age, and of the same race, with half of the pictures representing Euro-Americans and half Afro-Americans.
The size of the pictures in the standard PRAM set is 8 x 10 inches. The size of the photograph does not appear critical, however, since it has been demonstrated that virtually identical scores are obtained when 5 x 7 photographs are used.

Table 1
Adjectives Used in PRAM and CMT Procedures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Evaluative Adjectives</th>
<th>Negative Evaluative Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clean</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kind</td>
<td>mean</td>
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<td>naughty</td>
</tr>
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<td>stupid</td>
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<td>ugly</td>
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<td>friendly</td>
<td>cruel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td>sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>healthy</td>
<td>selfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helpful</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right</td>
<td>unfriendly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonderful</td>
<td>wrong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All 24 adjectives are used in PRAM II and CMT II procedures. Adjectives above dotted line were also used in PRAM I and CMT I.

The twenty-four evaluative adjectives used in the PRAM II procedure are shown in Table 1.

Administration

The standard procedure for the administration of PRAM II is as follows. The child is taken to a private room where he and the examiner are seated at a low table. After some initial conversation to build rapport, the examiner places the PRAM II picture notebook, stories, and answer sheet on the table and says:
"What I have here are some pictures I'd like to show you, and stories to go with each one. I want you to help me by pointing to the person in each picture that the story is about. Here, I'll show you what I mean". The examiner then opens the notebook to the first (sex-role) picture of a little boy and a little girl seated, and reads the first story: "Here are two children. One of these children has four dolls with which they like to have tea parties. Which child likes to play with dolls?" After recording the child's response, the examiner displays the second picture of two little boys, one Euro- and one Afro-American, walking, and reads the second story: "Here are two little boys. One of them is a kind little boy. Once he saw a kitten fall into a lake and he picked the kitten up to save it from drowning. Which is the kind little boy?" After recording the child's response, the examiner proceeds to picture three and story three, etc. until all thirty-six items (12 sex-role; 24 racial attitude) have been presented.

Scoring

The PHAM II racial attitude responses and sex role responses are scored in the following manner. The racial attitude score is determined by counting one point for the selection of the light-skinned figure in response to a positive adjective, and one point for the selection of a dark-skinned figure in response to a negative adjective. The racial attitude total (RA-T) score based on all 24 items thus has a range of 0-24, with high scores indicating a pro-Euro/anti-Afro bias (E+/A-), low scores indicating a pro-Afro/anti-Euro bias (A+/E-), and mid-range scores (around 12) indicating no bias. The 12 sex-role items are scored by giving one point for each conventional sex-appropriate response, yielding a possible score range of 0-12.

Due to the two-choice nature of the PRAM procedure, the binomial distribution provides a convenient way to determine when an individual child is responding in a manner which would be unlikely on a chance basis.
With 24 racial attitude response opportunities, the probability of an unbiased child obtaining a score of 17 or up is only .033; the same probability exists for scores of 7 or down. Thus, scores in the former category (17 up) are taken as evidence of a "definite" white bias, while scores in the latter category (7 down) reflect a "definite" black bias. Likewise, scores of 15 and 16, 8 and 9, are taken as evidence of "probable" bias, while the 10-14 mid-range is characterized as "unbiased".

**PRAI II**

**Series A**

1. **SR - Cauc. girl - cauc. boy - sitting**
Here are two children. One of these children has four dolls with which they like to have tea parties. Which child likes to play with dolls?

2. **RA - Negro little boy - Cauc. little boy - walking**
Here are two little boys. One of them is a kind little boy. Once he saw a kitten fall into a lake and he picked up the kitten to save it from drowning. Which is the kind little boy?

3. **RA - Cauc. little girl - Negro little girl - standing**
Here are two little girls. One of them is an ugly little girl. People do not like to look at her. Which is the ugly little girl?

4. **SR - Negro teenage boy - Negro teenage girl - sitting**
Here are two children. They are thinking about what they want to be when they grow up. One of them wants to be a policeman. Which one wants to be a policeman?

5. **RA - Cauc. teenage boy - Negro teenage boy - standing**
Here are two boys. One of them is a friendly boy. He has a lot of friends. Which one is the friendly boy?

6. **RA - Negro teenage girl - Cauc. teenage girl - walking**
Here are two girls. When a lady asked one of them where she lived, the girl gave the wrong answer. Which is the wrong girl?

7. **SR - Cauc. man - Cauc. woman - walking**
Here are two people. After supper one of these people clears the table and washes all the dishes. Which person washes the dishes?

8. **RA - Cauc. woman - Negro woman - sitting**
Here are two women. One of them is a nice woman. She does nice things for her husband and children. Which is the nice woman?
9. **RA - Negro man - Cauc. man - standing**

Here are two men. One of them is a bad man. He took money out of his children's piggy bank and never put it back. Which is the bad man?

10. **SR - Negro teenage girl - Negro teenage boy - standing**

Here are two young people. One of them works at a gas station after school. Which one works at a gas station?

11. **RA - Negro man - Cauc. man - standing**

Here are two men. One of them is a healthy man. He never has a cold or a high temperature. Which is the healthy man?

12. **RA - Cauc. woman - Negro woman - sitting**

Here are two women. One of them is a sad woman. She has been left alone with no one to talk to. Which is the sad woman?

13. **SR - Cauc. woman - Cauc. man - standing**

Here are two people. One of these people has baked two delicious apple pies. Which person baked the pies?

14. **RA - Cauc. little boy - Negro little boy - standing**

Here are two little boys. One of them is a clean little boy. Whenever he washes his face he also washes behind his ears. Which is the clean little boy?

15. **RA - Negro teenage girl - Cauc. teenage girl - sitting**

Here are two girls. One of them is a stupid girl. She doesn't even know how to spell her name. Which is the stupid girl?

16. **SR - Negro man - Negro woman - standing**

Here are two people. When the car won't run, one of them is always able to fix it. Which person can fix the car?

17. **RA - Cauc. man - Negro man - sitting**

Here are two men. One of them is a very selfish man. He does not care about anyone except himself. Which is the selfish man?

18. **RA - Negro woman - Cauc. woman - walking**

Here are two women. People say that one of them is a wonderful woman. She can do almost anything. Which is the wonderful woman?

19. **SR - Cauc. little girl - Cauc. little boy - standing**

Here are two children. One of them wants to grow up and be a cowboy. Which child wants to be a cowboy?

20. **RA - Negro little girl - Cauc. little girl - sitting**

Here are two little girls. Everyone says that one of them is very pretty. Which is the pretty girl?
21. RA - Cauc. little boy - Negro little boy - sitting

Here are two little boys. One of them is a very naughty little boy. He drew pictures on the walls of his house with his crayons and upset his mother. Which is the naughty little boy?

22. SR - Negro little boy - Negro little girl - standing

Here are two children. One of them likes to dress up in their mother's clothes and pretend that they are grown up. Which child likes to dress up in their mother's clothes?

23. RA - Cauc. teenage girl - Negro teenage girl - standing

Here are two girls. One of them is a happy girl. She smiles almost all of the time. Which one is the happy girl?

24. RA - Negro teenage boy - Cauc. teenage boy - sitting

Here are two boys. One of them is a cruel boy. When he comes home from school and his dog runs to meet him, he kicks his dog. Which is the cruel boy?

25. SR - Cauc. woman - Cauc. man - sitting

Here are two people. One of them likes to go shopping. When they go shopping they like to buy new dresses. Which person likes to buy new dresses?

26. RA - Cauc. man - Negro man - walking

Here are two men. One of them is a mean man. He throws rocks at dogs and cats when they come into his yard. Which is the mean man?

27. RA - Negro woman - Cauc. woman - standing

Here are two women. One of them is a good woman. She does things for her neighbors and her children. Which is the good woman?

28. SR - Negro man - Negro woman - sitting

Here are two people. One of them built a barn for their animals to live in. Which person built the barn?

29. RA - Negro woman - Cauc. woman - standing

Here are two women. One of them is a helpful woman. Whenever someone is sick she goes to help them. Which is the helpful woman?

30. RA - Cauc. man - Negro man - sitting

Here are two men. One of them is an unfriendly man. He will not speak to any of the children playing in his neighborhood. Which is the unfriendly man?

31. SR - Cauc. woman - Cauc. man - standing

Here are two young people. One of them likes to play football every afternoon after school. Which one likes to play football?
32. RA - Cauc. teenage boy - Negro teenage boy - walking

Here are two boys. One of them is a smart boy. When the T.V. set breaks, he can fix it all by himself. Which is the smart boy?

33. RA - Negro little girl - Cauc. little girl - walking

Here are two little girls. One of them is a dirty little girl. People say she does not take a bath very often. Which is the dirty little girl?

34. SR - Negro teenage boy - Negro teenage girl - walking

Here are two young people. One of them likes to wear lipstick. Which one likes to wear lipstick?

35. RA - Cauc. man - Negro man - walking

Here are two men. One of these men is right. When someone asks him a question, he always knows the right answer. Which man is right?

36. RA - Negro woman - Cauc. woman - standing

Here are two women. One of them is a sick woman. She has to stay in the house most of the time. Which is the sick woman?
APPENDIX B

Examples of the Stimulus Material Used in the Colour Meaning Test and in the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure

CMT: Two pigs - "Mr. Jones has two pigs. One of them is an ugly pig. He is so ugly Mr. Jones doesn't want anybody to see it. Which is the ugly pig?"

PRAM: Two young girls - "Here are two little girls. One of them is an ugly little girl. People do not like to look at her. Which is the ugly little girl?"

Note: These photocopies do not produce accurately the shade or the colours of the original stimulus material.
APPENDIX C: THE ZILLER SELF-ESTEEM MEASURE FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

Example of responses of a child with either low self-esteem (more association with the bad than the good) or high self-esteem (more association with the good than the bad).
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REFERENCES


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