PERCEPTIONS OF CULTURALLY - RACIALLY MIXED AND NON - MIXED SIX - SEVEN YEAR OLD CHILDREN IN AMERICAN DEPENDENTS' SCHOOLS OF OKINAWA

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This is to certify that the

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PERCEPTIONS [illegible] RACIALLY MIXED
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The purpose of this study was to obtain, analyze and compare data from sixteen year old children in a culturally-racially mixed environment in American Dependents' Schools in Tokyo, Japan, with reference to perceptions of themselves and their peers as shown through their drawings.

Selection of classrooms was random. Total number of children obtained for the sample was 361. The children were then categorized into four groups: white, black, white/oriental, and black/oriental. Only seven children were found to be in the black/oriental category. Therefore, that group was felt not to be large enough for statistical comparison with other groups. However, the group was of interest and was analyzed introspectively with reference to the main findings of the study. Of the three remaining groups, the next smallest group in size was the

ABSTRACT

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By

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The purpose of this study was to obtain, analyze and compare data regarding six-seven year old children in a culturally-racially mixed environment in American Dependents' Schools in Okinawa, Japan, with reference to perceptions of themselves and their peers as shown through their drawings.

Selection of classrooms was random. Total number of children obtained for the sample was 361. The children were then categorized into four groups: white, black, white/oriental, and black/oriental. Only seven children were found to be in the black/oriental category. Therefore, that group was felt not to be large enough for statistical comparison with other groups. However, the group was of interest and was analyzed introspectively with reference to the main findings of the study. Of the three remaining groups, the next smallest group in size was the

black group, which was composed of 40 children. Through a process of random deletion, the other groups were equated in size to the black group.

Drawings of 'self' were analyzed for Emotional Stability and Authenticity. The racial-cultural origin of the declared 'best friend' was determined by children's drawings of 'best friend' and data obtained from the teacher. The data was analyzed by multivariate analysis of variance using the Finn program at the Michigan State University Computer Center.

Within the limitations of setting, population sampling and methodology, the results of this study were:

1. White, black and white/oriental children differ with regard to emotional security factors expressed in drawings of themselves. Black children appear to express a lack of emotional security to a far greater degree than white and white/oriental children. White/oriental children at the ages of six and seven do not express a lack of emotional security to a significantly greater degree than white children.

While the differences were derived from an overall comparison of eight factors, those that contributed most to the differences for black children were omission of body and shading of face.

2. White, black and white/oriental children differ with regard to authentic representation of skin and

hair in drawings of themselves. Black children express a greater degree of inauthenticity than white and white/oriental children. White/oriental children do not express a significantly greater degree of inauthenticity than white children.

The factor that contributed most to the difference between black children and other groups was representation of skin color. The factor that contributed more to the slight difference between white/oriental children and white children was representation of hair.

3. White, black and white/oriental children differ in race of the peers that they selected as 'declared' best friend. White children predominantly chose other whites and white/orientals as friends. They chose very few blacks and other minority children. About half of the black children chose white children; the rest were almost equally divided among choices for white/orientals, blacks and others. Almost half of the white/oriental children chose white children; the next most frequently chosen were white/orientals; the next, other minorities. No white/oriental child chose a black child as 'best friend.'

4. Black/oriental and Nisei oriental children comprised only a small proportion of the population of interest. With regard to peer group selection, no black/oriental and no Nisei oriental named a black child declared 'best friend.' Both groups tended to choose white and white/oriental children.

Little difference appeared to exist with regard to authenticity factors.

Four out of seven black/oriental children and six out of eight Nisei oriental children produced 'lack of emotional security' elements in their drawings. The major difference appeared to be in the frequency with which a single factor appeared. A total of five factors were produced for black/orientals and eight for Nisei orientals, but five of the eight elements for Nisei orientals were on the same factor, omission of hands. Elements for black/orientals were scattered among categories.

Two results of particular significance were obtained from this investigation. First, previously validated procedures for discovering emotional stress through children's drawings were further validated for evidence of stress resulting from cultural and racial identity problems. Secondly, this study found, contrary to popular belief, that minority youngsters continue to suffer from racial and cultural identity problems even in highly integrated schools.

Hence, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that: children, rejected by their peers, concerned about their differences from the dominant group members of the population, need help in developing a positive self-image so that they can better concentrate on learning tasks. The results of this study suggest that teacher education institutions are continuing to produce teachers unaware of the problems of minority children. Finally, pre-service and in-service teacher education programs designed to help teachers effectively work with culturally different and culturally-racially mixed children and parents are needed if schools are to be identified as places where learning, in the best sense of the word, takes place.

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AND NON-MIXED SIX-SEVEN YEAR OLD
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OF OKINAWA

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THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Although much has been said with regard to the United States as a country striving toward a "melting pot" or homogenized society, recent history discounts the occurance of this phenomenon for those with culturally or racially distinct characteristics. The continuing concern for educational, social and economic opportunities for minority groups is based on data that implies that cultural-racial differences do exist and are often detrimental to those in recognizable minority groups.

For those involved in the education of youngsters in a pluralistic setting there is a need to obtain more insights into the perceptions and needs of the culturally-racially culturally-different children. Such a need exists in the American Dependents' Schools of Okinawa, Japan.

The Problem

Much needs to be done to help those who work with children in a culturally-racially mixed environment. Instruments need to be developed and methodology perfected which can be used by teachers and counselors to gain greater insight and understanding as to the nature of culturally-racially mixed children as well as culturally different children. In the past, projective devices, such as unfinished sentences and drawings in conjunction with intensive interviews of parents and teachers, accompanied by direct observation have been used by social scientists to learn what was going on inside children at various ages. Either new devices need to be developed or existing devices need to be adapted by those who wish to study racially-culturally mixed children and culturally different children. These groups appear to have few translators or bridges whereby they can communicate and translate their views, perceptions and feelings.

Background and Rationale

In the Department of Defense Dependents' Schools located on Okinawa there are large numbers of culturally-racially mixed children enrolled in grades K-12. In 1974-75, more than 40% of the total number of pupils enrolled live in homes where the mother and father differ culturally and/or racially from one another. For example, the mother's culture of birth may be Japanese and the father's culture and race of birth may be American Black.

More than 50% of a total of 20,000 married military men stationed on Okinawa are married to women born in Vietnam, Thailand, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Okinawa, The Philippines, India, or some other island located in the Pacific Basin, or an area of the world orther than the United States.*

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*See International Social Assistance of Okinawa, Inc. Report, 1974-75.

In short, a large number of the pupils enrolled in the American Dependents' Schools located on Okinawa are culturally-racially mixed children. The school district is highly pluralistic in terms of cultural and racial differences of the children enrolled in school. In behavior, customs, language, distinct racial characteristics, and social backgrounds the pupils differ markedly from one another. Nevertheless, they attend classes, participate in informal social activities and play situations wherein the ruling dictum calls for a minimizing of the differences. Dominant cultural adaptation and social adjustment for some occurs in a sufficiently satisfactory manner despite being away from the more protective confines of the home environment where the primary culture and language is other than that of the dominant cultural group. Contrary to current thinking in regard to bilingual/bicultural education, program emphasis is on changing the culture of the children. For example, in school, the required language of instruction is English; and white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle-class social values are the 'norm.'

Children entering school at the first grade level must adapt and adjust in the lonely and oft times hostile world that is markedly different from anything they have previously experienced. It is a lonely world where there is no assistance from their mothers who often are, also, strangers to the culture of the American schools. The experience of moving from home to school environment is a crucial one in the development of any child, but the impact is more profound and acute for the culturally-racially mixed children. Hence, a large number of them fail to successfully master the numerous obstacles and either immediately or in the distant future will pay the price of being from a unique family situation.

The process of socialization and cultural accommodation continues at a rapid pace for culturally-racially mixed children. Whether or not they picture themselves as universal people with highly desirable traits and behaviors rather than as marginal entities belonging to no cultural group will depend, in large part, on what happens to them on their initial sojourn into the larger society of the school environs. The development of a negative or positive self-image will depend to a great extent upon the actions of others that become significant and important figures in their day-to-day lives. Teachers, counselors and peers will become more and more <u>the</u> significant factors in the life of those who will become either 'cosmopolitan individuals' or 'isolated strangers' to all cultures. Hence, the acquisition and analysis of data about 6-7 year old culturally-racially mixed children of Okinawa is important. Furthermore, teachers in this pluralistic setting seem to feel that for minorities, such as the black child from the United States, the melting pot idea is working, i.e., children tend to feel less prejudice in Okinawa than in the continental United States. Data needs to be obtained on the existence of perceptions of racial prejudice in a highly pluralistic environment.

Of the more than 700 professional personnel working in the schools, 99% of the total group were born, reared, educated and initially employed within the United States. Approximately 95% of the total group are white, middle-class Americans who have lived less than five years outside the continental United States. More than 90% of the group were born, reared, educated and worked in white, middle-class communities prior to being hired to work in the dependents' schools abroad.*

In summary, the cultural-racial background and training of the majority of people responsible for the education of a large number of culturally-racially mixed children is acutely different from that of their clients, and the difference is critical.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to obtain, analyze and compare data regarding selected characteristics of 6-7 year old children in a culturally-racially mixed environment in American Dependents' Schools in Okinawa, Japan, with reference to perceptions of themselves and their peers as shown through their drawings.

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*See International Social Assistance Report, 1974 and 1975.

Hypotheses

The major concern of this study is with the emotional well-being of culturally-racially mixed and non-mixed children who make up the population of interest.

Factors selected for study which indicate emotional well-being are: completeness of drawings, authenticity of drawings and selection of best friend.

1.0 Drawings that groups of white, black and white-oriental children make of themselves will indicate differences in emotional security as evidenced by completeness of drawings.

 1.1 Drawings of white children will indicate a greater degree of emotional security than those of black children.

 1.2 Drawings of white-oriental children will indicate a greater degree of emotional security than those of black children.

 1.3 Drawings of white children will indicate a greater degree of emotional security than those of white-oriental children.

2.0 Drawings that groups of white, black and white-oriental children make of themselves will indicate differences in authenticity, as evidenced by skin and hair.

 2.1 Drawings of white children will be more authentic than drawings of black children.

2.2 Drawings of white-oriental children will be more authentic than drawings of black children.

2.3 Drawings of white children will be more authentic than drawings of white-oriental children.

3.0 Children within groups will not tend to select white, black and white-oriental children as declared "best friends" in their drawings in proportion to their representation in the total sample.

3.1 Black children will differ from white-oriental children in their selection of declared "best friend" in their drawings.

3.2 White children will differ from white-oriental children in their selection of declared "best friend" in their drawings.

3.3 Black children will differ from white children in their selection of declared "best friend" in their drawings.

Delimitations

Findings of this study should be considered within the limits of the population and procedures used in the investigation.

Population

The parent population from which the samples were drawn for the study consists of approximately 1500 six-seven year old children enrolled in Department of Defense Schools located on Okinawa during 1974-75.

Definition of Terms

Emotional Security: The definition for emotional security used in this study was derived from Kippitz (1968) as satisfactory social adjustment. Lack of emotional security will be determined by the following elements in children's drawings: no body, no nose, no hands, shadin- of face, no mouth, slanting figure more than 15°, lack of symmetry of limbs, or figure less than two inches, according to the judgement of the investigator.

Declared 'Best Friend': Declared 'best friend' will be the child drawn by the respondent and whose name is given to classroom teacher.

Authenticity: Authenticity of drawings is defined by the existence of reasonable approximation of hair and skin with regard to the race being represented in the drawings, according to the judgement of the investigator.

White Children: White children are those whose parents are both white.

Black Children: Black children are those whose parents are both black.

White-Oriental Children: White-Oriental children are those whose father is white and mother is Oriental.

Black-Oriental Children: Black-Oriental children are those whose father is black and mother is Oriental.

Mixed Children: Mixed children are those whose parents are of different cultural or racial backgrounds.

Non-Mixed Children: Non-mixed children are those children whose parents are of the same cultural or racial backgrounds.

Marginal Individuals: Marginal individuals are culturally-racially mixed individuals.

Culturally Different Children: Culturally different children are children with both parents of the same race and culture who belong to a minority group.

Summary

In this chapter the problem, background, rationale and purpose of the study were presented. Three major hypotheses were constructed and further developed with nine sub-hypotheses. The list of delimitations included population, methodology and terminology.

In Chapter II, literature related to the methodology and subject matter of the study, as well as pertinent research, will be reviewed.

In Chapter III, the design and methodology of the study will be discussed.

In Chapter IV, the data will be reported, analyzed and discussed.

In Chapter V, the summary, conclusions and recommendations for further study will be presented.

CHAPTER II

RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

Research needs identified in Chapter I cited children living in a pluralistic environment as a group for further study. Research dealing exclusively with culturally-racially mixed children is sparce. Rather, what is available for mixed individuals is concerned primarily with adults. Most of the research that might be considered related to the area of interest of this study deals with culturally different children; the development of cultural-racial awareness in the general population; and methods for analysis of cultural-racial perceptions of children.

The literature reviewed for this study was selected to answer the following questions:

1. What are the problems of the culturally-racially mixed?
2. What are the problems of the non-mixed, culturally-racially different?
3. How might projective drawings be analyzed to determine children's perceptions of cultural-racial differences?

What Are the Problems of the Culturally-Racially Mixed?

A major work on culturally or racially mixed individuals is Stonequist's Marginal Man (1937). Stonequist introduces his thinking in regard to a definition of marginal man with this statement:

> . . . marginal man is the one who is poised in psychological undertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant" over the other, within which membership is implicitly if not explicity based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations. Since each concrete situation varies in the degree of its conflicts as well as its trend of adjustment, the marginal person has a varying character . . . and there are differences according to the phase of the life-cycle of the individual (p.8).

Further, Stonequist refers to the person of mixed racial ancestry as the best example of a marginal individual. That is, as a result of his birth he is between two races with obvious physical characteristics which differ from both parent races. As the 'racially mixed' matures be becomes more aware of his problems and anamolous cultural and social position and social adjustment problems intensify.

In his early work, he singles out the 'Oriental Mixed' for a detailed description and suggests that the factor of racial appearance is crucial. Cultural conflict develops within the family and larger social groups because of the racial barrier to assimilation. Conflict between Oriental mores which differ from professed equalitarian American standards is frequent. Stonequist states:

> So the ('racial mixed') becomes a 'problem.' He belongs neither to America nor to the Orient. Culturally he is an American; racially he is of the Orient. He cannot identify himself completely with either civilization. There is no easy road for him out of this dilemma (p. 105).

Stonequist describes the typical life-cycle of the marginal individual as passing through three stages:

1. a stage when he is not aware that the racial or nationality conflict embraces his own career.
2. a period when he consciously experiences this conflict, and
3. the more permanent adjustments, or lack of adjustments, which he makes or attempts to make to his situation.

For Stonequist the stages would broadly correspond to childhood, adolescence and adulthood.

Park (1928) had put forth another, more optimistic view of the culturally mixed individual. His concept was of a person whose,

> . . . mind is the crucible in which two different and refractory cultures may be said to meet and, either wholly or in part fuse . . . Such a person is one who has a rather broad and flexible viewpoint towards prevailing cultural values, and inevitably becomes, to his milieu, the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint . . . the more civilized human being (pp. 892-893).

In general, however, Park and Stonequist took similar positions in regard to a common concept of marginality and its effects upon individuals. For example, writing initially in 1928, Park (1950) refers to the marginal man concept and its accompanying problems in social and psychological adjustments when he speaks about the psychological characteristics of a marginal individual.

> There are no doubt periods of transition and crisis in the lives of most of us that are comparable with those which the immigrant experiences when he leaves home to seek his fortune in a strange country. But in the case of the marginal man the period of crisis is relatively permanent. The result is that he tends to become a personality type. Ordinarily the marginal man is a mixed blood, like the mulatto in the United States or the Eurasian in Asia, but that is apparently because the man of mixed blood is one who lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less of a stranger. The mixed blood exhibits many characteristics unique to a marginal individual--spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness, and malaise (pp. 355-356).

More recently, Maykovich (1972) indicates, after a review of the classical models of marginality, her basic agreement with the tenets put forth by Stonequist. Maykovich dealt at length with concepts of identity formation and crises, reference groups, alienation, inauthenticity and marginality in relation to Japanese American identity problems. She states that Japanese Americans, who are physically visible, possess psychological traits which accompany social marginality: ambivalence, anxiety, hypersensitivity. She further states that they are subject to the negative consequences of social alienation and self-alienation and that they display classical forms of inauthentic behavior.

According to Maykovich, the Japanese American identity crises which results from his marginality differs from that of Blacks and other minority groups. She suggests that Issei (first generation Japanese Americans, born in Japan), Nisei (second generation Japanese Americans born in United States), Sansei (third generation Japanese Americans born in United States) and Yonsei (fourth generation Japanese Americans born in United States), without protesting against social injustice directed towards themselves or other minority groups, quietly accommodated themselves to the dominant white society until they secured middle class status. She concludes that:

> No matter how hard they try to become 100 percent Americans, the Japanese Americans are still not accepted. Nisei have been conforming to white American values, trying to be fully assimilated, losing their original cultural heritage. The Nisei's identity is that of the white American and they have taught the Sansei children to follow the pattern. The Sansei have opened their eyes and seen that they cannot be identified as white Americans either by themselves or by white Americans (p. 148).

It appears as if other writers tend to differ from the position of Stonequist, Park and Maykovich only in part. For example, David Riesman (1951) suggests that " . . . a minority position, and particularly a marginal position may be a superior vantage point for understanding and for self development" (p. 241). This is in contrast to Stonequist's more seemingly uncompromising position which is reflected in his writing as quoted by Golovensky (1951-52):

> What are some of the attributes of marginal persons? Since the individuals are subjected to chronic nervous strain, inner tension, emotional discord and cultural conflict, we should expect them to show higher frequencies of various types of personal and social pathology including crime, delinquency and insanity (p. 201).

In the same article, Golovensky appears to differ drastically from the position espoused by Stonequist. This seems to be particularly so in regard to the seeming tendency to classify all members of a minority group as being marginal. Later in the same discussion Golovensky suggests that:

> The marginal man theory has its rightful place. In a restricted area the concept is valid. Park identifies the true marginal man when he speaks of the individual 'whose mother is a Jew and whose father is a Gentile.' In such cases, especially when both parents seek to claim the child for his own church, conflict and confusion are inevitable. Also, Jews who consciously and deliberately seek to flee from their ethnic group and to desire to erase all traces of their racial and religious kinship may show symptoms of mental tensions and emotional insecurity which we may identify as marginality. These individuals by concealment and suppression, are inviting complexes, neuroses and schizophrenia. The members of this splinter group, found also among negroes, catholics and other minorities are the real marginals, the rootless drifters whose behaviors and motivations answer the description of marginalty (p.339).

Riesman (1951 and 1953) supports the contention indicated above and develops at greater length the notion of marginality accompanying social maladjustment and personality disintegration. He suggests that marginal status is characteristic of those members of minority groups who experience socialization and acculturation problems because no appreciable amount of cultural assimilation can take place due to prohibitive racial or cultural barriers.

There has been little research dealing with cultural-racial awareness of culturally-racially mixed children. However, sociologists and others have studied and written at length about the concept of marginality and its relation to personality integration or disintegration. The literature seems to support the notion that culturally-racially mixed individuals are highly susceptible to personality and social disintegration which more frequently than not accompanies marginality status. Emotional insecurity, extreme sensitivity, identity problems, extreme feelings of alienation, anxiety, ambivalence and a display of inauthentic behavior are some of the negative characteristics associated with the phenomenon of marginality. Moreover, both proponents and critics of the concept of marginality seem to agree that racial and/or cultural hybrids are true marginal individuals and therefore subject to the psychological, social and acculturation problems of marginality.

Still further, the work of sociologists such as Park, Stonequist, and Maykovich as well as other social scientists such as Allport (1954), Coles (1964), Goodman (1946, 1952), Banks and the Clarks (1939 and 1947) support the notion that cultural-racial hybrids and culturally different individuals in the United States suffer from the adverse effects of marginality.

What are the Problems of the Non-Mixed, Culturally Different?

The definition presented in this study of the non-mixed culturally different is that of an individual with both parents of the same race and culture who belong to a minority group. One must be careful with definitions in this area of study. Banks (Banks and Grambs, 1972) in his discussion of the distinctions between the culturally different, culturally deprived, and culturally disadvantaged states:

> Many of the cultural deprivation theorists have misled thousands of teachers into thinking that a child who possesses cultural traits which differ from theirs are without a culture or culturally deprived . . . America's oppressed minority ethnic groups have rich and diverse cultures. The phrase culturally deprived is one of the most unfortunate misnomers stipulated in the last decade . . .
>
> . . . A moratorium should be declared on instant white experts on the black community and on cultural deprivation and disadvantaged theorists before they contribute further to the deflation of the black child's self-image (p. 28).

Culturally different individuals, marked by physical characteristics, tend to be marginal, more so than the dominant white individuals in the United States. Like the culturally and racially mixed, they have more than their "fair share" of problems in regard to self-identity, social-identity, positive self-concept, high self-esteem and negative attitudes of adults and peers from the dominant group. In short, the racially different are subject to the problems of prejudice and all its ugly consequences.

Historically, W.E.B. DuBois (1903) in The Souls of Black Folk speaks forcefully of what it was like to be a Black in America during the years of his youth. He speaks of how he discovered he was a "problem" when yet a small boy in New England. He felt that he was different from the others (whites), that God had made him an outcast and a stranger in his own house. Moreover, he visualized himself and others that were black as being 'sons of night destined to plod darkly on in hopeless resignation' (p. 16). He concluded that:

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warning ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (pp. 16-17).

Others since have studied the problems that afflict the Blacks in the United States and reached conclusions similar to DuBois'. Much of the research and literature of the past fifty years has been reviewed and analyzed in Black Self-Concept, edited by Banks and Grambs (1972). Of particular interest for this study is the review of current research in regard to racial prejudice, the black self-concept and black identity. Banks states that:

> A significant body of research . . . suggests that most white American adults harbor negative racial attitudes toward black and other ethnic groups . . . (p. 14).
>
> . . . teachers' racial attitudes are similar to those of most Americans (p. 14).
>
> . . . classroom teachers typically have negative attitudes toward poor and black youth, and low expectations for them (p. 17).

> Half of the white teachers in . . . 1964 felt that black students were innately inferior to whites and unable to learn in school (p. 17).
>
> . . . blacks often accept many of the stereotypes about themselves which are perpetuated by white society (p. 18).

Culturally different individuals have experienced the trauma and frustration of a lack of reference group, social identity and self identity.* In discussing the importance of a reference group, Maykovich (1972) states:

> The reference group enables the individual to develop his identity, to make him realize where he stands in the social structure, whose values he should identify with and whose recognition he should acquire (p. 10).

To the degree that acceptance by the dominant element of society is lacking, and cultural and racial assimilation fails to take place, the minority group members regardless of whether they are Japanese Americans or Blacks are confronted with the questions analagous to those contained in the poem below from Gidra (1970):

who am i?
i sometimes wonder
am i japanese? am i american? or just both.
to the whites i represent the yellow peril.
to the other minorities i am looked at with contempt
as though i were white.
to fellow asians i am american.
who am i? i sometimes wonder.
i am me, a human being. (Title page)

Maykovich (1972) in her studies dealing with the four generations of Japanese Americans discusses at length and in detail the history and problems which have continued

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*Physically handicapped individuals are often confronted with similar psycho-social problems. See Goffman 1963; Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity.

to plague a group of culturally-racially different people who differ from the dominant race and culture in the United States. She has studied both intensively and extensively what has happened to this ethnic group and refers to specific situations to illustrate types of problems and their causes. In comparing and analyzing what happened to the second and third generations, she concludes:

> . . . Nisei youth wanted to be accepted by their white peers and were not, because of their different skin color, facial characteristics, and other racial features. Although the Nisei had American citizenship, it was not accompanied by rights and privileges. In order to be accepted as an American, the Nisei reasoned that they should not show any trace of Japanese cultural heritage. They acted like inauthentic "200 percent Americans."
>
> Because of their diligence and compliance, Japanese Americans have been described by the dominant group as a model minority. They have attained high educational and occupational status, and share white prejudice toward other minority groups (p. 149).

As indicated earlier in this chapter, she has concluded that the historical period of inauthentic behavior and inefficacious attempts at cultural accommodation is ending and a new search for identity through confrontation of the Japanese Americans with reality and society with its problems is in process.

In discussing the identity problems of blacks, Teague (1968) described the encounter he had with a six year old black boy who disturbed his parents by insisting that he was white:

> "I'm not a Negro . .. I'm white. But we do have three or four Negro kids in my class."

> I suggested as casually as I could that he was mistaken, that he couldn't possibly be white, because his skin was just like his daddy's and mine; and we were certainly Negroes.
>
> ". . . Aw, you must be teasing me. My daddy is no Negro. And you neither." "A Negro," he said, as if reciting, "is somebody who is black and dirty and ugly, and smells bad and talks bad, and has big feet and nobody likes him."
>
> I really did give up then (p. 50).

Inauthentic behavior by minority group members is dealt with in depth by Sartre (1948), Broyard (1950), Allport (1954), and Seeman (1966). Many of those who have studied marginality usually have described inauthentic behavior as frequently being present for many marginal people. For Sartre:

> Inauthentic Jews are those who deal with their situations by running away from it; they have chosen to deny it; they are men whom other men take for Jews and who have decided to run away from this insupportable situation (p. 390).

Broyard (1950) has written extensively about the identity problem as it appears in forms such as inauthenticity. He suggests that even though a Black may realize he is black, he may attempt to ameliorate his blackness in an inauthentic fashion by attempting to deny his cultural background and blackness or to alter his appearance to fit the hoped for approval of the dominant cultural and/or racial group. Broyard goes on to state:

> But the inauthentic Negro still confounds the issue. To the anti-Negro he adds his anti-self. By his acceptance or denial of the anti-Negro mythology, he continually repostulates it and keeps it alive . . . Until he stops bleaching his skin and his soul with patent

> preparations, until he begins to straighten out himself instead of his hair, no improvement is likely . . . His relentless irrationality is enough to explain everything . . . today the anti-Negro is a secondary problem; their (Negroes) personalities have been lost in the shuffle, a shuffle with marked cards, . . . If the majority of Negroes would authenticate themselves--i.e., prove themselves fundamentally "different" only in appearance--this would be an extremely important step in validating their desperately needed identity (p. 64).

In summary, the literature indicates that the problems of the non-mixed culturally different appear to be similar to the culturally-racially mixed in that members of both groups are susceptible to problems of identity, authenticity, anxiety, and emotional insecurity.

The groups would appear to differ in that the non-mixed individuals have a reference group which is readily available to them. This is not true for the mixed individuals. Secondly, the life stage at which mixed individuals experience the greatest degree of trauma tends to be later than that of non-mixed individuals. Thirdly, the mixed individual who has physical features of the dominant group may during the early stages of life experience somewhat less rejection than those who possess distinct racial-cultural differences.

How Might Projective Drawings of Children Be Analyzed to Determine Their Perceptions of Cultural-Racial Differences?

Direct observation along with interviews and use of picture cards, dolls and other toys coupled with questionnaires have been used by many social scientists and others for several decades in studying children. The use of such devices and methodology in research and the results have been reported by Anna Freud (1946), Goodenough and Harris (1950), Havighurst and Gunther (1946), the Clarks (1947), Goodman (1952) and Dennis (1966).

Borisseau reports in the work edited by Yamamoto (1972) that:

> The projective technique generally used more than any other with children is projective drawing. It can be used effectively with a group of children or it can be administered individually (p. 87).

The Thematic Apperception Test, for adults, developed by Henry Murray (1953) and the Children's Apperception Test (See Bellak, 1954; and Kris, 1952) are illustrative as to the use of pictures, paintings and drawings in research in the area of personality development. In studies dealing with the psychotic, Kris (1952) and Laing (1952) have made use of art and drawings to better understand the nature of personality disintegration and psychosis. This work has primarily dealt with adults.

Children's drawings and play have been used to measure their growth, development, and intelligence. In some cases similar devices and techniques have been used to determine a patient's psychological status. (See Goodenough, 1926; Bell, 1951; Erikson, 1963; and Coles, 1964). Generally speaking, according to Coles (1964), child psychologists:

> . . . have used drawings in studying the attitudes children have, how competent and coordinated they are with their hands, or how they see themselves or others (p. 40).

and this he suggests is different from the approach of child psychiatrists who are primarily interested in the treatment of children. Their interest is clinical, i.e., making use of pictures, toys and games, rather than projective in nature. Other social scientists have an interest which is concerned with the projective aspects of children's drawings and paintings. They are primarily concerned with understanding what is going on in the minds of children as well as their growing sense of racial identity and awareness of prejudice. (See Lasker, 1929; Horowitz, 1939; the Clarks, 1946; Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1963; Lampert, 1967; and Banks, 1972).

The major focus of this study is the analysis of children's drawings for indications of social-psychological perceptions of cultural and racial differences. Since little or no research has been undertaken in regard to children whose immediate parents are of a different cultural and/or racial group, literature and research in related areas was reviewed. In terms of children's drawings the research in developmental steps of children's drawings has to a large extent involved non-mixed children. Previous studies of children's drawings have not dealt with culturally-racially mixed children as the population of interest.

In his studies, Coles (1964) has collected, categorized and analyzed children's drawings. He has stated that his major interest and purpose for having children draw whatever they wish to draw is primarily to learn more about their racial attitudes and how they see themselves or others around them. His methodology was judgmental, or introspective, based on his training and experience as a child psychologist.

Coles found that by analyzing children's drawings it is possible to learn what is going on inside of them, as well as what they can or cannot do at various ages. In general, he found that each child's particular life influences what and how he draws and that the way a child draws is influenced by his racial background and what that factor means in his particular world at a particular time.

More specifically, Coles found that children of each race drew themselves and children of a race other than their own differently, and that at the ages of two and three they have very different but distinct ideas about who they are and who they will be. Initial thoughts of racial identity begin at an early age and are very pronounced by the age of four.

As for the drawings themselves, Coles discovered that in drawing pictures of themselves Negro children depicted themselves or other Negroes as being smaller than whites, their bodies less intact or integrated, and frequently omitted body parts such as fingers, arms, eyes, ears, etc. Hair and skin color and texture were important differences. In discussing the drawings of black children Coles states:

> White children received blond (yellow) hair, or their hair would be the same orange that outlined their face. Many people of both races had no hair. No Negro child had blond hair (pp. 47-48).

White children, on the other hand, drew pictures of Negro children that were highly distorted, lacked feet, and had frizzly black hair. Black or brown colors were used extensively. Always in pictures drawn by children from both races the dominant figures were white and the figures to represent Negroes were incomplete and less authentic than those of white children.

Coles' study was intensive in that he used a limited number of children. He utilized a large number of drawings by each child over a period of several years in conjunction with direct observation of each child in a variety of settings. In-depth interviews were conducted with the children and their parents.

His criteria for analyzing children's drawings were similar in many respects to the criteria used by Machover (1949), Dennis (1966), Kellogg (1969), Koppitz (1968), and others who have studied children's drawings. Factors included varieties of colors selected and used, command of form, subject matter chosen, apparent desire to approximate the real (authentic representation) hair color and texture, size of figures, absence of features and/or body parts, details included in drawings, distortion in pictures and integration of figure.

Since his main interest in studying children's drawings did not include concern for determining mental maturity or IQ score Coles did not use the Goodenough (1926)-Harris (1963) scoring method.

A less introspective methodology than that employed by Coles was used by Koppitz (1968). Building on H.S. Stack's Interpersonal Relationship Theory, Koppitz hypothesized that human figure drawings reflected a child's attitudes towards himself and the significant others in his life. She collected normative data on both developmental and emotional indicators.

Koppitz derived 38 emotional indicators from the work of Machover and Hammer, as well as her own clinical experience. She conducted several studies to obtain significant indicators and indications of the ages at which they were valid.

By comparing the drawings of maladjusted children with those of children with good adjustment, Koppitz found that the maladjusted children produced 166 emotional insecurity indicators while adjusted children produced only 22 in a study using 76 matched pairs.

Eight of the emotional insecurity indicators found by Koppitz to be significant were: no body, no nose, no hands, shading of face, no mouth, slanting figure, asymmetry of limbs and tiny figure.

Kellogg (1969), along with Dennis (1966), Coles (1964), Koppitz (1968), and Goodman (1952) has indicated that evidence such as peer group preference, gestalt tests or individual interviews, should be collected in addition to drawings. The aforementioned investigators also feel that researchers should have had extensive experiences with the types of children they are investigating. Kellogg further states that emphasis should not be on any one emotional indicator for a particular child's drawings.

Summary

This chapter reviewed literature on culturally-racially mixed and culturally-racially different individuals to determine the nature of their social-psychological adjustment or maladjustment. Literature was also reviewed on the methodology of using children's drawings as a projective technique for identifying evidence of social-psychological adjustment or maladjustment.

From the review of the literature the existence of problems in social-psychological adjustment for the culturally-racially mixed children and culturally-racially different non-mixed children described in Chapter I was postulated. Support for the use of drawings, combined with peer group preference patterns, was obtained from the literature and research dealing with projective techniques of identifying adjustment problems.

Chapter III will present the methodology employed to examine the drawings and peer group patterns of the population of interest for evidence of social-psychological adjustment.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The methodology employed in this study was derived for the most part from the literature. This chapter describes the population, sampling procedures and methodology.

Population of Interest

The six elementary schools located on Okinawa during the 1974-75 school year contained the population of interest to this study. Children attending the schools are from families employed by the Department of Defense, with less than 3% of those attending being from families employed in private industries. The parent who provides the main support for the family must be a United States Citizen for the child to be eligible to attend the school.

Selection of the Sample

Two first grade classrooms from each school were used in the sample. Selection of classrooms was random. Total number of children obtained for the sample was 361. The children were then categorized into four groups: white, black, white/oriental, and black/oriental. Only seven children were found to be in the black/oriental category.

Therefore, that group was felt not to be large enough for statistical comparison with other groups. However, the group was of interest and was analyzed introspectively with reference to the main findings of the study. The next smallest group of the three in size was the black group, which was composed of 40 children. Through a process of random deletion, the other groups were equated in size to the black group. The racial-cultural profile for the sample was: 45% white; 36% white-oriental; 11% black and 8% other (Nisei-Americans, Spanish-Americans, Black-Orientals, and so forth). The mixed oriental group included Nisei fathers with Oriental mothers; Black fathers with Oriental mothers; White fathers with Oriental mothers, and some others. Of the preceeding combinations, the most common was the White father with Oriental mother. Therefore, that mixed group was chosen for study. Also, of interest were the Nisei-oriental children, only eight in number, this group, too, was analyzed introspectively. Table 1 summarizes the cultural-racial profile before the groups were equated into three cells of 40.

Collection of Data

The researcher was assisted in the collection of data by the 12 home-room teachers of the classrooms involved.*

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*See Appendix F for summary of information in regard to teachers that assisted the investigator.

TABLE 1.--Racial-Cultural Profile of the Sample.

Cultural-Racial Background	Number	Percent of Total
White	162	.45
Mixed-Oriental	130	.36
Black	40	.11
Other	29	.08
Total	361	100

On the first day, the children were provided with 9" x 14" drawing paper and a new box of large crayons of green, red, yellow, blue, purple, black, pink and orange. They were requested by their teacher to draw a picture of themselves. There was no time limit.

On the second day, the teacher asked each child privately the name of his best friend in the classroom. Each child was given the same provisions as on the first day and was asked to draw a picture of his or her best friend in the classroom. Again there was no time limit.

Each teacher was asked to provide the researcher with the following data for each child: (See Appendix F).

Name of School

Teacher's Name

Mother's Race and National Origin

Father's Race and National Origin

Friend's Mother's Race and National Origin

Friend's Father's Race and National Origin

Teachers were instructed to tell the children that the teacher wished to keep their drawings. Teachers were asked to refrain from correcting or giving suggestions to the children. Drawings were collected in May 1975.*

Picture Analysis

After categorizing drawings from the racial-cultural groups of interest and randomly deleting to equate sample size and to obtain a manageable number for analysis, the investigator coded each set of drawings and analyzed them according to emotional stability, authenticity and cultural racial selection of "best friend."

Emotional Stability

Only pictures of "self" were analyzed for the following:

No body

No nose

No hands

Shading of face

Figure less than two inches

No mouth

Slanting figure more than 15° from the perpendicular

Lack of symmetry of limbs

---

*See Appendix G additional information about teachers and details in regard to the collection of data. Examples of pictures drawn in this study are in Appendix E.

Authenticity

Only drawings of "self" were analyzed for authenticity, as evidenced by skin and hair. The following criteria were used by the examiner:

White Children

Skin: White, pink, or yellow shading; not shaded; any color outlin- was acceptable.

Hair: Any color was acceptable. Representations of Afro-American hair were not acceptable.

Black Children

Skin: Acceptable outlined or shaded in black, brown, orange, purple, blue, green and red; not shaded was acceptable.

Hair: All colors acceptable, except white, pink or yellow. Hair ends were not acceptable long and curved outward or long and straight. Long hair was defined as below the chin in length.

White-Oriental Children

Skin: White or yellow shading; No shading; Any color outline was acceptable.

Hair: All colors were acceptable, except white, pink or yellow; hair must be straight; may be long or short.

Cultural-Racial Selection of Friend

The drawing of declared 'best friend' was not analyzed. The child gave the teacher the name of the friend he drew. The racial-cultural origin of the friend selected was determined by data obtained from the teacher.

Method of Reporting Results

The information obtained for each child was tabulated on a coding form and key punched on an IBM computer card. The unit of analysis was the group.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to obtain, analyze and compare data about selected characteristics of children in a pluralistic setting with reference to perceptions of themselves and their peers as shown through their drawings.

The previous chapter described the procedure for collecting and classifying the data. This chapter will present the statistical analyses as it relates to the hypotheses.

Hypotheses and Statistical Tests

Hypotheses and sub-hypotheses in categories 1, 2, and 3 were analyzed by multivariate analysis of variance using the Finn program at the Michigan State University Computer Center. Raw data for categories 1, 2, and 3 are listed in Appendix A, B and C.

Hypotheses, Category 1

1.0 Drawings that groups of white, black and white-oriental children make of themselves will indicate differences in emotional security.

The F ratio of 11.6 (2 and 117 df) was statistically significant. The data did support the hypothesis ($p<.0001$). Means for differences are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2.--Means for Differences in Emotional Security Factors for White, White-Oriental and Black Children.

White Children	N = 40	$\bar{X}$ = .725
White-Oriental Children	N = 40	$\bar{X}$ = .725
Black Children	N = 40	$\bar{X}$ = 1.525

1.1 Drawings of white children will indicate a greater degree of emotional security than those of black children.

The F ratio of 17.4 (1 and 117 df) was statistically significant. The data did support the hypothesis ($p<.0001$).

1.2 Drawings of white-oriental children will indicate a greater degree of emotional security than those of black children.

The F ratio of 17.4 (1 and 117 df) was statistically significant. The data did support the hypothesis ($p<.0001$).

1.3 Drawings of white children will indicate a greater degree of emotional security than those of white-oriental children.

The F ratio of 0.0 (1 and 117 df) was not statistically significant. The data did not support the hypothesis (p 1.0).

Hypotheses, Category 2

2.0 Drawings that groups of white, black and white-oriental children make of themselves will indicate differences in authenticity, as evidenced by skin and hair.

The F ratio of 4.3 (2 and 117 df) was statistically significant. The data did support the hypothesis ($p<.0115$). Means for differences are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3.--Means for Differences in Authenticity of Skin and Hair for White, White-Oriental and Black Children.

White Children	N = 40	$\bar{X}$ = .075
White-Oriental Children	N = 40	$\bar{X}$ = .225
Black Children	N = 40	$\bar{X}$ = .35

2.1 Drawings of white children will be more authentic than drawings of black children.

The F ratio of 5.99 (1 and 117 df) was statistically significant. The data did support the hypothesis ($p<.016$).

2.2 Drawings of white-oriental children will be more authentic than drawings of black children.

The F ratio of 5.99 (1 and 117 df) was statistically significant. The data did support the hypothesis ($p<.016$).

2.3 Drawings of white children will be more authentic than drawings of white-oriental children.

The F ratio of 2.53 (1 and 117 df) was not statistically significant. The data did not support the hypothesis ($p<.1148$).

Hypothesis, Category 3

3.0 Children within groups will not tend to select white, black and white-oriental children as declared "best friends" in proportion to their representation in the total sample.

The F ratio of 3.09 (6 and 230 df) was statistically significant. The data did support the hypothesis ($p<.0064$). Means for differences are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4.--Means for Differences in Race of Best Friend Selected for White, Black and White-Oriental Children.

	Cultural-Racial Background of Children Selected			
	White	Black	White-Oriental	Other
White Children	.400	.050	.325	.025
Black Children	.475	.825	.200	.150
White-Oriental Children	.425	.000	.650	.225

Table 1 page 32 describes the cultural-racial proportions in the population sample before the groups were equated into groups of 40. Based on these proportions, Table 5 presents the actual over expected means for selection.

TABLE 5.--Actual Over Expected Means for Selection in Race of Best Friend.

	Background of Children Selected			
	White	Black	White-Oriental	Other
White Children	1.332	.455	.904	.313
Black Children	1.055	1.591	.556	1.875
White-Oriental Children	.944	.000	.973	2.813

3.1 Black children will differ from white-oriental children in their selection of declared best friends.

The F ratio of 3.73 (3 and 115 df) was statistically significant. The hypothesis was accepted (p<.0133).

3.2 White children will differ from white-oriental children in their selection of declared best friends.

The F ratio of 2.72 (3 and 115 df) was significant. The hypothesis was accepted (p<.0478).

3.3 Black children will differ from white children in their selection of declared "best friends."

The F ratio of 2.72 (3 and 115 df) was statistically significant. The hypothesis was accepted (p<.0133).

Data for Black Oriental Subjects and Nisei Oriental Subjects

Black oriental and Nisei oriental children were of interest in the study, but because of their small number the data describing emotional security factors, authenticity factors, and peer selection will be discussed introspectively in Chapter V. Tables for the Black and Nisei oriental groups are presented in Appendix D.

Summary

The major findings reported within the limitations of the study in this chapter were:

1. Drawings that white, black and white-oriental children make of themselves indicate differences in emotional security.

   Drawings of white and of white-oriental children indicate a greater degree of emotional security than black children.

   Drawings of white and white-oriental children do not indicate differences in emotional security.

2. Drawings that white, black and white-oriental children make of themselves indicate differences in authenticity, as evidenced by skin and hair.

   Drawings of white and white-oriental children were more authentic than drawings of black children.

   Drawings of white and white-oriental children do not differ significantly in authenticity.

3. Drawings that white, black and white-oriental children make of their declared "best friend" differ in race of the friend selected.

> Children do not tend to select friends proportionate to their representation in the population.
>
> Black children selected friends differently from white-oriental children, who selected differently from white children.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to obtain, analyze and compare data about selected characteristics of 6-7 year old children in Department of Defense Schools in Okinawa with reference to perceptions of themselves and their peers as shown through their drawings.

Previous chapters described the setting, sampling procedures, methodology, and statistical analysis of the hypotheses. This chapter is organized as follows:

1. Major results
2. Relation of findings to the literature
3. Implications of the findings
4. Recommendations for future research

Major Results

Within the limitations of setting, population sampling and methodology, the results of this study are:

1. White, black and white-oriental children differ with regard to emotional security factors expressed in drawings of themselves. Black children appear to express a lack of emotional security to a far greater degree than

white and white-oriental children. White-oriental children at the ages of six and seven do not express a lack of emotional security to a significantly greater degree than white children.

While the differences were derived from an overall comparison of eight factors, those that contributed most to the differences for black children were omission of body and shading of face.

2. White, black and white-oriental children differ with regard to authentic representation of skin and hair in drawings of themselves. Black children express a greater degree of inauthenticity than white and white-oriental children. White-oriental children do not express a significantly greater degree of inauthenticity than white children.

The factor that contributed more to the difference between black children and other groups was representation of skin color. The factor that contributed more to the slight difference between white oriental children and white children was representation of hair.

3. White, black and white-oriental children differ in race of the peers that they selected as declared, "best friend." White children predominantly chose other whites and white-orientals as friends. They chose very few blacks and other minority children. About half of the black children chose white children; the rest were almost equally divided among choices for white-orientals, blacks and

others. Almost half of the white-oriental children chose white children; the next most frequently chosen were white-orientals; the next, other minorities. No white-oriental child chose a black child declared 'best friend.'

4. Black oriental and Nisei oriental children comprised only a small proportion of the population of interest. With regard to peer group selection, no black oriental and no Nisei oriental named a black child declared 'best friend.' Both groups tended to choose white and white-oriental children.

Little difference appeared to exist with regard to authenticity factors. There were seven black oriental children and eight Nisei oriental children. Therefore, data obtained from them were analyzed introspectively and no prior hypotheses were constructed for them. Raw data for these groups are in Appendix D.

Four out of seven black oriental children and six out of eight Nisei oriental children produced 'lack of emotional security' elements in their drawings. The major difference appeared to be in the frequency with which a single factor appeared. A total of five factors were produced for black orientals and eight for Nisei orientals, but five of the eight elements for Nisei orientals were on the same factor, omission of hands. Elements for black orientals were scattered among categories.

Relation of Findings to the Literature

For white-oriental children this study appeared to confirm the conclusions of Stonequist (1937) with regard to the stages of awareness of marginality and Maykovich (1972) with regard to white-oriental individuals tending to accept the phenomenon of cultural accommodation rather than cultural assimilation. The white-oriental children did differ in their peer choices. Since the choices of white-orientals tended to be those of other white-orientals and whites, one of the factors in their choice of friends might have been lighter skin color. This would tend to support the findings of Seeman (1966) and Wagamatsu (1971). Seeman states:

> I tried to determine whether young children, like their adult counterparts, use skin-color gradations as a basis for social distinction. Using exclusively 3rd grade classes, I found that friendship choices, personality reputations and self-images were color-related (p. 69).

Wagamatsu in his analysis of Japanese racial preferences states that:

> From past to present, (Japanese) had always associated skin color symbolically with other physical characteristics that signify degrees of spiritual refinement or primitiveness. Long before any sustained contact with either Caucasoid Europeans or dark-skinned Africans or Indians, the Japanese valued "white" skin as beautiful and deprecated "black" skin as ugly (p. 58).

An examination of the raw data indicates that the white-orientals may have had some difficulty with authenticity factors, but they did not express as a group a lack of emotional security.

Maykovich has stated that the differences for Japanese Americans tend to become traumatic during adolescence and increase in intensity in adulthood. Empirical observations of this investigator of the development of these children for the past 15 years have suggested that this group appears to have increasingly more difficulty in adjustment as they mature. The literature, the present findings and empirical observation suggest the need for a developmental study of the social-psychological adjustment of the white-oriental.

For black children evidence of emotional trauma was present. The Clarks (1947), Goodman (1952), Coles (1964), Banks (1972) among others have presented overwhelming evidence that the black child experiences intense psychological-social problems early in life and the problems multiply and become more complex and traumatic with increasing age.

The drawing elements indicating lack of emotional security were omission of body and shading of face. In interpreting the omission of body, Koppitz (1968) stated that several factors could be causal, but that the omission was a serious sign of psycho-pathology. She stated that her findings were in agreement with Hammer's observations that shading of the face indicates extreme discontent with oneself.

The white children did not present evidence as to a lack of emotional security. However, they did appear to reject the minority group most unlike themselves. Broyard (1950), Seeman (1966), and Banks (1972) as well as others have reported similar findings.

For Nisei oriental children as compared to black oriental children the most striking difference was the omission of hands for the Nisei oriental. Koppitz indicated that omission of hands appeared to reflect feelings of inadequacy or guilt over the failure to act correctly. She also reported this factor was more often found on the drawings of shy children.

Since black orientals and Nisei oriental children tended to choose light skinned children, Seeman's findings would appear to be given support again in this instance.

The small proportion of black orientals compared to white orientals may be a result of the Japanese prejudice against dark skin people in general and black skin in particular, as reported by Hiroshi Wagatsuma in Miller and Dolan, eds. (1971). Another factor, suggested by Thompson in Ebony (December, 1972) and Moen in Sepia (June, 1975), may be the greater difficulty reported by black soldiers to obtain permission to marry orientals and the difficulty in obtaining permission for adoption of black oriental children.

Implications of the Findings

The implications of this study are many. The investigator, at this point, will go beyond his data to share his thinking. The reader may accept or reject the following:

First, consider the implications for integrated schools. This study was conducted in a highly pluralistic setting. Indeed it was a multi-cultural international setting--yet emotional trauma was present for the children involved. Many people seem to feel that integration will solve problems of prejudice, problems of low achievement of minority group members, and school drop-out of minority groups.

After the investigator collected the data from the teachers involved in this study, they expressed their amazement as they examined the pictures and peer choices. Frequently heard were comments to the effect that the children got along well and did not seem to notice cultural and racial differences. Educators who work with integrated, as well as non-integrated groups, need to be aware of the perceptions of the children they teach. Unquestionably there is a great need for deeper understanding and empathy on the part of teachers for the children they teach.

On the middle school and high school level in the pluralistic population investigated, the clustering of blacks and other groups according to race or ethnic group was highly visible. Indeed, the racial clustering of teachers within the district was visibly present in professional gatherings.

The seeds of this polarization are not as apparent in the early grades, but its nevertheless present in all its ugly reality.

Currently, special programs are being created to help bi-lingual children. Problems of their social-psychological adjustment need to be considered. Cultural accommodation is obviously inadequate for the tasks which confront our schools of today. Neither black children nor minority or culturally-racially mixed children should be ignored while helping other groups. The probability is that the child with the most marked racial and/or cultural differences from those will experience the most trauma. He is likely to be rejected even by other mixed or culturally different children.

Second, there are implications for pre-service and in-service teacher education programs designed to deal with now to effectively work with culturally different and culturally-racially mixed children and parents. Children, rejected by their peers, concerned about their differences from the dominant group members of the population, need help in developing a positive self-image so that they can better concentrate on learning tasks. Unfortunately, teacher education institutions continue to produce many teachers who are unaware of the problems of minority children and/or have no strategies for helping them.

Indeed, there are inadequate numbers of minority group professors in the teacher education institutions despite affirmative action pressure from the federal government. More minority group professors need to be hired and all teachers should be given more effective instruction in working with minority children. The crucial problems in education today lie mainly with non-achievement of the culturally different. Finally, within teacher education institutions there are evidences of racial bias which needs the attention of faculty, administrators and trustees.

Third, the current rash of adoptions of minority children and culturally-racially mixed children by those of different races or cultures appears to be taking place with little or no understanding of the trauma these youngsters may be expected to experience.

Fourth, the implications for the adjustment of white children, as well as black children are important.

Although white children did not express problems of emotional security, their preferences did indicate cultural-racial prejudice. If a child is to become an open-minded and well-adjusted adult accepting of others regardless of race, color or creed, early indications of prejudice and racism should be dealt with.

For black children the implications are also clear. They must receive the help they need to obtain a positive self-image. After reviewing the literature and studying the results of this investigation the writer is inclined to empathize deeply with the feelings of Kenneth B. Clark as indicated by his remarks to the Commission on Civil Disorders:

> I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.
>
> I must again in candor say to members of this Commission--it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland--with the same moving picture reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction. (As reported in Banks, 1972, p. 26)

Once again, this study finds evidence of prejudice against Blacks, as shown by friendship patterns. Hopefully, those who work with Black children in the setting of this study, as well as other settings, will take action.

Recommendations for Future Study

Little research has been conducted with marginal children and adults. There is much to be investigated in this area. Some recommendations for further research are:

1. Since children who have poor social-psychological adjustment may be hypothesized to be less able to achieve at their potential level, further research should be conducted to determine the relationship, if any, between emotional indicators in drawings for specific minority groups and school achievement.

Studies combining human figure drawings and the Bender Gestalt Test have successfully predicted school achievement for first and second grade children. (Koppitz, 1968).

2. This study should be replicated with children of other minority groups and in other settings. Variables such as proportional make-up of the groups and teacher background should be investigated.

3. A follow-up study using a case study methodology should be conducted with the children who employed the greater number of emotional and inauthenticity indicators.

For some of the children described above, intervention strategies should be employed and a test of their success be made by comparing the two groups at a later point in time.

4. An approach, such as Coles' (1964) that uses personal interviews in conjunction with several drawings on a variety of subjects should be used in future studies to obtain additional insights and hypotheses for testing. This approach should include the creation of other criteria for analyzing and categorizing drawings.

5. Developmental studies need to be conducted to determine the changes in perceptions of specific groups of marginal children over time from early childhood through adulthood.

6. Drawings of black children in predominantly black classrooms and those in predominantly white classrooms need to be compared to determine differences in emotional

security and authenticity factors. Variations of these studies should be developed for black children and those of other minority groups.

7. Attitudes of significant others, particularly teachers, towards culturally-racially mixed and culturally different children and parents need to be studied more intently.

8. Research needs to be conducted in curriculum development to determine the optimum school experiences for culturally-racially mixed and culturally-racially different children.

9. Other aspects of marginality need to be investigated, i.e., American children who have lived for extended periods of time in cultures other than those of the United States.

10. Finally, further investigation needs to be conducted with culturally-racially mixed children such as those born in countries other than the United States; where the father is American; where the mother is a citizen of another country; and where the children can be expected to live all their lives in a country other than the United States.

Conclusions

While the findings of this study are limited to its population and methodology, the significant differences found among the perceptions of children of varying cultures and races with regard to emotional security, authenticity and peer preferences suggests the need for further studies in the area of self-concept development and perceptions culturally-racially mixed and culturally different children have of themselves and others.

Further, the concept of marginality, as it applies to culturally-racially mixed and culturally different individuals, needs to be studied further. In regard to culturally different children, the findings of this study leads one to conclude that Black children, in particular, have feelings of rejection and alienation. Indeed, what Allport has suggested elsewhere, would seen to be quite applicable in regard to the population of this study. (Allport, 1954):

> To a considerable degree all minority groups suffer from the same state of marginality, with its haunting consequences of insecurity, conflict and irritation . . . Negro culture is almost entirely the same as white American culture. The Negro must relate himself to it. Yet, whenever he tries to achieve this relatedness he is likely to suffer rebuff. Hence there is in his case an almost inevitable conflict between his biologically defined in-group and his culturally defined reference group (p. 38).

In regard to curriculum and educational program development for the children of this study, the findings appear to support the notion that more emphasis needs to be placed on the affective aspects of the educational programs. As Coles (1971) has stated:

> A child with a deflated self-image, who feels that his cultural environment is inferior to that which is depicted in school as ideal and desirable, finds it difficult to become concerned about children of other lands; he is too preoccupied with the crises of daily living. To be relevant to the culturally different child, (and all children) the educational program must be designed to help him to identify, clarify and solve the baffling social problems which permeate his life and environment (p. vii).

Finally, the investigator hopes that further studies in regard to the perceptions of culturally-racially mixed and culturally different children will lead to a world where large numbers of people who differ in many respects learn to get along together and more readily accept their differences of race, culture, nationality, language, or religion.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

EMOTIONAL SECURITY FACTORS

CATEGORY I

TABLE 6.--Data for Individual White Subjects on Emotional Security Factors.

Subject	No Body	No Nose	No Hands	Shaded Face	No Mouth	Slanted Figure	Limbs Not Symmetrical	Figure Less than two inches
1								
2								
3								
4								
5				X				
6						X		
7			X					
8								
9			X					
10		X						
11			X					
12				X				
13								
14								
15	X			X				
16								
17				X				
18		X						
19			X					
20			X					
21			X				X	
22			X					
23								
24			X					
25				X				
26				X				
27				X				
28			X					
29							X	

TABLE 6.--Continued.

Subject	No Body	No Nose	No Hands	Shaded Face	No Mouth	Slanted Figure	Limbs Not Symmetrical	Figure Less Than Two Inches
30								
31				X				
32								
33								
34			X					
35			X					
36				X				
37		X						X
38			X					
39								
40								

TABLE 7.--Data for Individual White-Oriental Subjects on Emotional Security Factors.

Subject	No Body	No Nose	No Hands	Shaded Face	No Mouth	Slanted Figure	Limbs Not Symmetrical	Figure Less Than Two Inches
1								
2		X						
3								
4			X					
5			X					
6								
7			X					
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13			X					
14				X				
15								
16								
17			X					
18		X						X
19								
20								
21								
22								
23								
24								
25								
26								
27								
28		X						
29		X						

TABLE 7.--Continued.

Subject	No Body	No Nose	No Hands	Shaded Face	No Mouth	Slanted Figure	Limbs Not Symmetrical	Figure Less Than Two Inches
30								
31				X				
32	X	X						
33			X	X				
34			X	X				
35			X	X				
36			X					
37			X	X				
38			X					
39			X	X				
40	X		X	X				

TABLE 8.--Data for Individual Black Subjects on Emotional Security Factors.

Subject	No Body	No Nose	No Hands	Shaded Face	No Mouth	Slanted Figure	Limbs Not Symmetrical	Figure Less Than Two Inches
1								
2	X		X					
3			X	X				
4								
5								
6				X				
7				X			X	
8				X				
9				X				
10								
11				X				
12			X					
13							X	
14			X					
15			X	X				X
16		X	X	X				X
17	X		X	X				
18			X	X				
19	X		X	X				
20			X					X
21		X						
22	X			X				
23			X					
24			X	X			X	
25		X	X					
26	X		X	X				
27	X		X					
28	X		X					
29			X					

TABLE 8.--Continued.

Subject	No Body	No Nose	No Hands	Shaded Face	No Mouth	Slanted Figure	Limbs No Symmetrical	Figure Less Than Two Inches
30		X		X				
31			X	X				
32								
33	X		X	X				
34	X		X	X				
35			X					
36				X				
37				X				
38								
39								
40		X						

APPENDIX B

AUTHENTICITY FACTOR

CATEGORY II

TABLE 9.--Data For Individual White, White-Oriental, and Black Subjects on Hair and Skin Authenticity Factors.

White			White-Oriental			Black		
Subject	Hair	Skin	Subject	Hair	Skin	Subject	Hair	Skin
1			1			1		
2			2			2		
3			3			3		X
4			4			4		
5		X	5			5		
6			6	X		6		X
7			7			7		
8			8			8		
9			9			9		X
10			10	X		10		
11			11			11		
12			12			12	X	
13			13	X		13		
14			14		X	14		
15			15	X		15		
16			16			16		X
17			17			17		X
18			18			18		X
19			19			19		
20			20			20	X	X
21			21	X		21	X	
22			22			22		
23			23			23		
24			24			24		
25		X	25			25		
26			26			26		
27			27			27		
28			28			28		
29			29			29	X	
30			30			30		
31		X	31		X	31		
32			32			32		
33			33		X	33		
34			34			34		X
35			35			35		
36			36			36		X
37			37			37		X
38			38			38		
39			39			39		
40			40		X	40		

APPENDIX C

PEER SELECTION

CATEGORY III

TABLE 10.--Actual Over Expected Means for Selection in Race of "Best Friend."*

	White		Black		White-Oriental		Other	
White Children	24	18	2	4.4	13	14.4	1	3.2
White-Oriental Children	19	18	7	4.4	8	14.4	6	3.2
Black Children	17	18	0	4.4	14	14.4	9	3.2
Total	60	54	19	13.2	35	43.2	16	12.6

*Actual mean is the top figure; expected mean, based on cultural-racial proportion is bottom figure.

TABLE 11.--Data for Individual White, White-Oriental and Black Subjects on Selection of "Best Friend."

White		White-Oriental		Black	
Subject	Best Friend*	Subject	Best Friend*	Subject	Best Friend*
1	1	1	3	1	1
2	4	2	3	2	3
3	3	3	4	3	1
4	3	4	1	4	2
5	1	5	4	5	3
6	1	6	3	6	4
7	1	7	1	7	4
8	3	8	3	8	1
9	1	9	4	9	1
10	2	10	1	10	1
11	3	11	4	11	1
12	1	12	4	12	1
13	3	13	3	13	2
14	3	14	4	14	4
15	3	15	3	15	4
16	1	16	3	16	1
17	1	17	4	17	1
18	1	18	1	18	4
19	1	19	1	19	1
20	1	20	1	20	1
21	3	21	3	21	3
22	3	22	1	22	4
23	3	23	1	23	1
24	2	24	1	24	1
25	1	25	1	25	1
26	1	26	1	26	3
27	1	27	1	27	2
28	1	28	3	28	2
29	1	29	3	29	2
30	1	30	3	30	2
31	1	31	3	31	1
32	1	32	1	32	3
33	1	33	1	33	2
34	1	34	4	34	3
35	1	35	1	35	1
36	1	36	4	36	3
37	1	37	1	37	1
38	3	38	3	38	3
39	3	39	3	39	1
40	3	40		40	1

*1 White, 2 White-Oriental, 3 Black, 4 Other.

APPENDIX D

BLACK ORIENTAL AND NISEI ORIENTAL

TABLE 12.--Data for Individual Black Oriental Subjects on Emotional Security Factors.

Subjects	No Body	No Nose	No Hands	Shaded Face	No Mouth	Slanted Figure	Limbs Not Symmetrical	Figure Less Than 2 Inches
1								
2								
3								
4				X	X			
5		X						
6			X					
7				X				

TABLE 13.--Data for Individual Nisei Oriental Subjects on Emotional Security Factors.

Subjects	No Body	No Nose	No Hands	Shaded Face	No Mouth	Slanted Figure	Limbs Not Symmetrical	Figure Less Than Two Inches
1	X		X	X				
2								
3			X					
4			X					
5								
6			X					
7			X					
8				X				

TABLE 14.--Data for Individual Black Oriental and Nisei Oriental Subjects on Hair and Skin Authenticity Factors.

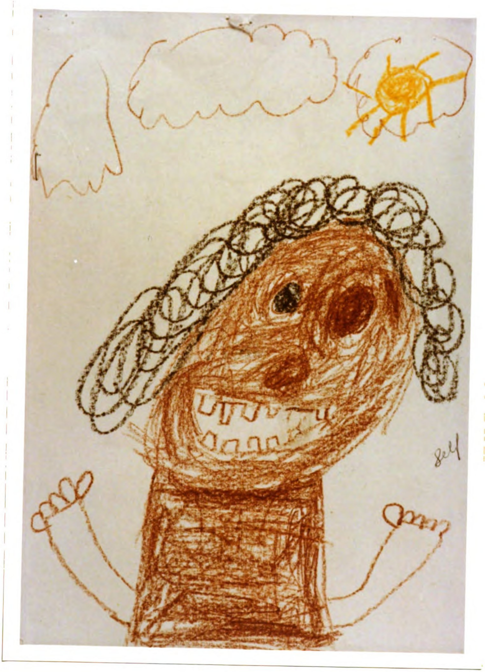
Black Oriental			Nisei Oriental		
Subject	Hair	Skin	Subject	Hair	Skin
1			1		X
2			2		
3			3		
4			4		
5	X		5		
6			6		X
7			7		
			8		

TABLE 15.--Data for Individual Black Oriental And Nisei Oriental Subjects on Selection of "Best Friend."

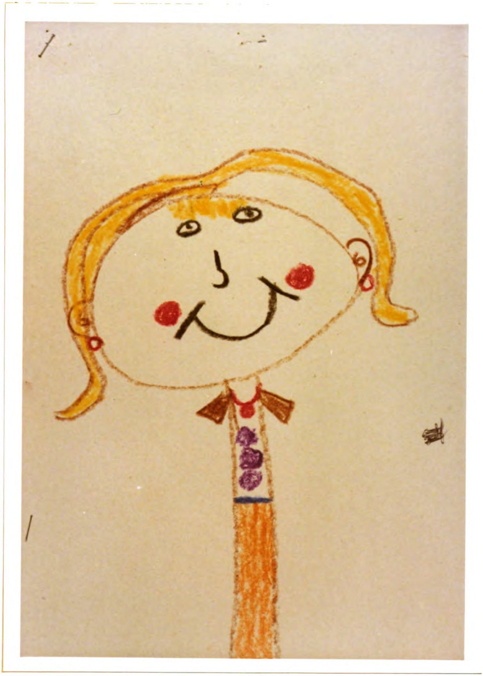
Black Oriental		Nisei Oriental	
Subject	Best Friend*	Subject	Best Friend*
1	4	1	4
2	4	2	1
3	1	3	1
4	1	4	1
5	1	5	1
6	2	6	4
7	2	7	2
		8	1

APPENDIX E

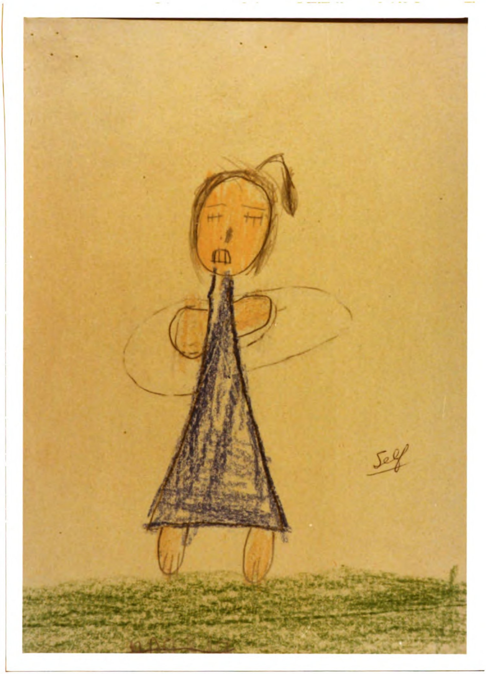
EXAMPLES OF PICTURES DRAWN IN THIS STUDY



1. Lillian, Black/Six-Year-Old.



2. Yvonne, Black/Six-Year-Old.



3. Angela, Black/Seven-Year-Old.

4. Jennifer, White/Seven-Year-Old.

APPENDIX F

STUDENTS' AND TEACHERS' BACKGROUND INFORMATION FORMS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION - (Teacher)

Complete name: ________________ Age: 31 Sex: F Race: C

Ethnic Group: Chinese

Educational Level: 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 (circle one)

Undergraduate major: English M.A. major: Curr. & Instruct.

Schools attended:

High School: Clovis High School-Ca.

Undergraduate: U.C.-Berkeley, S.F. College for Women,
Ca. State Univ. at Fresno

Graduate: M.S.U.

Present position: Ele. Teacher

Career or Occupational Background: (Begin with the present and list as many as seem significant to you.)

Teacher 1968-1975

Places of residence: (Present to past indicating country, state, city or rural area and estimated length of time in each.)

1973-75 Okinawa

1970-73 Heidelberg, Germany

1968-70 Heilbronn, Germany

1967-68 Crailsheim, Germany

1943-1967 California-Fresno, Berkeley, Los Angeles

BACKGROUND INFORMATION - (Student)

Attach this sheet to the back of picture #1 - Be sure the child's name is on the back of each picture and each picture is numbered.

(a) Child's complete name: ____________

(b) School: Makiminato Ele. Sch. Teacher: ____________

(c) Age: 7 Race: ____________ Nationality: USA

(d) Mother's Race: Guam Nationality: USA

(e) Father's Race: C Nationality: USA

(f) Friend's Race: C Nationality: USA

(g) Has child attended: school in U.S. No Non-American School: No

(h) If child has attended Non-American school, give name and length of time: ____________

Place an X over a number to indicate your choice.
1-High, 5-Low, and 0-Don't know

(i) Degree of English proficiency:	Child	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Father	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Mother	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Friend	1	2	3	4	5	0
(j) Degree of proficiency in language other than English (List other language or languages) Spanish	Child	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Father	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Mother	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Friend	1	2	3	4	5	0
(k) Frequency of use of English	Child	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Father	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Mother	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Friend	1	2	3	4	5	0
(l) Frequency of use of language other than English.	Child	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Father	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Mother	1	2	3	4	5	0
	Friend	1	2	3	4	5	0
(m) Does the child associate primarily with children from a similar background.		1	2	3	4	5	0

APPENDIX G

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON HOME-ROOM TEACHERS AND COLLECTION OF DATA

Background Information on Home-Room Teachers and Collection of Data Information

1. Background Information

Background information in regard to the 12 teachers that assisted in the study was obtained by the investigator. Sample copy of form used for this purpose can be found in Appendix F.

In regard to nationality, all of the teachers were native-born American citizens. As to race: eight were white, two were black and one was Japanese-American. Both of the Asian-Americans were second generation (Nisei) who had been educated totally in the United States. All were certified elementary teachers and the years of teaching experience ranged between three years to twenty years. The range of teaching experience in the Dependents' Schools extended from one year to fifteen years; and the range for teaching in schools located in Okinawa extended from one year to twelve years.

All of the teachers had graduated from an accredited university located in the United States; eight had either completed work at the Master's Degree level or had taken course work at that level; and four had completed courses at the post-master's level.

2. Collection of Data

The investigator met individually with the teachers who assisted for the purpose of discussing with them: (1) what the study was about; (2) other studies that were similar in nature; (3) procedures to be followed in collecting data; and (4) exchange of ideas about various aspects of the data collected.

In addition to the instructions listed under *Collection of Data* in Chapter Three, the teachers were asked to: (1) maintain as normal a classroom situation as possible; (2) use A.M. hours on Tuesday and Wednesday for the time-frame (teachers had the option of using other hours of the day if the suggested hours would have been abnormal for their respective teaching situations--none found it necessary to do so); (3) to give general directions to all children and answer any questions that might arise on an individual basis and privately; and (4) to provide no suggestions or specific directions beyond the request for the child to draw a picture of self.