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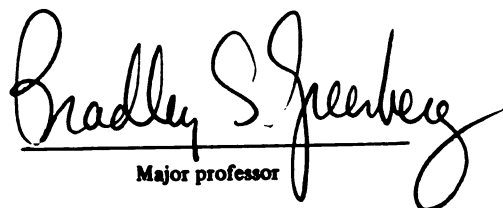
THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNICATION ON  
BLACK CHILDREN'S SELF CONCEPT

presented by

STEVEN T. McDERMOTT

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

PhD degree in Communication

  
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THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNICATION ON  
BLACK CHILDREN'S SELF-CONCEPT

by

Steven T. McDermott

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirement  
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Department of Communication

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## ABSTRACT

### THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNICATION ON BLACK CHILDREN'S SELF CONCEPT

By

Steven T. McDermott

The research examined the influence of communication on black children's racial and self-esteem. A review of the literature pointed out deficiencies in past esteem development research, such as a focus on only one or two variables at a time, the failure to account for communication in esteem development, and conception and measurement problems with esteem. To overcome these deficiencies, a survey of fourth and fifth grade black children was conducted to assess the overall and interactive influence of communication on three aspects of esteem development: (1) self-esteem, (2) racial esteem, or that perception of value or worth a child holds for his/her own racial group, and (3) comparative esteem, which was conceptualized as the child's conception of the value or worth of his/her own racial esteem as compared with the esteem held toward another racial group (in this study, the difference between black and white perceptions).

A total of 18 hypotheses predicted that (1) communication from parents and peers that emphasized positive characteristics of black people would be related to more positive esteem levels than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics, (2) frequent viewers of black-family television shows would have more positive attitudes toward black child and adult television characters than those who are substantially less frequent viewers, (3) children who are heavier viewers of black-family shows and who have highly positive attitudes toward adult and child

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Steven T. McDermott

television characters will have higher self, racial and comparative esteem than those who are less frequent viewers, and (4) communication from parents and peers which emphasizes positive characteristics of black adult and child television characters will be more highly positively related to positive attitudes toward black adult and child television characters than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics.

Survey data were collected from 82 fourth and fifth grade children.

In addition to descriptive results that indicated among other findings that black children have fairly positive esteem levels, and that communication levels are fairly high, 11 of the 18 hypotheses were supported.

It appears that communication is an important factor in socialization and in relation to black children's esteem development. The hypotheses predicting a relationship between peer and parental communication and racial esteem were supported. Support was also found for the hypotheses relating parental communication to self-esteem but not for the prediction that self-esteem would be related to peer communication. Interpersonal communication was not related to comparative racial esteem. Mere exposure to the black-family television shows was related to self-esteem. Interpersonal communication from parents and peers appears to heighten positive attitudes toward television characters and high viewership of black-family shows was also related to attitudes toward the characters on the shows.

Regression analyses indicated that parental communication was a most important predictor of esteem and attitudes toward television characters was a significantly larger predictor when the characters were adult and not child.

Accepted by the faculty of the Department of  
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ments for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

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# CHAPTER I

## RATIONALE AND HYPOTHESES

### Introduction

How others treat us, reward or punish us, is an important determinant of our sense of self. If we are not rewarded or appear to have little control over our environment (Miller & Steinberg, 1975) we develop low self-concept, including a sense of powerlessness and worth.

The intrinsic power or worth a person attaches to him/herself is termed self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). People who are high in self-esteem feel they have control over their environment with feelings of self-confidence and self-approval, whereas people who are low in self-esteem have feelings of self-rejections, self-dissatisfaction, and self-contempt.

One part of a person's self-esteem is a result of his/her communication with others and how s/he views his/her role in society. Some of the information a person gathers about his/her role is based on such limited characteristics as gender, age, and race. For instance, a black child forms his/her sense of self by comparison with other role groups in his/her environment, such as white people. To the extent that self and conceptions of others differ, the probability is increased for polarization and the potential for intergroup conflict is enhanced (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976).

Other parts of a person's overall self-concept may not necessarily be based on such group character comparisons, such as race, but is a result of his/her unique reinforcement

scheduling. In other words, a person's overall self-concept contains two parts, his/her conception of his/her own role group (race) compared with other role groups, and his/her self-concept which is independent of racial conceptions. The primary emphasis of the present research is that which is race-related, even though the past research on self-esteem has not made clear the distinction between race-related and non race-related self-esteem.

Given the importance of self-esteem, especially in terms of its implications for racial interaction, many researchers have examined the determinants of self and conceptions of others (Katz, 1976). A central emphasis of this research has centered on the determinants of people's beliefs and attitudes about other's and their own race. Questions of interest have dealt with white people's perceptions and expectations about black people, black people's expectations about white people, and self-images of both groups. Most of the research dealing with self-image has investigated black children's self-concept compared with white children's self-concept. The current research seeks to overcome certain shortcomings of the past research.

The past developmental research in this area has traditionally looked at the independent influence of schools, parents, peers, or other people on the self-concept of black children. Most of this research has not adhered to a multi-influence model of the process, but instead has focused on one or perhaps two influences at a time (Liebert & Poulos, 1976). As a

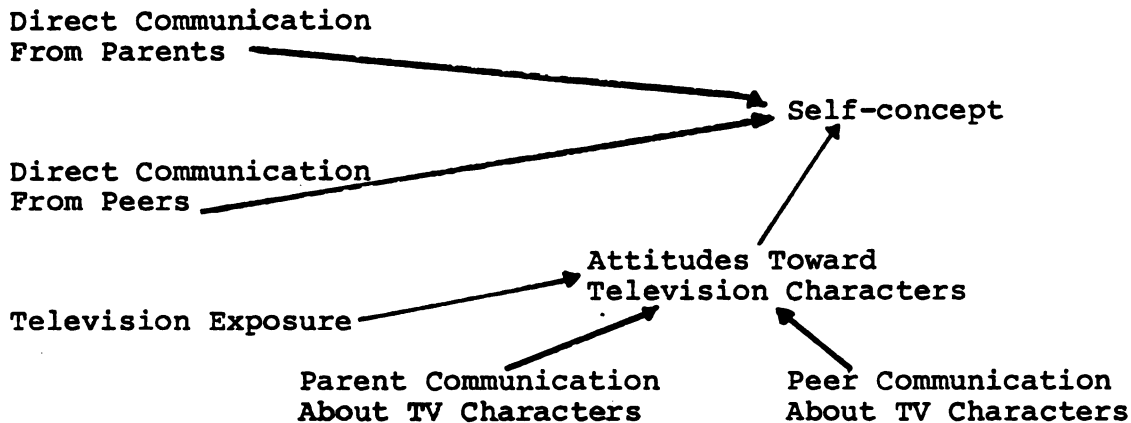
consequence, little is known about the interactive and relative effects of various influences on self-concept.

A second shortcoming of the past research is the failure to account for the effect of communication, especially the identification of specific types of communication and their effects on beliefs and attitudes (Maccoby, 1964). Both interpersonal communication and television can provide important sources of information for the development of self-concept in children.

With these concerns in mind, the present research is an attempt to deal with multiple influences by studying the effects of (race-related) interpersonal communication with parents and peers and television experiences on pre-adolescent black children's self-concept.

Interpersonal communication shall be studied from two major perspectives: first, both parents and peers may communicate directly to a child by making evaluative comments about black and white people, and; second, they may provide evaluations of the depictions of certain race roles on television. By affecting children's attitudes toward television depictions, these parental and peer comments about the televised depictions of race roles may act to intervene the direct effects of television exposure on self-concept. A general schematic of the research is shown in Figure 1. Arguments for the direction of the relationships and a discussion of the variables shown here, will be presented in the remaining text to follow.

Figure 1  
Research Schematic



### Rationale

This section reviews conceptualizations and empirical research findings applicable to an examination of the development of black children's self/other conceptions. The section begins with a discussion of socialization learning, including the theoretical explanation most suited for examination of communication influences on self/other concept. Next, the past research in black self/other concept is reviewed. Following this, the past research examining influences on self/other concept is presented, commencing with interpersonal communication influences and ending in television exposure effects. From this background, past research pertaining to the model is discussed as it pertains to black children's learning from television. The section finishes with a summary of the relevant hypotheses proposed for test.

### Socialization Learning

A person learns what is appropriate for his/her group through informational inputs about what is normative for certain roles. The learning of one's own role is contingent upon the assessment of other's roles in relation to oneself (Brim & Wheeler, 1966). Similarly, the expectation about other's roles is contingent upon the other's relative position with regard to one's own perceived role. Thus, a black child's self-concept is tied to and relative to his/her conception of his/her own ascribed role group (i.e., black people in general) and his/her conception of other ascribed role groups (i.e., white people in general).

With this type of conception it is sometimes easy to forget that roles are based on expectations and that certain behaviors do not automatically go with certain groups of people. There is an assumption here, however, that children may expect certain behaviors to be based on a person's role alone, be they stereotypic or not.

Children learn about themselves and others through a process of socialization. The socialization process may be seen as an interplay of varying forces acting on a child which helps define images of self, his/her role group, and other's roles. These expectations are

collections of cognitions--beliefs, subjective probabilities, and elements of knowledge--which specify in relation to complementary roles, the rights and duties, the appropriate conduct, for persons occupying a particular position (Sarbin & Allen, 1969, p. 498).



Of course, self, self-other, and other expectations are interdependent. For instance if one has a low image of his/her social role group, then he/she might be more likely, when identifying with that group, to carry a congruent low self-image. Conversely, if one has a high image of his/her role group, any "other" group might be considered lower, and the congruent high self-image might accrue. As such, any self-image depends on the "other" as a reference anchor. Therefore, it is important that research on self-concept examine both self and other conceptions to assess the relative level of self-concept. Thus, the present research examines black children's self-image, including perceptions of themselves compared with their perceptions of others (whites).

These roles are thought to be acquired through a process of socialization (Sarbin & Allen 1969). The basic premise of this view is that what is learned through socialization is a series of complex interpersonal relationships (Brim & Wheeler, 1966). The process of learning about roles and self/others is complex, yet certain learning processes may be involved.

McLeod and O'Keefe (1972) suggest three types of learning are prominent in socialization processes. These three are (1) reinforcement, (2) modeling, and (3) social interaction.

Reinforcement conceptualizations deal with the positive and negative reward mechanisms in the environment which bring about role expectations. A child learns to repeat a given behavior that has been rewarded by a socializing input and/or avoid

behaviors which are negatively reinforced. This simplified, paraphrased view of the learning process, as presented by McLeod and O'Keefe, captures the basic process, yet does not reflect the range of reinforcement conceptualizations of which there are many. There has been an abundant amount of research and theoretical work exemplifying the reinforcement conceptualization's range for explaining learning with a variety of consequent variables including behavioral, as well as attitudinal, belief, and other responses (see for example, Weiss, 1962).

The second type of learning McLeod and O'Keefe referred to is modeling. Modeling is one outcome of learning as conceptualized by Bandura (1971; 1977) in social learning theory. According to the theory, social learning may take several forms: (1) observational learning; (2) strengthening or weakening of inhibitions; or (3) response facilitation (Bandura & Walters, 1963).

For learning of self/other conceptions, it is useful to look at all three types of social learning, for all assume that learning is a vicarious process whereby the behavior of a person may change as a result of the observation of the reinforced action of others. Unlike reinforcement learning conceptualizations, direct reinforcement of the observer is not a necessary condition for learning to take place.

. . . (M)odeling influences produce learning principally through their informative function. During exposure observers acquire mainly symbolic representations of the modeled activities which serve as guides for appropriate performances (Bandura, 1977, p. 24).

Thus, according to social learning theory, the basic process is the same whether the behavior is conveyed symbolically or through live action. This distinction becomes important for explaining the effects of such symbolic representations as are on television.

Observational. This type of learning depends on the stimuli of the particular source. The stimuli must be different or novel from previously learned behaviors or attitudes in the child's repertoire of behaviors. The child learns novel response patterns by viewing or hearing a verbal description of the reinforced actions of others. An example of this type of learning would be children who view television which depicts new ways to commit crimes or violence, and thus are influenced by incorporating the new behaviors into their behavioral repertoire of possible behaviors.

For the black child, consistently presented new images of black people on television could lead to new or novel ideas or behaviors. For example, children who have seen the TV character, J. J., exclaim "DYN--OOO--MITE" might be more likely to see that as acceptable or probable behavior for similar situations that require exclamation. More broad based behaviors and images might also accrue according to this basic proposition. For instance, if a whole set of verbal behaviors are new to a child, and are reinforced on television, children may learn these new and varied verbal behaviors.

Inhibitory. In addition to novel response acquisitions,

previously learned inhibitions may be strengthened or weakened by vicarious experiences that are reinforced. Negatively reinforced or punished responses inhibit expression of similar behavior, whereas rewarded responses tend to lead to disinhibition expression of similar behaviors. For example, consider the child who views a model being rewarded for smoking. According to this inhibition proposition, the child is likely to be less inhibited or disinhibited with regard to smoking. Conversely, assume the child sees a model punished for smoking; the child would be subsequently inhibited with regard to smoking. This inhibitory learning, then, differs from the observational learning proposition in that no new responses are acquired and it is assumed here that the child already had the behavior (e.g., smoking) in his/her behavioral repertoire.

Response Facilitation. This learning type refers to a case where the responses facilitated are not novel, are already a part of the observer's repertoire, and are not socially inhibited responses. In other words, response facilitation occurs when a socially acceptable behavior is cued by some external reminder of some sort, such as television. It is unlike observational learning in that it deals with an existing class of behaviors.

In learning about one's self and others, it would seem that television may provide new ideas about one's self, and/or help facilitate the expression of previously learned behaviors. Given that the effects of television should be stronger when

there are few cues from the environment about a particular behavior, one might expect a large measure of observational type learning.

It is clear that ". . . the mass media play an influential role in shaping behavior and social attitudes (Bandura, 1977)." This learning occurs on the basis of mere observations, whether observation facilitates past learned behaviors or presents new conceptions (Zimmerman & Rosenthal, 1974). Past research (Siegel, 1958; Loviband, 1967; McArthur & Eisen, 1976; Bandura, 1977) has demonstrated the utility of social learning modeling for explanations of learning from media sources. These studies will be discussed below. However, despite all indications that social role learning may be probable, there haven't been any studies to date which demonstrate the learning of children's self-concept specifically, although there have been studies demonstrating racial attitude learning (Atkin, Greenberg, & McDermott, 1979). As such, it may be useful here to look more closely at the social learning perspective and how it pertains to black children's learning of self-concept.

First of all, it is not necessary for a behavior to be emitted for social learning to take place. In addition to verbal responses, ". . . formation of representation can be assessed by measures of recognition and understanding not requiring motor reproduction (Bandura, 1977, p. 36)." Therefore, the process of modeling results from cognitively formed representational structures prior to and/or instead of

performance criteria. An observer who sees a model reinforced for a particular action may integrate that action into his/her cognitive or representational repertoire. Past empirical investigations have supported this proposition.

In an early study by Siegel (1958) second grade children were exposed to a radio program which either displayed taxicab drivers as aggressive or nonaggressive. When questioned later about the taxicab drivers in their town, children exposed to the more aggressive story were more likely to believe that drivers in their own town would act aggressively. Loviband (1967) found that exposure of boys to television crime and violence was correlated with acceptance of the attitudes, values and ideas expressed in the depictions. More recently, McArthur and Eisen (1976) found that the presentation of stereotypic behaviors in storybooks tended to produce an internalized motive to perform behaviors that were displayed (variations in achievement behaviors).

But modeling does not itself guarantee that views which have been learned will be articulated. In the case of performance preferences, modeled judgments are learned but not expressed because they are personally or socially disfavored (Bandura, 1977, p. 47, underline added).

Accordingly, there is a distinction to be made between learning and performance; a person may learn but not necessarily perform as implied by the learning. Thus, attitudes and ideas about one's self are within the purview of nonperformance learning.

For an observer to behaviorally model a model's behavior they must in a sense "elect" to behave. Thus, modeling

differences occur on the basis of model discriminations such as status, competence and power (Bandura, 1977). Consideration, therefore, may be given to the amount of status, for example the child perceives in the influence source, or in the case of television, the characters involved. Thus a child's attitude toward televised models will influence the extent of modeling effects.

The third learning process considered by McLeod and O'Keefe for socialization is social interaction. Through this method of learning, complex interpersonal relations (including social roles) are learned through interpersonal communication. McLeod and O'Keefe argue that social norms involved in a person's interactions with others shape behaviors. This may involve combinations of modeling and direct reinforcement. That is, in social interaction a person may learn by seeing how a person treats another (modeling) and may be rewarded by personally acting a certain way (direct reinforcement).

This McLeod and O'Keefe conception is probably not a specification of a learning process at all, but rather a specification of the content of influence and how a relevant other's interaction about social phenomena might be a factor for learning. Social interaction is treated as an important factor of influence for socialization in this research, but is not considered an explanatory mechanism for effect, as McLeod and O'Keefe posit.

With this learning theory perspective, research dealing

specifically with black children's self-esteem will be reviewed.

### Self/Other Concept

Two major lines of research are relevant to the examination of black children's self-concept. These lines of research concern children's self-esteem.

One line of research has been concerned with direct comparisons between black and white stimuli as indicators of self-concept. This research paradigm is epitomized by the pioneering work of Clark and Clark (1947). They used doll choices as measures of racial preference and evaluation. The child subject was asked to choose the doll he/she would like to play with, the nice doll, from pairs of brown and near white dolls. If a child chose a doll whose color represented his/her own racial group, it was construed as evidence for high self-esteem, and conversely low self-esteem for a choice from the other color.

In the first two decades of this research black children consistently demonstrated a preference for the white doll over the black doll, both as general play choices and evaluatively, i.e., chose the "nice" doll (Clark & Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1962; Radke, Sutherland, & Rosenberg, 1950; Radke & Trager, 1950; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Armstrong & Gregor, 1966; Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1968; Asher & Allen, 1969).

In the past decade, the results of similar studies have been mixed. This has been due to several factors. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) suggested that there might be two factors that acted as mediators in this research: (1) denial of self-



identity, and "confused" self-image. Regarding their second point, they noted that in the Clark and Clark paradigm white children also made a certain amount of cross-race identification and children seemed to choose dolls closer to their own skin color, not their race. Therefore, they thought darker colored white children and light colored black children might choose a color not typically thought of as their race. To overcome this assumed artifact, Greenwald and Oppenheim expanded the range of doll choices in their study to three, adding a middle range color doll which was light brown. In doing this, they found that when the children were given the opportunity of selecting play-choice dolls more representative of their particular skin colors, they were more likely to choose a doll that was more similar to their own skin color. They also found that white children were slightly more likely to err in matching skin color, apparently perceiving the middle range colored doll to be like themselves. Thus, they found that mis-identification occurred in spite of race. However, the black dolls were still unpopular play choices and were evaluated lower than white dolls.

Other stimulus issues have been brought out more recently. Katz and Zalk (1974) found that when they held hair and eye color constant across the dolls, there was no particular preference for doll color. Similarly, Kirchner and Furby (1971) found that hair type could be a significant predictor of doll choice. Katz (1976) also noted that those studies finding black-black preferences often used black testers whereas the

others did not, suggesting subtle experimental biases even with young children.

Most of these studies have been done at a time when other studies have not found black children preferring white dolls over black ones. Several authors have found in the past few years that black children do not necessarily prefer white dolls (Hraba & Grant, 1970; Fox & Jordon, 1973; Katz & Zalk, 1974).

Before the last decade when researchers were finding that black children preferred the white dolls, researchers subscribed to a "deprivation" explanation. For the child who lives in a deprived environment which does not provide rewards appropriate for children to learn to manipulate their environment, his/her self-esteem is affected. The culture of the economically disadvantaged, usually those in urban ghettos or inner-cities, often includes abundant information about one's shortcomings (Rainwater, 1970), how those around him/her aren't successful (Rosenberg, 1965), and there is high unemployment, restricted opportunities, high levels of instability, family disruption and racial discrimination (Hulbary, 1975). These perceptions may even be amplified by any perceptions of other groups of people who seem to be doing well, seemed to be rewarded, and are successful manipulators of the environment. Thus, social comparisons with whites or middle class people are likely to further lead to lowering of self-concept (Asher & Allen, 1972). This hypothesis is poignantly demonstrated by the Coleman, Campbell, and Hobson report (1966) which found that black children in

integrated schools showed lower academic self-concept than children in segregated schools.

During the late 1960's, however, the inner-city black person's attitude seemed to change, despite small changes in the actual environment. The black liberation movement during this period (Hulbary, 1975), emphasizing black pride, racial awareness, and self-acceptance, along with some increased access to opportunities and participation in them (Bringham & Weissback, 1972; Caplan, 1970) may be major factors for the change in black choice and self-esteem seen in the studies done after the late 1960's (Butler, 1976). Katz (1976) notes that there appears to be geographical variations in the children's attitudes, with most of the studies reporting black children's preferences for black dolls having been done in urban centers and the black children's preference for white dolls having been done in the South and smaller towns. This is further evidence that increased opportunities and racial awareness in the 1960's occurred most readily in the inner cities (Caplan, 1970).

The second line of research is that exemplified by Rosenberg (1965) and Coopersmith (1967), where black and white children were given carefully designed indices which measured self-esteem. Items in these measures are typified by questions such as "I feel I'm a person of worth. . ." with four responses from strongly agree to strongly disagree (Rosenberg, 1965) or more specific items such as those from Coopersmith (1967) such as "I'm proud of my school work. . ." with a space the child marks

indicating it is "like me" or "unlike me." Evidence from this type of research, which does not require a child to make comparisons between themselves and others in explicit fashion, completed up to the late 1960's has demonstrated that black children and adolescents have lower self-evaluations than white children (Duncan, 1968; Rosenberg, 1965; Porter, 1971).

Although researchers have concentrated on pre-school children, especially in the doll comparison studies, self-esteem measures have demonstrated low self-esteem for older children and even for adolescents (Rosenberg, 1965). More recently, Greenberg (1972) found a change in attitudes as children get older. His research showed that by ninth grade black children are beginning to have higher self-concepts than their white counterparts. Caplan (1970) also found that inner-city black children who are more militant tend to have higher self-esteem.

It appears that black self-images when considered alone or in comparison with white images are changing (Katz, 1976). It is still unclear how and when urban children are gaining this self-image; however, the potential information to be gained from examining the communication determinants from a multi-influence perspective (Katz, 1976; Liebert & Polous, 1976) appears to be important. Similarly, identification of critical ages for learning need further exploration, and will be addressed in the next section.

Comparative data have not been analyzed from either the doll studies typified by Clark and Clark's research or from the

self-esteem studies typified by Rosenberg. The present study attempts to overcome these shortcomings by looking at a comparative self-concept, which includes black children's view of whites. Specifically, children were asked to make three judgments:

1. Self-esteem, or how they view themselves;
2. Absolute esteem, or how the black children view other blacks, and;
3. Comparative esteem, or how the black children's view of black people differs from how they view white people.

#### Influences on Self/Other Conceptions

As discussed earlier, information about the self and others may come from a variety of sources. The focus of the proposed study is communication influences. However, the environment and the extent of direct contact the children have with members of other social role groups, i.e., black students with white students, must be considered. The amount of contact a child has with other role groups has certain effects on his/her self-concept and his/her conception of others. Therefore, this section will begin with a discussion of the effects of a child's environment, then discuss interpersonal communication influences, and finish with television exposure effects.

The extent to which black children are in contact with white children has been studied extensively, especially in relation to black children's self-concept. Amir (1976) in his

review of contact studies done in school and camp settings has found mixed results in terms of attitudes of the majority (typically white students) and for minority self-concept (which in the present study refers to black children).

Some of the studies showed positive changes in socio-metric choices, certain attitudes, and in some cases increased perceptions of behavioral similarities by the white children; other studies showed little or no changes as a result of increased contact; some have found changes in certain areas only, such as more positive attitudes between white and black children who were similar in socio-economic background, and; a small number of studies have actually shown white children to be less accepting of black children after contact.

Along with such obvious confounding or limiting factors as length of contact, age of the children, and whether the integration itself was met with hostility or was voluntary or forced, an important factor may be perceived differences which are merely heightened by other differences besides racial ones. For instance, it seems that disparities in socio-economic levels, if perceived to be race connected, would contribute to more negative evaluations. Thus, it is not surprising that Trubowitz (1969) found positive attitudes when the children were similar in socio-economic status or when parents in the community support integration.

The results of research on black children's self-concept are less ambiguous. Most of this research has demonstrated a

lower self-concept for black children in integrated schools (Amir, 1976). As suggested previously, social comparison processes may be an explanation. However, Proshansky and Newton (1968) hypothesize equally likely factors that may lead to this lowering of self-concept such as teacher attitudes, or parental attitudes. On the other hand, such factors may merely be outcomes, whether intentional or by-products of the integration procedure. In any event, despite these possible explanations, much of the past research has indicated that black children's self-concept is adversely affected by contact with white children.

In the current research, data were collected for an essentially naturally integrated school. In this school district none of the students were "bused" in. Thus, students in the school, both black and white, were similar in socioeconomic status and they lived in the same neighborhood.

#### Communication Influence on Self-esteem

Interpersonal Communication. A black child's self-esteem seems to be adversely affected by contact with white children (Amir, 1976). Numerous studies have demonstrated that black children in integrated schools have a lower self-concept than white children. Although social comparison processes are a likely explanation, Proshansky and Newton (1968) suggested that an equally likely factor that lead to a lowering of self-concept are parental attitudes of those children who live in integrated areas. Thus, the content and valence of communication from

these sources about role groups are most likely important variates in the process. For instance, discussion with a parent or peers can lead to clarification of roles, what is assumed as normative behavior for whites and blacks and what behavior is not normative or appropriate.

Greater amounts of interpersonal communication should lead to clarification, either way. For instance, if a child is ambiguous, parents and peers can provide clarification whether it enhances self-esteem or not. Conversely, little or no communication about race roles should contribute to reducing the clarity or norms or roles. Little research has explored the role of interpersonal communication in this process other than that which has found a relationship between age and who the children rely on for information.

Apparently, children at the onset of preadolescence begin to rely on peers and conform more to peers, rather than parents, in judgment matters. This is primarily explained by their increasing commitments to good socio-emotional relationships (Saltzstein, 1976). However, Katz (1976) argues that attitudes toward race crystalize in late grade school years (about 5th grade) and seem to remain fairly fixed throughout life and that the child ". . . probably will not rethink them again unless he is placed in a situation that requires it--i.e., his social environment changes markedly (p. 150)." Thus, children who are in middle elementary grade school years, say fourth grade, may be slightly more influenced by communication inputs than



children in later elementary school grades.

Given the potential for influence, children who receive communication which does not emphasize positive characteristics of their role group would have low esteem, whereas those who receive communication which emphasizes positive characteristics of their role group should have high esteem.

The first set of hypotheses to follow predict that communication from parents which emphasizes positive characteristics of black people will lead to higher esteem of fourth-fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people. This relationship is expected to exist for each of the three kinds of esteem discussed in the last section.

H1a: Communication from parents which emphasizes positive characteristics of black people will be more related to higher absolute racial esteem of fourth-fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people.

H1b: Communication from parents which emphasizes positive characteristics of black people will be more related to higher self-esteem of fourth-fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people.

H1c: Communication from parents which emphasizes

positive characteristics of black people will be more related to higher comparative esteem of fourth and fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people.

Both parents and peers may be impacting children in the fourth-fifth grade who are at the onset of adolescence when the potential for impact may be swinging from parental to peer. Thus, the second set of hypotheses to follow predict that communication from peers will affect esteem.

H2a: Communication from peers which emphasizes positive characteristics of black people will be more related to higher absolute racial esteem of fourth and fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people.

H2b: Communication from peers which emphasizes positive characteristics of black people will be more related to higher self-esteem of fourth and fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people.

H2c: Communication from peers which emphasizes positive characteristics of black people will be more related to higher comparative esteem of fourth and fifth grade black children than

communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people.

Television exposure. Despite the small number of black-family shows on television, they are highly watched by black children. Black-family shows are those where the situation takes place primarily in a black family's home. In addition, black children tend to judge black characters rather favorably (Atkin, Greenberg and McDermott, 1979; Greenberg, 1972), and identify with black characters (Greenberg, 1972). This occurs even though content analyses demonstrate that black characters are not shown in as many different roles as white characters. Perhaps the relative scarcity of black models on television contributes to this.

Given the overall theoretical framework of this study, social learning theory, the importance of positive attitudes toward characters for modeling effects is essential. Of special concern would be consideration for the type of model to elicit positive attitudes. Past research (Bandura, 1977) has shown that children respond differently to adult than children (peer) models, at least for mediating violence/aggression modeling. Thus, the current study hypothesized for both child and adult characters:

H3a: Fourth and fifth grade black children who are high viewers of black-family television programs will have more positive attitudes toward black adult television characters than those black

children who are low viewers of black-family television programs.

H3b: Fourth and fifth grade black children who are high viewers of black-family television programs will have more positive attitudes toward black child television characters than those black children who are low viewers of black-family television programs.

Given these hypothesized relationships between exposure to television and attitudes toward television characters, what is the relationship between exposure and self-concept and attitudes toward television characters and self-concept? Before discussing the later relationship, a return to past research on exposure effects is in order.

The image of black people on television differs from the presented image of white people. The empirical content analyses demonstrate that black people are not portrayed in a large range of occupations, or with the same characteristics as white actors. Simmons, Greenberg, Atkin and Heeter (1976) found that over 40% of the characters in the 1976 television season were on five programs (one was a Saturday cartoon). These shows were situation comedies presenting a humorous image of the characters. Furthermore, Simmons, et al. found that certain language behaviors, occupations, social status, and behaviors are common to these shows. For instance, they found that 52% of blacks shown on television are depicted as "lower

class" while whites were depicted as lower 32% of the time. Over a quarter of the characters were identified as using "slang" or some "accent."

In an earlier content analysis, Hinton, Seggar, and Northcott (1969) found that blacks were more likely portrayed as less hostile, less dominant, and slightly more moral than whites on television. Part of the rationale for this was that black characters were relegated to minor roles. There were no significant differences between whites and blacks in terms of industriousness, competence, or attractiveness.

From this evidence on the content of television, especially when one considers the diversity of white characterizations compared to the limited view of blacks, it seems a child who is influenced by television might be influenced by the content in several ways.

Given the evidence that black characters on television are portrayed as members of "lower socio-economic class" more so than white characters, it may be expected by some that black children who are affected would have congruently low-self-evaluations since their television models are not rewarded or successful in dealing with their environment.

Yet Greenberg (1972) found that the more black shows children watched, the more likely they were to identify with a black character, indicating that despite these lower socio-economic class presentation, the character may still be evaluated highly. Perhaps other criteria are used by the

children to judge character preference. For instance, one may not usually judge children by their parent's occupation.

This previous discussion assumes that if most of the information a child receives about a given role group is received from television, then television is expected to have a direct impact on the child's beliefs and attitudes about that role group and subsequently on the child's own self-concept. While, without exposure, learning is not possible (Bandura, 1977; Liebert & Poulos, 1976), exposure alone may not always lead to learning, as other variables are often mediators of the process. Two to be considered here are age or maturational development and attitudes toward the models.

Although much of the empirical research has been done with white children, several things seem to happen with increasing age in children. Children at the onset of adolescence decrease the amount of time they spend watching television (Schramm, Lyle & Parker, 1961; Lyle & Hoffman, 1971; Roberts, 1973). In spite of an exposure decrease for early adolescents, they tend to increase the amount of adult program viewing while decreasing the amount of children's cartoon viewing (Roberts, 1973). Assuming greater exposure leads to greater effect, television is expected to lose its social learning impact with increasing age in children. Several lines of research support this proposition.

Leifer, Collins, Gross, Taylor, Andrews, and Blackmer (1971) found that learning from film content, including the emotions of

characters and the sequencing in the plot, was an increasing linear function of age for four, seven and ten year old children. Unlike Leifer, et al., Hale, Miller, and Stevenson (1968) found that incidental learning of an eight minute drama increased for third to sixth grade children, but decreased at the seventh grade. Collins (1970) elaborated on this with his study of third, sixth, seventh and ninth grade students. He found that learning of essential film content was an increasing linear function of age, but that learning of nonessential content increased through grade seven but decreased for ninth graders.

One probable explanation for the older children learning less of the nonessential information is that they "ignore" the nonessential and focus on the essential information, whereas younger children do not distinguish between types of information. Collins' research, therefore, tends to reconcile the apparent differences indicated by the Leifer, et al. study and the Hale, et al. study.

Hawkins (1973) further elaborated on this age-learning research. He found that incidental learning differed according to the sophistication level of the film. For an "adult" film, incidental learning increased from third to seventh grade, but declined at grade nine; for the "children's" film the learning was an increasing linear function of age. Perhaps the children's film lacked enough complexity that the older children processed

the film as though it contained little or no incidental information; thus, corresponding to the previously cited literature on essential vs. nonessential content in the films and its effects. Assuming that the current black television programming is "adult," and incidental learning includes information about the behavior of black people, perhaps younger (4-5 grade) children may be more likely to learn from black television programming.

Katz's (1976) argument that as children grow older their attitudes and ideas about their own and other role groups become more rigid, lends further credence to this age proposition. Younger children should be slightly more accepting of role information from television.

Past child research has suggested that as children get older they develop more advanced cognitive abilities to process information (Kohlberg, 1969). Selman (1976) suggests that different types of information distinguish ages in this regard. Achieved role information (such as occupational) are more easily learned by older children whereas ascribed roles (such as sex, race) are just as easily learned by younger as older children. Thus, despite the potential for learning more by older children, younger children (4-5 grade) have the cognitive ability to learn race role information.

Despite this learning potential for fourth-fifth grade children, Atkin, et al. (1979) found no relationship between mere exposure to black-family programs and attitudes toward



real-life black people. This may be due to differences in children's attitudes toward television characters; those children with more positive attitudes toward characters may be more influenced by those characters than those children who have less positive or negative attitudes toward the characters. There is evidence of this mediation effect from studies looking at children's identification with television models.

Maccoby and Wilson (1957) found that children identified with characters of a similar class and the same sex, and were more likely to learn from these characters as a result. Tannenbaum and Gaer (1965), in their study of college students, found identification was related to the amount of stress felt when the character was under stress. Rosenkrans (1967) found that similarity of some pre-adolescent boys with a film model increased imitation. Reeves and Greenberg (1977) discovered that boys and girls differed in their modeling choices, with boys choosing models perceived as more active and strong and girls as more attractive. Perhaps this identification reflects cultural stereotypes of the appropriate sex role group.

Greenberg (1972) found that the more black shows black children watched, the more likely they were to identify with black characters. Given the relative scarcity of black models on television, compared with white models, perhaps most of the black characters on television are viewed as high in status due to the fact that they are on television.

If a child does positively identify with a different race

model, that model may act as a point of comparison for one's own racial conceptions, lowering self-concept. Those children who identify strongly and positively with a same race model should be more likely to learn from that characterization. Dimas (1970) found that mere exposure to a specific set of film models affected children's self-concept, with high status models leading to high self-concept.

Conversely, a weak model may instill lack of self-effectiveness conceptions for a child about his or her role group, especially if the model displays characteristics different from those models viewed from other role groups.

Once again, modeling and attitudes toward characters may differ for adult and child characters. The following hypotheses were tested for child and adult characters for each of the esteem criteria.

Hypothesis set H4a predicts that exposure will be related to esteem depending on the intervening variable of attitudes toward adult television characters.

H4a<sub>1</sub>: Fourth and fifth grade black children who are higher (or heavier) viewers of black-family television programs and who have high positive attitudes toward adult television characters will have higher absolute racial esteem than those who are low viewers.

H4a<sub>2</sub>: Fourth and fifth grade black children who are higher (or heavier) viewers of black-family

television programs and who have high positive attitudes toward adult television characters will have higher self-esteem than those who are low viewers.

H4a<sub>3</sub>: Fourth and fifth grade black children who are higher (or heavier) viewers of black-family television programs and who have high positive attitudes toward adult television characters will have higher comparative racial esteem than those who are low viewers.

The hypothesis set H4b below predicts that exposure will be related to esteem depending on the intervening variable of attitudes toward child television characters.

H4b<sub>1</sub>: Fourth and fifth grade black children who are higher (or heavier) viewers of black-family television programs and who have high positive attitudes toward child television characters will have higher absolute racial esteem than those who are low viewers.

H4b<sub>2</sub>: Fourth and fifth grade black children who are higher (or heavier) viewers of black-family television programs and who have high positive attitudes toward child television characters will have higher self-esteem than those who are low viewers.

H4b<sub>3</sub>: Fourth and fifth grade black children who are higher (or heavier) viewers of black-family television programs and who have high positive attitudes toward child television characters will have higher comparative racial esteem than those who are low viewers.

Given the central importance of modeling as an intervening variable in the relationship between exposure and esteem, the influence of parental and peer interpersonal communication on attitudes toward television characters is examined.

Interpersonal communication about television characters: Children who do not watch or experience television modeling in a vacuum, nor are children likely to hold attitudes or beliefs independent of the beliefs and attitudes of those around them. Communication about television, what is appropriate to view and how television portrays characters are topics of conversation between children and others, especially their parents (Wand, 1968; Niven, 1960; Barcus, 1969; McLeod, Atkin & Chaffee, 1972; Atkin & Greenberg, 1977). In fact, the most significant social influence may be the family (Atkin & Greenberg, 1977). Parents may serve the special functions of not only directing children to or away from certain programs but may also interpret or evaluate program content for children. Parents can make evaluative statements about the programs and the characterizations within the programs. The impact of parental communication about the content of television has been demonstrated in several

studies. Hicks (1968) found that children displayed more aggression following exposure to filmed violence when an adult co-viewer communicated positively about the violence depicted, whereas aggression was less for those children who heard negative statements about violence. More recently, Atkin and Greenberg (1977) discovered that parental communication affects pro-social behaviors (such as affection displays and altruism) as well as anti-social behaviors (such as verbal aggression).

General learning is also enhanced by parental discussion. Bogatz and Ball (1972) noted in their study that children learn educational skills better when the parents discuss the content of educational programs with them. Similarly, Atkin and Gantz (1975) discovered that parental communication which helped explain the content of a newscast increased the child's learning of current events.

Younger children (e.g., fourth-fifth grade) are expected to be more influenced by parent's communication about programming, both because of the young child's greater reliance on parents for information than older children (Saltztein, 1976) and because parents may be relied on to provide clarity to the often ambiguous modeling stimuli and/or lack of clear reinforcement contingencies on television (Atkin & Greenberg, 1977).

Research addressing effective parental and peer discussion and children's subsequent attitudes toward characters and programs is scant. The impact of interpersonal communication is expected to have effects similar to the previously cited research:

children will be directly influenced by discussion of characterizations, such that they will have lower evaluations of those characters that are discussed in relatively less positive ways than those when interpersonal communication is more positive.

In addition to looking at communication which comes from parents and peers, the valence of communication about child and adult actors is predicted.

The hypothesis set H5 predicts that communication from parents is related to the black children's attitude toward black television characters.

H5a: Communication from parents which emphasizes positive characteristics of black adult television characters will be more related to positive attitudes toward black adult television characters for fourth and fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics.

H5b: Communication from parents which emphasizes positive characteristics of black child television characters will be more related to positive attitudes toward black child television characters for fourth and fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics.

The hypothesis set H6 predicts that communication from peers is related to black children's attitude toward black

television characters.

H6a: Communication from peers which emphasizes positive characteristics of black adult television characters will be more related to positive attitudes toward black adult television characters for fourth and fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics.

H6b: Communication from peers which emphasizes positive characteristics of black child television characters will be more related to positive attitudes toward black child television characters for fourth and fifth grade black children than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics.

With the addition of these last two hypothesis sets, it should be noted that the research has hypothesized three influences on children's attitudes toward television characters: (1) television exposure, (2) interpersonal communication from parents, and (3) interpersonal communication from peers. In addition, hypotheses sets H1, H2, and H4 predict three independent effects on esteem: (1) interpersonal communication from parents, (2) interpersonal communication from peers, and (3) television exposure as mediated by the children's attitudes toward television characters. In both of these multiple prediction sets, the relative effect of the three exogenous

variables will be assessed.



## CHAPTER II

### METHODS AND PROCEDURES

#### Administration

Survey data were collected from 82 fourth and fifth grade black children in metropolitan San Jose, California, in May 1979. These children were in naturally integrated schools in a middle to lower middle class section of the city.<sup>1</sup> Questionnaires were administered by three white females, a black female and a black male. In each measurement, at least one black and one white administrator was present. Children were surveyed regarding their self-esteem, attitudes toward racial groups, amount of communication about black and white people with parents and peers, amount of television exposure to black and white family shows, their attitudes toward black role depictions on television, and the extent of peer and parental communication about television characterizations. The administrators read the questionnaire to the students, paced the administration, and included a "stretch" break in the middle of the administration. Administration of the questionnaire took between twenty and thirty minutes. Parental consent was not required, but the school administration informed the parents that the children would be answering some questions about television for researchers from the university.

#### Measures

Overview: This research investigated the effects of

communication on esteem. Each of the measures of communication contained the same root concepts as the measures of esteem used in the research. For instance, part of the esteem measure contained the concept "importance." Children were asked if they thought they were "Very important," "Pretty important," "Not very important," or "Not important." To assess the content of communication, importance was part of the communication measure; children were asked, for instance, "How often do your friends tell you that black kids are . . . important? "A lot," "Sometimes," "Not often," and "Never." Thus, root concepts within the esteem measures were also in the communication measures and consequently were repetitive throughout the questionnaire. This repetition of concepts within the measurement instrument could have contributed to possible fatigue and/or response sets.

To handle fatigue, colorful sheets of papers separated measurement areas, and the children were given a "stretch" break during the administration. Second, the order of the questions was varied which also handled possible response set problems. There were two final versions of the questionnaire administered. One version measured parental communication first and the other measured peer communication first (after self-esteem which was always measured first). Within questions, items were varied in order, and in some instances even the response categories were varied (see Appendices for a copy of questionnaire).

Demographic information was always asked at the end of the questionnaire. At no time were the children asked to identify their own race; the administrators identified the child's race on the questionnaire as they were collected from the child on an individual basis.

Esteem. In line with the distinctions made regarding esteem in the rationale section, this dependent variable was measured three different ways. All the esteem indices contained measurement concepts similar to the ones utilized in the extensive research done by Rosenberg (1965) and Coopersmith (1967). The current measurement was adapted to fourth and fifth grade children from a scale designed by Schwartz and Tangri (1965). The Schwartz and Tangri measure was developed to assess the self-esteem of sixth grade black children and has been validated in black schools. Its format was a set of ten items in semantic differential form. Several changes were made in the Schwartz and Tangri measure in order to adapt to the current sample.

First, given the younger age of the current research sample (fourth and fifth graders vs. Schwartz and Tangri's sixth graders), the items were recast into a form similar to the Coopersmith scales which were designed for use with 8 to 10 year old children (the current sample ranged in age from 9 to 12, with a mean of 10.1, and only three 12 year olds). Even research with older adolescents (Dates, 1979) has found it

necessary to modify semantic differential scales to fit the children. Thus, for the current study, the scale items were cast in question form with response categories of "VERY (good)," "PRETTY (good)," "Not Very (good)," "Not (good)" responses rather than semantic differential spaces.

Second, the Schwartz and Tangri instrument was shortened. The original scale was adopted from the evaluative scales of meaning investigated in the seminal Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) research. To a set of seven of these evaluative meaning scales, Schwartz and Tangri added three of their own: smart/stupid, square/cool, and tough/soft. They added these because they had observed these to be part of the jargon of the children in the 1950's. This set of ten items was summed by Schwartz and Tangri to form the children's index of self-esteem, and no statistical analyses were performed which might give evidence for dimensionality or item interactions.

In the interest of parsimony, at the outset of the current research it was decided to reduce the ten items to six. First it seemed reasonable to exclude those items that 14 years ago were judged by Schwartz and Tangri to be part of the children's jargon. They presented no theoretical reasons for including the items and it is questionable whether there are any clear referents for some of the items today (e.g., square/cool, tough/soft). Second, looking back to the original Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum research, it is evident that the important/unimportant item was related to the useless/useful

item and the superior/inferior item was related to the good/bad item. Therefore, in an attempt to shorten the instrument, the redundant useless/useful item was eliminated. Although the superior/inferior item also appeared redundant in the Osgood, et al. research, it was retained in the final instrument since it allows for a direct self-other comparison. Thus, six esteem items were included in the instrumentation: (1) good/bad, (2) important/unimportant, (3) selfish/unselfish, (4) friendly/unfriendly, (5) kind/cruel, and (6) superior/inferior.

Third, when taking these esteem items and casting them into the more suitable nonsemantic differential form, one could choose either the positive characteristic (e.g., good) or the negative one to measure (e.g., bad). Due to the sensitive nature of the data collection, the items were cast in positive form, so that children were asked a question such as "I think I am..." followed by the four concept measures "Very Good," "Pretty Good," "Not Very Good," and "Not Good."

The six scale items are shown below:

PLEASE TELL US WHAT YOU ARE LIKE:

I think I am. . .

VERY GOOD	PRETTY GOOD	NOT VERY GOOD	NOT GOOD
VERY IMPORTANT	PRETTY IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
VERY UNSELFISH	PRETTY UNSELFISH	NOT VERY UNSELFISH	NOT UNSELFISH
NOT FRIENDLY	NOT VERY FRIENDLY	PRETTY FRIENDLY	VERY FRIENDLY
NOT KIND	NOT VERY KIND	PRETTY KIND	VERY KIND
NOT SUPERIOR	NOT VERY SUPERIOR	PRETTY SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR

Three types of measurement indices of esteem were instituted: (1) self-esteem, (2) absolute racial esteem, and (3) comparative racial esteem.

Self-esteem is that measure of the child's conception of his/herself. Children were asked to assess themselves with responses to "I think I am. . ." followed by the six esteem items (See Appendix B). Shown in Table 1 is an inter-correlation matrix of the children's responses. As Table 1 indicates, items were not highly correlated (a coefficient of .19 would be significant at  $p < .01$ ), yet are fairly consistent in magnitude except for the unselfish item. During administration, several students indicated difficulty with the unselfish item, especially when having

Table 1  
Simple Correlation Coefficients for  
Self-Esteem Items

---

"I am . . ."						
	good	important	unselfish	friendly	kind	superior

---

good	x					
important	0.159	x				
unselfish*	-0.053	0.203	x			
friendly	0.150	0.206	-0.237	x		
kind	0.129	0.104	0.027	0.112	x	
superior	0.290	0.090	-0.120	0.113	0.364	x

---

\*excluded in index construction

to deal with "Not Unselfish," which apparently is a problematic double negative. Difficulty with this item may have contributed to the low and several times negative correlations with the other items. This will also become apparent with the other esteem measures intercorrelations. Thus, in order to form an index of esteem items, it seemed prudent to exclude the unselfish item. Therefore, the five remaining items were summed (possible range = 5 to 20) to form an index of self-esteem ( $\bar{x}$  = 15.89,  $SD$  = 1.75, skew = 0.413). A principal components factor analysis was done to generate factor score coefficients to weight the scale items and build a weighted scale, but the weighted scale was highly correlated ( $r$  = .72) with the purely summative scale, so weighted scales were not utilized in the research.

The second type of esteem measured was absolute racial esteem. This type of esteem refers to how a child judges people of the same race as him/herself. Questions for this measure consisted of those which asked a child to give his/her conception of black people in real life. The stem question consisted of the following statement: "I think BLACK (Kids) in real life are . . . ." The six root concept items followed with Very, Pretty, Not Very, and Not as the scale item qualifiers (see Appendix L). The intercorrelations are shown in Table 2. Items were summed (possible range was 4 to 20, excluding the unselfish item) to form the index ( $\bar{x}$  = 15.69,  $SD$  = 2.267, skew = 0.216).



Table 2  
Simple Correlation Coefficients for  
Absolute Racial Esteem Items

---

"I think black kids in real life are . . ."

	good	important	unselfish	friendly	kind	superior
good	x					
important	0.321	x				
unselfish*	0.312	0.244	x			
friendly	0.039	0.021	-0.087	x		
kind	0.706	0.281	0.172	0.065	x	
superior	0.272	0.487	0.009	0.070	0.336	x

---

\*excluded in index construction

Comparative racial esteem was the third type of esteem measured. This refers to how a child sees his/her racial group in comparison with another racial group, in this case how a black child views his/her own racial group compared with whites. Again, this measure taps the child's attitude toward black children as absolute esteem, but also includes a measurement of the child's conception of white children. This measure of the child's perception of white children was identical in form to the measure for absolute racial esteem for black children, except for asking for perceptions of white children. The black items were subtracted from the white and then the five items were summed to form an index of comparative racial esteem ( $\bar{x} = -0.415$ ,  $SD = 3.16$ ,  $skew = -.55$ ).

Interpersonal communication. Parental and peer sources of interpersonal communication were measured. Children were asked about the amount of communication they engage in with each of these sources about black children. Questions were phrased: "How often do your parents (friends) tell you that black kids are..." with response ranges of "A Lot," "Sometimes," "Not Often," and "Never." The five root concepts, with unselfish excluded to conform to the esteem measures, were presented for their evaluation (i.e., good, important, friendly, kind, and superior [see Appendix H,M]). The simple intercorrelation coefficients are shown below in Table 3. The parental communication index had a mean of 13.27,  $SD = 4.075$ , and was skewed -0.468. The peer communication index had a mean of 13.506,  $SD = 4.075$ , and was skewed -0.334.

Table 3  
Simple Correlation Coefficients of  
Interpersonal Communication Items for Parents and Peers

---

"How often do your parents tell you that black kids are . . ."

Parents	good	important	unselfish	friendly	kind	superior
<hr/>						
good	x					
important	0.604	x				
unselfish*	0.531	0.531	x			
friendly	0.716	0.555	0.565	x		
kind	0.590	0.484	0.466	0.768	x	
superior	0.593	0.566	0.549	0.640	0.666	x

---



---

"How often do your friends tell you that black kids are . . ."

Peers	good	important	unselfish	friendly	kind	superior
<hr/>						
good	x					
important	0.576	x				
unselfish*	0.379	0.313	x			
friendly	0.597	0.636	0.201	x		
kind	0.769	0.580	0.379	0.721	x	
superior	0.471	0.420	0.062	0.396	0.391	x

---

\*excluded in index construction

Television exposure. Television exposure includes exposure to programs in which black people are cast as the central characters. In the 1978-1979 season this included "What's Happening," "Good Times," "Diff'rent Strokes," "The Jeffersons," and "Fat Albert" (a cartoon show with a live character introduction by Bill Cosby). See Appendix G,I,L for the measures. There were other shows in the 1979 season that had black characters who were a major part of the show, namely "White Shadow" and "Welcome Back Kotter," but the main characters in these shows are white. Thus, the measure of overall exposure to black programming consisted of a summation of the rating given to the five black shows with central black characters. Children were asked "How often do you watch" with "Every Week," "Most Weeks," "Some Weeks," and "Once in a while or Never," as response options. For each show, a child could receive a score of one for the last response, up to a score of four for "Every Week." Thus, when the responses are summed the child could have a possible score of 5 for low viewership up to a possible high score of 20. The actual range of scores was from five to twenty, with  $\bar{x} = 10.681$ ,  $SD = 4.424$ ,  $skew = 0.581$ . The viewership items were all correlated as shown in Table 4.

In addition to the index tapping the amount of overall viewing of black television programs, it was of interest to explore the relative amount of viewing of black program viewing to white program viewing. Children were also asked

Table 4

Inter-Item Correlations for  
Exposure to Black-Family Television Shows

---

"How often do you watch					
	What's Happening	Good Times	Jeffersons	Fat Albert	Diff'rent Strokes

---

What's Happening	x				
Good Times	0.652	x			
Jeffersons	0.479	0.527	x		
Fat Albert	0.472	0.395	0.517	x	
Diff'rent Strokes	0.066	0.274	0.171	0.447	x

---

to respond to questions about their exposure to shows that were dominated by white characters (see Appendix G,I,L). Shows from this category are much more extensive, so a sample of these shows that air in the approximate same time slot as the black dominated shows, and which were comedy/family type shows was chosen for comparison. These white dominated shows were "Happy Days," "Eight is Enough," "Laverne and Shirley," "Three's Company," and "Mork and Mindy." From this exposure information, combined with the information about black program viewing, a measure was constructed by subtracting the black dominated exposure index from the white dominated television exposure index for each child. This measure will not be used to test the hypotheses, as the sample selection of white dominated shows was certainly not exhaustive or systematic. This information will serve as exploratory information regarding the relative amount of time a child chooses to watch white vs. black shows when they are competitive with each other.

Attitudes Toward Television Characters. This mediation variable assesses the children's attitude toward certain types of characters. Specifically, the effects of exposure were expected to be mediated by how much the child likes a set of characters. An index of favorableness was formed by summing the children's responses to the item: "Here is a list of people on TV; please tell us which ones you like or don't like." This was followed by a list of characters (see

Appendix c) which included both child and adult black characters. Two indices were formed from the child's response to the adult and the children on television. The adult index measured preference for Mrs. Walker (on "What's Happening"), Bill Cosby (on "Fat Albert"), Florida Evans (on "Good Times"), and Louise and George Jefferson (on "The Jeffersons"). The child index measured preference for Dee, Rogar, and Re-Run (on "What's Happening"), Thelma and JJ (on "Good Times") and Arnold (on "Diff'rent Strokes"). Preference was measured with "Like a Lot," "Like a Little," and "Don't Like." The child index (possible range = 6 to 18) had a mean = 14.936, SD = 2.241, skewness = 0.373, and range = 10 to 18. The adult index (possible range = 5 to 15) had a mean = 11.634, SD = 2.313, skewness = -0.229, and a range of 7 to 15. The intercorrelations are shown in Table 5.

#### Interpersonal Communication about Television Characters.

This set of measures involved assessment of the communication a child receives about characters on television from both his/her parents (Appendix E) and his/her friends (Appendix J). Children were asked "Here is a list of people on TV; please tell us which ones your friends (parents) like or don't like." Following this was a list of characters identical to the list presented to the children when they were asked to identify the characters they liked. Children were asked to indicate if they thought their parents (friends) "Like a Lot," "Like a Little," or "Don't Like." As with the child's own attitude toward the

Table 5  
Inter-Item Correlations for  
Attitudes Toward Black Television Characters

<u>Child Characters</u>						
	Re-Run	Rogar	Dee	JJ	Thelma	Arnold
Re-Run	x					
Rogar	0.491	x				
Dee	-0.155	0.217	x			
JJ	0.165	0.407	0.185	x		
Thelma	0.293	0.341	0.029	0.447	x	
Arnold	0.260	0.051	-0.267	0.398	0.390	x

<u>Adult Characters</u>					
	Mrs. Walker	Bill Cosby	Florida Evans	George Jefferson	Louise Jefferson
Mrs. Walker	x				
Bill Cosby	0.147	x			
Florida	0.275	0.334	x		
George	0.278	0.318	0.487	x	
Louise	0.329	0.245	0.564	0.561	x



characters, two indices were formed by summation, one for child actors and the other for adult actors. The adult index again measured liking for Mrs. Walker, Bill Cosby, Florida Evans, and Louise and George Jefferson, and the child index measured preference for Dee, Rogar, Re-Run, Thelma, JJ, and Arnold. The parent communication about child actors index (possible range = 6 to 18) had a  $\bar{x} = 14.061$ ,  $SD = 3.098$ , skewness = 0.435, and an actual range of 7 to 18. The parental communication about adults on TV index had a possible range of 5 to 15,  $\bar{x} = 11.044$ ,  $SD = 2.929$ , skewness = 0.326, and an actual range of 5 to 15. The indices for friend communication had the same possible ranges, 6 to 18 for communication about child actors, and 5 to 15 for adult actors. The friendship communication about child actors had a  $x = 13.707$ ,  $SD = 2.769$ , skewness =  $-.271$ , and actual range = 7 to 18. For the adult actor communication index the  $x = 10.405$ ,  $SD = 2.585$ , skewness =  $-.277$ , and actual range = 5 to 15. The intercorrelations are in Table 6 and Table 7.

#### Statistical Analysis

Each of the hypotheses was considered supported if the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient is statistically significant at  $\alpha < .05$ . Hypothesis four requires an elaboration analysis and will also be considered supported if the correlation coefficients are significant at  $\alpha < .05$ . This statistical significance level is a good indicator given the sample of 82: to be significant at .05, the correlation coefficient would have to exceed .20.

Table 6

Inter-Item Correlations for Interpersonal  
Communication from Friends About Television Characters

---

Child Characters

	Re-Run	Rogar	Dee	JJ	Thelma	Arnold
Re-Run	x					
Rogar	0.491	x				
Dee	0.252	0.439	x			
JJ	0.502	0.256	0.336	x		
Thelma	0.332	0.357	0.167	0.330	x	
Arnold	0.274	0.190	0.163	0.186	0.390	x

---



---

Adult Characters

	Mrs. Walker	Bill Cosby	Florida Evans	George Jefferson	Louise Jefferson
Mrs. Walker	x				
Bill Cosby	0.505	x			
Florida Evans	0.414	0.417	x		
George Jefferson	0.405	0.523	0.228	x	
Louise Jefferson	0.391	0.427	0.446	0.760	x

---

Table 7

Inter-Item Correlations for Interpersonal  
Communication from Parents About Television Characters

---

<u>Child Characters</u>						
	Re-Run	Rogar	Dee	JJ	Thelma	Arnold
Re-Run	x					
Rogar	0.525	x				
Dee	0.540	0.600	x			
JJ	0.582	0.269	0.271	x		
Thelma	0.615	0.457	0.142	0.693	x	
Arnold	0.379	0.357	0.227	0.342	0.294	x

---



---

<u>Adult Characters</u>					
	Mrs. Walker	Bill Cosby	Florida Evans	George Jefferson	Louise Jefferson
Mrs. Walker	x				
Bill Cosby	0.450	x			
Florida Evans	0.389	0.508	x		
George Jefferson	0.247	0.370	0.438	x	
Louise Jefferson	0.285	0.312	0.463	0.841	x

---

In addition to the simple tests of the hypotheses, regression analyses were done on the model in order to yield coefficients which will indicate the relative amount of influence each variable has on the appropriate dependent variable. In addition, the overall amount of variance accounted for by the model elements will be presented.

Exploratory analysis of white and black program viewing and the effect on esteem was done by examining the correlation coefficients.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

#### Overview

This chapter contains the results of the tests of the six hypothesized relationships, descriptive statistics of the results, analysis of the esteem model, and exploratory findings. The chapter will begin by describing the set of responses to each measure. Next, results of the tests of six hypotheses will be presented, in this order: (1) communication influences on esteem; (2) television exposure and character attitudes; (3) the relationship between character attitudes and esteem; (4) the influence of both parent and peer communication on attitudes toward characters. The third major part of this results chapter will present findings addressing the entire model and the interactive effects of each of the influences on esteem. The last major portion of this section will present exploratory results.

#### Descriptive Results

**Esteem.** There were three measures of esteem; self-esteem, absolute racial esteem, and comparative racial esteem. All of these indices had five items, and had a possible score range of 5 to 20, with 5 indicating low esteem and 20 indicating high esteem. A midpoint score would be 12.5. The self-esteem index had a mean of 15.9, a standard deviation

of 1.75, and was slightly skewed positively at 0.41. This skewness indicates that the median is close to the theoretical mean of possible responses, i.e., close to 12.0. However, the mean and the small standard deviation indicate that the preponderance of scores are above the theoretical (12.0) mean.

For absolute racial esteem, the mean was 15.7, with a standard deviation of 2.27, and again positively skewed at 0.22. Again, a large number of cases are distributed above the theoretical mean.

Comparative racial esteem index had a theoretical mean of zero, as it was a subtraction of attitudes toward black children and attitudes toward white children. In fact, the mean response was -0.415 with  $SD = 3.16$ , and skewed -0.55. This negative mean indicates that, overall, black children saw black children in a more favorable light than they saw white children (i.e., the measure for attitudes toward black children was subtracted from the measure for attitudes toward white children). This measure had a theoretical range of from -16 to +16. The actual range was from -14 to +10, even though it was skewed toward the mean. The intercorrelations among the three esteem measures are shown in Table 8.

Interpersonal communication. Both parental and peer communication about black children were measured in this study. Each of these indices had a range of 4 to 20, with a theoretical mean of 12. The parental communication index

Table 8  
Intercorrelations of Esteem Measures

	Self-Esteem	Absolute
Self-Esteem	x	
Absolute Esteem	.328	x
Comparative Esteem	.120	.473

had a mean of 13.27, a standard deviation of 4.07, and was negatively skewed at -0.47. A mean score of 13.27 is not far from the theoretical mean, and the scores were well distributed as indicated by the standard deviation.

The peer communication index was similar to the adult, with a wide range of scores ( $SD = 4.075$ ), distributed around the mean  $\bar{X} = 13.51$ ), and negatively skewed (skewness = -0.33). A t-test of the difference between parent and peer communication was nonsignificant ( $t < 1.0$ ,  $p < .475$ ).

Television exposure. Two measures were taken of television exposure. One was an index of exposure to family programs in which blacks were cast as major characters. This index was used to test hypotheses 3a and 3b. The possible range of scores for this index was low viewership of 5 to highest possible viewership of 20. The theoretical mean would be 12.5. The actual mean was 10.68, with a SD of 4.42, and skewed 0.58. Thus many of the children were responding that they watched "some weeks" to "most weeks."

The second measure of television exposure tapped relative exposure to black family shows by subtracting viewership levels for 5 selected black programs from the 5 white program viewership levels. This subtraction should yield a mean of zero if there were no difference in viewership levels. The possible range is -15 to +15. However, the actual mean was



5.49, SD = 4.28, skewness = -0.28, indicating that viewership was higher for these five white programs than for these five black programs. This is an interesting finding to be discussed in chapter four.

Attitudes toward black television characters. There were two indices of attitudes toward television characters, one assessed attitudes toward black adult and the other black child characters. The child index had a possible range from 6, indicating that each of the six characters in the index were not liked (i.e., a "don't like" response), to 18, indicating that each character was liked "a lot." The actual mean was more than a standard deviation higher than the theoretical mean of 12 ( $\bar{X}$  = 14.94, SD = 2.24, and skewness = -0.373). Thus, children appear to have fairly positive attitudes toward child characters.

The results of the adult index are also positive but not as much. The theoretical mean of this index with a possible range of 5 to 15 is 10. The actual mean was not quite a standard deviation away at 11.63 with SD of 2.31, and skewed negatively -0.23. A t-test of the differences between the mean attitudes toward black adult characters and black child characters was significant ( $t = 7.91$ ,  $p < .001$ ). To do this test, the indices were made comparative by adding a constant of 2 to the adult index.

Interpersonal communication about television characters. Here, two communication sources were assessed, parents and peers. For each of these sources, communication about adult and child characters was assessed. Thus, there are four indices of interpersonal communication about television characters.

The content of communication from peers could vary from liking black characters "a lot" to "don't like." A low score of 6 for child character preference and a low score of 5 for adult character preference would indicate that a child didn't like each of the characters in the index. These two low scores differ because 6 characters were chosen for the child character index, while only 5 were chosen for the adult. Conversely, a score of 15 and 18 respectively would be an indication that the child's friends preferred all of the characters in the index. The mean for the peer communication about child characters was 13.71 with a SD of 2.77 and skewed negatively at -0.27, indicating that the mean is less than a standard deviation higher than the theoretical mean, and with the negative skew would mean that the majority of children received communication from their peers that was positive about black child television characters. Communication received from their peers about black adult television characters is not so positive. The mean was 10.40, SD = 2.58, and skewed -0.27. This mean is substantially below the theoretical mean. Yet the moderately

negative skew indicates that many of the cases are clustered toward or beyond the mean. A t-test of the differences indicates that children receive different communication about adult characters than child characters ( $t = 4.02$ ,  $p < .001$ ). To do this comparison test a constant of 2 was added to the adult index.

Similar discrepancies between communication about adult and child characters seem to originate from parents ( $t = 3.70$ ,  $p < .001$ ). To calculate the  $t$ , a constant of 2 was added to the index. The parental communication about children on television had a mean of 14.06, a  $SD = 3.10$ , and was positively skewed at 0.43. The parental communication about adults on television measure had a mean of 11.04, with a  $SD$  of 2.93 and skewed at 0.33. Thus, both peer and parental communication, while being positive about black child and adult characters, is significantly more positive toward black child characters.

In Table 9 below, a summary of the descriptive statistical results is shown.

### Test of Hypotheses

The section presents the results of the test of each of the eighteen hypothesized relationships.

The first set of hypotheses, i.e., Hypotheses 1a, 1b, and 1c, stated that communication from parents that emphasizes positive characteristics of black people is related to higher

Table 9

## Descriptive Summary of Indices (n=82)

Index	Possible Range	Theoretical Mean	$\bar{X}$	SD	Skewness
ESTEEM					
Self-esteem	5 to 20	12.5	15.9	1.75	+0.41
Absolute esteem	5 to 20	12.5	15.7	2.27	+0.22
Comparative esteem	-15 to +15	0.0	- 0.4	3.16	-0.55
INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION					
Parent	4 to 20	12.0	13.27	4.07	-0.47
Peer	4 to 20	12.0	13.51	4.07	-0.33
TELEVISION EXPOSURE					
Black family shows	5 to 20	12.5	10.68	4.42	+0.58
Black minus white shows	-15 to +15	0.0	5.49	4.28	-0.28
ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK TELEVISION CHARACTERS					
Black adult characters	5 to 15	10.0	11.63	2.31	-0.23
Black child characters	6 to 18	12.0	14.94	2.24	-0.37
INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT TELEVISION CHARACTERS					
Parents					
About child characters	6 to 18	12.0	14.06	3.10	+0.435
About adult characters	5 to 15	10.0	10.04	2.93	+0.33
Peers					
About child characters	6 to 18	12.0	13.71	2.78	-0.27
About adult characters	5 to 15	10.0	10.40	2.58	-0.28

self-esteem than communication that does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people. This set of three hypotheses, included the criterion variables of self-esteem (i.e., "I think I am . . ."), absolute racial esteem (i.e., "I think black children in real life are . . .") and comparative esteem (i.e., "I think white children in real life are . . ." minus "I think black children in real life are . . ."). For hypotheses 1a and 1b, which hypothesized a relationship between communication and absolute esteem and self-esteem, respectively, the data were supportive.

The relationship between parental communication and self-esteem was moderate in size ( $r = .290$ ,  $p < .006$ ), while the relationship between parental communication and absolute racial esteem was larger ( $r = .418$ ,  $p < .002$ ). The relationship between comparative racial esteem and parent communication was not significant ( $r = -.155$ ,  $p < .088$ ), yet in the right direction. See Figure 2.

The second set of hypotheses, i.e. Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c, stated that communication from peers which emphasizes positive characteristics of black people will lead to higher esteem among black children than communication which does not emphasize positive characteristics of black people.

The relationship between peer communication and self-esteem was not significant ( $r = -.112$ ,  $p < .171$ ). Also, the

relationship of comparative esteem to peer communication was nonsignificant ( $r = -.162$ ,  $p < .083$ ). However, the posited relationship of peer communication to absolute racial esteem was supported by the data ( $r = .376$ ,  $p < .002$ ). See Figure 3 for a summary of results.

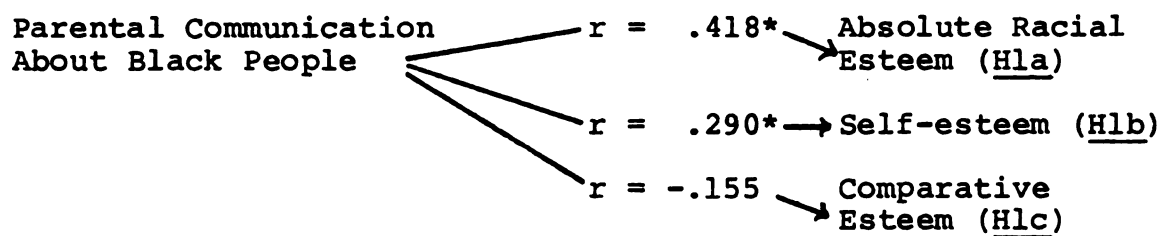
Given the results of the tests of the first two sets of hypotheses, it is clear that absolute racial esteem is significantly related to these interpersonal communication patterns.

The third set of hypotheses, i.e., Hypotheses 3a and 3b, hypothesized that black children who are high viewers of black television programs will have more positive attitudes toward black television characters than black children who are low viewers of such programs. Hypothesis 3a tested the effects of exposure on attitudes toward black adult characters, while hypothesis 3b tested the effects of exposure on attitudes toward black child characters.

Both hypotheses were supported. The relationship between viewership and attitudes toward black adult characters was most impressive ( $r = .604$ ,  $p < .001$ ); the relationship for child characters was also significant ( $r = .232$ ,  $p < .03$ ). See Figure 4 for a summary of results.

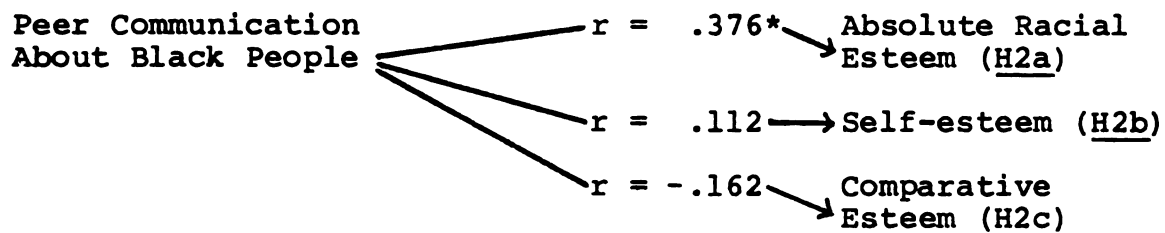
The fourth set of hypotheses, i.e., Hypotheses 4a1, 4a2, 4a3, 4b1, 4b2, 4b3, predicted that exposure to black family television programs is related to more positive esteem for those children who have more positive attitudes toward black television characters, than for those who are less positive. The simple relationship between exposure to these programs

FIGURE 2  
Results for Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 1c



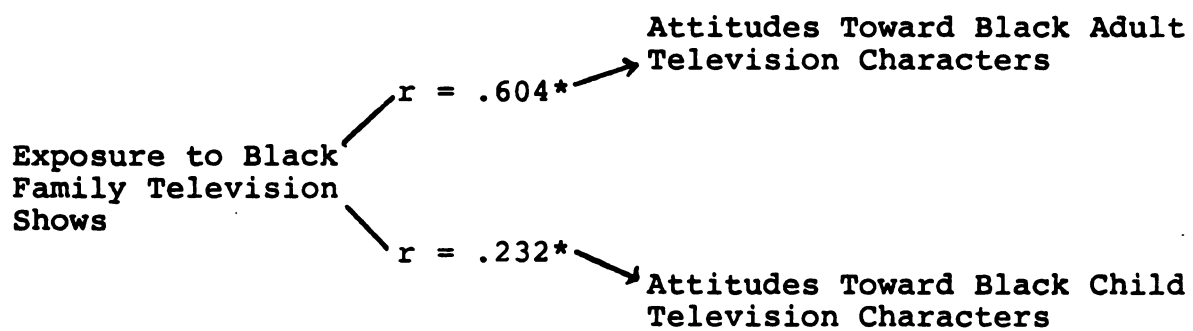
\* $p < .05$

FIGURE 3  
Results for Hypotheses 2a, 2b, 2c



\* $p < .05$

FIGURE 4  
Results for Hypotheses 3a, 3b



\*  $p < .05$



and self-esteem was significant ( $r = .200$ ,  $p < .05$ ). In the case of absolute racial esteem the simple relationship between program exposure and absolute racial esteem was nonsignificant ( $r = .184$ ,  $p < .07$ ). The relationship between exposure and comparative racial esteem was also nonsignificant ( $r = .027$ ,  $p < .40$ ).

In order to elaborate the relationship between exposure and esteem, the sample was split at the mean to form groups of those children with high positive attitudes toward black characters versus those with attitudes that were not as positive. Table 10 shows the simple correlation coefficients for both child and adult characters for each of the three hypotheses. A transform from  $r$ 's to  $z$ 's (Blalock, 1972) was done to test the significance of the differences between the correlation coefficients. Two of these were significant: the elaboration for adult characters for absolute esteem ( $z = 3.432$ ,  $p < .002$ ) and for self-esteem for adult characters ( $z = 4.724$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Three of the four others were in the direction predicted. Given these results, Hypotheses 4a1 and 4a2 were supported for adult models.

The fifth hypotheses set, i.e., Hypotheses 5a and 5b, predicted that communication from parents which emphasizes the positive characteristics of black characters on television will be related to more positive attitudes toward television characters by fourth and fifth grade black children than

Table 10

Mean Split Elaboration for Hypotheses 4a, 4b, and 4c:  
Correlation Between Exposure and Esteem for  
Two Levels of Attitude Toward Television Characters

		Attitudes Toward Adult Characters		Attitudes Toward Child Characters	
		Low	High	Low	High
H: 4a <sub>1</sub>					
Absolute Esteem	r =	.030	< .206*	.115	< .151
H: 4a <sub>2</sub>					
Self- Esteem	r =	.027	< .263*	.170	> .152
H: 4a <sub>3</sub>					
Comparative Esteem	r =	.091	< .149	.040	< .140

\*p<.05

communication which does not emphasize positive characteristics. Both of these hypotheses were supported.

The relationship between the child's attitudes toward black adult television characters and the type of communication their parents engage in regarding those characters was large ( $r = .732$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and significant. Similarly, the relationship between the type of communication they reported their parents gave them regarding child characters and the children's actual attitudes toward those characters was also significant ( $r = .572$ ,  $p < .001$ ). See Figure 5 for results.

The sixth hypothesis set, i.e., Hypotheses 6a and 6b, predicted that communication from peers which emphasizes the positive characteristics of black characters on television will be related to more positive attitudes toward television characters by fourth and fifth grade black children than communication which does not emphasize positive characteristics. These hypotheses were supported.

The relationship between the child's attitudes toward black adult television characters and the type of communication their friends engaged in regarding those characters was large ( $r = .630$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The relationship between the type of communication their friends gave them regarding child characters and the children's attitudes toward those characters was also large ( $r = .777$ ,  $p < .001$ ). See Figure 6.

In summary, of the 18 hypotheses, 11 were supported (see summary Table 11). The support of the hypotheses can

FIGURE 5

## Results for Hypotheses 5a, 5b

Parental Communication About Black Television Characters	$r = .732^*$	Attitudes About Black Adult Television Characters (H5a)
	—————→	

Parental Communication About Black Television Characters	$r = .572^*$	Attitudes About Black Child Television Characters (H5b)
	—————→	

\*p &lt; .05

FIGURE 6

## Results for Hypotheses 6a, 6b

Peer Communication About Black Television Characters	$r = .630$	Attitudes About Black Adult Television Characters (H6a)
	—————→	

Perr Communication About Black Television Characters	$r = .777^*$	Attitudes About Black Child Television Characters (H6b)
	—————→	

\*p &lt; .05

Table 11  
Hypotheses Results Summary Table

Hypothesis	Predictor	Intervening	Criterion	Support?*
H1	Communication from Parents about Black Children	None	H1a: Absolute Racial Esteem	Yes
			H1b: Self-Esteem	Yes
			H1c: Comparative Racial Esteem	No
H2	Communication from Peers about Black Children	None	H2a: Absolute Racial Esteem	Yes
			H2b: Self-Esteem	No
			H2c: Comparative Racial Esteem	No
H3	Exposure to Black Family Programs	None	H3a: Attitudes toward Black Adult TV Characters	Yes
			H3b: Attitudes toward Black Child TV Characters	Yes
H4	Exposure to Black Family Programs	H4a: Attitudes toward Black Adult TV Characters	H4a <sub>1</sub> : Absolute Racial Esteem	Yes
			H4a <sub>2</sub> : Self-Esteem	Yes
			H4a <sub>3</sub> : Comparative Racial Esteem	No
		H4b: Attitudes toward Black Child TV Characters	H4b <sub>1</sub> : Absolute Racial Esteem	No
			H4b <sub>2</sub> : Self-Esteem	No
			H4b <sub>3</sub> : Comparative Racial Esteem	No

(continued on next page)

Table 11 (continued)

Hypothesis	Predictor	Intervening	Criterion	Support?*
H5	H5a: Communication from Parents about Black Adult TV Actors	None	Attitudes about Black Adult TV Characters	Yes
	H5b: Communication from Parents about Black Child TV Actors	None	Attitudes about Black Child TV Characters	Yes
H6	H6a: Communication from Peers about Black Adult TV Actors	None	Attitudes about Black Adult TV Characters	Yes
	H6b: Communication from Peers about Black Child TV Actors	None	Attitudes about Black Child TV Characters	Yes

\*Note - The hypothesis was considered supported when  $p < .05$ .

be expressed with varying degrees of confidence. For instance, although significant, some correlations ranged from .29 to higher than .70 in support of hypotheses. Thus, regression analyses to identify the relative importance of each input and to note possible interaction effects were done in exploratory fashion in the next section.

### Regression Analyses

Several analyses were completed in order to explore the relative and interactive effect of the variables investigated here on esteem. Regressions were done with each of the criterion measures of esteem, with the three determinants of (1) communication about black children from parents, (2) communication about black children from peers, and (3) children's attitudes toward black television characters. Separate regressions were done with attitudes toward adult and child television characters. A second set of analyses looked at the contribution of exposure to black television programs along with the two interpersonal communication determinants (parent and peer) on self-esteem. A third set of analyses regressed (1) exposure to black television programs, (2) parental communication about television characters, and (3) peer communication about television characters, on the black children's attitudes toward black television characters. The summary of these analyses is shown in the tables as indicated below.

First, note the regressions on the criterion of self-esteem (Tables 12 and 13). For the regression which included attitudes toward child television characters (Table 12), parental communication had the largest influence on self-esteem (this was the only significant beta). However, note the results when attitudes toward adult television characters is entered (Table 13): Attitudes toward the adult television characters is the only significant contributor to variations in self-esteem. This demonstrates the importance of adult characterizations and this will be discussed in the next chapter in terms of modeling. Totally, the three predictor variables accounted for 16% of the variance in self-esteem when attitudes toward child characters was entered, but 21% of the variance when attitudes toward adult characters was entered.

Second, note the regressions on the criterion of absolute racial esteem (Tables 14 and 15). In neither the regression where attitudes toward black adult or child characters was entered is there a significant predictor. However, it does appear that the beta for parental communication is the largest, and therefore the most important predictor. The three predictor variables accounted for over 20% of the variance when attitudes toward child characters was entered and over 19% when attitudes toward adult characters was entered.

Almost no variance was accounted for with the comparative racial esteem variable (Tables 16 and 17), thus once again indicating the lack of accountable variance with this dependent



Table 12

Regression of Parental Communication about Black Children  
 Peer Communication about Black Children and  
 Attitudes toward Black Child Television  
 Characters on Self-Esteem

Criterion	Predictor	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	F	Multiple R <sup>2</sup>
Self-Esteem	Parental Communication	.181	.422	7.455*	.158
	Peer Communication	-.142	-.331	3.752	
	Attitudes Toward Child TV Characters	.022	.284	4.733	

\*p<.05

Table 13

Regression of Parental Communication about Black Adults, Peer  
Communication about Black Adults, and Attitudes toward  
Black Adult Television Characters on Self-Esteem

Criterion	Predictor	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	Multiple F	Multiple $R^2$
Self-Esteem	Parental Communication	.102	.238	2.005	.214
	Peer Communication	-.123	-.287	3.121	
	Attitudes Toward Black Adult TV Characters	.324	.428	8.836*	

\*  $p < .05$

Table 14

Regression of Parental Communication about Black Children,  
 Peer Communication about Black Children, and  
 Attitudes toward Black Child Television Characters  
 on Absolute Racial Esteem

Criterion	Predictor	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	F	Multiple R <sup>2</sup>
Absolute Racial Esteem	Parental Communication	.172	.309	4.204	.203
	Peer Communication	.050	.090	<1.0	
	Attitudes Toward Child TV Characters	.138	.137	1.156	

\*p < .05

Table 15

Regression of Parental Communication about Black Adults, Peer  
Communication about Black Adults, and Attitudes toward  
Black Adult Television Characters on Absolute Racial  
Esteem

Criterion	Predictor	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	F	Multiple $R^2$
Absolute Racial Esteem	Parental Communication	.144	.258	2.308	.197
	Peer Communication	.076	.136	<1.0	
	Attitudes toward Adult TV Characters	.110	.112	<1.0	

\* $p < .05$



Table 16

Regression of Parental Communication about Black Children, Peer Communication about Black Children, and Attitudes toward Black Child Television Characters on Comparative Racial Esteem

Criterion	Predictor	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	F	Multiple R <sup>2</sup>
Comparative Racial Esteem	Parental Communication	-.065	-.085	< 1.0	.035
	Peer Communication	-.045	-.059	< 1.0	
	Attitudes toward Child TV Characters	-.120	-.085	< 1.0	

\*p<.05

Table 17

Regression of Parental Communication about Black Children, Peer Communication about Black Children, and Attitudes toward Black Adult Television Characters on Comparative Racial Esteem

Criterion	Predictor	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	F	Multiple R <sup>2</sup>
Comparative Racial Esteem	Parental Communication	-.135	-.174	2.162	.063
	Peer Communication	-.129	-.167	<1.0	
	Attitudes toward Adult TV Characters	.316	.231	2.162	

\*  $p < .05$

measure. However, it does appear that attitudes toward adult television characters are again an important predictor and that the beta is positive and larger than for the other predictors. However, trivial variance is accounted for.

In the regression analyzing the contribution of exposure to esteem (see Table 18), together with the contribution of the interpersonal communication predictors, parental communication and peer communication, parental communication is the only significant predictor. Neither peer communication nor exposure are significant contributors.

Tables 19 and 20 show the results of regressions of the determinants of the black children's attitudes toward both child and adult television characters. From this, one may note that parental communication is the most important predictor of attitudes toward characters, but that adult television characters' attitudes are significantly influenced by mere exposure to black television programs too.

#### Exploratory Analyses

Of interest here was whether the relative amount of viewing of black shows compared with white television shows would contribute to attitudes toward characters. This appears to be no different than the pure black show influence. The simple correlation between the black show index and attitudes toward black child actors was  $r = .231$ , whereas the correlation for the relative amount of black versus white shows was slightly higher



Table 18

Regression of Parental Communication about Black Children, Peer Communication about Black Children, and Exposure to Black Family Television Programs on Self-Esteem

Criterion	Predictor	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	F	Multiple R <sup>2</sup>
Self-Esteem	Parental Communication	0.163	0.381	4.103*	.101
	Peer Communication	-0.071	-0.165	<1.0	
	Exposure	0.019	0.048	<1.0	

\*p<.05

Table 19

Regression of Exposure, Parental Communication about Television Characters, and Peer Communication about Television Characters on Attitudes toward Black Child Television Characters

	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	F Test	Multiple R <sup>2</sup>
Exposure	-.021	-.042	< 1.0	.630
Parental Communication about Black Child TV Characters	.544	.673	43.375*	
Peer Communication about Black Child TV Characters	.149	.205	3.845	

\*p&lt;.05

Table 20

Regression of Exposure, Parental Communication about Television Characters, and Peer Communication about Television Characters on Attitudes toward Black Adult Television Characters

	Unstandardized Beta	Standardized Beta	F Test	Multiple R <sup>2</sup>
Exposure	.164	.313	14.409*	.710
Parental Communication about Black Adult TV Characters	.364	.407	13.571*	
Peer Communication about Black Adult TV Characters	.230	.291	6.275	

\*p&lt;.05

at  $r = .284$ . Thus children who are exposed to black shows are influenced by those shows to a similar degree even if they also are high viewers of white shows. Yet the correlation for the relative measure is slightly higher indicating that if the children watch black shows more than white shows, they may have stronger positive attitudes toward black characters. However, the simple correlation between this relative viewing and self-esteem is near zero ( $r = .064$ ), indicating that if the children watch black shows more, their self-esteem does not correspondingly become more positive. It appears that sheer watching of black shows, independent of white shows has the greatest relationship to esteem ( $r = .200$ ). Caution should be taken in this interpretation, however, as the relative viewing measure was constructed only for this preliminary exploration and the white family shows were chosen only because they were at the same time-slots.

Even the partial correlation controlling for attitudes towards characters between the relative viewing index and self-esteem is larger (.116) than the partial between mere black viewing and self-esteem (partial = .067), indicating that attitudes toward characters were not a significant mediator when relative viewing was tested.

## CHAPTER IV

## DISCUSSION

This chapter is divided into five discussion sections: (1) the descriptive results and their implications; (2) the test of the hypotheses; (3) theoretical issues; (4) reservations about the research; and, (5) suggestions for future research.

Descriptive Results

This section will discuss the implications of the descriptive results of this research. It will begin with a discussion of the criterion variables.

First, the study found that both absolute racial and self-esteem of the children were at moderately positive levels. This is a confirmation of the research trend which has indicated a shift from early studies where children had fairly low levels of esteem, to the research in the last decade which has demonstrated a shift to higher levels of esteem for black children (Katz, 1976). This higher level of esteem is further indicated by the results of the comparative measure of esteem used in this study. This measure which subtracted absolute black esteem from absolute white esteem found that black children have a slightly more positive esteem for black children than they do for whites.

Second, there has to be consideration given to the type of esteem measure utilized in studies. Correlations among the three measures--absolute, self, and comparative--were

rather moderate in size, and different between measures. While absolute and self-esteem were moderately correlated and absolute and comparative were correlated (which could be expected since absolute was part of the comparative measure), there was little relation between a child's report of their self-esteem and their level of comparative esteem. Self-esteem may be quite different from absolute esteem, and may even have different determinants. The implications of this will be discussed in the third section.

The study looked at three classes of predictor variables: (1) interpersonal communication from parents and peers about people, (2) exposure to television programs featuring black families, and (3) interpersonal communication from parents and peers about television characters. Interpersonal communication about television characters were predictors of the intervening variable, attitudes toward television characters. Each of these predictors will be discussed below.

Exposure. The amount of television exposure to black family shows indicated that black children are watching, on the average, most of the shows some weeks. When amount of viewership of black family shows was subtracted from viewership of white family shows, to give a relative measure of black family show viewing, the results indicated that the black children were watching black family shows slightly less often than they were watching the selected white family shows. Two points must be considered about these findings.

First, the comparison white family shows were chosen only because they were in the same time slot as the black family shows and may have been very popular. Second, viewership on an absolute level was fairly high for the black family shows. Future research may want to deal with comparative measures on a more systematic basis.

Communication about people. Interpersonal communication from both parents and peers about black children was measured in the study. The results indicate that positive information is often given about black children from parents and peers. The average parent and peer apparently communicates positively about black children sometimes, but not necessarily a lot. These results show that communication about racial groups is fairly common for these fourth-fifth grade children; thus, communication may be influencing both racial attitudes and esteem. This will be discussed in the next section dealing with the hypotheses, but the significance of this finding is rather apparent.

Communication about television characters. Communication by peers about television characters (as reported by the children in the sample) was on the average very positive. However, communication from peers about television adult actors was not on the average very positive. Thus it appears that the valence of interpersonal communication about child and adult actors (models) is significantly different.

What could account for this finding? The first attribution could be that television programs display child behaviors that are acceptable to children but display adult behaviors which are less acceptable. Unfortunately, the past demographic and behavioral content analyses of black characters has not identified portrayal differences between adult and child characters. It is possible that the child characters engage in different type behaviors than adult characters. A more likely attribution might pertain to what a child viewer deems as acceptable. It could be that similar behaviors from an adult or child, say for instance humor, are more acceptable to a child when it comes from a child actor but is not acceptable from an adult actor who is expected to be more serious. Or, it could be that children are less severe critics of a child actor's behavior than an adult's. Whatever the reason, the difference has important implications for modeling hypotheses and social learning theory to be discussed in the following two sections.

Similar response levels were noted regarding parent communication about child vs. adult actors. Parents communicate rather positively about television characters, but do communicate positively more often about child actors than adult. Perhaps this is further indication that the perceived appropriateness of character behavior is a plausible explanation.

However, it must be remembered that the measures



consisted of asking the black children themselves what the content of communication from parents and peers was. What the child reports about their communication may not correspond to the actual communication. The child may expect his/her parents to be less positive than his/her friends and report that expectation. Even in spite of this, what the child expects or "thinks" he/she is told may be as important or more important than what the parent intends or actually says.

The study also investigated a set of variables that were expected to intervene between exposure and esteem. This set of variables deals with the children's attitude toward the television characters. Overall, the children sampled had a fairly high evaluation of the black television characters on black family programs. Thus an important factor for modeling influences has been found--children do see the black television characters in a rather positive way. This finding has important ramifications for television influence and will be discussed at length in the theory section.

### Hypotheses

Out of the 18 hypotheses tested in this research, 11 were supported in whole or in part. Judging from the results of these tests, it appears that communication is an important factor in socialization and in its relation to black children's esteem. The type of esteem and the source of communication are important qualifiers to the above statement, however.

The hypotheses predicting a relationship between peer and parental communication and absolute racial esteem were supported. Support was provided for the hypotheses relating parental communication to self-esteem but was not provided for the prediction that self-esteem would be related to peer communication. Apparently, absolute racial esteem may be more susceptible to communication. This will be discussed in the theory section.

Neither the hypothesis relating peer communication nor parental communication to comparative racial esteem were supported. This may be a result of many factors, among which are the nature of the measurement and/or that the children view black and white people in similar and in rather positive ways.

The results regarding television communication indicated support for the hypotheses that related exposure to self-esteem. This extends the past work that demonstrates that black children identify with black characters (Dates, 1979) especially when they are high viewers of black shows (Greenberg, 1972).

Interpersonal communication from parents and peers appears to heighten positive attitudes toward television characters. The children in this study reported communication valence from parents and peers which were highly related to the children's own attitudes toward the television characters. Thus, communication from parents and peers may impact esteem

directly and may also serve the secondary function of providing evaluational information about televised models.

High viewership of black family television shows is also highly related to attitudes toward the characters on the shows, both adult and child characters. In other words, if a child is a high viewer of black family shows s/he is more likely to report that the characters have more positive characteristics.

Regression analyses indicated that when interpersonal communication with parents and peers and attitudes toward television characters are entered as predictors of esteem, the type of esteem and whether attitudes toward adult or child television characters was entered was important. Communication from parents appeared to be the most important predictor of esteem as it was significantly related for self-esteem when children's attitudes toward child television characters was entered into the equation and it approached significance for both conditions of absolute racial esteem when attitudes toward child and adult actors were entered. Communication from parents is related to esteem.

In addition, attitudes toward television characters was a significantly larger predictor for self-esteem when the characters were adult. This again points out the importance of adult modeling on esteem. Attitudes toward television did not appear as significant predictors for either absolute or comparative esteem, however. It should be noted that

almost no variance in comparative esteem was accounted for by the three predictors, but that the conjoint influence of the three predictors on self-esteem and absolute esteem accounted for almost 20% of the variance in those esteem measures.

Looking at these regressions in their entirety, one could conclude several things. First, comparative esteem is not influenced greatly by the three predictors. This confirms the simple correlation analysis that found no significant predictors of comparative racial esteem. Apparently there is little variation in comparative esteem. This may be the result of many factors, but it is obvious that black children do not view black children and white children that much different to begin with (as the descriptive statistics have shown). This lack of difference in attitudes toward black and white children is partly a result of the fact that the black children viewed both groups rather positively.

Second, parental communication does seem important to these children. The theoretical importance of this finding will be discussed in the next section.

Third, the finding that attitudes toward adult television characters is an important predictor of self-esteem has theoretical implications from a social learning theory standpoint to be discussed in the next section.

A separate set of regressions analyzed the relative and

joint effects of television exposure to black family programs and communication from parents and from peers about television characters on children's attitudes toward both adult and child television characters. This analysis indicated that a large portion of the variance in attitudes toward the characters may be accounted for by interpersonal communication and to an extent by exposure to the programs. Once again, the influence of parental communication was greater than the influence from peer. Mere exposure to black family programs did have a relationship to the children's attitudes toward black adult television characters. These findings once again point out the importance of modeling for explaining the influence of television on racial esteem. The next section which looks at the theoretical implications of this research will explore this further.

### Theoretical Issues

This section will discuss the results as they are related to the theoretical rationale. It will contain three major sections: (1) learning explanations, and (2) the role of communication in self-concept formation, and (3) esteem.

Learning explanations. In the rationale section, three types of learning models (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972) were presented: reinforcement, modeling and interactional (or combinatorial learning). It was argued that these three distinctions are useful for explanations of communication influences on socialization processes. Interpersonal

communication was classified as interactional. That is, children learn about themselves and others through direct reinforcement of their actions and by observation or modeling of their significant others (in the case of the present study, parents and peers). On the other hand, television learning is primarily explained with modeling conceptions. Direct reinforcement does come from peer and parental communication about television, but much of television learning appears to be a result of modeling where television characters act as role models (Bandura, 1977). These learning distinctions may help explain the apparent scattered findings of this research.

In line with past research that exposure alone is not highly related to racial attitudes (e.g., Atkin, et al., 1979), exposure to black family programs was not expected to influence esteem except when children had positive attitudes toward black television characters (models). Although past social learning research has identified the importance of model identification in television effects (see for example, Maccoby & Wilson, 1957; Tannenbaum & Gaer, 1965; Rosenkrans, 1967; Reeves & Greenberg, 1977), the present research findings indicate that attitudes toward the models may also be an important mediator of television learning. Although it is assumed that a model a child identifies with will also be favorably evaluated, it may be that even though a child has positive attitudes

toward a model, they may not wish to be like that model or identify with him/her. At least for adult models, television exposure was related to absolute and self-esteem. This finding extends social learning and modeling theory explanations for the development of self-esteem through television exposure, by accounting for merely attitudes toward the models.

However, the modeling explanation is not necessarily straightforward. It should be noted that while attitudes toward adult characters were an important mediator of the exposure effect, attitudes toward child characters were not. Adult modeling was more crucial. The reasons for this may be varied. First, children at this pre-adolescent age may still rely mostly on adults for information about their environment, as the developmental research indicates (for example, Saltzstein, 1976). Even adult television models may be more potent sources of influence. Another reason for this difference may be that the adult television models actually may have a more favorable image. Given the portrayals on television, the child actor cannot be viewed in terms of successfully dealing with his/her environment except in terms of how they interact with family members or friends. The adult models, on the other hand, are shown as rather successful on other criteria, such as occupationally. This explanation is rather speculative and certainly would be appropriate for further study. Third, children may be

more critical viewers of the appropriateness of child television behaviors than they are of adult behaviors.

It is important to note here that these learning explanations may be influenced by developmental factors as suggested in Chapter 1. Age of the child may influence what source of communication may have the greatest impact on esteem and may even influence which television models have the greatest modeling potential. For instance, given the past developmental research which has shown that children at the onset of adolescence rely more on peers than parents for information (Saltzstein, 1976), the same may hold true for television models. It could be that for children a bit older than the ones currently sampled, child or teen actors may be potent models.

It should also be noted that the current research did not support the Katz (1976) observation that racial attitudes tend to crystallize at the fourth and fifth grade. The current sample of children was in this age group and yet the results indicated that their attitudes and esteem are in fact related to communication behaviors. Thus, racial attitudes may still be impacted by communication. However, such results are to be taken with some hesitation, since the current research did not assess esteem changes directly, especially from a developmental or maturational perspective. That particular area of research will be appropriate for another research effort.



Communication from peers was also related to esteem, but only absolute and not self-esteem. Perhaps, information and thus attitudes toward one's racial group is easier to impact than attitudes toward oneself.

Additionally, the research results indicated that communication from parents and peers was highly related to children's attitudes toward the television characters. This is another example of direct reinforcement. In the case of television characters, the target of attitude is clearly delineated; parents and peers could provide specific forms of reinforcement to the child about any particular character through communication. Apparently parents and peers did communicate specifically about certain characters. This communication or the percept that it occurred does appear to be a very important factor when considering the influence of television on children's learning of esteem, since the research did show that attitudes toward the characters is related to esteem.

The role of communication. The present data underline the Liebert and Poulos (1976) recommendation that socialization research be approached from a multi-influence perspective. Unlike most of the past research, where one determinant was studied, the present research accounted for the influence of several factors. Each of the factors that were hypothesized to influence self-concept were communication variables or variables directly influenced by communication

as in the case of attitudes toward television characters. The research demonstrated that racial socialization is indeed a result of many factors in additive and nonadditive ways. Interpersonal communication along with attitudes toward black television characters are related to self-concept. In nonadditive fashion, attitudes toward characters mediate the effect of exposure on self-concept, and attitudes toward characters are highly related to interpersonal communication about the characters. Apparently the influence of television exposure is inextricably tied to interpersonal communication.

The effects of television and interpersonal communication on self-concept are not, however, simple. Different components of self-concept seem to be related to some communication but not others. The component distinction appears to have provided some interesting and perhaps fruitful results. The current research found that communication was always related to absolute esteem, or the esteem a child holds for his/her racial group. Communication was not always related to self-esteem. As discussed in Chapter 1, communication may be directed in three ways: (1) it may be directed to how the child functions in a rather direct way and thus influence the child's self-esteem, (2) it may be directed at the child in rather indirect ways by referencing his/her cultural or racial group and thus influence the child's absolute esteem, or (3) it may make comparisons between his/her racial group and other groups, and thus influence

comparative esteem. In the present research, communication was more highly related to indirect influences on the child's absolute esteem. Perhaps communication may be easier to accept about others than about oneself directly, even if the others are like oneself in terms of race. Or, perhaps one's attitude toward oneself is more deeply entrenched than one's attitude toward others, and thus communication has greater impact on those attitudes with less mass.

Traditionally, researchers have lumped together the components of self-concept. The current findings indicate that this may distort the picture, and that reconceptualizing self-concept may be quite heuristic.

Esteem. As discussed in Chapter 1, past research into self-concept has taken two research approaches. The self-esteem approach, for example Rosenberg's (1965) merely asks children to indicate their attitudes toward themselves. No comparison is made with their attitudes toward themselves and their attitudes toward others. The second approach epitomized by Clark and Clark (1947) with their "doll choices," asks the child to make preference choices assumed to be on racial grounds. Here, the child is asked to make comparisons between stimuli indicative of racial groups and the individual's choice is assumed to indicate their self-esteem.

The current research conceptualized esteem as containing racial components and self components. It was argued that

a child's self-concept can be considered to contain two parts, his/her conception of his/her own role group compared with other role groups (racial esteem), and his/her self-concept which is assumed to also be a result of unique reinforcements. To the extent that a child's racial concept (absolute racial esteem) is related to his/her self-concept (self-esteem) we know that the child's self-esteem is not independent of his/her racial esteem. In addition, the current research findings suggested that unless the child's attitudes toward his/her racial group were compared with other racial groups, there would be no indication of how the child views him/herself comparatively.

The results of the current research demonstrated the fruitfulness of this self-concept breakdown. Self-esteem and absolute racial esteem were partially related, indicating that self-conceptions of these black children were only partly a result of their attitudes toward their race. This is an important finding.

The results indicated that communication, while an important determinant of self-esteem when it comes from parents, appears to be a more relevant predictor of absolute racial esteem, or attitudes toward the black child's racial group. With these findings in mind, the value of the esteem conceptualization used in this research should guide esteem research to greater clarification of the role of racial attitudes in esteem formation.

### Reservations

This section will present some of the reservations about the current research effort. It will begin with a discussion of the research design and then explore measurement problems and conclude with sample selection and generalizability.

Causation. This field survey study attempted to determine the relationship of communication to black children's esteem. Children were asked to report their levels of esteem and the content of communication they received from others. Since the study was neither an experiment nor even longitudinal in design, no time-order statements can be made. Thus, causation is an issue here. Recent evidence by several authors (see for example, Atkin, Greenberg, Korzenny & McDermott, 1979) have questioned the traditional view that mere exposure to television leads to certain attitudinal or behavior indicators, without regard to selective exposure or attitudinal predispositions.

From the current research, we do not know if selectivity is operating. It may be that those children with higher esteem do view more black television programs. Similarly, those children who are higher in esteem may have more positive attitudes toward the television characters they do see. And, those children with more positive attitudes toward television characters may expose themselves to those programs featuring those highly evaluated programs. Specific television diet controls may be necessary to test for these

exposure effects, as specific interpersonal control may be necessary in an experimental context to test for direction of effect.

Measurement. Some of the problems mentioned above are further confounded by measurement problems. In the study, the children were asked to report not only their own level of esteem (which is the standard way to measure esteem) but also they were asked to assess the amount and content of communication they received from others (parents and peers). This may not in itself be a problem, for we may be interested in not what was actually said by others, but how the child interpreted what others said. There may be, however, two problems with the method employed in this study: (1) social acceptability of answers, and (2) self-image.

The first problem, social acceptability, refers to a tendency of people to give answers that appear to be socially acceptable but are not necessarily their "true" attitudes or feelings (Robinson & Shaver, 1971). This may be especially important in sensitive or socially significant areas. Although every attempt was made to minimize this potential problem through insistence by the administrators that only the researchers at the university would see the results, and by having both black and white administrators, it may have been a factor.

Self-image may also have been a factor. Often in a

person's desire to be comfortable in the world, they have a tendency to see others as they see themselves or as they'd like others to see them. This obviously presents a problem when the communication of others is measured. For instance, children who hold negative attitudes toward black television characters may be likely to report that their friends also don't like the characters. Thus, they might be likely to report that the communication they receive from their friends is negative, when in reality it might not be. There is no direct evidence that this may have happened, but further research may wish to validate the child's report by asking others.

Sample and generalizability. These data were collected at only one point in time, and they were not cross-sectional, as they did not measure a large age range of children. Developmental conclusions may not therefore be drawn from this research.

An additional concern must be aired with regard to the selection of the sample. Although the children did come from an integrated school, the school was selected after a series of schools rejected the solicitation of subjects from researcher. These denials ranged from "these children have been over-studied" to the most common: ". . . the sensitive nature of the questions." Thus, the school officials who did permit access to the students had different attitudes toward this questionnaire, and perhaps even racial

matters. Although the children in the schools may not have been aware of these perceptions by their officials (e.g., teachers, principals), it may have been a factor. No objections came from the students during administration of the questionnaires, but some teachers reacted negatively to the questionnaire after the administration. Perhaps, the children were influenced as well. Certainly, the results of this study should be replicated to insure generalizability.

#### Suggestions for Future Research

It is apparent from the findings of the present research that much awaits and deserves to be done. In addition to problems of measurement and sample generalizability, there are many questions that remain to be answered in determining the causes and correlates of black children's esteem.

First, longitudinal studies of the communication process should be a priority. Especially important would be research that follows children through the years when race attitudes are supposed to be crystallizing (Katz, 1976), and which this current research found to appear to be influenced. Additionally, during these years, children are switching from reliance on parents to peers for information about social issues. Longitudinal research should probably look at children from second through at least the seventh grade to assess these changes.

Second, a trip to the lab to carry out controlled



experiments may shed light on the causative directional links and on relative communication influences. For instance, several input conditions could be manipulated in the lab. In one condition an adult confederate could communicate information about a racial role group to children, or even comment on television. In another condition confederate children could do the same. As a variation of each of these, the valence and amount of communication could be also manipulated.

To study television exposure effects, a condition might include either a past program depicting a certain role related image or videotape presentation of role related actions could be produced. Of course, "one-time" exposures would probably have limited effects compared with multiple exposures, but relative effects might still be assessed experimentally. Even program diets might get at such effects.

Third, future studies may wish to include some of the well known variables which appear to mediate television exposure effects. Especially salient would be variables of selective exposure, uses and gratifications and motivational factors. Once again, over-time studies would be important for assessing selective exposure, especially since attitudes toward characters may in fact determine exposure to black-family programs.

Fourth, distinctions between behavioral portrayals might help specify modeling effects more finely. Both portrayal differences between black and white characters and child versus adult actors would aid in determining model influences more specifically. As discussed earlier in this section, it may be that adult actors are rewarded more often than child actors, thus the adult television model would be a more potent modeling source for children. Two strategies could be used in this research: (1) content analysis of character behavior to determine what the actual portrayal differences are, and (2) children's perception of what the portrayal differences are. The second strategy would require some exploratory work requiring that the children be asked what the characters do to determine salient behavioral categories.

In addition, it seems important to develop refined indices of relative viewing of black family shows versus white family shows. The current research selected the compared shows in a rather unsystematic way. Future research might wish to choose only those shows that are shown at the same hour or those shows in which the characteristics of the families in the black shows are similar to the characteristics in the white family shows. For instance, shows might be chosen that are matched in terms of family size, sex of the head of the family, or are similar in socio-economic levels.

Finally, future research may wish to deal with issues of generalizability. Replication of the current research, especially given the selectivity of the sample, would provide more confidence. Additionally, social learning and socialization processes research should be cognizant of the social demands for providing answers that may or may not reflect the behavioral dispositions of the people studied or questioned, especially in sensitive or socially significant areas such as racial esteem. Researchers would move toward developing less obtrusive measures. For example, one could design a story with race "hidden" in the message. Half of the children would be presented with a story containing reference to the character as black, while the other children would receive a story with a white character. Children would then be asked to respond to attitude questions about the character (say, John) and not by race differences, explicitly. Any differences found in the attitudes would then be attributed to race.

All in all, given the relationship of communication with esteem as demonstrated in this present field survey, any move back to the lab is grounded in the generalizability of the research findings reported here.

## FOOTNOTES

1. According to the 1975 Santa Clara County special census, this neighborhood with a population of 55,203 out of a San Jose total of 551,224, has an annual median household income of \$9,977.

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## STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendices

- A. Cover Sheet
- B. Self Esteem Measure
- C. Attitudes Toward Television Characters
- D. Attitudes Toward White Adult
- E. Parental Communication About Television Characters
- F. Parental Communication About White Adults and Children
- G. Absolute Racial Esteem (Adults)/Exposure to Television Programs
- H. Parental Communication About Black Adults and Children
- I. Attitudes Toward White Children/Exposure to Television Programs
- J. Peer Communication About Television Characters
- K. Peer Communication About White Adults and Children
- L. Absolute Racial Esteem (Children)/Exposure to Television Programs
- M. Peer Communication About Black Adults and Children
- N. Attitudes Toward Black Adult Television Characters
- O. Attitudes Toward Black Child Television Characters

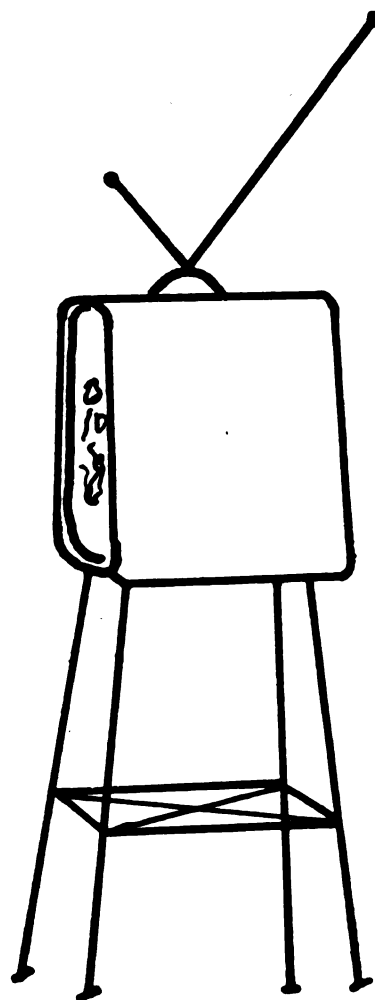
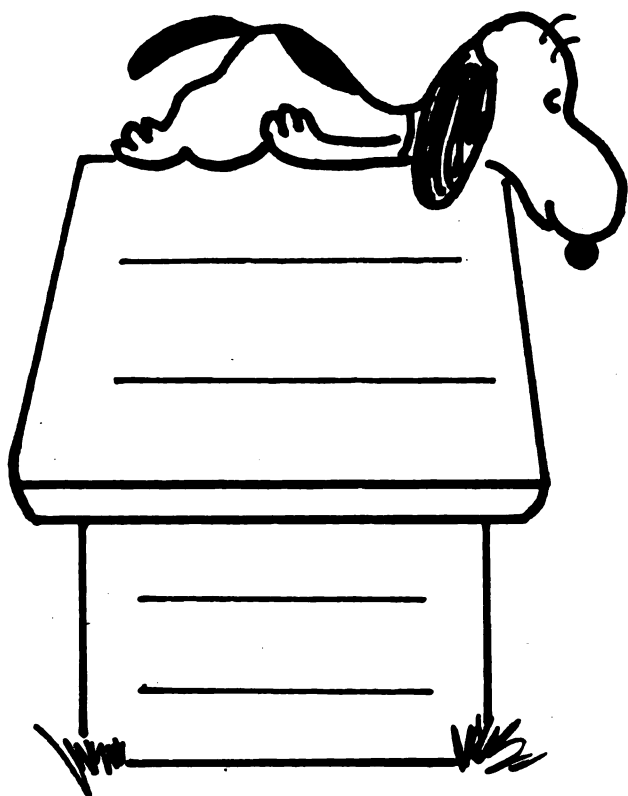
## APPENDIX A

## TELEVISION SURVEY

TODAY WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT YOU WATCH ON TELEVISION. WE ALSO WANT TO FIND OUT ABOUT THINGS YOU DO WITH PARENTS AND YOUR FRIENDS.

THIS IS NOT A TEST, SO THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL NOT BE SHOWN TO YOUR TEACHER OR YOUR PARENTS---ONLY THE RESEARCHERS AT THE UNIVERSITY WILL SEE THE SURVEYS. PLEASE BE HONEST WHEN YOU ANSWER THE QUESTIONS, SINCE WE WANT TO KNOW WHAT YOU REALLY THINK.

THANK YOU FOR HELPING US. WE APPRECIATE IT VERY MUCH.



## **APPENDIX B**

PLEASE TELL US WHAT YOU ARE LIKE:

I think I am...

VERY GOOD	PRETTY GOOD	NOT VERY GOOD	NOT GOOD
VERY IMPORTANT	PRETTY IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
VERY UNSELFISH	PRETTY UNSELFISH	NOT VERY UNSELFISH	NOT UNSELFISH
NOT FRIENDLY	NOT VERY FRIENDLY	PRETTY FRIENDLY	VERY FRIENDLY
NOT KIND	NOT VERY KIND	PRETTY KIND	VERY KIND
NOT SUPERIOR	NOT VERY SUPERIOR	PRETTY SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR

ON AN AVERAGE SCHOOL DAY, about how many HOURS do you spend watching television after your evening supper?

Number of Hours:

0    $\frac{1}{2}$    1    $1\frac{1}{2}$    2    $2\frac{1}{2}$    3    $3\frac{1}{2}$    4    $4\frac{1}{2}$    5 or more



## APPENDIX C

Here is a list of people on TV, please tell us which ones  
YOU LIKE or DON'T LIKE:

LAVERNE...on Laverne & Shirley	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
SHIRLEY...on Laverne & Shirley	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
RE-RUN...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
ROGAR...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
DEE...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
MRS. WALKER...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
THE FONZ...on Happy Days	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
RICHIE...on Happy Days	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
BILL COSBY...on Fat Albert	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
J.J....on Good Times	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
Thelma...on Good Times	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
Florida Evans...on Good Times	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
Mork...on Mork & Mindy	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
Mindy...on Mork & Mindy	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
ARNOLD...on Diff'rent Strokes	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
GEORGE JEFFERSON...On The Jeffersons	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
LOUISE JEFFERSON...on The Jeffersons	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
FREDDY WASHINGTON...on Kotter	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE

## APPENDIX D

I think WHITE adults in real life are:

VERY SUPERIOR	PRETTY SUPERIOR	NOT VERY SUPERIOR	NOT SUPERIOR
VERY KIND	PRETTY KIND	NOT VERY KIND	NOT KIND
VERY FRIENDLY	PRETTY FRIENDLY	NOT VERY FRIENDLY	NOT FRIENDLY
NOT UNSELFISH	NOT VERY UNSELFISH	PRETTY UNSELFISH	VERY UNSELFISH
NOT IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	PRETTY IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT
NOT GOOD	NOT VERY GOOD	PRETTY GOOD	VERY GOOD

How often do you talk with your PARENTS about BLACK people on TV?

A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT MUCH	NEVER
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Do your PARENTS usually say good things or bad things about the BLACK people on TV?

SAY GOOD THINGS	SAY BAD THINGS
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## APPENDIX E

Here is a list of people on TV, please tell us which ones your PARENTS like or dislike:

THE FONZ...on Happy Days	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
RICHIE...on Happy Days	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
BILL COSBY...on Fat Albert	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
J.J....on Good Times	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
THELMA...on Good Times	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
FLORIDA EVANS...on Good Times	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
MORK...on Mork & Mindy	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
MINDY...on Mork & Mindy	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
GEORGE JEFFERSON...on The Jeffersons	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
LOUISE JEFFERSON...on The Jeffersons	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
ARNOLD...on Diff'rent Strokes	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
FREDDY WASHINGTON...on Kotter	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
LAVERNE...on Laverne & Shirley	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
SHIRLEY...on Laverne & Shirley	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
RE-RUN...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
ROGAR...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
DEE...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
MRS. WALKER...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE

## APPENDIX F

How often do your PARENTS tell you that  
WHITE adults are...

.....GOOD?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....IMPORTANT?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....UNSELFISH?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....FRIENDLY?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....KIND?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....SUPERIOR?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER

How often do your PARENTS tell you that  
WHITE kids are...

.....SUPERIOR?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....KIND?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....FRIENDLY?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....UNSELFISH?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....IMPORTANT?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....GOOD?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER



## APPENDIX G

I think BLACK adults in real life are:

VERY GOOD	PRETTY GOOD	NOT VERY GOOD	NOT GOOD
VERY IMPORTANT	PRETTY IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
VERY UNSELFISH	PRETTY UNSELFISH	NOT VERY UNSELFISH	NOT UNSELFISH
VERY FRIENDLY	PRETTY FRIENDLY	NOT VERY FRIENDLY	NOT FRIENDLY
NOT KIND	NOT VERY KIND	PRETTY KIND	VERY KIND
NOT SUPERIOR	NOT VERY SUPERIOR	PRETTY SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR

How often do you watch?

	EVERY WEEK	MOST WEEKS	SOME WEEKS	ONCE IN AWHILE OR NEVER
LAVERNE & SHIRLEY?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MORK & MINDY?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
WHAT'S HAPPENING?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GOOD TIMES?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ONE DAY AT A TIME?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## APPENDIX H

How often do your PARENTS tell you that  
BLACK adults are...

.....GOOD?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....IMPORTANT?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....UNSELFISH?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....FRIENDLY?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....KIND?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....SUPERIOR?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER

How often do your PARENTS tell you that  
BLACK kids are...

.....SUPERIOR?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....KIND?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....FRIENDLY?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....UNSELFISH?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....IMPORTANT?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....GOOD?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER

## APPENDIX I

I think WHITE kids in real life are...

VERY GOOD	PRETTY GOOD	NOT VERY GOOD	NOT GOOD
VERY IMPORTANT	PRETTY IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
VERY UNSELFISH	PRETTY UNSELFISH	NOT VERY UNSELFISH	NOT UNSELFISH
NOT FRIENDLY	NOT VERY FRIENDLY	PRETTY FRIENDLY	VERY FRIENDLY
NOT KIND	NOT VERY KIND	PRETTY KIND	VERY KIND
NOT SUPERIOR	NOT VERY SUPERIOR	PRETTY SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR

How often do you watch

	EVERY WEEK	MOST WEEKS	SOME WEEKS	ONCE IN AWHILE OR NEVER
HAPPY DAYS?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DIFF'RENT STROKES?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EIGHT IS ENOUGH?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
WELCOME BACK KOTTER?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
WHITE SHADOW?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## APPENDIX J

Here is a list of people on TV, please tell us which ones your FRIENDS like or dislike:

LAVERNE...on Laverne & Shirley	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
SHIRLEY...on Laverne & Shirley	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
RE-RUN...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
ROGAR...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
DEE...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
MRS. WALKER...on What's Happening	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
THE FONZ...on Happy Days	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
RICHIE...on Happy Days	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
BILL COSBY...on Fat Albert	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
J.J....on Good Times	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
THELMA...on Good Times	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
FLORIDA EVANS...on Good Times	DON'T LIKE	LIKE A LITTLE	LIKE A LOT
MORK...on Mork & Mindy	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
MINDY...on Mork & Mindy	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
ARNOLD...on Diff'rent Strokes	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
George JEFFERSON...on The Jeffersons	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
LOUISE JEFFERSON...on The Jeffersons	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE
FREDDY WASHINGTON...on Kotter	LIKE A LOT	LIKE A LITTLE	DON'T LIKE



## APPENDIX K

How often do your FRIENDS tell you that  
WHITE adults are...

.....GOOD?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....IMPORTANT?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....UNSELFISH?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....FRIENDLY?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....KIND?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....SUPERIOR?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER

How often do your FRIENDS tell you that  
WHITE kids are...

.....GOOD?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....IMPORTANT?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....UNSELFISH?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....SUPERIOR?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....KIND?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....FRIENDLY?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER

## APPENDIX L

I think BLACK kids in real life are:

VERY GOOD	PRETTY GOOD	NOT VERY GOOD	NOT GOOD
VERY IMPORTANT	PRETTY IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
VERY UNSELFISH	PRETTY UNSELFISH	NOT VERY UNSELFISH	NOT UNSELFISH
NOT FRIENDLY	NOT VERY FRIENDLY	PRETTY FRIENDLY	VERY FRIENDLY
NOT KIND	NOT VERY KIND	PRETTY KIND	VERY KIND
NOT SUPERIOR	NOT VERY SUPERIOR	PRETTY SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR

How often do you watch

	EVERY WEEK	MOST WEEKS	SOME WEEKS	ONCE IN AWHILE OR NEVER
THREE'S COMPANY?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
THE JEFFERSONS?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
THE WALTONS?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GOOD TIMES?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FAT ALBERT?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## APPENDIX M

How often do your FRIENDS tell you that  
BLACK adults are...

.....GOOD?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....IMPORTANT?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....UNSELFISH?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....FRIENDLY?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....KIND?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....SUPERIOR?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER

How often do your FRIENDS tell you that  
BLACK kids are...

.....SUPERIOR?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....KIND?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....FRIENDLY?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....UNSELFISH?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....IMPORTANT?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER
.....GOOD?	A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT OFTEN	NEVER



## APPENDIX N



Do you think BLACK adults on TV are

VERY GOOD	PRETTY GOOD	NOT VERY GOOD	NOT GOOD
VERY IMPORTANT	PRETTY IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
VERY UNSELFISH	PRETTY UNSELFISH	NOT VERY UNSELFISH	NOT UNSELFISH
NOT FRIENDLY	NOT VERY FRIENDLY	PRETTY FRIENDLY	VERY FRIENDLY
NOT KIND	NOT VERY KIND	PRETTY KIND	VERY KIND
NOT SUPERIOR	NOT VERY SUPERIOR	PRETTY SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR

How often do you talk with your Friends about BLACK people on TV?

A LOT	SOMETIMES	NOT MUCH	NEVER
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Do your FRIENDS usually say good things or bad things about the BLACK people on TV?

SAY GOOD THINGS

SAY BAD THINGS

## APPENDIX O

Do you think BLACK kids on TV are

VERY GOOD	PRETTY GOOD	NOT VERY GOOD	NOT GOOD
VERY IMPORTANT	PRETTY IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
VERY UNSELFISH	PRETTY UNSELFISH	NOT VERY UNSELFISH	NOT UNSELFISH
NOT FRIENDLY	NOT VERY FRIENDLY	PRETTY FRIENDLY	VERY FRIENDLY
NOT KIND	NOT VERY KIND	PRETTY KIND	VERY KIND
NOT SUPERIOR	NOT VERY SUPERIOR	PRETTY SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR

How old are you?

8      9      10      11      12

Are you a      BOY?      or      GIRL?

What GRADE are you in?

3rd?      4th?      5th?      6th?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH :

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