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SELF-CONCEPT AS A FUNCTION OF  
SOCIALIZATION IN THE DOMINANT CULTURE: A  
COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND THIRD GRADE  
CHICANO CHILDREN ON THE DOLLS TEST

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Frank Veliz

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Doctoral degree in Adult & Continuing  
Education

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SELF-CONCEPT AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIALIZATION IN THE  
DOMINANT CULTURE: A COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND  
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By

Frank Veliz

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## ABSTRACT

### SELF-CONCEPT AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIALIZATION IN THE DOMINANT CULTURE: A COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND THIRD GRADE CHICANO CHILDREN ON THE DOLLS TEST

By

Frank Veliz

#### Purpose

The purpose of the study was to provide empirical data substantiating the assumption that many Mexican-American children between the ages of four and eight develop a negative self-concept due to their experience in the dominant Anglo culture. The purpose was accomplished by means of data obtained from a carefully designed experiment involving the Dolls Test administered to a sample of 32 four-year-olds and 32 eight-year-olds.

#### Methodology

A Chicano sample of 32 four-year-olds (16 boys, 16 girls) and 32 eight-year-olds (16 boys, 16 girls) was selected randomly from the Cristo Rey Community Center of Lansing, Michigan and elsewhere in the city. Each of the 64 subjects was given the Dolls Test. Each subject

was asked to select either a Chicano doll or an Anglo doll in response to the questionnaire (the instrument)--there were ten--such as "Show me the pretty figure," or "Show me the figure you don't like." The favored doll was rated either 1, 2, or 3, depending on the degree of favor; the other doll was rated zero. The not-favored doll was rated either -1, 02, or -3, depending on the degree of disfavor; the other doll was rated zero. Individual scores were obtained by subtracting the Anglo doll score from the Chicano doll score for all ten statements. Thus a "relative" self-concept score was obtained for each of the 64 subjects and used in the testing of three research hypotheses: (1) the eight-year-old Chicano children will as a group show significantly more negative self-concept than the four-year-old Chicano children; (2) the group of four-year-old Chicano children will be either positive or at least neutral in self-concept; and (3) the eight-year-old Chicano children will be negative in their self-concept.

### Major Results

Hypothesis one and hypothesis three were rejected; hypothesis two was accepted. Both groups of children were neutral with respect to self-concept, and did not differ significantly from each other on self-concept. The sex and the researcher variables did not differentiate the self-concept variable; that is, whether subjects were

positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether they were boys or girls, or whether the researcher was Anglo or Chicano. However, Cristo Rey Community Center experience did differentiate the self-concept variable. Those subjects who attended the Center's programs were significantly higher in positive self-concept than those who did not.

This Thesis is Dedicated

to

Margaret Veliz

(my encouraging wife)

to

Scott, Brenda, and Jodi Veliz

(my beloved children)

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### Background of the Problem

The role played by the Chicano community in the socialization or educational process of the child is influenced by society at large. Many factors within this wider society influence the educational process involving the Chicano child, factors rooted in the various economic, psychological, and political patterns of the social fabric. In particular, ethnic attitudes develop in the context of cultural and group norms, parental influences, education, socioeconomic status, religious influences, frustration, and the displacement of hostility (Harding, 1969).

According to Getzels (1969), minority cultural values and school cultural values held by a dominant culture may be incongruent in many instances. Expectations of the school and the values of the dominant culture tend to be congruent, but the expectations of most schools and the values of the dominant culture are usually incongruent with the disposition of the minority culture.

Rist (1970) graphically portrayed how the school helps to reinforce the class structure of the society. In an observational study of a class of ghetto children during their

kindergarten, first- and second-grade years, he showed how the kindergarten teacher placed the children in reading groups which reflected the social class composition of the children, and how these groups persisted throughout the first several years of elementary school. Thus student social class became the basis of teacher expectations which in turn became the basis of a self-fulfilling prophecy: "The way in which the teacher behaved toward the different groups became an important influence on the children's achievement." (p. 411).

According to Rist, the teacher being observed developed certain expectations regarding certain students with respect to characteristics that she considered essential for future academic success, and that the teacher reinforced, through her mechanisms of "positive" differential behavior, those characteristics of the children that she considered important and desirable. There were formal separations of reading groups within the classroom.

The treatment of those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds within the classrooms by the teachers may have indicated that the values highly esteemed by them were not open to members of the lower groups. Thus the lower groups were in numerous ways informed of their lower status and were socialized for a role of lower self-expectations and also for respect and deference towards those of higher status (Rist, 1970, p. 447).

Some three decades ago, Clark (1955) noted that as children develop an awareness of racial differences and of their racial identity, they also develop an awareness and

acceptance of the current social attitudes and values associated with their race and skin color.

The early rejection of the color brown by Negro children is part of the combination of attitudes and ideas of the child who knows that he must be identified with something that is being rejected--and something that he himself rejects. This pattern introduces, early in the formation of the personality of these children, a fundamental conflict about themselves (p. 46).

Chicanos are a minority group that has acquired negative group images in the dominant Anglo society. The images of illegal alien and "wetback" have arisen out of the traditional employment of many Chicanos by agribusiness corporations (Briggs, 1973). The majority group in America often lumps all Mexican-Americans into one group, thereby creating psychological and social stereotypes. According to Cross and Maldonado (1971):

The Anglo-American sees the Mexican-American as immoral, violent, given to fighting, dirty, unintelligent, improvident, irresponsible, and lazy . . . All persons existing on the lower socioeconomic levels of our society are popularly visualized as uncontrolled, aggressive, sexually promiscuous, primitive, and insensitive. The Mexican-American sees the Anglo-American as unsympathetic, aggressive, selfish, cold, and demanding (p. 27).

There is little reason to believe that this pattern has changed significantly, if at all, over the years.

Spanish-speaking children are often traumatized by being relegated to inferior status or categories, much of this due to lack of familiarity with the English language (Ortega, 1970). By the mid-seventies, the growth of bilingual education

programs had somewhat ameliorated this condition (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1977), but the problem still remains. Incidents of discrimination, segregation, and social ostracism have tended to reflect and reinforce low self-concept and breed frustration and aggression. "Mexican-American parents from the lower socioeconomic groups often do not know what the educative process means in the lives of their children" (Cross & Maldonado, 1971, p. 29). Thus the parents may not be aware of the gradual negative impact of the socialization process, much of which occurs in school for young children, on their own children.

The development of negative self-concept in young Chicano children as a result of the socialization process in the dominant culture has been little studied by means of systematic, controlled observations. The development of racial awareness and racial preferences in black children was studied by Clark (1955) by means of the "Dolls Test." To determine the extent of consciousness of skin color in these children between three and seven years old, Clark showed the children four dolls all from the same mold and dressed alike. The only difference in the dolls was that two were brown and two were white. The children were asked to choose among the dolls in answer to certain requests such as "Give me the Negro doll" or "Give me the colored doll" or "Give me the white doll." Clark found that the children reacted with strong awareness of skin color. Clark indicated

that the findings supported the conclusion that racial awareness is present in Negro children as young as three years old. "Furthermore, this knowledge develops in stability and clarity from year to year, and by the age of seven it is part of the knowledge of all Negro children" (p. 19). The present research studied Chicano children after the method of Clark.

#### Statement of the Problem

The problem studied was stated in the form of three research questions. The first two were answered on the basis of a literature review.

1. How does self-concept of Chicano children depend on the socialization process within the dominant Anglo culture? In particular, how do cultural and group norms, parental influences, education, socioeconomic status, frustrations, and the displacement of hostility in both the Chicano and dominant Anglo culture help shape ethnic attitudes and Chicano self-concepts?

2. What are some empirical studies which document the development of racial awareness and self-concept in Chicano children from ages three through eight? What is the role of skin color in creating self-awareness and self-concept? What are some specific research instruments employed for this purpose and what have been the results of these studies?

The third research question was answered on the basis

of a Dolls Test applied to a sample of Chicano boys and girls.

3. On the basis of their responses to questions about a Chicano doll and an Anglo doll, how would a sample of four-year-old Chicano boys and girls compare with a sample of eight-year-old Chicano boys and girls? Specifically, it was expected that (1) the eight-year-olds would show significantly more negative self-concept than the four-year-olds. (2) the four-year-olds would be positive in self-concept, and (3) the eight-year-olds would be negative in self-concept.

#### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to provide empirical data substantiating the assumption that many Mexican-American children between the ages of four and eight develop a negative self-concept due to their experience in the dominant Anglo culture. This purpose was accomplished by means of data obtained from a carefully designed experiment with dolls.

#### Need and Importance of the Study

The ability of a subordinate group to maintain effective relations with the larger culture is a critical aspect of group relationships (Watson & Samora, 1972). Therefore, any research that bears on the nature and development of this relationship is important. The present study is especially important in that it addressed the need for better

documentation of the existence of negative self-concept developments in Chicano children as a consequence of their experience in the larger Anglo culture. According to Cota-Robles de Suarez (1971), most studies on race awareness have pertained to blacks: "Few studies, if any, have dealt with race awareness among Chicano children" (p. 107). The lack of such studies still persists.

Adaptation of education to the needs of Chicanos has been marked by slow progress, bilingual/bicultural education programs notwithstanding. There is a need to demonstrate this lack of progress through study of the impact of school and society on the Chicano child. This can be done effectively through providing data on Chicano self-concept immediately before and several years after entering school. The present study contributes to this much needed data.

#### Definition of Key Terms

A number of terms were especially important for the study. They were defined as follows.

Anglo Culture. That part of American culture which is not Chicano culture, and often referred to as the larger or dominant culture; the mainstream American culture as typically experienced by the white majority.

Chicano. A slang or colloquial term commonly used by most young Mexican-Americans to describe themselves. Technically, a Chicano or Mexican-American is any person of Mexican origin that was born in the United States. A Chicano may also be designated as Hispanic or Latino. The use of this last





term is preferred by many Mexican-Americans probably because of the negative connotations associated with the word "Mexican" in the Anglo culture. The term sometimes denotes a Mexican-American of lower socioeconomic status. Many wealthy Mexican-Americans may prefer to be called Chicano, although there are some who would prefer not to be so identified.

Dolls Test. A test in which the subject is asked to select either a Chicano doll or an Anglo doll in response to statements--there are ten--such as "Show me the pretty figure," "Show me the figure you don't like," or "Show me the dumb figure." The favored doll is rated either +1, +2, +3, depending on the degree of favor; the other doll is rated zero. The not favored doll is rated either -1, -2, or -3, depending on the degree of disfavor; the other doll is rated zero. The subject can be described as either positive in Chicano concept, neutral in Chicano concept, or negative in Chicano concept, depending on the total score on all ten statements, five of which are positive and five negative in nature. In the case of a Chicano subject, a positive total score indicates positive self-concept, a negative total score indicates negative self-concept.

Ethnic Group. A single, racial, religious, linguistic, or nationality group, often one that is easily identifiable as a minority in some modern national state.

Self-Concept. The substantive description that an individual employs to identify his or her nature, in which self is the sum total of all one can call his own (Calhoun & Morse, 1977). Self-esteem is one's satisfaction with his self-concept. Good self-concept is typically denoted as positive and bad self-concept as negative.

Socialization Process. A gradual and complex process in which cultural and psychological traits are acquired. Ethnic attitudes are usually acquired in this process. Harding et al. (1969) identified at least three overlapping stages in the acquisition of ethnic attitudes: (1) a stage of ethnic awareness; (2) a stage of ethnic orientation or incipient ethnic attitudes; and (3) the emergence of "true" or adult-like ethnic attitudes (p. 17).

### Hypotheses

The study evaluated three research hypotheses on the basis of the data obtained from the Dolls Test.

- Hypothesis One. The eight-year-old Chicano children will as a group show significantly more negative self-concept than the four-year-old Chicano children.
- Hypothesis Two. The group of four-year-old Chicano children will be either positive or at least neutral in self-concept.
- Hypothesis Three. The eight-year-old Chicano children will be negative in their self-concept.

### Methodology and Procedures

The study sample was drawn from a population of 422 Mexican-American children aged either four or eight, from a total population of 8,237 Chicanos living in Lansing, Michigan. Of the 199 four-year-olds, 96 were boys and 103 were girls. Of the 233 eight-year-olds, 109 were boys and 114 were girls. Some of the subjects were interviewed in their homes, and most were interviewed at the Cristo Rey (Christ the King) Community Center in Lansing, a center frequented by a large number of Chicanos of Lansing.

Each of the 64 subjects of the study was given the Dolls Test. Each doll was about 11 inches tall and dressed in diapers only. The Chicano doll had typical Mexican features such as dark hair, brown skin, and dark eyes. The Anglo doll had blond hair, blue eyes, light skin, and a thin nose and thin lips. Each subject was classified as positive in self-concept if his or her score was greater than +10; neutral if the individual's score was between +10 and -10; or negative in self-concept if the individual's score was less than -10. The three hypotheses were tested on the basis of these data. Details are provided in chapter 3 of the present study.

### Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to Mexican-American boys and girls in the four or eight year age categories in Lansing, Michigan. However, since all Chicano individuals in the

city and in these two age groups were subject to random selection, the study sample represents the total socioeconomic range of the Chicanos in Lansing.

The most serious limitation of the study had to do with the Dolls Test. This test was a forced choice test which required that the subject either like or dislike a particular doll. To help remedy this arbitrariness, a three-level scale, ranging from "a little" to "a lot," was used. Even though the choices were all forced, the subjects had to indicate a sufficiently high degree of preference before their choices were accepted as indicators of positive or negative self-concept.

Confusion by the subjects as to test purpose may have been another limitation of the study. To help reduce the effect of this limitation, subjects who did not understand or relate to the Dolls Test were excluded from the test, which was conducted in English.

Consideration as far as limitations should also be given to the sites where the interviews took place. Interviews were held either at the Cristo Rey Center or at subjects' homes. Both could present limitations in their own particular way. The ones at Cristo Rey Center presented the limitation of possible Center influence on subjects' responses to the interview. Interviews at the subjects' homes presented the limitation relating to possible influence of parents present in the home or even in the same room. To reduce the limitation on both, researchers sought to

complete the interview in private rooms, where they assured the subjects that there was no right or wrong answer. The same format was applied as much as possible to those subjects interviewed at their homes.

### Plan of the Study

The study will be reported in the classical five-chapter format, of which the first chapter has been presented. Chapter 2 will consist of a review of the literature. It will be organized around the issues raised by the first two research questions mentioned in the statement of the problem.

Chapter 3 will present the methodology and procedures of the study. It will include a detailed discussion of the sample selection, the Dolls Test and its construction and scoring, the pilot study, testing procedures, and data analysis in relation to the three research hypotheses.

Chapter 4 will present the results of the study. In particular, the data will be summarized and analyzed for the purpose of either accepting or rejecting the three hypotheses of the study.

Finally, Chapter 5 will present a summary, conclusions, and recommendations of the study.

## Chapter 2

### Review of Literature

A major area of concern for the study was the Chicano experience within the dominant Anglo culture. In particular, how do cultural and group norms, parental influences, education, socioeconomic status, frustrations, and the displacement of hostility in both the Chicano and the dominant Anglo culture help shape ethnic attitudes and Chicano self-concepts?

A second major area of concern was the development of racial awareness (awareness of skin color and self-concept) in Chicano children from ages three through eight. In particular, what is the role of skin color in creating racial awareness and self-concept in this age group? What are some specific research instruments employed for this purpose. What have been some results of their applications?

A third major area of concern was the application of projective tests for the study of racial awareness and self-concept in children. In particular, what other applications of the Dolls Test have occurred in the study of Chicano and other children?

The review of literature will focus on the three

major areas of concern. Accordingly, the review will deal with the topics of (1) Chicano experience in the dominant Anglo culture, (2) development of racial awareness and self-concept in Chicano children, and (3) Dolls Tests.

#### Chicano Experience in the Dominant Anglo Culture

The first Europeans to reach the shores of what is now the Southern United States were Spanish. According to Alford (1972):

The first wheels that rutted the land that would become the United States were Spanish. The first horse ridden by man across the Great Plains--the first cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, domestic poultry--were Spanish. Also Spanish were the first oranges, lemons, limes, peaches, pears, apples, and apricots grown in the New World. The first European plows and gardening tools in North America were Spanish (p. vii).

In 1848 Mexico ceded the southwestern states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and parts of Colorado and Utah to the United States. The Mexicans living in those areas came to be the ancestors of today's Chicano. Thus Chicanos have always been historically, culturally, and geographically part of a familiar environment. Paradoxically, they are also the most recent immigrant group in American life. "Although they were in America before the arrival of the Puritans, the majority of them are basically twentieth century immigrants to the United States" (Garcia, 1977, p. v).



The 1940 census in America classified "Spanish-speaking" as "born in Mexico." The perhaps eight to ten or more million Americans of Mexican descent today are referred to by no single name. Younger Mexican-Americans often refer to themselves as "Chicano."

The term Chicano, a form of "mexicano" truncated by dropping the first syllable, had a somewhat pejorative connotation in the first half of this century, but it has been taken by many young Americans of Mexican descent as a badge of pride since World War II. Nearly all Mexican Americans agree that they belong to "la raza," a term connoting not racial but ethnic solidarity, and a sense of common destiny. Unfortunately, this term does not provide a convenient adjective to identify members of this group. Clearly Mexican American is the identification most widely used and accepted today (Meier & Rivera, 1972, p. xiv).

#### Cultural and Group Norms

A crucial issue facing the world today is how people of diverse racial, religious, and nationality backgrounds can live harmoniously together in the same national society. Fundamental to understanding the problem is a conceptual framework involving social processes and group interaction.

The United States of America, as the classic example of a highly industrialized nation made up of people of diverse ethnic origins, constitutes, both in its history and its current situation, a huge living laboratory for the serious study of various underlying patterns and ethnic interaction--patterns which produced in this country both corroding failure (particularly with respect to the treatment of racial minorities) and certain modified successes which, however, have by no means been free of a residue of unfulfilled personal hopes, psychological scars, and unjustified hardships for

those who were not born with the majority sociological characteristics of being white, Protestant, and of Anglo-Saxon cultural origins (Fitzpatrick, 1971, p. viii).

Problems of race and minority can be profitably studied from at least three different approaches (Harding et al., 1969). In the first or "ethnic group" approach, the emphasis is on a single racial, religious, linguistic, or nationality group, such as the Chicanos in America. The group's historical development, cultural traditions, distinctive values, relations with neighboring groups, and changing political and economic fortunes are emphasized. In the second or "social interaction" approach, the inter-relationships involving two or more such groups are focused on. The third or "social problems" point of view, is more recent and the one favored in the present study. In the social problems approach the emphasis is on the behavior of discrimination, the attitude of prejudice, and the consequences for the minority and majority groups. In short, objectively given sociological "data" and formal theories are modified by consideration of subjectively problematical values and norms, which are often significant key determinants of community or social action.

Understanding the Chicano means understanding the Chicano culture (Farias, 1971). Loyalty to family is a major aspect of Chicano culture. The importance of a strong set of family ties leads to personal sacrifice for the family, contrary to the dominant Anglo society emphasis on the individual rather than on family ties. Loyalty to

family and ethnic group can make the school environment, for example, appear hostile and bewildering, especially where the Chicano is asked to discard his native language. He may hear the teachings of his parents contradicted. The father's role is an authoritative one in the Chicano culture. Folk medicine tends to dominate much of Chicano culture, and many Chicanos are in conflict over scientific theories of modern medicine and supernatural theories of folk medicine.

#### Family Influence and Education

Writers such as Panalosa (1972) have suggested that there is no real entity such as a Mexican-American culture, nor that there is a Mexican-American community because the group is socially, culturally, ideologically, and organizationally fragmented. One can readily point to social class, regional, and rural-urban differences within this group. "However, there seems to be ample evidence that differences in family life, childrearing, and certainly language are characteristic enough to have significant educational implications and therefore merit discussion" (McLain et al, 1977, p. 9). For example, Garcia (1974) indicated strong family and ethnic kinship bonds and clearly defined male-female roles. Mexican-American family youth are typically taught to be noncompetitive and nonaggressive. The father is the authority and must be deferred to. Boys are taught to be fearless, brave, and masculine, while girls are taught

to be passive and are sheltered in the home (Reich & Reich, 1975).

Preparation and orientation in the home are generally unrelated to the types of experience on which school life is based. A Chicano student who conspicuously outshines his schoolmates in academic endeavors is mocked or shunned. In some Chicano families, parents see little value in the achievement, by their children, of academic success, and this indifference toward formal education is reflected in their children's academic performance. Children of these parents might scorn competitive scholastic endeavor as an attempt to outdo and demean other students. Consequently, some young Chicanos may find themselves lacking in a sharply defined educational goal orientation.

Chicano children typically have been burdened at the outset by a language barrier. According to Ortega (1970), "Most first-grade teachers are inadequate; untrained in language theory and analysis, they cannot overcome the language barrier" (p. 24). Some Spanish-speaking children have been relegated to classes for the retarded simply because many teachers equate linguistic ability with intellectual ability. Education for the Chicano has often become a degrading experience that only further alienates parents and children from the school. The negative self-concept resulting is seen by many educators as the principal reason for the Chicano's lack of success in school.

Most Chicano parents view the school as essential to

getting their children a good education as a prerequisite for upward social mobility (Carter, 1970, p. 134). However, many of them fail to see the importance of their own participation in the school process. They see the school's role as teaching their children to behave and basic skills. Junior and senior high schools are less understood by them, as in the instances of the tracking system and the relatively impersonal atmosphere of these levels. Failure of their children in school is all too often accepted as lack of ability in the children.

Chicano youngsters drop out of school partly because they gradually fall farther behind with each passing year. They are "conditioned to failure in the early years of their schooling and each passing year serves to reinforce their feelings of failure and frustration" (National Education Association, 1966). According to Samora (1962), "The American school system, whether public or private, functions best when conforming middle class administrators and teachers, professing middle-class values, address themselves to middle-class students who possess the same value orientation or are in the process of acquiring it" (p. 10).

Curriculum for the Chicano is discriminatory in that it offers disproportionate numbers of vocational courses relative to academic courses. "The curriculum, in attempting to make all children alike, has in effect suppressed the ethnic background of the minority child, causing long-lasting wounds which can result in social maladjustment

and under-achievement" (Cota-Robles de Suarez, 1971, p. 115).

Numerous early childhood education programs in the early seventies were in the process of identifying, re-defining, and re-examining those special competencies and skills that teachers need to work in child care settings. But few of the programs identified needed competencies and/or skills for teaching Spanish-speaking Chicano children. "Empirical evidence reveals that much of the competency based criteria for credentializing prospective early childhood teachers is based on the global behavioral traits characteristic of a dominant referent group--namely, the well educated Anglo-Saxon middle class population (Castillo, 1973, p. 7).

Crosby (1982) indicated that a healthy self-concept is based on positive self-perception and the reception of positive recognition from others. Asprer (1981) suggested that individuals' self-worth can be realized if, at the start, children are helped to distinguish what they are from what they do (performance), and that they are of more value than their performance. Teachers' attitudes towards the Chicano have often been anything but understanding and constructive. In Pygmalion of the Classroom, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1963) demonstrated the nature of self-fulfilling prophecies based on the assumption of innate intellectual inequality. Thus, when teachers assumed and expected a child to be intelligent, the child usually

performed with greater intellectual capacity.

Bilingual and/or bicultural education has not been without success in remediating the situation. For example, Askins et al. (1976) reported on their school and home-based bilingual education model. They reported that (1) nursery school children made significant gains in language development (Spanish and English), school readiness, and motor ability, and showed growth in self-concept and personal development, and (2) students in grades K-2 made significant gains in language development in Spanish and English school readiness.

Tests themselves may be discriminatory. Van der Flier (1982) indicated that test results for individuals and groups with differing cultural backgrounds may be expected to be different. For example, Pluke et al. (1982) in a study of the attitudes of 165 fourth-sixth grade Mexican-American and Anglo students as measured by the Estes Reading Attitude Scale (ERAS), found that attitudes were significantly different for the two cultural groups. However, Ross-Reynolds and Reschly (1983), as a result of administering six subtests of the WISC-R (information, arithmetic, similarities, vocabulary, comprehension, and picture completion) to 252 white, 237 black, 233 Mexican-Americans, and 238 native American Papago 6-15 year olds found no test bias against blacks and Mexican-Americans.

### Socioeconomic Discrimination

Every spring thousands of migrant workers still drive north from Texas to work the harvest in the Midwest. Many travel as families. Children must be taken out of school before the end of the spring semester, usually to come back late in the fall, thereby seriously cutting into the school year.

Approximately 75 percent of the migrant population is Chicano, a people whose first language is Spanish, whose culture is heavily influenced by its Mexican roots. Their children are taught predominantly by middle-class Anglos, usually fluent only in English and scarcely familiar with Chicano life (Friedman, 1974, p. 1).

Agriculture is still the dominant source of employment and income for most Chicanos living in the rural Southwest. Speaking little English and having few skills to offer an urban labor market, many immigrants and aliens have been trapped into the exploitive agribusiness.

Because they are constantly on the move, the children of the migrants face difficult problems in school. They are deprived of a sense of belonging to a country, a town, a school, or a class (Kirby, 1969, p. 44).

Many of the negative and unrealistic attitudes held by Chicano parents toward school can be partly traced to the past and present modes of rural life that tend to dim their awareness of dominant culture, its expectations, and its peculiar type or roles that make for success or failure.

Cota-Robles de Suarez (1971) gave the following statistics on the Chicano:



1. In proportion to their population, four times as many Anglos are found in the professional and technical occupations as Chicanos.
2. One-third of the Spanish-speaking men are engaged as laborers or farm workers while seven percent of Anglos are so employed.
3. According to the 1960 census for the Los Angeles-Long Beach Metropolitan Areas, 8.4 percent of all males employed have Spanish surnames. Only 2.9 percent of these are employed in managerial positions, while 3.1 percent are classified as technical and professional workers.
4. The relative status of the Spanish-surnamed, while generally low, has a predictable pattern from area to area in the Southwest. During the hearings before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the 98th Congress (1963), United States Representative Harry B. Gonzales commented: "Racial discrimination in job opportunities and wages is not unusual." (p 112).

In 1984 the situation has improved only slightly. According to the hearings presented to the (Subcommittee on Census and Population, held on September 13, 1983), the information is as follows:

1. Families maintained by women: Similar to the trend for the rest of the Nation, the percentage of Hispanic families maintained by women moved upward in recent years.
2. Educational Attainment: There was a marked improvement in the educational attainment level of young Hispanics. In 1983, 58 percent of young Hispanic adults (25 to 34 years old), were high school graduates, compared to only 45 percent in 1970. This improvement also appears in the proportion of college graduates, which was ten percent in 1983 but only five percent in 1970. Despite these gains, Hispanics have not reached the level of the Anglo population. In 1983, 88 percent of young Anglo adults were high school graduates and 25 percent had completed

four years or more of college.

3. Labor Force: Since 1973, when annual data on the unemployment of Hispanics first became available, Hispanic unemployment rates have been consistently higher than those for non-Hispanics.
4. Occupation Distribution: Occupation statistics for 1982 show that about one-fourth of Hispanics were in operative occupations, such as manufacturing machine operators, service station attendants, and truck drivers. This was about twice the proportion for non-Hispanics. While nine percent of Hispanics were employed as professional and technical workers, non-Hispanics were employed in these jobs in almost double the proportion. Furthermore, employed Hispanics were less likely to be working as managers and administrators than were non-Hispanics.
5. Median Family Money Income: Overall, the changes during the last ten years in the income and poverty levels of Hispanics were not encouraging. From 1972 to the mid-1970s, the median cash income of Hispanic families generally moved downward. Gains during the latter half of the 1970 decade offset the earlier decline. In the period from 1972 to 1982, Hispanic families experienced a decrease of about 14 percent in real median family income.
6. Poverty Rates: The proportion of Hispanics below the poverty level in 1982 was about 30 percent, and represented a sharp increase over the 1979 rate of 22 percent. The recent recession and associated rise in unemployment contributed to the increase in the poverty rate. The 1982 proportion was also much higher than the 1972 rate.

#### Frustration and Hostility: Effects of Prejudice

Ego defenses are likely to emerge in reaction to rejection and discrimination. Some defenses are positive, and the ego defenses developed depend on personal life style,

particular outlook on life, and how severe the persecution is. Cota-Robles de Suarez (1971) included as psychological patterns obsessive concern, denial or membership, withdrawal, passivity, clowning, self-hatred, aggression against one's group, and group solidity as major effects of prejudice.

How a Chicano feels about himself or herself derives from the defense mechanisms growing out of discrimination. Allport (1953) described self-hatred as seeing one's group through the eyes of the dominant society. Even though barred from assimilation, the victim identifies mentally with the point of view, prejudices, and philosophy of the dominant group. The result may be aggression against one's own group.

Some studies indicate that the influence of self-concept (self-esteem) on achievement may not be as powerful or as direct as has been suggested. For example, Mullen, Foster, and Wooden (1982), in a study of sixth graders matched for intelligence but not for self-concept, concluded that mean academic achievement in reading, language, and mathematics of subjects with high self-concept was not significantly different from that of subjects with low self-concepts.

Ambiguity exists in research related to race differences in self-perception. Some findings (Chaplin, 1969; Stenner & Katzenmeyer, 1976; Wylie, 1963) suggest that blacks tend to have significantly lower self-concepts than do whites, while other studies (Powers et al., 1971; Trowbridge, Trowbridge, & Trowbridge, 1972; Zirkel & Moses, 1971) suggest that blacks tend to perceive themselves more positively than

their white classmates. Other studies have shown no significant race differences with respect to self-concept (Calhoun, Kurfiss, & Warren, 1976; Carpenter & Busse, 1969; Circirelli, 1977). With regard to social class differences, some studies (Brookover et al., 1962; Wylie, 1963) reported less positive self-concepts for students (Circirelli, 1977; Soares & Soares, 1969; Trowbridge, 1970) reported that the self-concepts of students from disadvantaged socioeconomic environments actually surpassed those of their affluent classmates.

Nevertheless, the self-concept for the Chicano is shaped by the cultural milieu. Tests themselves may discriminate. Gurevich (1982) indicated that no test is ever culture-free, and that subjects who do not belong to the culture by whose tests they are being tested will always be at a disadvantage. Leonetti (1973) indicated that the effects of low self-concept on academic achievement for the Mexican-American child "are likely to be especially pronounced since his self-perception, due to cultural factors in many cases, tends to be more negative than it is for the 'Anglo' child from the mainstream culture" (p. v). Johnson (1979) studied 176 Mexican-American migrant children in second through fifth grade to determine whether reading achievement and self-concept are dependent variables. On the basis of data from the Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills reading subtests and Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale, Johnson concluded that "With migrant children, high self-concept predicted higher reading achievement; and, migrant children had lower self-concept levels

than non-migrant children" (p. 202).

According to Hishiki (1969), the child brings to school a historical framework of culture which cannot be described as "culturally deprived."

Rather, he enters school with a "culture" of his own, with many positive characteristics that have developed out of coping with a different environment. There is some belief that membership either in a low socioeconomic group or in some minority culture tends to depress self-concept because of discrimination by the larger society against these groups (p. 56).

Hishiki notes that while a number of studies found that depressed self-concepts and tendencies toward self-depreciation were noted in disadvantaged children, "No systematic studies, however, dealing with the self-concepts of Mexican-Americans have been found to date" (p. 57). Those that have been conducted since 1969 provide ample evidence to indicate a significant relationship between racial identification (skin color) and self-concept of young Chicano children.

Before consideration of some of this evidence, it should be noted that defiance and external blame may be indicators of positive self-concept in minority group children in that these characteristics may reflect the refusal to accept a status of inferiority proposed by the social order. "Taken in combination with the need to achieve as reflected in achievement anxiety, these characteristics portray a realistic rebelliousness" (Eiszler, 1977, p. 13).

Skin Color, Racial Identification, and Self-Concept of Young Chicano Children

According to Williams and Morland (1976), "The concept of race is inextricably intertwined with color and color symbolism and a proper appreciation of the manner in which young children respond to race and color requires a consideration of the general usages and meanings of colors--particularly the colors white and black--in contemporary adult culture" (p. 33). A number of studies (Clark & Clark, 1939; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Stevenson & Stevenson, 1960; Goodman, 1964) indicated that black and white children as young as three and four made discriminations between the physical characteristics of blacks and whites, and that frequency of discrimination increases with age. Durrett and Davy (1970) noted that "by the age of three, Negro and white children gave evidence of consciousness of their own and other's racial characteristics" (p. 16).

Leonetti (1973) indicated that "There is a distinct paucity of research which deals specifically with the skin visibility of the Spanish-surnamed minority in the American Southwest" (p. 25). Steiner (1970) wrote of the tendency of Mexican Americans to reject Spanish names and accents when they leave their home areas for middle-class suburbs:

Even their black skin acquires a protective coloring and grows lighter in the bright sunlamps of the suburbs. Many are darker

than black tar, but they pretend to be Anglo. They powder the back of their necks in order to look lighter skinned (p. 175).

Gonzales (1967) told of the rejection of the darker-skinned Mexican Americans, especially those in southern New Mexico, by the Spanish Americans living in the northern part of the state. Maldonado (1972) stated similar views:

Color and its implications play a role not only in the attitudes of Anglos toward Mexican Americans, but within the Mexican-American group itself. In-group terms referring to skin color are many and complex. In identifying an individual as prieto (dark brown), it can mean a simple descriptive term with no hint of value overtones. In adding the diminutive suffix, prietito, a value judgment going beyond mere color is attached to the word. The diminutive can imply condescension, inferring that a person is dark and of limited mental ability, or it can suggest sympathy toward the dark-skinned person. Spoken in a different context, the word prieto may be intoned with a certain inflection which is an outright insult (p. 25).

Negative roles typically are assigned by black children more to black children than to white children. Morland (1966) found, on the basis of a study of three to six-year-old children from northern and southern cities, that racial differences are very important, that being white is preferable to being black. Goodman (1964) found that black children shared a sense of direction away from blacks and toward whites, and that white children were directed within or toward the white world and without the racial self-doubt and self-concern shown by the black children.

Landreth & Johnson (1953) concluded, on the basis of their study of the influence of socioeconomic status on social awareness and attitudes of three and five-year-old children, that the higher socioeconomic status children were inclined to perceive skin color in cognitive terms, while lower socioeconomic status children perceived in affective terms. Black children at both ages made the greatest number of comments showing preference for white and hostility for dark skin.

The use of color names, white and black, in non-racial contexts are often used as symbols of good and evil. Williams (1964; 1966) found that among young adults, color names have distinct evaluative meanings, with white rated most positively ("good") and black rated most negatively ("bad") of ten color names studied.

Renniger and Williams (1966) found that preschool children had a strong tendency to associate four positive evaluative adjectives with animals colored white, and four negative evaluative adjectives with animals colored black. Evaluative meanings of color were being learned in the preschool years, during which time racial attitude formation is very likely beginning.

Thus children develop not only an awareness of racial differences and their racial identity, but an awareness and acceptance of social attitudes and values associated with race and skin color. The rejection of dark skin



by blacks is part of a combination of attitudes and ideas of the child identifying with something that is being rejected. "This pattern introduces, early in the formation of personality of these children, a fundamental conflict about themselves" (Clark, 1955, p. 46).

### Self-Concept

According to Collier (1971), theorists generally define "self" either as "self-as-subject" (a group of psychological processes that govern behavior and adjustment) and/or as "self-as-object" (an organized collection of attitudes, beliefs, and feelings a person has about himself). It is this second definition that is commonly taken to mean "self-concept."

Calhoun and Morse (1977) concluded that studies of the "self" and "self-concept" are plagued by a multiplicity of terms that are not clearly differentiated. To reduce confusion, they offered three discrete concepts: self, as the sum total of all one can call his; self-concept, the substantive description that one employs to identify his nature; and self-esteem, one's satisfaction with his self-concept.

Self-concept was viewed in the present study as the substantive description that one takes to identify his or her nature, in which self is the sum total of all one can call his own (Calhoun & Morse, 1977). For purpose of discussion and reviewing studies utilizing various measures of self-concept, self-concept may be defined operationally

as the score achieved on the particular instrument(s) being used in a study.

Coller (1971) indicated that even with the most sophisticated testing technology available, the tester has a difficult time sensing directly by measurement all the child's thoughts and feelings. "The self or the self-concept can only be inferred by direct observation of behavior as it emerges or by an examination of the traces of behavior after it has occurred" (p. 20). Coller lists five general procedures for the assessment of self-concept in children: direct observations, behavioral traces, self-reports, projective techniques, and/or any combination of these.

Direct observational procedures emphasize overt behavior such as expressive or coping behaviors that can be seen, heard, or otherwise perceived by the observer and recorded. A child's thoughts, beliefs, perceptions, attitudes, and feelings are inferred from overt behaviors. Observations may be made in unstructured environments, selected situations, or contrived situations. For example, an unstructured environment may consist of simply following and recording what a child does during the day; selected situations may include the classroom and playground; and a contrived situation may be in the form of a dolls test such as employed in the present study.

Behavioral trace procedures examine the trace, residue, or after-effect produced by a child's past

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responses, not with the direct observation of evolving behavior. The child is not aware of being observed. Measures here include classroom records (stars, tokens, or high marks on tests perceived by the child as an indication that "teacher likes me") and retrospective reports in which a teacher, parent, peer, or others search through the memory of a child and report on that child's behavior. Various rating scales are devised for this purpose.

Self-report procedures require that the child relate to others various feelings, thoughts, and experiences. Numerous scales exist for measuring self-reported self-concept, such as the Children's Self-Concept Index, the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale, and the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. An important type of test in this category involves drawing of pictures or selecting pictures in accordance with some specific criteria or objective in mind, thereby revealing elements of the child's self-concept.

Projective techniques for children are a form of generalized projecting in which "the perceptions and interpretations of the outer world are influenced by the individual's inner cognitive emotional states" (Coller, 1971, p. 51). For example, the child may be asked to respond to complex stimuli (such as verbal cue or inkblot) by means of the first word, image, or percept that comes to his or her mind. Some tests require more complex responses, such as storytelling, drawing, or rearranging stimuli such as pictures.

Figure drawings have been widely used with children to assess self-esteem and self-concept. Coopersmith et al. (1976) obtained figure drawings from 97 middle-class boys enrolled in the fifth and sixth grade classes of urban and suburban elementary schools. The subjects were presented with a blank sheet of paper and asked to "draw a person." Each subject was administered the Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI), and a teacher's rating of their self-esteem behavior was recorded on the Behavior Rating Form (BRF). The figure drawings were scored for 15 variables dealing with formal characteristics, content, and global interpretation of the total drawings. Significant differences in self-esteem were determined by the drawings, with the content and global-interpretative categories being more differentiating between self-esteem groups than the formal characteristics.

The Kinetic Family Drawing (KFD) Test is a projective technique that assesses a child's self-concept and perceptions of interpersonal relations within the family. Mostkoff and Lazarus (1983) indicated that the KFD may measure state rather than trait characteristics, but that the test is highly reliable with second through fifth graders.

Leonetti (1973) developed the Primary Self-Concept Scale (PSCS) for Spanish-surnamed children, a test which involved the use of pictures. The PSCS consisted of 21 illustrated items depicting children in a variety of social and academic situations. On this test the examinee is

instructed to indicate the child who most nearly agrees with his perception of himself.

The PSCS construction was motivated by Leonetti's (1973) observation that "there is no well-developed group test of self-concept which is especially applicable to the Spanish-surnamed primary school students" (p. vi). The PSCS was constructed so that it should have the following properties: (a) suitability for children in grades K-4; (b) applicability to nonreaders; (c) employability with non-English-speaking children; (d) measurability of self-concept relevant to school success; (e) easy administration to children individually or to groups by the classroom teachers; (f) scorability by clerical assistants; and (g) economy in usage (p. vi). Leonetti indicated that test-retest reliability and content validity as determined by three specialists in testing and evaluation were good.

Within each of the 21 illustrations of the PSCS there is at least one child in a positive role, and at least one child in a negative role. The examinee is asked to indicate the child who is most nearly in agreement with his own self-perception. Specifically, the child is told a brief story about each picture and then asked to draw a circle around the person in the illustration who is most like himself. For example, one item depicts a child studying intently in the classroom, and a second child is also shown gazing out of the window, obviously not concentrating

on an academic task. The examinee is asked to circle the child who he feels is most like himself. Total testing time for the 21 pictures is 30 minutes.

The initial PSCS was designed to measure five aspects of self-concept: behavior, intellectual, physical appearance, peer relationships, and emotional state. Factor analysis of this instrument revealed six factors instead of the five originally hypothesized. They were:

1. Aggressiveness vs. cooperativeness in peer relationships. Does the child share and cooperate rather than be aggressive and hostile?
2. Intellectual self. How the child perceives himself in the academic setting. Does he like or dislike school?
3. Peer ostracism vs. peer acceptance. How the child perceives himself relative to being accepted or rejected by his peers.
4. Helping relationships. Does the child perceive himself as being generally independent, or does he see himself depending on assistance from his peers in working at a task?
5. Physiological self. How the child perceives himself relative to physical size, that is, large or small.
6. Adult acceptance or rejection. Does the child perceive adults (parents, teachers) as being basically accepting or rejecting?  
(p. 10).

Williams and Robertson (1967) tested children using black-white stimulus pictures associated with a list of 12 evaluative adjectives: good, clean, nice, pretty, smart, kind; and bad, dirty, naughty, ugly, stupid, and mean. Pre-school children were found to show clear evidence of having





learned black-white color evaluations. When colored drawings of human figures were presented, the tendency of the children was to evaluate positively the pinkish-tan-skinned, yellow-haired, "Caucasian" figures, with negative evaluative adjectives being associated with medium-brown-skinned, black-haired "Negro" figures.

In her study of skin color as a factor of racial identification and preference of young Chicano children, Cota-Robles de Suarez (1971) stated two hypotheses:

1. Chicano children in a Head Start class are aware of their skin color. When given a line drawing of a child's face and asked to color this drawing the color of their skin, they will color the drawing the color of their skin.
2. Chicano children in a Head Start class will not prefer their skin color. When asked to make a choice of friends and playmates through a series of colored drawings, they will choose for friends and playmates the children with fair skin rather than the children with dark skin. When given a line drawing of a child's face and asked to color the drawing their preference of skin color, they will color the line drawing white or pink (pp. 107-108).

The subjects of the study were 28 low income children in two Head Start classes. Most of the children were five years old or nearly five years old. One class consisted of 12 Chicano children (five boys and seven girls) and two Anglo children (one boy and one girl). The other class consisted of 16 Chicano children (nine boys and seven girls).

The instrument for the study consisted of four copies of two simple line drawings of a boy and a girl with minimal facial characteristics, presented in a number of ways

to the child. Boys were presented with boy drawings, girls with girl drawings. A set of uncolored pictures was used while the other sets were colored. The colored pictures included a boy with medium dark brown skin and black hair, a girl with medium dark brown skin and brown hair, a boy and a girl with fair skin and blond hair. (An Anglo colored the faces, legs, and arms of the Chicano children, and a Chicano colored the faces, legs, and arms of the picture of Anglo children). The two pictures with dark skin showed Chicanos and the four pictures with fair skin Anglo children. The clothing of the boys was colored the same--green shirt, blue pants, and black shoes. The color of the clothing was muted so that color would not be unduly emphasized.

The pictures were presented to the children individually. First, a Choice Test was given in which the children were asked to choose from a series of pictures. Colored copies of the line drawings of the boy and girl were used in the Choice Test. In the second test, a Coloring Test, the children were given a picture to color. Uncolored copies of the line drawings of the boy and girl were used in this test. The researcher could speak fluent Spanish and English, and used the language preferred by the child. The children were tested in both the classroom and at home.

The Choice Test was as follows:

- 1a. Showing a picture of a Chicano boy (pictures of girls were used if the subject was a girl), and a picture of an Anglo boy with fair skin and blond hair, the child was asked,

"Which boy (girl) would you like to be your friend?"

- 1b. Showing the same picture of a Chicano boy (pictures of girls were used if the subject was a girl), and a picture of an Anglo boy with fair skin and brown hair, the researcher asked the same question, "Which boy (girl) would you like to be your friend?"
- 2a. The same pictures were presented as in 1a, and the researcher then asked, "Which boy (girl) would you invite to play with you at home?"
- 2b. Using the same pictures as presented in 1b, the researcher asked the same question, "Which boy (girl) would you invite to play with you at home?" (p. 131).

The Coloring Test was as follows:

- 1a. An uncolored copy of the line drawing presented in the Choice Test was given to the child. (If the subject was a boy, the drawing given was that of a boy, and if the subject was a girl, the line drawing given to her was that of a girl). Thirteen crayons were also given to the child. The crayons (medium brown, tan, dark brown, yellow, blue, black, red, orange, purple, yellow-green, medium green, white, and pink) were put on the table close to the subject. The researcher then asked the child, "Would you color this boy's (or girl's if the subject was a girl) face the color you are?" After the child colored the picture, the researcher asked the subject, "Why did you choose this color?"
- 1b. Then, using another uncolored copy of the line drawing presented in the Choice Test (if the subject was a boy, the drawing given was that of a boy or if the subject was a girl, the drawing given to her was that of a girl), and using the same crayons as 1a, the child was instructed, "Color this boy (girl) the color you would like boys and girls to be." Then the researcher asked, "Why did you choose this color?" (pp. 131-132).

It was determined before the tests that the children knew the colors and their names. They stated the names of

the colors they chose in either Spanish or English.

Analysis of the data from the tests supported the two hypotheses as stated by the researcher (see page 36 of this chapter).

Tests of self-concept and skin color awareness especially appropriate for very young children are Dolls Tests. The review of literature will conclude with a consideration of four examples of tests involving the use of dolls.

#### Dolls Tests

Goodman (1966) tested 103 children aged four years (46 white, 57 black) in a northeastern American city. His four research instruments were: observation, a set of jigsaw puzzles, a doll house with furnishings and doll families, and a collection of dolls of several types. Results of the study indicated that three-fourths of the black children and almost all the white children preferred whites. The black children evidenced a basic orientation away from the black and toward the white. The whites were in-group oriented, preferring white. Those blacks with a tendency toward out-group orientation suffered a growing sense of insecurity concerning racial status, increased emotionality, increased personal involvement, and personal threat. The study indicated that color by itself was not as significant as color in combination with other Negroid features, or with social bonds involving blacks. The data indicated that

black children were influenced by the notion that to bear the marks of Negroid ancestry is to be socially inferior. Forty percent of the black children in the sample showed a high awareness to race as compared to 24 percent of white children. "It is shocking to find four-year-olds, particularly white ones, showing unmistakable signs of the onset of bigotry" (Goodman, 1966, p. 245).

Clark and Clark (1940) used Dolls Tests to show that racial awareness is present in black children as young as three years of age. The researchers devised a doll choice test where children chose the doll they preferred, one doll being Caucasian the other black. The children also were administered a color test which involved coloring the boy or girl the color the child liked boys and girls to be. Girls were given a picture of a girl, and boys a picture of a boy. The black children with very light skin color colored the figure representing themselves with white or yellow crayons. Clark and Clark concluded that these children reacted in terms of the color they could see their skin was and were interpreted as accurate in their decision. However, 15 percent of the children with medium brown skin and 14 percent with dark brown skin colored their own figures with either a white or a yellow crayon, or with some bizarre color such as red or green. This was interpreted by the researchers as a refusal to choose an appropriate color for themselves and showed emotional anxiety and conflict in relation to their own skin color.

By coloring themselves a white or bizarre color, the children were in effect pretending to be white. When the children were asked to color the child (doll) of the opposite sex the color they preferred, 48 percent chose brown, 37 percent chose white, and 15 percent chose a bizarre color.

These findings were consistent with the doll choice test, where 60 percent preferred the white doll and rejected the black doll. In some instances, children picked up one crayon, looked at it, put it back and chose another one, usually a lighter one. Some revealed their inner confusion and anxiety by coloring the picture in a scribbling motion. Clark (1955), in his book Prejudice and Your Child, explained this behavior as revealing of how deeply imbedded in their personality the conflict about color was.

Pierce-Jones and Jones (reported in Coller, 1971, pp. 30-31) developed the Doll-Self Test (DST) to assess awareness of self. A dark skinned doll and a light skinned doll are both placed in front of a child. A series of drawings of parts of the body are then presented and the child is asked to "find another one that looks just like this." The child may either match the body part as given in the drawing with the appropriate part of his own body or with the appropriate part of the doll's body. A child receives a single score of "1" for each drawing if on a majority of trials involving each drawing he points to himself or to the dolls. Thus a child usually pointing to the

dolls would obtain a high score with respect to the environment. The authors state that "to the extent that external or environmental sensitivity is replaced by sensitivity of self [pointing to the self], we might expect greater awareness of self or a more differentiated self-concept" (p. 30). The test is well suited to determining sensitivity to color in the environment.

In a study where the DST was used, Pierce-Jones and Jones hypothesized that culturally deprived preschool children coming into a preschool program would be more sensitive to the environment (to external stimuli) than to themselves, as measured by the DST. They further predicted that, after an enrichment program, children would be more introspective or sensitive to their own bodies than to external stimuli (the dolls). The results of their study tended to confirm these hypotheses, although it is not immediately clear whether or not the enrichment program by itself contributed to these differences.

Durrett and Davy (1970) indicated that they could not find a single study which investigated racial awareness in Mexican-American children. Their study sought to (1) ascertain the differences in racial awareness and attitudes among members of Mexican-American, black, and Anglo ethnic groups and (2) determine whether during the sixties there had been any significant change in the racial awareness and attitudes of black and Anglo children as determined on the basis of their racial identification and

racial preference. A Dolls Test was utilized.

The subjects were 85 children (30 Mexican-American, 25 black, and 30 Anglo) attending interracial prekindergarten programs in San Jose, California. Of the Anglo children, 16 were girls and 14 boys; among the black children, 14 were girls and 11 boys; and among the Mexican-American children, 17 were girls and 13 boys, for a total of 47 girls and 38 boys. Their age range was from three years 11 months to four years 11 months, with a mean age of four years seven months. All subjects were from lower socioeconomic families.

The doll technique utilized was developed by Stevenson and Stewart (1958). Only Anglo and black dolls were used. They were identical except for hair and skin color. The black doll had medium-brown skin and black wavy hair. By contrast, the Anglo doll had fair skin and blond hair. A boy doll and a girl doll of each color were used, thus making for four dolls. The doll technique was to determine (1) the child's awareness of his or her own physical attributes and the attributes of others, (2) preference for playmate, and (3) readiness to categorize people in color+kind terms or in terms of what adults would call race.

Stevenson and Stewart in their test asked two questions: "Which one looks like you?" and "Which two children would you rather play with?" Durrett and Davy also asked "Why?" The subjects were also asked to match brothers



and sisters from among the four dolls as a measure of their classificatory ability.

Of the 30 Mexican-American subjects, 24 (80 percent) chose the Anglo doll as looking like themselves. Of the 30 Anglo subjects, 29 (96.7 percent) chose the own-race doll as looking most like themselves. Of the 25 black subjects, 19 (76 percent) identified with the own-race doll. These proportions were found to be significantly different (not likely to have occurred by mathematical chance or probability).

Also statistically significant were the results with regard to playmate preference. Of the 25 black subjects, 12 (48 percent) preferred the own-race doll as a playmate. Of the 30 Anglo subjects, 25 (83.3 percent) preferred the own-race doll. Of the 30 Mexican-American subjects, 23 (80 percent) selected the Anglo doll.

Based on a comparison of their study results with those of Stewart and Stevenson (1958), Durrett and Davy found a number of positive changes that appeared to have evolved during the previous ten years: (1) less own-race rejection by the black subjects as shown by the increased proportion of subjects making own-race choices in identification, and (2) less evidence of derogatory remarks and hostile attitudes expressed by either the Anglo or black children. Summarizing their own study, Durrett and Davy concluded:

It was found that the Anglo subjects expressed the greatest own-race preference both in identification and playmate choice. The Negro subjects showed the least own-group preference, particularly in the choice of playmate. The Mexican-American subjects were highly aware of the racial differences between Negroes and Anglos and appeared to have applied positive value terms to the Anglo group (p. 24).

It is clear, on basis of the studies reviewed in this chapter, that skin visibility may be a determining factor in the evolving, developing self-concept of the Mexican-American child.

## Chapter 3

### Methodology and Procedures

The purpose of the study was to provide empirical data to substantiate the assumption that many Mexican-American children between the ages of four and eight develop a negative self-concept as a result of their experience in the dominant Anglo culture. A carefully designed experiment involving a Dolls Test with 64 Chicano children was used to test the hypotheses that (1) the eight-year-old Chicano children would evidence significantly more negative self-concept than four-year-old Chicano children, (2) the four-year-old Chicano children would be either positive or neutral in self-concept, and (3) the eight-year-old Chicano children would be negative in self-concept. The sample selection, Dolls Test, procedures, data summary, and data analysis (statistical techniques) employed in testing the three hypotheses are explained in the remainder of this chapter. The actual data analysis and results are presented in Chapter 4.

#### Sample Selection

The sample was drawn from a population of 422 Mexican-American children aged either four or eight, from a total population of 8,237 Chicanos living in Lansing,

Michigan. Of the four-year-olds, 96 were boys and 103 were girls. Of the eight-year-olds, 109 were boys and 114 were girls. Some of the subjects were interviewed in their homes, but most were selected from and interviewed at the Cristo Rey (Christ the King) Community Center in Lansing, a center frequented by a large number of Chicanos of that city.

Each of the subjects of the population of 422 was assigned a number ranging between zero and 422. A computerized procedure for selecting 64 random three-digit numbers was employed to select a sample of 64. This random sample consisted of 16 boys and 16 girls from the eight-year-olds, and 16 boys and 16 girls from the four-year-olds. Interviews were held with these 64 subjects either in their homes or at the Cristo Rey Community Center. Appendix C provides a summary of demographic information of the sample.

The reason for selecting four-year-olds was that they have not yet been extensively socialized, and therefore had not learned to have negative self-concepts, presumably derived from school experience and other social contacts. Since the eight-year-olds could be expected to have experienced considerably more socialization in the context of the dominant Anglo culture, they could therefore have more opportunity to develop negative self-concepts than would be the case for four-year-olds.

Subjects who did not understand or relate to the

Dolls Test were excluded from the test, which was conducted in English. Therefore, more than 64 random numbers were actually obtained from the computer. The computer was "asked" for 85 random numbers in order to pick another subject to replace any one that may have been dropped from the test. In this way, 64 subjects were actually involved in the study.

The list of 422 potential subjects was determined as follows. According to the 1983 census for Lansing, Michigan, there are 6,784 Mexican Americans living in that city. It was evident to this researcher that much of the Mexican-American population of Lansing meets at the Cristo Rey Community Center. The administration at the Center indicated that it serves a majority of all Mexicans in the Lansing area. From the 6,784 total population, 422 children in both the four- and eight-year-old categories were identified. It was estimated that the Center serves at least three-fourths of these 422 whose names and addresses were provided by the Center's Director. Families of these children were selected as the source of the target population for the study (Dolls Test).

It is significant that about three-fourths of the 422 children were active in some sort of program at the Center, the remaining one-fourth not active. As will be revealed later in the present study, results for those

participating in the Center's various programs differed significantly from the results for those not participating in such program.

The purpose of the Center is to promote growth, development, improvement, and progress among Mexican Americans. Center programs focus on adult education, cultural awareness, ESL (English as a Second Language) and even the Spanish language for those who need or want to improve their skill in that language. The Center is a central meeting place for all the Mexican people in the Lansing area. Counseling of all types is provided, covering such diverse areas as job seeking, financial planning, day care for children, drug abuse, and others. Many parents send their children there to be taught about their culture. The children are taught to have pride in themselves and to learn the traditions of old such as cultural dances, plays, and songs. The young and old are encouraged to participate in further education and to develop positive attitudes about themselves and their people.

This experience of the Center is significant for Chicanos. It will serve to explicate some of the results stated in Chapter 4 of the present study.

#### The Instrument (Dolls Test)

The Dolls Test required two dolls, one Chicano and one Anglo doll. Each doll was about 11 inches tall and dressed in diapers only. The Chicano doll had typical

Mexican features such as dark hair, brown skin, and dark eyes. The Anglo doll had blond hair, blue eyes, light skin, and a thin nose and thin lips. In the actual test, the word "figure" was used instead of the word "doll." The latter may have suggested a game or play activity, and boys may have been less comfortable with this term than in the case of girls.

Appendix A shows the ten statements used in the Dolls Test. Each statement begins with "Show me..." Five of the statements are positive in nature and five are negative. If a subject selected a certain doll in response to a positive statement, such as "Show me the pretty figure," the researcher asked for the degree of positiveness by further asking: "Very much, some, or only a little?" The subject was scored +3, +2, or +1, respectively, depending on which of the three alternatives was chosen. The other doll received a score of 0. Analogously, in the case of a doll chosen in response to a negative statement, the subject was scored either -3, -2, or -1 for that doll, the other doll being scored 0.

To obtain an individual score on the Dolls Test, the ten non-zero scores (some for the Chicano doll and some for the Anglo doll) were added to obtain a Chicano doll score and an Anglo doll score. The Anglo doll score was then subtracted from the Chicano doll score to obtain the individual score for the entire test. This difference score represented an "excess" of positive or negative

rating--as the case might be--of the Chicano doll over the Anglo doll. A positive score of +15, for example, means that the subject identified with the Chicano doll 15 points more than with the Anglo doll. Note that the Chicano doll score might have been only +6 (not highly or significantly positive in itself) and the Anglo doll score -9. But  $+6 - (-9)$  gives a score of +15 relative to the Anglo doll. Similarly, a -5 Chicano doll score (not highly or significantly negative in itself) and a +10 Anglo doll score would result in a self-concept score of -15 relative to the Anglo doll.

Thus the maximum possible individual subject score for the test was +30, the minimum -30. Each subject was classified as positive in self-concept if his or her score was greater than +10; neutral in self-concept if the individual's score was between +10 and -10; or negative in self-concept if the individual's score was less than -10. Because self-concept was measured in relation to, or relative to, an Anglo doll, the self-concept score is more accurately stated as "relative self-concept" score, although usage in the dissertation shortened this phrase to "self-concept" for convenience.

The scoring system was justified as follows. The Dolls Test is a forced-choice test which requires that the subject either like or dislike a particular doll. To help remedy this arbitrariness, a three-level scale, ranging from "a little" to "a lot" was therefore used.



Assuming that a subject was consistently and minimally oriented in favor of the Chicano doll, he or she would score +5 for the Chicano doll and -5 for the Anglo doll, giving an individual score of +10. An opposite orientation, one consistently and minimally oriented in favor of the Anglo doll, would give the individual a score of -10. These two scores, along with those in between, were thus chosen as neutral scores; all other scores indicate either positive or negative self-concept, as the case may be. Thus, even though the choices were all forced, the subjects had to indicate a sufficiently high degree of preference before their choices were accepted as indicators of positive or negative self-concept relative to the Anglo doll.

### Procedures

Permission for the research was granted by the Director of the Cristo Rey Community Center. As explained earlier in this chapter, 100 families were selected for the study. These families were contacted by the staff of the Center and asked to participate in the study. Almost all were willing, and their children were tested either at home or at the Center. Those tested at the Center referred the researcher to relatives or friends who had children in the age groups of concern. Since the researcher himself is Mexican, it was easy to enter their homes in order to test the children. A preliminary phone call always preceded any testing effort. In these calls the researcher

explained the nature of the research and set up an appointment.

A room was available at the Center for testing. The parents individually brought their children to the room for testing. The researcher had a desk upon which he had placed the two dolls. The parents were informed of their rights and the purpose of the study. The researcher made the child aware of the two dolls standing side-by-side on the desk. The child was then asked the ten questions from the Dolls Test. The subject would typically point to either the Chicano or the Anglo doll. In seven instances, the child did not fully understand the situation, and the test was eventually discontinued for the child. If after a few questions it was evident that no scorable responses were forthcoming, the researcher continued for a while--so as not to give parent or child the implication of test failure, and ended the session with a thank you to both the parent and child. Scoring was done unobtrusively by the researcher, who sat behind the desk with a large scoring pad on his knee.

For those subjects tested at their home, the procedure was essentially the same. However, more time was required due to the curiosity and questions from family members and other individuals present at the time.

Two researchers were asked to administer the Dolls Test. Both were males, one white (Anglo) and one Chicano (Mexican). The Anglo researcher tested 12 subjects (three

males and three females from the four-year-old age group; and three males and three females from the eight-year-old age group). The researcher tested the other 52 subjects.

### Summary of Data

Each of the 64 subjects of the study had a possible Dolls Test score ranging from +30 to -30. For purpose of testing the three hypotheses of the study, individual scores were summarized in terms of six classifications: four-year-old and either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept; and eight-year-old and either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept. Table 1 is based on these data.

The influence of sex on test scores was also tested. For this purpose, individual scores were identified in six classifications: boy and either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept; and girl and either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept. Table 2 is based on these data.

The influence on test scores due to subjects' non-attendance at the Center was then tested. For this purpose, individual scores were identified in six classifications: member of Cristo Rey and either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept; and not a member of Cristo Rey and either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept. Table 3 is based on these data.

Finally, differences in scores due to differences in researchers was tested. For this purpose, individual scores were identified in six classifications: Chicano researcher and either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept; and Anglo researcher and either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept. Table 4 is based on these data.

#### Analysis of Data

Hypothesis One. The eight-year-old Chicano children will as a group show significantly more negative self-concept than the four-year-old Chicano children.

To test this hypothesis, the subjects of the study were classified into six groups as indicated in Table 1. It was anticipated that the number of individuals in the upper left cell (four years old with positive self-concept) and the number of individuals in the lower right cell (eight years old with negative self-concept) would be significantly greater than the number of individuals in the other four cells of the table.

Stated technically, it was anticipated that the two variables self-concept and age group were dependent variables; that is, the four-year-olds tend to be positive in self-concept and the eight-year-olds tend to be negative in self-concept. Chi-square analysis ( $p < .05$ ) of the six frequencies (cell counts) determined whether the two variables were dependent or independent. Specifically,

if the chi-square value calculated from the cell data turned out to be greater than 5.99 ( $p < .05$ ), then the two variables would be considered dependent and--provided that the frequencies tend to be clustered in the cells labeled "four years, positive" and "eight years, negative"--hypothesis one would be accepted. If the calculated chi-square value from the cell data turned out to be less than 5.99 ( $p < .05$ ), the two variables would be considered to be independent and the hypothesis rejected.

Table 1

## Chi-Square Format for Test of Hypothesis One

Distribution of Sample (N = 64) with Respect  
to Age Group and Self-Concept

		<u>Self-Concept</u>		
		Positive	Neutral	Negative
<u>Age Group</u>	Four Years Old	Four Years Positive	Four Years Neutral	Four Years Negative
	Eight Years Old	Eight Years Positive	Eight Years Neutral	Eight Years Negative

Hypothesis Two. The group of four-year-old Chicano children will be either positive or at least neutral in self-concept.

The mean score of the four-year-old Chicano children was computed. A mean score greater than -10 would indicate that this group of 32 subjects as a whole were either

neutral or positive with respect to self-concept, and hypothesis two would be accepted. A mean score less than -10 would lead to a rejection of the hypothesis.

Hypothesis Three. The eight-year-old Chicano children will be negative in their self-concept.

The mean score of the eight-year-old Chicano children was computed. A mean score less than -10 would indicate that the group as a whole were negative with respect to self-concept, and hypothesis three would be accepted. A mean score of -10 or greater would lead to a rejection of the hypothesis.

#### Influence of Sex Variable

To test for any possible influence of sex on the distribution of positive, neutral, and negative scores, a chi-square test comparing the sex variable and self-concept variables was made. Table 2 shows the chi-square format for testing the influence of sex on self-concept for the sample as a whole. A calculated chi-square value greater than 5.99 ( $p < .05$ ) would indicate that the sex and self-concept variables are dependent; that is, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept depends significantly on whether or not they were boys or girls. A chi-square value less than 5.99 would indicate that the two variables are independent; that is, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether or not they were boys or girls.

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Table 2

Chi-Square Format for Test of Influence  
of Sex Variable

Distribution of Sample (N = 64) with Respect to  
Sex and Self-Concept

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Self-Concept</u>		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative
	Boy & Positive	Boy & Neutral	Boy & Negative
Boy			
Girl	Girl & Positive	Girl & Neutral	Girl & Negative

Influence of Researcher

To test for any possible influence of researcher bias on the distribution of positive, neutral, and negative scores, a chi-square test comparing the researcher type and self-concept variables was made. Table 3 shows the chi-square format for testing the influence of researcher on self-concept for the sample as a whole. A calculated chi-square greater than 5.99 ( $p < .05$ ) would indicate that the researcher and self-concept variables are dependent; that is, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept would depend on whether or not the test giver was either Chicano or Anglo. A chi-square value less than 5.99 would indicate that the two variables are independent; that is, whether the subjects



were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend on whether or not the test giver was either Chicano or Anglo.

Table 3

Chi-Square Format for Test of Influence of Researcher

Distribution of Sample (N = 64) with Respect to  
Researcher and Self-Concept

	<u>Self-Concept</u>		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Chicano Researcher <u>Researcher Type</u>	Chicano & Positive	Chicano & Neutral	Chicano & Negative
Anglo Researcher	Anglo & Positive	Anglo & Neutral	Anglo & Negative

#### Influence of Cristo Rey Experience

To test for possible influence of the Cristo Rey experience on the distribution of positive, neutral, and negative scores, a chi-square test comparing self-concept with subjects' experience with respect to the Cristo Rey Center was made. Table 4 shows the chi-square format for testing the influence of subjects' experience (regular members of the Center versus others) on self-concept. A calculated chi-square value greater than 5.99 ( $p = .05$ ) would indicate that experience and self-concept are dependent variables; that is, whether or not a subject regularly

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attended the Center significantly influenced whether the subject was positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept. A chi-square value less than 5.99 would indicate that the two variables are independent; that is, insofar as the distribution of positive, neutral, or negative scores is concerned, it made no significant difference whether the subjects were members of the Center (and regularly attending) or not.

Table 4

Chi-Square Format for Test of Influence  
of Cristo Rey Center

Distribution of Sample (N = 64) with Respect  
to Center Attendance and Self-Concept

		<u>Self-Concept</u>		
		Positive	Neutral	Negative
<u>Center Attendance</u>	Regular Attendance	Regular & Positive	Regular & Neutral	Regular & Negative
	No Attendance	No Attendance & Positive	No Attendance & Neutral	No Attendance & Negative

Influence of Cristo Rey Center as a Variable

It should be noted at this point that a statistical analysis was made of the subjects that were tested at Cristo Rey Center vs those subjects who had been involved in Cristo

Rey programs, but tested at their own homes. In other words, did being tested at the actual Cristo Rey site influence those subjects to answer significantly differently than those tested at their homes?

Forty-two subjects were analyzed for significant difference of response to the tests. Twenty-one subjects were tested at Cristo Rey facility, and 21 of the subjects were tested in their homes. It should be kept in mind that both groups are active with Cristo Rey programs. Statistical charts based on the analysis are found in Appendix B, page 107.

#### Interpretation of the Data and Results

There was no significant difference between the data collected at Cristo Rey and the data collected from the subjects at their homes. With the means differing by less than one, compounded by the fact that the ranges are the same, in effect the measures of self-esteem of the groups are almost exactly identical. Furthermore, having standard deviations that differ by only five percent means that the distribution of the subjects with low esteem and high esteem between the two groups is approximately the same. It is true that the self-esteem of the group that was polled at home seems to be slightly higher than the self-esteem of the group polled at Cristo Rey. However, considering the size of the groups polled, a difference of less than five percent is well within statistical error. The only difference

between the two sets of data that is at all worth noting is the local peaks and densities. It can be noticed from the histograms and frequency tables that there are more local peaks in the data collected from the subjects at Cristo Rey than in the other poll. That is to say that there appears to be about four small groups of subjects in the Cristo Rey poll; with groups of three or four subjects scoring at about the same level of self-esteem. There appears to be only two such groups in the other poll, and one of those groups is the bell curve peak. If one examines the kurtosis and skewness of each group, it may be noted that the subjects polled at home have a sharper peak than those polled at Cristo Rey. This, however, is because of the several smaller peaks in the Cristo Rey group which disturbs the smoothness of the curve. Despite this, the bell curve peaks in both histograms are still about 21. Therefore, we conclude from this analysis that there were no significant differences in subjects' responses. See the results as follows: note ATCR refers to at Cristo Rey Center. NOTCR refers to not at Cristo Rey.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF:  
ATCR, NOTCR, MERGED

VARIABLE	MEAN	S.E. MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	KURTOSIS	S.E. KURT	SKEWNESS	S.E. SKEW	VALID N
ATCR	18.810	1.206	5.528	30.562	1.333	1.939	-.709	.501	21
NOTCR	19.619	1.270	5.818	33.848	.444	1.939	-.398	.501	21
MERGED	19.214	.867	5.620	31.587	.630	1.961	-.506	.365	42

  

VARIABLE	RANGE	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM	SUM	VALID N	LABEL
ATCR	24.000	4.000	28.000	395.000	21	AT C.R.
NOTCR	24.000	6.000	30.000	412.000	21	NOT C.R.
MERGED	26.000	4.000	30.000	807.000	42	Merged data

## Chapter 4

### Results

In this chapter the three hypotheses of the study will be discussed using the Dolls Test data obtained from the 32 four-year-old and 32 eight-year-old subjects. The influence of sex, researcher, and Cristo Rey attendance on self-concept will also be discussed. Finally, anecdotal data summarizing some key observations of the subjects during the tests will be presented. This anecdotal data provided some valuable additional insights into the reactions of the subjects during the Dolls Test.

Accordingly, the chapter will consist of the following seven sections:

- (1) Raw Data Summary
- (2) Test of Hypotheses
- (3) Influence of Sex Variable
- (4) Influence of Researcher
- (5) Influence of Cristo Rey Experience
- (6) Anecdotal Data
- (7) Summary of Findings

#### Raw Data Summary

Tables 5 through 8 are a summary of the data essential for performing the tests in sections (2) through (5)

of this chapter. Table 5 is a summary of self-concept scores for the 32 four-year-olds and 32 eight-year-olds of the study. Each subject is identified by a code number (for computer purposes) as well as order of listing in the table. Each subject is identified as either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept. A group mean is provided for the Chicano doll score, the Anglo doll score, and the relative self-concept score. The data in this table were used to test the three hypotheses of the study.

Table 5

Summary of Chicano Doll, Anglo Doll, and Relative Self-Concept Scores for Four-Year-Old (N = 32) and Eight-Year-Old (N = 32) Subjects

<u>FOUR-YEAR-OLDS</u>					
Subject	Code Number	Chicano Doll	Anglo Doll	Relative Self-Concept	Designation
1	9	- 8	10	-18	Negative
2	10	-13	14	-27	Negative
3	11	- 7	10	-17	Negative
4	12	-12	12	-24	Negative
5	13	-14	13	-27	Negative
6	14	-11	10	-21	Negative
7	15	- 9	10	-19	Negative
8	16	- 6	7	-13	Negative
9	41	7	- 3	10	Neutral
10	42	10	- 9	19	Positive
11	43	10	- 6	16	Positive
12	44	6	- 6	12	Positive
13	45	10	- 6	16	Positive
14	46	12	- 9	21	Positive
15	47	9	- 7	16	Positive
16	48	13	-10	23	Positive
17	49	10	-10	20	Positive
18	50	13	-13	26	Positive

Table 5 (Continued)

Subject	Code Number	Chicano Doll	Anglo Doll	Relative Self-Concept	Designation
19	51	14	-13	27	Positive
20	52	7	- 5	12	Positive
21	53	13	-11	24	Positive
22	54	11	- 9	20	Positive
23	55	12	- 7	19	Positive
24	56	4	- 1	5	Neutral
25	57	11	-10	21	Positive
26	58	9	- 9	18	Positive
27	59	11	- 8	19	Positive
28	60	10	- 8	18	Positive
29	61	11	-10	21	Positive
30	64	14	-10	24	Positive
31	62	7	- 5	12	Positive
32	63	15	-13	28	Positive

Summary for Four-Year-Olds

Mean Chicano Doll Score	=	5.28	22 Positives
			2 Neutrals
Mean Anglo Doll Score	=	-3.50	8 Negatives
Mean Relative Self-Concept Score	=	8.78	

EIGHT-YEAR-OLDS

1	1	-13	15	-28	Negative
2	2	-11	11	-22	Negative
3	3	- 7	8	-15	Negative
4	4	-13	12	-25	Negative
5	5	-10	10	-20	Negative
6	6	-15	13	-28	Negative
7	7	- 8	10	-18	Negative
8	8	-12	13	-25	Negative
9	17	15	-13	28	Positive
10	18	15	-12	27	Positive
11	19	7	-10	17	Positive
12	20	7	- 8	15	Positive
13	21	3	- 3	6	Neutral
14	22	10	- 8	18	Positive
15	23	14	-12	26	Positive
16	24	12	- 9	21	Positive
17	25	7	- 7	14	Positive
18	26	13	- 8	21	Positive



Table 5 (Continued)

Subject	Code Number	Chicano Doll	Anglo Doll	Relative Self-Concept	Designation
19	27	12	- 8	20	Positive
20	28	15	-13	28	Positive
21	29	5	1	4	Neutral
22	30	13	- 9	22	Positive
23	31	10	- 5	15	Positive
24	32	8	- 6	14	Positive
25	33	12	- 8	20	Positive
26	34	12	- 8	20	Positive
27	35	13	-11	24	Positive
28	36	15	-15	30	Positive
29	37	11	- 8	19	Positive
30	38	14	-10	24	Positive
31	39	10	- 8	18	Positive
32	40	11	- 9	20	Positive

Summary for Eight-Year-Olds

Mean Chicano Doll Score	= 5.47	22 Positives
		2 Neutrals
Mean Anglo Doll Score	= -3.59	8 Negatives
Mean Relative Self-Concept Score	= 9.06	

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Table 6 is a summary data which identifies each of the 64 subjects with respect to sex and relative self-concept designation. The 64 subjects are numbered in exactly the same order as in Table 1. The sex (boy or girl) and designation (positive, neutral, or negative) of each subject is identified. The data in Table 6 were used to test the influence of sex on the relative self-concept scores.

Table 6

Sex and Relative Self-Concept Designation of  
Four-Year-Olds (N = 32) and Eight-Year-Olds (N = 32)

FOUR-YEAR-OLDS

Subject	Sex	Designation
1	Male (M)	Negative
2	M	Negative
3	M	Negative
4	M	Negative
5	Female (F)	Negative
6	F	Negative
7	F	Negative
8	F	Negative
9	M	Neutral
10	M	Positive
11	M	Positive
12	M	Positive
13	M	Positive
14	M	Positive
15	M	Positive
16	M	Positive
17	M	Positive
18	M	Positive
19	M	Positive
20	M	Positive
21	F	Positive
22	F	Positive
23	F	Positive
24	F	Neutral
25	F	Positive
26	F	Positive
27	F	Positive
28	F	Positive
29	F	Positive
30	F	Positive
31	F	Positive
32	F	Positive

Summary for Four-Year-Olds

16 Males (11 Positive, 1 Neutral, 4 Negative)

16 Females (11 Positive, 1 Neutral, 4 Negative)

EIGHT-YEAR-OLDS

1	M	Negative
2	M	Negative

Table 6 (Continued)

Subject	Sex	Designation
3	M	Negative
4	M	Negative
5	F	Negative
6	F	Negative
7	F	Negative
8	F	Negative
9	M	Positive
10	M	Positive
11	M	Positive
12	M	Positive
13	M	Neutral
14	M	Positive
15	M	Positive
16	M	Positive
17	M	Positive
18	M	Positive
19	M	Positive
20	M	Positive
21	F	Neutral
22	F	Positive
23	F	Positive
24	F	Positive
25	F	Positive
26	F	Positive
27	F	Positive
28	F	Positive
29	F	Positive
30	F	Positive
31	F	Positive
32	F	Positive

Summary for Eight-Year-Olds

16 Males (11 Positive, 1 Neutral, 4 Negative)

16 Females (11 Positive, 1 Neutral, 4 Negative)

Table 7 is a summary of data which identifies each of the 64 subjects with respect to which researcher, Chicano or Anglo, gave the Dolls Test to a subject and to relative self-concept designation. The 64 subjects are

numbered in exactly the same order as in Table 1. The data in Table 7 were used to test the potential influence of researcher bias on the relative self-concept scores.

Table 7

Researcher Type and Relative Self-Concept Designation  
of Four-Year-Olds (N = 32) and Eight-Year-Olds (N = 32)

<u>FOUR-YEAR-OLDS</u>		
Subject	Researcher Type	Designation
1	Chicano	Negative
2	Chicano	Negative
3	Chicano	Negative
4	Anglo	Negative
5	Chicano	Negative
6	Chicano	Negative
7	Chicano	Negative
8	Anglo	Negative
9	Chicano	Neutral
10	Chicano	Positive
11	Chicano	Positive
12	Chicano	Positive
13	Chicano	Positive
14	Chicano	Positive
15	Chicano	Positive
16	Chicano	Positive
17	Chicano	Positive
18	Chicano	Positive
19	Anglo	Positive
20	Anglo	Positive
21	Chicano	Positive
22	Chicano	Positive
23	Chicano	Neutral
24	Chicano	Neutral
25	Chicano	Positive
26	Chicano	Positive
27	Chicano	Positive
28	Chicano	Positive
29	Chicano	Positive
30	Anglo	Positive
31	Chicano	Positive
32	Anglo	Positive

Table 7 (Continued)

<u>EIGHT-YEAR-OLDS</u>		
Subject	Researcher Type	Designation
1	Chicano	Negative
2	Chicano	Negative
3	Chicano	Negative
4	Anglo	Negative
5	Chicano	Negative
6	Chicano	Negative
7	Chicano	Negative
8	Anglo	Negative
9	Chicano	Positive
10	Chicano	Positive
11	Chicano	Positive
12	Chicano	Positive
13	Chicano	Neutral
14	Chicano	Positive
15	Chicano	Positive
16	Chicano	Positive
17	Chicano	Positive
18	Chicano	Positive
19	Anglo	Positive
20	Anglo	Positive
21	Chicano	Neutral
22	Chicano	Positive
23	Chicano	Positive
24	Chicano	Positive
25	Chicano	Positive
26	Chicano	Positive
27	Chicano	Positive
28	Chicano	Positive
29	Chicano	Positive
30	Chicano	Positive
31	Anglo	Positive
32	Anglo	Positive
<u>Summary</u>	52 Chicanos (36 Positive, 4 Neutral, 12 Negative)	
	12 Anglos (8 Positive, 0 Neutral, 4 Negative)	

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Table 8 is a summary of data which identifies each of the 64 subjects with respect to Cristo Rey attendance (regular attendance or no attendance) and to relative self-concept designation. The 64 subjects are numbered in

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exactly the same order as in Table 1. Each subject is identified as either regularly attending or not attending the Center and as either positive, neutral, or negative with respect to relative self-concept. The data in Table 8 were used to test the potential influence of the Center on the relative self-concept scores.

Table 8

Cristo Rey Center Attendance Record and Relative  
Self-Concept Designation of Four-Year-Olds (N = 32)  
and Eight-Year-Olds (N = 32)

FOUR-YEAR-OLDS

Subject	Center Attendance Record	Designation
1	No Attendance (NA)	Negative
2	NA	Negative
3	NA	Negative
4	NA	Negative
5	NA	Negative
6	NA	Negative
7	NA	Negative
8	NA	Negative
9	Regular Attendance (RA)	Neutral
10	RA	Positive
11	RA	Positive
12	RA	Positive
13	RA	Positive
14	RA	Positive
15	RA	Positive
16	RA	Positive
17	RA	Positive
18	RA	Positive
19	RA	Positive
20	RA	Positive
21	RA	Positive
22	RA	Positive
23	RA	Positive
24	RA	Neutral
25	RA	Positive
26	RA	Positive
27	RA	Positive
28	RA	Positive

Table 8 (Continued)

Subject	Center Attendance Record	Designation
29	RA	Positive
30	RA	Positive
31	RA	Positive
32	RA	Positive

EIGHT-YEAR-OLDS

1	NA	Negative
2	NA	Negative
3	NA	Negative
4	NA	Negative
5	NA	Negative
6	NA	Negative
7	NA	Negative
8	NA	Negative
9	RA	Positive
10	RA	Positive
11	RA	Positive
12	RA	Positive
13	RA	Neutral
14	RA	Positive
15	RA	Positive
16	RA	Positive
17	RA	Positive
18	RA	Positive
19	RA	Positive
20	RA	Neutral
21	RA	Positive
22	RA	Positive
23	RA	Positive
24	RA	Positive
25	RA	Positive
26	RA	Positive
27	RA	Positive
28	RA	Positive
29	RA	Positive
30	RA	Positive
31	RA	Positive
32	RA	Positive
<u>Summary</u>	16 No Attendance (0 Positive, 0 Neutral, 16 Negative)	
	48 Regular Attendance (44 Positive, 4 Neutral, 0 Negative)	

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## Test of Hypotheses

### Hypothesis One

Hypothesis one asserted, in effect, that self-concept and age level are dependent variables. To test this hypothesis, a chi-square analysis at the .05 level of confidence ( $p = .05$ ) was performed on the data in Table 5. Table 9 shows the results of this analysis.

Table 9

Chi-Square Analysis for Relative Self-Concept  
and Age Group (N = 64)

		<u>Relative Self-Concept</u>			
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	
<u>AGE GROUP</u>	Four-Year Olds	22	2	8	32
	Eight-Year Olds	22	2	8	32
		44	4	16	64

Critical chi-square value ( $p = .05$ ) = 5.99

Sample (N = 64) chi-square value = 0.00

Age Group and Relative Self-Concept not dependent variables

Table 9 indicates that the sample chi-square value was zero, which is less than 5.99, and therefore the two variables were not dependent. Accordingly, hypothesis one

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was rejected. In fact, the two age groups showed identical patterns with respect to the distribution of positive, neutral, and negative scores.

#### Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis two stated that the four-year-old Chicano children would be either positive or at least neutral in self-concept. The summary for four-year-olds in Table 1 indicates that the mean relative self-concept score for four-year-olds was 8.78. Since this score is a neutral score, hypothesis two was accepted.

Of the 32 four-year-olds, 22 (69 percent) were positive in designation. Despite this high percentage of positives, the total mean score was nevertheless only a neutral one. This may be explained by noting that in finding mean scores, the negative scores cancel out positive scores, thereby lowering a positive mean score.

The hypothesis would also be accepted if the mean Chicano doll score had been used as the measure of self-concept. This mean score was 5.28, barely over the minimal score of 5.00 necessary to qualify as minimally oriented in the positive (to Chicano doll) direction.

#### Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis three stated that the eight-year-old Chicano children would be negative in their self-concept. The summary for eight-year-olds in Table 1 indicates that the relative self-concept score for eight-year-olds was 9.06.

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Since this score is a neutral score, hypothesis three was rejected.

Consistent with this rejection of the hypothesis is the fact that of the 32 eight-year-olds, only eight (25 per-cent) were negative in designation. The hypothesis would also be rejected if the mean Chicano doll score had been used as the measure of self-concept. This mean score was 5.47, definitely not a negative designation.

#### Influence of Sex Variable

To test for the influence of the sex variable on the relative self-concept scores, a chi-square analysis at the .05 level of confidence ( $p < .05$ ) was performed on the data in Table 6. Table 10 shows the results of this analysis.

Table 10

Chi-Square Analysis for Sex and Relative  
Self-Concept Designation (N = 64)

		<u>Relative Self-Concept</u>			
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	
<u>Sex</u>	Male	22	2	8	32
	Female	22	2	8	32
		44	4	16	64

Critical chi-square value ( $p < .05$ ) = 5.99

Sample (N = 64) chi-square value = 0.00

Table 10 (Continued)

Sex and Relative Self-Concept not dependent variables

Table 10 indicates that the sample chi-square value was zero, which is less than 5.99. Accordingly, it was concluded that sex and self-concept were independent variables for the sample. In other words, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether or not they were boys or girls. In fact, boys and girls showed identical patterns with respect to the distribution of positive, neutral, and negative scores.

Influence of Researcher

To test for the influence of the researcher on the relative self-concept scores, a chi-square analysis at the .05 level of confidence ( $p < .05$ ) was performed on the data in Table 7. Table 11 shows the results of this analysis.

Table 11

Chi-Square Analysis for Researcher Type and  
Relative Self-Concept Designation (N = 64)

<u>Researcher</u> <u>Type</u>	<u>Relative Self-Concept</u>			
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	
Chicano	36	4	12	52
Anglo	8	0	4	12
	44	4	16	

Table 11 (Continued)

Critical chi-square value ( $p = .05$ ) = 5.99

Sample ( $N = 64$ ) chi-square value = 1.403

Researcher Type and Relative Self-Concept not dependent variables

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Table 11 indicates that the sample chi-square value was 1.403, which is less than 5.99. Accordingly, it was concluded that the researcher and self-concept variables were independent for the sample. In other words, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether or not the researcher was Chicano or Anglo. Thus, any potential researcher bias did not differentially influence the distribution of positive, neutral, and negative self-concept scores.

#### Influence of Cristo Rey Experience

To test for the influence of the Cristo Rey experience on the relative self-concept scores, a chi-square analysis at the .05 level of confidence ( $p < .05$ ) was performed on the data in Table 8. Table 12 shows the results of this analysis.



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Table 12

Chi-Square Analysis for Cristo Rey Center Attendance  
and Relative Self-Concept Designation (N = 64)

		<u>Relative Self-Concept</u>			
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	
<u>Center Attendance</u>	Regular Attendance	44	4	0	48
	No Attendance	0	0	16	16
		44	4	16	

Critical chi-square value (p .05) = 5.99

Sample (N = 64) chi-square value = 55.00

Center Attendance and Relative Self-Concept are dependent variables

Table 12 indicates that the sample chi-square value was 55.00, which is more than 5.99. Accordingly, it was concluded that the experience of Center attendance and self-concept variables were dependent for the sample. In other words, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept depended significantly on whether they regularly attended or did not attend the Center. The extremely high chi-square value indicates extreme dependence, as can be verified by noting that all the negative scores were from the no attendance

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group (N = 16), and nearly all the positive scores were from the regular attendance group (N = 48).

This last result is of special concern for the study. Table 8 indicates that all the 16 negative scores (8 from the four-year-olds and 8 from the eight-year-olds) were from individuals who did not attend the Center, and therefore did not experience the offerings of its various programs. All the positive scores were from those individuals who regularly attended the Center. Thus while rejection of hypothesis one meant that, for the sample of 64 subjects, eight-year-olds were not negative in self-concept, the positives were mainly from the Center and the negatives all from outside the Center. These results in turn suggest that the socialization process undergone as a result of Center experience may be of a significant factor that determines whether a self-concept is negative or positive. These implications will be further discussed in the final chapter of the present study.

It should be noted that some of the cells in Table 9 through 12 contained fewer than 5 frequencies. Theoretically, the chi-square test is reliable only if the cell counts are at least 5, and therefore the chi-square analyses performed on the data in these tables (9 through 12) might be questioned. However, the chi-square values were either extremely low or extremely high, suggesting that any error due to failing to meet the requirement of at least 5 in a cell was not significant. Furthermore, examination of the

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distributions suggests a conclusion consistent with that of the various chi-square analyses. Thus the results of the chi-square analysis were accepted unequivocally.

#### Anecdotal Data

Comments made by the subjects during testing revealed additional data relevant to self-concept. These anecdotal data are here presented first for subjects with positive attitudes and then for subjects with negative attitudes.

##### Positively Oriented Comments

One eight-year-old subject indicated that "we" (Mexicans) were here first and are more native to America than the Anglo population. Another eight-year-old pointed to the fact that Mexicans have a single flag (Mexican flag) to identify with, whereas Anglos cannot identify with the flag of another country or origin. Another said that Chicanos are smart because they know more than one language. Other comments were as follows.

"We have good customs and traditions."

"We have national dances."

"We live together as families and help each other."

"We have good food that others like and try to copy."

"If we aren't pretty, why do they (Anglos) try to look like us by getting tans...So that's why the Chicano doll is the prettier one."

"We are the good ones and kind ones because we all

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get together and help each other."

"The Chicano doll is the smart one because it knows about Jesus and because it knows two languages."

"The Chicano doll is prettier because it is tan and does not have to get a tan."

"The Chicano doll is the good doll because it does not talk bad about its parents like the White doll."

"The Chicano doll is the good and kind one because it did not kill anyone for the land, like the Whites killed us (Chicanos) and Indians for land."

"God made man, and the reason White people are white is because they weren't cooked long enough. The Blacks have cooked too long and Mexicans are between White and Black, so they were cooked just right. That's why they are brown."

The children making these remarks had regularly attended programs or classes at Cristo Rey, where such views were very likely reinforced.

#### Negatively Oriented Comments

"The white one is prettier. Why? Because they are in commercials on TV."

"The white doll is smarter. Why? I don't know. They just are."

"The white doll is the good doll. Gets good grades at school."

"The white doll is smarter and good. Teacher likes them better."



"The white doll is prettier. White is a nice color."

"I like the white doll better because they have nice things."

"The white doll is nicer because they are movie stars."

"The white doll is smarter. They make a lot of things, and invent."

"They have a nice house and car."

"Whites are smarter because they become President."

"They have pretty hair."

"They are better because they speak better."

"Whites are lucky--their parents give them what they want."

"They are kinder because they can give to help others. On Christmas they give us food and toys."

"They are smarter. They read better."

"They get to go on vacations."

### Summary of Results

1. Hypothesis one was rejected. The four-year-olds did not differ significantly from the eight-year-olds on self-concept.

2. Hypothesis two was accepted. The four-year-olds were neutral with respect to self-concept.

3. Hypothesis three was rejected. The eight-year-olds were not negative with respect to self-concept; they were neutral.

4. Whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether or not they were boys or girls.

5. Whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether or not the researcher was Chicano or Anglo.

6. Whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept depended significantly on whether they regularly attended or did not attend the Cristo Rey Center. Those who regularly attended the Center were positive in self-concept.

Thus sex variable and researcher variable did not differentiate the self-concept variable. However, educational experience (Cristo Rey attendance) did differentiate the self-concept variable.

The anecdotal data were consistent with results stated in number 6 above. The positively oriented subjects for the most part were in regular attendance at Cristo Rey. Their remarks were consistent with the kind of remarks that could be heard from children at the Center. Subjects making negatively oriented remarks were for the most part not in regular attendance at the Center. Their remarks were consistent with cultural bias typically found outside the Center. Also, the reasoning used when explaining their choice reflected the specific biases found in the dominant Anglo culture.

Positively oriented subjects cited as reasons for their favorable self-concept as follows: knowledge of a second language; identity with a strong culture; identity with the Mexican flag; strong presence in America before Anglo presence; strong family life; supportive community life in which everyone helps everyone else; good food which others try to imitate; strong religious attitudes; respect for parents; not guilty of exploiting others and taking away their land; preference for brown or tan as being in between black and white. Negatively oriented subjects cited reasons for their unfavorable self-concept as follows: whites are prettier; they appear on TV; they are smarter; they get good grades and are good; teacher likes them better; white is a nice color; white dolls have nice things; they are like movie stars; they have a nice house and a car; they become President; they have pretty hair; they speak better; they get what they want from their parents; they are kinder and help others, like at Christmas; they read better; and they go on vacations.

## Chapter 5

### Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

#### Summary

The study sought to document the existence of negative self-concept developments in Chicano children as a consequence of their experience in the larger Anglo culture. It was especially needed in view of the fact that most studies on racial awareness in children have pertained to Blacks rather than to Chicanos.

Adaptation of education in America to the needs of Chicanos has been marked by slow progress. This lack of progress is especially evident in the early education of Chicano children. As a consequence, there may be anticipated a significant impact of school and society on the Chicano child's self-concept.

The purpose of the study was to provide empirical data substantiating the assumption that many Mexican-American children between the ages of four and eight develop a negative self-concept due to their experience in the dominant Anglo culture. This purpose was accomplished by means of data obtained from a carefully designed experiment involving the Dolls Test administered to a sample of 32 four-year-olds and 32 eight-year-olds.

The research problem was stated in terms of three research questions.

1. How does self-concept of Chicano children depend on the socialization process within the dominant Anglo culture? In particular, how do cultural and group norms, parental influences, education, socioeconomic status, frustrations, and the displacement of hostility in both the Chicano and dominant Anglo culture help shape ethnic attitudes and Chicano self-concepts?

2. What are some empirical studies which document the development of racial awareness and self-concept in Chicano children from age three through eight? What is the role of skin color in creating self-awareness and self-concept? What are some specific research instruments employed for this purpose and what have been the results of these studies?

Research questions one and two were answered on the basis of a literature review. The third question was answered on the basis of a Dolls Test applied to a sample of Chicano boys and girls.

3. On the basis of their responses to questions about a Chicano doll and an Anglo doll, how would a sample of four-year-old Chicano boys and girls compare with a sample of eight-year-old Chicano boys and girls? Specifically, it was expected that (1) the eight-year-olds would show significantly more negative self-concept than

the four-year-olds, (2) the four-year-olds would be positive in self-concept, and (3) the eight-year-olds would be negative in self-concept.

With respect to research questions one and two, the literature review revealed the following: Group norms are understood more accurately when viewed as subjectively problematical values and norms rather than as objectively given "facts." Understanding the Chicano means understanding the Chicano culture, including loyalty to family and ethnic group, importance of native language and father's authoritative role, family influence in education, and non-competitiveness and non aggressive values. Chicano children in school are burdened by a language barrier and high dropout rate, with middle-class administrators and teachers imposing their values on Chicano students they often do not understand. The curriculum fails to reflect the needs of the Chicano child. Teachers' attitudes are often negative, leading to self fulfilling prophecies or failure for the Chicano child. Tests are often discriminatory because they are not culturally relevant. Chicano parents often do not understand the way in which a school functions and do not cooperate or push their children in truly "middle class" patterns, thus lessening the chance of success for their children.

How a Chicano feels about himself or herself derives from the defense mechanisms growing out of discrimination. Defenses include denial of membership,

withdrawal, passivity, clowning, self-hatred, aggression against one's own group, and group solidarity. The victim may actually identify mentally with the point of view, prejudices, and philosophy of the dominant group. Race differences in particular may result in negative self-perception or self-concept.

The concept of race is intertwined with color. Even Spanish Americans may reject the darker-skinned Mexican Americans. Studies reveal that negative roles are assigned to dark skin color by both Blacks and Chicanos. In effect, to be brown in skin color is to be on the way toward developing a negative self-concept.

Direct observations, behavioral traces, self-reports, projective techniques, and/or any combination of these have been used widely to determine the impact of skin color on self-concept. Costa-Robles de Suarez (1971) used black-white stimulus pictures with young Chicano children to demonstrate that Chicano children are aware of their own skin color and often do not prefer their own skin color. Other researchers have used various forms of a Dolls Test to come to similar conclusions. These studies demonstrate that skin visibility may be a determining factor in the evolving, developing self-concept of the Mexican-American child. However, all the Dolls Tests were lacking in a scoring system which could supply quantitative data for statistical treatment, especially data which allowed for gradations of response on a Likert-type scale and which

measured reaction to both dolls (Chicano and Anglo) by subtracting Anglo from Chicano doll scores to produce a single score. Thus the present research introduced a somewhat different measure of self-concept; namely, relative self-concept.

Research question three was answered by means of an empirical study as follows. A sample of 64 Mexican-American children were randomly selected through the auspices of the Cristo Rey Community Center in Lansing, Michigan, a center frequented by a large number of Chicanos of that city. Thirty-two of the children were four-year-olds (16 boys and 16 girls) and 32 were eight-year-olds (16 boys and 16 girls).

Each of the 64 subjects of the study was given the Dolls Test. Each doll was about 11 inches tall and dressed in diapers only. The Chicano doll had typical Mexican features such as dark hair, brown skin, and dark eyes. The Anglo doll had blond hair, blue eyes, light skin, and a thin nose and thin lips. Each subject was classified as positive in self-concept if his or her score was greater than 10; neutral if the individual's score was between 10 and -10; or negative in self-concept if the individual's score was less than -10.

Appendix A shows the ten statements, five of which are positive in nature and five negative, which were used in having each child choose a doll. Each statement begins with "Show me..." If a subject selected a certain doll



in response to a positive statement, such as "Show me the pretty figure," the researcher asked for the degree of positiveness by further asking: "Very much, some, or only a little?" The subject was scored 3, 2, or 1 respectively, depending on which of the three alternatives was taken. The other doll received a score of zero. Analogously, in the case of a doll chosen in response to a negative statement ("Show me the mean doll"), the subject was scored either -3, -2, or -1 for that doll, the other doll being scored zero.

To obtain an individual score on the Dolls Test, the ten non-zero scores (some for the Chicano doll and some for the Anglo doll) were added to obtain a Chicano doll score and an Anglo doll score. The Anglo doll score was then subtracted from the Chicano doll score to obtain the individual score for the entire test. Thus the scores were computed relative to the Anglo doll. Accordingly, the measure was termed "relative self-concept," although used interchangeably with "self-concept" in the text.

The above approach removed two defects in other Dolls-Test procedures. First, the subject was able to respond on a scale of from 1 to 3, thereby permitting finer gradations of response. This was deemed essential because of the forced-choice nature of the test. If finer gradations had not been introduced, a subject would be forced to either be totally positive or totally negative in response, not likely to be the case in most instances. Furthermore, both

dolls were included in the measure of self-concept, thus allowing in the measure for the "other" element of the situation, an important component reflecting the study emphasis of Chicano/Anglo culture clash as revealed, in particular, through skin color and other facial features. Accordingly, self-concept was, in this empirical part of the study, expanded to mean "relative" self-concept.

Three hypotheses were tested using data gained as described above. (1) The eight-year-old Chicano children will as a group show significantly more negative self-concept than the four-year-old children; (2) The group of four-year-old Chicano children will be either positive or at least neutral in self-concept; and (3) The eight-year-old Chicano children will be negative in their self-concept. Also tested were the influence of three variables on the relative self-concept scores of the 64 subjects combined: sex, researcher type, and Cristo Rey experience. Chi-square analysis ( $p .05$ ) was used to test hypothesis one and for the influence of the three variables. Hypotheses two and three were tested by noting in which range--negative, neutral, or positive--the mean scores of each group fell into. The results were as follows.

1. Hypothesis one was rejected. The four-year-olds did not differ significantly from the eight-year-olds on self-concept.

2. Hypothesis two was accepted. The four-year-olds were neutral with respect to self-concept.

3. Hypothesis three was rejected. The eight-year-olds were not negative with respect to self-concept; they were neutral.

4. Sex did not differentiate relative self-concept. That is, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether they were boys or girls.

5. Researcher type did not differentiate relative self-concept. That is, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether the researcher was Chicano or Anglo.

6. Educational experience (Cristo Rey attendance) did differentiate the self-concept variable. Whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept depended significantly on whether they regularly attended or did not attend the Cristo Rey Center. Those who regularly attended the Center were positive in self-concept. The negative self-concept scores, in fact, were all associated with those subjects that did not attend the Center.

Anecdotal data taken from the testing interviews was also recorded. These anecdotal data were consistent with the results stated in result number six above, as well as with the findings for research questions one and two. Positively oriented anecdotal data were consistent

with those from students in regular attendance at the Center; negatively oriented anecdotal data were consistent with those from students not in regular attendance at the Center.

Positively oriented subjects gave the following as reasons for their favorable relative self-concept: knowledge of a second language; identity with a strong culture; identity with the Mexican flag; strong presence in America before Anglo presence; strong family life; supportive community life in which everyone helps everyone else; good food which others try to imitate; strong religious attitudes; respect for parents; not guilty of exploiting others and taking away their land; preference for brown or tan as being in between black and white.

Negatively oriented subjects cited reasons for their unfavorable self-concept as follows: whites are prettier; they appear on TV; they are smarter; they get good grades and are good; teacher likes them better; white is a nice color; white dolls have nice things; they are like movie stars; they have a nice house and a car; they become President; they have pretty hair; they speak better; they get what they want from their parents; they are kinder and help others, like at Christmas; they read better; and they go on vacations.

### Conclusions and Discussion

Based on a study of 32 four-year-old and 32 eight-year-old Mexican American children, it was concluded that

the two groups did not differ significantly with respect to relative self-concept as measured by the Dolls Test. Consistent with study expectations, the four-year-olds were neutral with respect to relative self-concept, whereas the eight-year-olds, contrary to expectations, were neutral also. Thus each of the two groups was neither positive nor negative with respect to relative self-concept. Furthermore, neither the sex nor researcher variable differentiated relative self-concept for the two groups combined ( $N = 64$ ), but Cristo Rey attendance (the "education" variable) did. These conclusions raise several issues in need of further discussion.

One important issue has to do with the distinction between self-concept and relative self-concept. Self-concept or self-esteem measures are global in the sense that they include a variety of experience and feelings pertaining to how an individual feels about his or her self. Consistent with the approach taken by Calhoun and Morse (1977), the present study viewed self-concept as the substantive description that one takes to identify his or her nature, in which self is the sum total of all one can call his own. This total, however, is not exclusively a reaction to racial or ethnic stimuli or norms.

For example, one may feel optimistic about the self in terms of ability to do a certain task, yet uncertain when being compared with another person. Thus it may be conjectured that a certain degree of ambivalence may occur

in which, for example, the Anglo doll is viewed positively by a Chicano child in relation to the Chicano doll, yet the same Chicano child making the comparison may not necessarily have a low self-esteem. In order to verify this conjecture, two tests are suggested: one of self-concept (self-esteem) and another of relative self-concept (Dolls Test). It does not necessarily follow that self-concept (self-esteem) will correlate highly with relative self-concept as measured by the Dolls Test.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the relative self-concept of the children of the present study was differentiated by the Cristo Rey educational experience. The Center seeks to promote growth, development, and progress among Mexican Americans. Programs at the Center include adult education, cultural awareness, ESL, and the Spanish language. Many Mexican-American parents send their children to the Center to be taught about culture. The children are taught to take pride in themselves and their culture, to learn such traditions of old as dances, plays, and songs. They are encouraged to develop positive attitudes about themselves and their people. Counseling of all types is provided, covering such diverse areas as job seeking, financial planning, day care for children, drug abuse, and others. It is not surprising that the 64 children of the present study who were in regular attendance at the Center were positive in relative self-concept, while those that did not attend the Center were all negative in relative

self-concept.

The anecdotal data from the children confirmed themes established in the literature review of the present study. Loyalty to family and personal sacrifice (Farias, 1971) and loyalty to ethnic group (Garcia, 1974) were amply illustrated in the anecdotal remarks of the positively oriented children:

"We live together as families and help each other."

"The Chicano doll is prettier because it does not talk bad about its parents like the White doll."

"We live together as families and have good customs and traditions."

"We have national dances."

"We are the good ones and kind ones because we all get together and help each other."

Even the problems of language barrier (Ortega, 1970) and skin color were favorably interpreted by the positively oriented children.

"The Chicano doll is the smart one because it knows about Jesus and because it knows two languages."

"The Chicano doll is prettier because it is tan and does not have to get tanned."

"If we aren't pretty, why do others (Anglos) try to look like us by getting tans...So that's why the Chicano doll is the prettier one."

Anecdotal data from children negatively oriented likewise confirmed themes established in the literature

review. Academic achievement and self-concept (Johnson, 1979) were reflected in a number of comments.

"The White doll is the good doll. She gets good grades at school."

"The White doll is smarter and good. Teacher likes them better."

"They are smarter. They read better."

"They are better because they speak better."

Features such as hair and color (Williams and Morland, 1976) were the focus of some comments.

"The White doll is prettier. White is a nice color."

"They have pretty hair."

Economic deprivation was another source of negative self-orientation.

"They have a nice house and car."

"I like the White doll better because they have nice things."

Some of the children were motivated in part toward negative Chicano orientation by virtue of lack of role models (Durrett & Davy, 1970), from their own culture.

"The White doll is nicer because they are movie stars."

"Whites are smarter because they become President."

The present study found that researcher type did not significantly differentiate the relative self-concept variable. That is, whether the subjects were positive, neutral, or negative with respect to self-concept did not depend significantly on whether or not the researcher was Chicano



or Anglo. However, the Anglo researcher involved only 12 cases in the study, compared to 52 for the Chicano researcher. The low frequencies in two cells of the chi-square table (for the Anglo researcher, zero in the neutral cell and four in the negative cell) tended to reduce the validity of the chi-square test. A better comparison could have been made had the Anglo researcher been involved with a number of subjects more nearly equal to that number involved with the Chicano researcher.

The Dolls Test of the present study was an improvement over Dolls Tests used in other similar studies for several reasons. First of all, other studies involving subject responses to two or more dolls were "all or none" response, often merely anecdotal in nature. The researchers in such studies subjectively recorded the nature of the responses as either positive or negative. By contrast, the present study introduced a rating scale that made it possible to distinguish between various degrees of orientation. Each subject was asked to indicate the degree of reaction--very much, some, or only a little--which was scored as 3, 2, or 1, respectively, as a positive number for positive orientation and as a negative number for negative orientation. This made possible a numerical measure more amenable to statistical analysis, as well as a more exact measure of self-concept.

Secondly, the relative aspect of the self-concept measure was taken into consideration when scoring each

individual. The Chicano subjects expressed feelings about a Chicano doll relative to an Anglo doll. A positive score with respect to the Chicano doll meant that the subject identified positively with the Chicano doll, and indirectly this could be considered as a measure of positive self-concept. However, if at the same time the Anglo doll received a negative score, then relative to the Anglo doll the self-concept could be interpreted as even greater. This positive relative self-concept score was found by subtracting the Anglo doll score from the Chicano doll score. Similarly, if the subject had a negative attitude toward the Chicano doll and a positive attitude toward the Anglo doll, then subtracting the Anglo doll score from the Chicano doll score produced an even greater negative self-concept score relative to the Anglo doll. In particular, the mean Chicano doll score for the 32 four-year-olds was 5.28 compared to a -3.50 mean score for the Anglo doll. The very minimal self-concept score of 5.28 was enhanced to 8.78, the relative self-concept score, by subtracting -3.50 from 5.28. This relative score gave a better estimate of self-concept relative to the Anglo doll, and therefore more accurately reflected the total social situation which is essentially one of Chicano vs. Anglo. Other researchers using dolls made no provision for including (1) gradations of measure (three levels in the Dolls Test used for the present study) or (2) a measure reflecting attitudes toward both dolls as just described for the Dolls Test.

If the Dolls Test had been given to an Anglo child, the scoring procedure would have been reversed; that is, the Chicano doll score would have been subtracted from the Anglo doll score. Thus a score is from the point of view of the subject taking the test. Positive statements about a doll similar to one's own racial or ethnic status were assumed to reflect a positive self-concept; negative statements a negative self-concept.

It should not be concluded that the factors of skin color, eye color, and hair alone determine the degree of hostility from a dominant Anglo culture. One could reason that Europeans such as the Italians or other Mediterranean Europeans could qualify as Chicano on basis of such features, yet are not discriminated against in the American culture in the same way. Also essential are cultural factors such as language, dress, behavior, as well as residential confinements such as the barrio. Clearly a number of factors other than physical features serve to set in motion social prejudice which then conditions the child in the direction of negative self-concept. Skin color, hair, eyes, and other facial features are but identifiable traits that set into motion certain stereotypic responses. Nevertheless, skin color is still a major trigger of events in such cultural conflicts.

Such considerations suggest a need to replicate the Dolls Test experiment with modifications. For example, two dolls could be utilized which have identical, highly

Anglo features but which differ sharply in skin color. Would it then be as easy for the Chicano subject to identify with the doll or darker color? Or, two dolls could be dressed up in different modes, one reflecting a lower class mode of dress, the other a more middle or upper class mode. These dress modes could be mixed with various skin colors and other facial features for a variety of dolls. One might even have subjects respond to recorded statements which reflect different speaking styles of the dolls. Could such added complexities in research design reveal cultural factors equally important as purely physical features?

Because of the highly positive relative self-concepts of those subjects who had regularly attended the Cristo Rey Community Center, as compared with the highly negative orientation of those who had not, the present study suggested the importance of school-inculcated values as a means of improving self-concept. Programs similar to the one at the Center could be established in other cities of the country. Dolls Tests similar to the one conducted in the present study could be used to evaluate the effectiveness of the programs.

Cultural homogeneity may be less existent than is commonly thought. Knowledge of English and mental ability scores may be more a function of class status rather than ethnic status. In some middle-class Chicano families, the children may be expected to perform more like their Anglo counterparts than would be the case for Chicanos from a

lower socioeconomic level. It is conceivable that results from the Dolls Test could vary considerably, depending on the particular social class involved.

Acculturation may eventually remove the problem addressed by the present study. This may very well lead to the offspring of today's Chicanos becoming tomorrow's consumers of culture, spending like everyone else for packaged entertainment and manufactured goods. They may turn against their own art and artisan work in order to participate in the modern society.

Middle class America is by no means content, as is amply corroborated by the huge annual medical and psychiatric bills. Acculturation should not become a mere transmission belt for the artificial consumer values of North American culture. The Chicanos should seek alternatives other than those offered them by the modern consumer culture.

### Recommendations

Four recommendations were made as a result of the study.

1. It is recommended that the present study be replicated using a measure of self-esteem along with the Dolls Test. The Dolls Test was conducted in a social context involving two contrasting dolls. The method of relative self-concept measure assumed that the Chicano subjects' positive identification with a Chicano doll meant

that positive self-concept (self-esteem) was also present. To test the hypothesis that positive self-concept (self-esteem) is really being measured, both self-esteem and Dolls Test data should be obtained from a sample and correlated. It is anticipated by the present researcher that the correlation between the two measures will be positive and high.

2. It is recommended that cultural factors other than physical traits (such as studied in the present research) be evaluated and compared with physical traits for influence on relative self-concept. For example, two dolls of identical skin color, facial, and hair features could be dressed differentially, one according to a "lower class" mode and the other according to a middle or upper class mode. Repetition of the Dolls Test under these circumstances might reveal that positive or negative orientation might be significantly related to cultural factors such as dress. Other cultural factors such as mode of speech (using tapes, perhaps) might be introduced to further test the influence of factors other than purely physical features such as skin color on the Chicano child's preferences. A number of complex designs might be employed, testing for the influence on doll choice through various combinations of both physical and cultural factors.

3. It is recommended that the present study, or some suitable form of it, be replicated with two groups of children; lower SES and Middle/upper SES. It is essential

to determinit the extent of Chicano homogeneity with respect to personal and cultural values. Will Chicano children vary in their choice of dolls, depending on their social class membership? Is the Chicano community a homogeneous entity that always responds essentially in one way only?

4. Finally, it is recommended that the Cristo Rey Community Center program, or some reasonable facsimile of it, be offered to other Chicano communities throughout America. The effects of the Center's programs were highly positive for Chicano children's relative self-concept in the present study. It is very likely that the benefits of such an educational program could lead to improvement of Chicano self-concept in all parts of the country, not just in Lansing, Michigan.

## APPENDIX A



SUBJECT: # \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_ MALE \_\_\_\_\_ FEMALE \_\_\_\_\_

Chicano Doll

White Doll

1. Show me the pretty doll.
2. Show me the mean doll.
3. Show me the smart doll.
4. Show me the ugly doll.
5. Show me the good doll.
6. Show me the dumb doll.
7. Show me the doll you like.
8. Show me the kind doll.
9. Show me the bad doll.
10. Show me the doll you don't like.

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

## APPENDIX B

## Analysis of Cristo Rey as a Variable

ATCR AT C.R.

VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
4	1	4.8	4.8	4.8
12	2	9.5	9.5	14.3
15	1	4.8	4.8	19.0
16	3	14.3	14.3	33.3
18	3	14.3	14.3	47.6
19	1	4.8	4.8	52.4
20	3	14.3	14.3	66.7
21	1	4.8	4.8	71.4
23	1	4.8	4.8	76.2
24	3	14.3	14.3	90.5
27	1	4.8	4.8	95.2
28	1	4.8	4.8	100.0
<hr/>				
TOTAL	21	100.0	100.0	

NOTCR NOT C.R.

VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
6	1	4.8	4.8	4.8
10	1	4.8	4.8	9.5
14	2	9.5	9.5	19.0
15	1	4.8	4.8	23.8
17	1	4.8	4.8	28.6
18	1	4.8	4.8	33.3
19	2	9.5	9.5	42.9
20	3	14.3	14.3	57.1
21	3	14.3	14.3	71.4
22	1	4.8	4.8	76.2
24	1	4.8	4.8	81.0
26	1	4.8	4.8	85.7
27	1	4.8	4.8	90.5
28	1	4.8	4.8	95.2
30	1	4.8	4.8	100.0
<hr/>				
TOTAL	21	100.0	100.0	

I.....+.....I.....+.....I.....+.....I.....+.....I.....+.....I  
0                  1                  2                  3                  4                  5  
HISTOGRAM FREQUENCY

HISTOGRAM FREQUENCY

COUNT	MIDPOINT	ONE SYMBOL EQUALS APPROXIMATELY .20 OCCURRENCES
0	2.0	
1	3.5	*****
0	5.0	
1	6.5	*****
0	8.0	
1	9.5	*****
0	11.0	
2	12.5	*****
2	14.0	*****
5	15.5	*****
1	17.0	*****
7	18.5	*****
6	20.0	*****
5	21.5	*****
1	23.0	*****
4	24.5	*****
1	26.0	*****
4	27.5	*****
0	29.0	
1	30.5	*****
0	32.0	

I.....I.....I.....I.....I  
 0          2          4          6          8        10

HISTOGRAM FREQUENCY

VALID CASES      42	MISSING CASES     0
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## APPENDIX C

## DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS

SUBJECT #	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
SEX	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE
AGE	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
FAMILY SIZE	5	4	4	6	3	4	7
FAMILY INCOME	FATHER \$23,000.00 MOTHER 0	\$16,000.00 \$4,000.00	\$10,000.00 0	\$24,000.00 \$7,000.00	\$23,000.00 \$6,000.00	\$14,000.00 0	\$40,000.00 0
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	FATHER 6th MOTHER 6th	10th	3rd	12th	10th	5th	2yrs. college 12th

\*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.

\*\*SINGLE FATHER PARENT.





DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS									
SUBJECT #	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.		
SEX	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE		
AGE	4	4	8	8	8	8	8		
FAMILY SIZE	4	4	5	8	4	3	5		
FAMILY INCOME	\$35,000.00	\$23,000.00	\$23,000.00	\$17,000.00	\$ 0	\$22,000.00	\$23,000.00		
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	FATHER 11th MOTHER 12th	FATHER 10th MOTHER 10th	FATHER 11th MOTHER 8th	FATHER 7th MOTHER 9th	FATHER 0 MOTHER 6th	FATHER 5th MOTHER 7th	FATHER 8th MOTHER 9th		
*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.									
**SINGLE FATHER PARENT.									

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS									
SUBJECT #	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.		
SEX	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE		
AGE	8	8	8	8	8	8	8		
FAMILY SIZE	9	3	6	4	7	5	6		
FAMILY INCOME	FATHER \$25,000.00 MOTHER 0	\$30,000.00 \$16,000.00	\$23,000.00 \$8,000.00	** \$24,000.00 0	\$25,000.00 \$4,000.00	\$23,000.00 0	\$19,000.00 0		
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	FATHER 0 MOTHER 6th	12th 12th	10th 11th	12th 8th	9th 12th	7th 10th	5th 4th		
*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.									
**SINGLE FATHER PARENT.									

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS									
SUBJECT #	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.		
SEX	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE		
AGE	8	8	8	8	8	8	8		
FAMILY SIZE	4	4	3	5	8	6	4		
FAMILY INCOME	FATHER 0 * \$13,000.00	\$22,000.00	* 0 \$12,000.00	\$23,000.00	\$23,000.00	\$24,000.00	\$39,000.00		
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	FATHER 0 MOTHER 6th	9th	0 7th	10th 12th	12th	11th 8th	4 yrs. college 4yrs. college		
*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.									
**SINGLE FATHER PARENT.									

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS									
SUBJECT #	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.		
SEX	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE		
AGE	8	8	8	8	8	4	4		
FAMILY SIZE	4	7	5	3	3	5	5		
FAMILY INCOME	FATHER \$27,000.00 MOTHER \$9,000.00	\$24,000.00 0	\$30,000.00 \$6,000.00	0 * \$19,000.00	\$14,000.00 \$12,000.00	\$23,000.00 0	\$22,000.00 0		
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	FATHER 1 yr. college MOTHER 12th	9th 10th	1 yr. college 12th	0 12th	6th 11th	10th 8th	5th 0		

\*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.  
\*\*SINGLE FATHER PARENT.

## DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS

SUBJECT #	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.
SEX	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE	MALE
AGE	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
FAMILY SIZE	7	5	4	8	5	5	5
FAMILY INCOME	FATHER \$24,000.00 MOTHER 0	\$20,000.00	0	\$22,000.00	\$47,000.00	\$23,000.00	\$24,000.00
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	FATHER 9th MOTHER 10th	12th	0	12th	5th	7th	5th

\*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.

\*\*SINGLE FATHER PARENT.

## DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS

SUBJECT #	50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.
SEX	MALE	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE
AGE	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
FAMILY SIZE	3	6	9	4	3	6	3
FAMILY INCOME	FATHER	0	\$22,000.00	0	0	\$19,000.00	** \$22,000.00
	MOTHER	\$28,000.00	* \$14,000.00	0	* \$14,000.00	0	0
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	FATHER	6th	8th	0	0	7th	6th
	MOTHER	4th	9th	8th	9th	9th	6th

\*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.

\*\*SINGLE FATHER PARENT.

## DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS									
SUBJECT #	57.	58.	59.	60.	61.	62.	63.		
SEX	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE		
AGE	4	4	4	4	4	4	4		
FAMILY SIZE	3	5	4	5	5	6	4		
FAMILY INCOME	FATHER	\$22,000.00	\$24,000.00	0	\$35,000.00	\$24,000.00	\$24,000.00	\$22,000.00	
	MOTHER	\$4,000.00	0	\$14,000.00	\$12,000.00	\$8,000.00	\$5,000.00	0	
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	FATHER	12th	10th	0	5yrs. college	12th	1yr. college	5th	
	MOTHER	11th	11th	9th	2yrs. college	12th	2yrs. college	0	
*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.									
**SINGLE FATHER PARENT.									

~~SEVERE MOTHER PARENT.~~

**\*\*SINGLE FATHER PARENT.**



# DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS

SUBJECT #	64.				
SEX	FEMALE				
AGE	4				
FAMILY SIZE	7				
FAMILY INCOME	<table> <tr> <td>FATHER</td><td>\$24,000.00</td></tr> <tr> <td>MOTHER</td><td>\$5,000.00</td></tr> </table>	FATHER	\$24,000.00	MOTHER	\$5,000.00
FATHER	\$24,000.00				
MOTHER	\$5,000.00				
HIGHEST ED. LEVEL OF PARENTS	<table> <tr> <td>FATHER</td><td>12th</td></tr> <tr> <td>MOTHER</td><td>11th</td></tr> </table>	FATHER	12th	MOTHER	11th
FATHER	12th				
MOTHER	11th				

## RESULTS

AVERAGE FAMILY SIZE = 5

FATHER = \$19,093.75

AVERAGE INCOME \$

MOTHER = \$ 5,578.13

AVERAGE ED. LEVEL

FATHER = 8.54

MOTHER = 9.16

\*SINGLE MOTHER PARENT.

\*\*SINGLE FATHER PARENT.

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