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## Rooting behavior among black and white preschool males as a function of self esteem level and race of the experimenter

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ROOTING BEHAVIOR AMONG BLACK AND WHITE PRESCHOOL  
MALES AS A FUNCTION OF SELF ESTEEM LEVEL  
AND RACE OF THE EXPERIMENTER

A Thesis Presented  
By

June F. Chisholm

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University  
of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

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Psychology

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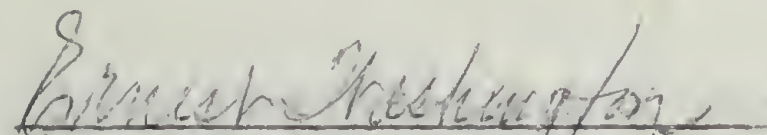
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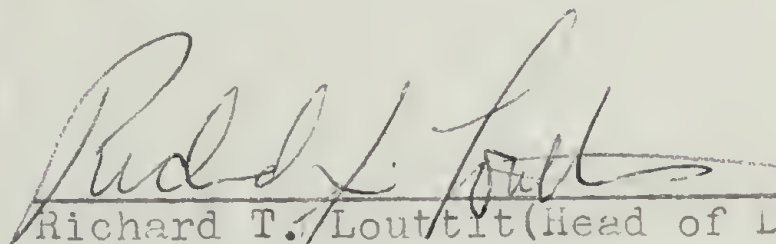
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## INTRODUCTION

The theories of racial identification and racial preference based on data obtained primarily from the doll technique (Clark and Clark, 1947) contend that black children prefer to identify with that which represents whiteness. Other studies found support for this hypothesis (Goodman, 1952; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Morland, 1962). There are methodological problems with the doll technique. The question, "What is your racial preference?", is generally asked in four different ways: 1) give me the doll that you want to play with, 2) give me the doll that is a nice doll, 3) give me the doll that looks bad, and 4) give me the doll that is a nice color. Hraba and Grant (1972) propose that a child who recognizes that actually one question is asked on each request may not favor a doll of one race simply to express a liking for both races. "In short, respondents who do not favor dolls of one race without exception may make the exception(s) in order to express their own racial ethnocentrism (or lack of it)" (p. 523).

Further consideration should also be given to the basic assumption of the doll studies. The doll technique presupposes that a child's choice of a doll in a play situation is comparable to the child's choice of a person, or

a race of people in a real situation. racial preference is a choice an individual makes. however, this choice is not an isolated event. It affects the perceptions and expectations the individual has about himself and others. One's racial preference also heightens the awareness of one's self as an object to be perceived and experienced by others. Only the former occurs in the doll situation. The child is not exposed to any actual or potential reaction from the doll he/she has chosen to accept or reject.

This study focuses on the racial preference of black and white children within a situation which may arouse emotional conflict for the child as to how he answers questions. The child may express his feelings and thoughts or he may say what he expects the experimenter wants to hear. It is hypothesized that differential effects will result as a function of the level of self esteem when pre-school children are asked by either a black or white experimenter to tell which person(black or white) they want to win in a competitive situation. It is assumed that rooting for or preferring a particular person to win a competitive activity involves the process of identification with that person, to the extent that if the person wins, the rooter feels good, and bad, if the person loses.

To keep the experimental design relatively simple, only male children from low income families and male ex-

perimenters participated in the study. Consequently, such problems as 1) selection of comparable competitive activities for both sexes, 2) analysis for sex and racial identification and preference, and 3) control for social class differences, were eliminated. Thus, the design provides a control for the major premise that a child with low self esteem may respond more to the interpersonal dynamics of the situation than to his preferences, thereby answering differently from a child with high self esteem.

The concept of self esteem holds a prominent place in the psychological literature primarily because psychologists are concerned with the complex interrelation between the individual and society. The definitions of self esteem have generated many diverse interpretations of the concept. Its usage here, therefore, will be clarified. Self esteem refers to two basic processes: 1) the process of self evaluation in which a conscious judgment based on rather specific criteria or values is made regarding the social importance of one's self and, 2) the process of self worth or that which Klapp(1969) describes as "a matter of feeling oneself". Satir's(1972) declaration of self worth says, "I am me...I can see, hear, feel, think, say, and do. I have the tools to survive, to be close to others, to be productive, and to make sense and order out of the world of

people and things outside of me. I own me, and therefore I can engineer me. I am me and I am okay"(pp.27-29).

Both processes involve giving oneself or one's activities a reference. Although at times the processes may complement one another, many times they do not. Self esteem in this study refers to the process of self worth.

Research in this area affirm the significance of self esteem and its importance for different and more overt forms of behavior. Coopersmith(1967) reports that "the overall pattern and the frequency of results obtained in our study lead us to believe that self esteem is significantly related to the individual's basic style of adapting to environmental demands...persons with high, medium, and low self esteem live in markedly different worlds. We find that persons with low self esteem exhibit higher levels of anxiety, but are otherwise lower in the affect they express, and are likely to exhibit more frequently psychosomatic symptoms and feelings of depression"(pp.46-48). Butts(1963) found that black adolescents between the ages of nine and twelve with impaired self esteem perceived themselves less accurately in terms of skin color than children with higher self esteem.

American society has incorporated a racial consciousness based on race and color into its social context which differentiates individuals, groups of individuals, and the

life styles and opportunities available to each. Allport (1954) found that the preschool and early elementary school years are crucial periods in growth and differentiation of the child's feelings about himself and others who are ethnically different. This is especially true of the black child who must also incorporate the concept of color as part of his concept of self(Proshansky,1966).

The consensus of past and recent research on racial group identification and racial preference is, for the most part, that black children don't like being black whereas white children apparently have no racially-based identity problem. When given the choice between a white doll and a black doll, the majority of black and white children chose the white doll(Clark and Clark,1947). Not only is the black child preferring and identifying with white society, research indicates that the black child is aware of what it means to be black, therefore rejects his blackness and expresses hostility toward his racial group(Clark and Clark,1947; Goodman,1952; Stevenson and Stewart,1958; Morland,1962).

Two explanations for this phenomenon dominate the literature. The first contends that the rate of cognitive development may be slower for black children especially those from low SES backgrounds than for their white counterparts. This paradigm interprets the outcome of the racial

preference studies as further evidence of the perceptual and mental deficits of black children. The methodological inadequacies of these experiments, such as incomparable genetic populations and selection biases (Canady, 1971; Scarr-Jalapatek, 1971), raises serious doubts about the cognitive deficit model.

The social learning model views the research findings as evidence for social and environmental factors influencing individual differences. The conclusion is that the black child experiences a great deal of conflict in the process of the development of his self identity. The child's expectations of his abilities and future achievements differ from those of the white child. This conflict enhances conscious and unconscious feelings of self doubt, a sense of inadequacy and sometimes self hatred. Thus, this sensitivity as to who he is results in feelings of inferiority, indicated by low self esteem and white color preferences.

There are SES-associated differences in family structure and in attitudes toward the dominant society which influence the child's self esteem and identification. As Billingsley (1968) suggests, social class distinctions within the black community do provide a distinct basis of differentiation which helps to condition the lives of

blacks. Hence, one would expect differential responses to societal demands and expectations by people located at different positions in the structure, differential responses that have implications for the black child's developmental status.

It has been argued that low SES children have a lower self esteem (Hess, 1970). Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, Weinfeld and York (1966) concluded that there were no differences in self concept between black and white high-school students. These findings have been contradicted by research indicating that in some cases low SES children have not only positive but higher self esteem than middle SES children (Greenberg, 1965; Shuey, 1966; Carter, 1968; Soares and Soares, 1970). If low SES children associate only with low SES children and modeling agents in their homes and neighborhood, then they are reinforced by their family, friends and teachers who supposedly expect less of them in terms of achievement and socially approved behavior.

Porter (1971) states that personal self esteem varies by both race and class. Higher rates of negative personal identities were found among both black and white children of the lowest SES as opposed to higher rates of self esteem among middle class black and white children. The conceptualization that "middle class whites and blacks have more in common than do middle and lower class blacks"

fails to distinguish between the different types of identities people share. "With a person of the same social class but of a different ethnic group, one shares behavioral similarities but not a sense of peoplehood. With those of the same ethnic group but different social class, one shares the sense of peoplehood but not behavioral similarities..." (Gordon, 1954, p. 53). Among black middle class children, Asher and Allen (1969) found support for the social comparison theory which states that enhanced status will not necessarily lead to greater racial pride, but may instead contribute, through more frequent comparison with whites, to increased feelings of inferiority. For children from low income backgrounds, Marans (1967) proposes a "culture of poverty" paradigm which creates a lifestyle shared by the group to perpetuate its existence and inhibit the social mobility of its members, thereby detrimentally affecting their self esteem. Thus black children today continue to demonstrate the pattern of white preference observed in previously mentioned studies.

The interpersonal process is purported by several theorists as contributing greatly to the child's emerging self identity. Horney (Mullahy, 1948) discussed factors in the interpersonal process producing "basic anxiety" leading to unhappiness and reduced personal effectiveness. Horney implies that the conception a person forms about himself has a social reference, taking the form of some

kind of relation between the self and others. Sullivan (Mullahy, 1948) makes this assumption more explicit. He views the loss of self esteem as an interpersonal phenomenon that occurs when an individual expects to be or is rejected by himself or others.

Rogers (Maddi, 1968) stresses that all individuals develop a realistic self image to adapt to the external world. This image is based on interactions with the environment, reflecting the values, judgments and preferences of various constellations within that environment. Dai (1953) emphasizes the hierarchical structure of the number of conceptions. Those acquired early in the primary group are generally more important and basic than those that are acquired later in secondary contacts.

The underlying process in the development of a self image based on social interactions is as Mead (Mare, 1966) states, "...the appearance of the other in the self, the identification of the other with the self, the reaching of self consciousness through the other" (p.20). This process as it operates in an interracial interaction has been studied by researchers interested in small group processes and experimenter effects in testing situations.

In interracial groups, each individual has some level of awareness about the expectations held by members of his own race as well as those held by members of a different

race. "Race is associated in people's minds with a set of specific beliefs involving valued and disvalued characteristics...the belief that blacks are generally less competent than whites is imbedded in contemporary culture" (Cohen and Soper, 1972, p. 644). As such, race can be viewed as a status characteristic variable used in small groups to rank members according to power and prestige. It is suggested that group members use knowledge of each other's status when other estimates are unknown to evaluate one's level of competence. A self fulfilling prophecy results whereby those high status members expecting to be more competent are in fact initiating more and more influential to the group. The opposite effect is observed with the low status member. Overall, research findings suggest that 1) black students feel socially inhibited by and inferior to white partners in a cooperative problem-solving situation (Katz, Goldstein and Benjamin, 1958), and 2) blacks can behave in an entirely different way when faced with white as compared to black frames of reference (Hatton, 1965,; Katz, Roberts and Robinson, 1965).

The research on experimenter effects in an interracial interaction provide additional information about the behavior and attitudes of the participants. Katz, Roberts and Robinson (1963) found that when digit-symbol substitution was presented as a test of eye-hand coordination, black subjects scored higher with a white experimenter than

they did with a black experimenter. However, when the same task was described as an intelligence test, Ss performed better with the black experimenter. Trent(1954) observed that the race of the experimenter was a significant variable in his study investigating black and white kindergarten children's selections of white and black mothers on a pictorial mother-identification test. The study illustrated a shift in choices of both the black and white children as a function of the race of the investigators.

Reasoning from the interpersonal theories, previous studies on self esteem and interracial interactions, the following explanation formulates the principle upon which the hypotheses are constructed. This researcher posits that experimentally manipulating an interpersonal interaction between adult and child can expose a conflict a child is experiencing about his identity, regardless of the source of the conflict: racial, SES oriented, or a combination of the two. In the past, racial identity has been associated with self esteem in black children more often than in white children. However, the social changes in society which have generated more opportunities for white children to experience more adult black models in various roles and settings(education, politics, law enforcement, television, movies) may necessitate a reevaluation of the present dichotomy of the two dimensions in white children. At this

time a biracial study of the two groups could result in different assumptions for the outcomes for racial preference; however comparative data augments the interpretive findings.

Previous doll color preference studies focused on obtaining the color preference of the child noting that there was no main effect for the race of the experimenter (Hraba and Grant, 1970). In this study the focus is changed from an artificial to a realistic experience so that the child can experience a conflict about his choice as a function of the race of the experimenter and the child's level of self esteem. Therefore no main effect for the race of the experimenter is anticipated. Instead, various interaction effects between the race of the experimenter, race of child and self esteem level are hypothesized.

The interaction between the male experimenter and the male child is a brief interpersonal experience involving the process of individuals relating to one another. It is assumed that both will bring to the encounter their expectations and perceptions of themselves and others. The child, according to Benedict (1934), is integrating the habits and beliefs of his culture into his own personality and is therefore a representative of his/her culture or sub-culture by the time he can talk. Because the situation calls for the experimenter to elicit information from

the child, such factors as rapport, transference and countertransference interact to possibly influence the child's responses.

The following table illustrates the basic design of the experiment. There are four main effects: the level of self esteem, race of the child, race of the experimenter and racial congruence. Racial congruence is a contextual variable defined as the interactions between the race of the child and the race of the experimenter, such that when the child and the experimenter are of the same race the condition is said to be racially congruent. When the race of the child is different from the race of the experimenter the condition is said to be racially noncongruent. It is hypothesized that this variable affects rooting behavior in children.

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For the sake of clarity and conciseness the questions assessing rooting behavior and other aspects of racial identification are referred to as the RID (racial identification) indices. The numbers 1, 2, and 3 specify the RID index in question. RID index 1 refers to rooting behavior. RID index 2 assesses the child's internalized values and expectations about himself. RID index 3 indicates the child's

TABLE 1  
 NUMBER OF Ss IN EACH GROUP BY THREE  
 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Experimenter Race					
Black			White		
Race Ss	Esteem Level				
	High	Low	High	Low	Total
Black	10	15	12	16	53
White	10	11	12	5	38
Total	20	26	24	21	91

racial awareness. The letters "a", "b", specify the dimensions, sport and test respectively. For instance RID index 3a refers to the child's racial awareness in the sport situation. The hypotheses are as follows:

#### Salience of Race to Rooting Behavior

Black and white children will make significantly more own race responses on the RID indices, suggesting that race is a salient factor in rooting behavior. Previous research attempting to determine racial identification and racial preference among preschool children used methods which focused the child's attention to a limited framework of responding, thereby possibly limiting the child's phenomenological view of the test situation (Clark and Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Morland, 1962). Because the method used in this study is more projective and therefore more indirect, the child is free to decide how he will define and respond to questions pertaining to his rooting behavior. This hypothesis suggests that a common behavior (rooting) can be understood in part by reference to the process of identification. A person at a football game, for instance, cheers for his team because that team represents or is an extension of him. Conversely, in a situation of ambiguity, choosing to cheer for a particular side in a contest suggests that the person has found a basis which may not be obvious for identifica-

tion. In the present situation, the children are asked to engage in rooting for particular individuals in a picture with no information about their real abilities and without explicit designation of a basis for "team" identification. Therefore, one may infer that they have identified with some quality of that person or side. This hypothesis suggests that children will identify with the race of the participants.

### Self Esteem Level

Children with high self esteem will show on the RID indices more own race choices for rooting behavior than children with low self esteem. The self esteem literature pertaining to the process of self worth, discusses the variety of perceptual differences between individuals with high and low self esteem. In general, a child with high self esteem presumably likes himself. He has a positive regard for his abilities, his physical, mental, and social attributes and his racial identity. A child with low self esteem, however, does not like himself. He lacks confidence in his abilities and in the case of the black child, sometimes denies or expresses hatred of his racial group (Clark and Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Radke and Trager, 1950; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958). For the white child from a poor background, a negative personal identity is believed to be a function of his living conditions and his feelings towards

those significant others who perpetuate it (Porter, 1971; Marans, 1967). Although research in this area is not conclusive and recent studies have shown different outcomes regarding racial preference (Marris and Braun, 1971), it is expected that these children will respond to the RID indices as hypothesized.

#### Race of Child

The race of the child will show a significant main effect for the type of rooting behavior observed. It is hypothesized that white children will show a significantly more marked own race choice pattern on the RID indices than will black children. The rationale for this hypothesis is derived directly from those racial identification studies where it was generally found that both black and white children identified with the white doll. These findings suggest that compared with whites, black children experience anxiety and emotional conflict about their racial identities. It is surmised that these preschool children have already learned that skin color is important and that white is preferred to black. Among white children two explanations are possible. Either they have healthy, positive attitudes about their racial identities or race is not an important variable for their self concept at this age.

#### Race of Experimenter

The race of the experimenter will not show a signifi-

cant main effect when the self esteem level or race of the child is not considered. In general, studies which looked for an experimenter effect as a possible explanation for the differences observed in black and white children's racial preferences, found none (Araba and Grant, 1970). In this study, an experimenter main effect would be undesirable in that it would suggest that the experimenters themselves were doing different kinds of things with the children they interview, thereby altering the contextual setting for the two groups of Ss.

#### Racial Congruence

A significant main effect for racial congruence is hypothesized such that when the child and the experimenter are of the same race, the child's choice pattern on the RLD indices will show significantly more own race choices than will the child exposed to the condition in which the child and experimenter are of different races. Current thinking about those factors salient to the child's conceptions about himself and his resulting behavior, especially among blacks and the poor, suggests a new trend. Theorists are citing less those interpretations based on the inherent personalty characteristics of the child. Instead, a growing body of research lends support to a theory based more on situational and interpersonal variables influencing

the behavioral responses of children (Harris and Braun, 1971; Cohen and Roper, 1972; Katz, Roberts and Robinson, 1965). This hypothesis contends that racial congruence as previously defined, can be viewed as a situational variable that when experimentally altered will produce differences in rooting behavior among the Ss as hypothesized.

#### Self Esteem by Race of Child

An interaction effect between the level of self esteem and the race of the child is hypothesized, such that the own race choice pattern on the RLD indices will be significantly greater among black children with high self esteem, and white children with high or low self esteem than among black children with low self esteem. This hypothesis combines several previous findings and assumptions about racial preference, self esteem, SES, and the race of the child (See Introduction, Hypotheses 1, 2, 3). The findings suggest that black children with low self esteem are more outgroup oriented than black children with high self esteem. Therefore it is expected that in this study the black child with low self esteem will root for the other race significantly more often than will black children with high self esteem. Among white children no difference in rooting behavior should be noted as a function of self esteem if the concept of race is not salient to their concept of self.

### Self Esteem by Race of Experimenter

The white experimenter will elicit more own race responses from children with high and low self esteem whereas the black experimenter will elicit more own race responses from children with **high self esteem**. This hypothesis reflects the possible differences among children in their rooting behavior as a function of their self esteem and the race of the experimenter. The level of self esteem supposedly indicates 1) the type of feelings children have towards themselves, 2) their perceptions of the expectations of those who are racially the same or different and 3) their ability and/or willingness to express their feelings to those who are racially the same or different (Satir, 1972). Children with high self esteem feel they are competent and worthwhile persons whereas children with low self esteem feel to some degree incompetent and worthless. The responses of both groups of children in an interracial encounter may be contingent upon the set of beliefs they have incorporated from the society at large about racial differences. As Cohen and Roper (1972) note, blacks are generally believed to be less competent than whites. The extent to which these beliefs are internalized and perceived by the children of high and low self esteem will be evidenced by the interaction effect influencing the responses on the RLD indices.

### Self Esteem by Racial Congruence

An interaction effect between racial congruence and self esteem is hypothesized such that those children with high self esteem in the racially congruent treatment will show significantly more own race responses on the R1D indices than will those children with low self esteem in the nonracially congruent treatment. This hypothesis expands the concept involved in the interaction expected in the immediately preceding hypothesis. That is, the child's rooting behavior is viewed in relation to the self esteem level and the context in which the responses are elicited. The context, then, becomes a crucial factor in the differences of rooting behavior observed in children with high or low self esteem. The situation in which the child with high self esteem and the experimenter are of the same race is assumed to evoke more own race responses than is the situation where the child with low self esteem and the experimenter are of different races.

The key element in this interaction is the conceptualization of the child rooting either for his own race or the other race instead of black and white. In general, children with low self esteem are unsure of themselves and lack confidence in the validity of their choices for a winner. One may infer that in the process of choosing a winner, the child with low self esteem may identify with

some aspect of the person eliciting the information for a clue as to how he should respond. This hypothesis suggests that children with low self esteem will identify with the race of the experimenter, thereby making an other race response. In the case of children with high self esteem in the racially congruent situation, it is assumed that the child has enough confidence to base his decision on some aspect of the runner which, in this study, is hypothesized to be race. This hypothesis suggests that the race of the experimenter, being the same as the child and the runner he has presumably chosen, facilitates rather than interferes with the child rooting for his own race.

#### Race of Child by Race of Experimenter

An interaction effect between the race of the child and the experimenter is expected such that white children, when the experimenter is black, will show a significantly more marked own race choice pattern on the RID indices than will black children when the experimenter is white. The rationale for this hypothesis stems mainly from the interpersonal small group interaction studies finding that blacks can behave and respond in different ways depending on the chosen frame of reference, either black or white (Matton, 1965; Katz, Roberts and Robinson, 1965). If, as past research indicates, the black child has internalized values

in which he and his racial group are relegated to an inferior standing in society, he is likely to make more other race responses with an experimenter of a different race than will a white child who has not internalized such a value system so damaging to his self concept.

#### Race of Child by Racial Congruence

No significant differences in rooting behavior are expected among both black and white children exposed to the racial congruent situation. However, it is hypothesized that white children will show significantly more own race responses in the nonracially congruent situation than will black children in the nonracially congruent treatment. Again, if race is not a salient factor among white children, the nonracial congruence variable should have little or no effect on rooting behavior.

#### Race of Experimenter by Racial Congruence

It is hypothesized that the black experimenter will elicit significantly more own race responses from those children in the nonracially congruent treatment than will the white experimenter. An interaction effect between the race of the experimenter and the racially congruent treatment is not expected. This hypothesis reiterates the presumed perceptual differences between black and white children based on the stigma associated with race. It is sug-

gested that black children are more likely to misidentify in the presence of the white experimenter than are white children.

## METHOD

### Subjects

The 91 children chosen for this study were enrolled in two compensatory preschool programs for low income families from a predominantly Black and a predominantly Italian communities in Springfield, Mass. The program directors selected children from low income families by referring to confidential files which listed the parents' source of income as either welfare or AFDC fundings. There were 53 black and 38 white boys, four and five years of age with a mean of 4.7 years.

The use of four year olds enrolled in a program is based on several factors pertinent to determining rooting behavior in preschool males. Gesell(1949) states that the child at this age is a "great talker" asking many questions and able to conceptualize and generalize. He also exhibits enough motor control to enable him to cut on a line with scissors. The child's capacity to verbalize and coordinate motor activities is crucial in obtaining the self esteem measure. Socially, the four year old begins to recognize that other children are separate beings similar to him in some ways but dissimilar in other respects. During this period the child has closer attachments with a few children

periodically. Mussen(1963) notes that negative attitudes toward minority groups seems to develop early in life.

"Racial discriminations are fairly well established, at least in some parts of the country, by the age of four" . (p.96). These preschool children enrolled in the compensatory program since September, 1972 supposedly had a greater opportunity to develop the motor and social interaction skills mentioned above.

### Measures

The criteria for identification and measurement of self esteem at the preschool level is still in the experimental stage(Piers and Harris,1964; Swensen,1968; Cooper-smith,1967; Porter,1971; Cicirelli, Granger, Schemmel, 1971). Semi-projective methods, however, appear more effective at this time. In this study the Porter(1971) technique was used. This technique determines the level of self esteem by combining a self portrait with a self report based on a story the child is asked to tell about himself. She postulates that the relationship between the drawing and the story content precludes the influence of intellectual capacity. The method uses the self portrait as a measure of self esteem. The portraits are evaluated for the presence or absence of 12 characteristics with a score range from 0 to 17 points: the higher score indicating a higher self esteem level. The self report was scored for

the presence or absence of 7 themes. The self report score was later correlated with the self esteem measure to test Proter's hypothesis.

Rooting behavior was assessed by scoring the Ss' responses to two pictures shown to them. The first set of questions, "who would you like to win the race?", and "who would you like to get the best(highest) grade?", are asking the child to choose or root for a particular person to win the competition. The major assumption is that rooting behavior can be understood in part as a function of the process of racial identification.

The second set of questions, "which one would you like to be(runner, student)?", are gathering information on other aspects of the process of identification relating primarily to the child's expectations and internalized values about himself and others. The third set of questions, "which one is most like you(runner, student)?", assess the child's racial awareness and check the accuracy of the child's perceptions about himself.

The 5x7 color photographs show 12 college men: six in each each photograph, three white and three black(see appendix A). In one photograph the men are in starting position for an outdoor foot race. In the other, the men are seated side by side in a classroom situation with paper on the desks and pencils in hand. The men are approximately the same age, height,

and build. They have similar facial features, such as mustache, beard and sideburns. Most of the black males have afro hair styles. Some of the white males have curly hairdos closely resembling this hair style.

### Procedure

Prior to the experimental condition the children were assessed by this experimenter for their level of self esteem. Each child was brought into a room one at a time to "play a new game". The instructions were:

We are going to play a new game. I am going to give you a sheet of paper and some crayons. What you are going to do is draw a picture of a boy that looks just like you. Let me know when you are done and I will tell you what we do next. (After the child finished his drawing), Who is this?(Pointing to his drawing. When the child acknowledged that it was a self portrait we proceeded. If the child answered incorrectly the directions were restated and the child began again).

Good. Now \_\_\_\_\_ (child's name) I want you to tell me a story about him (pointing to figure) and what he likes to do or knows how to do.

The figure drawings were scored by two coders working together. Agreement was necessary to determine the presence or absence of each characteristic in the picture. A third naive coder independently scored 25% of the figure drawings yielding an inter coder reliability of .94.

On the basis of the self esteem measure obtained, the 3s were divided into four groups of high and low self esteem by race: black children with high self esteem; black children with low self esteem; white children with high

self esteem; white children with low self esteem. Originally the criteria for assignment into a high or low group required the score to be in either the lower or upper quartile rankings. However, as the research progressed the Ss population decreased considerably because of two extraneous factors not relating specifically to this study. These factors were 1) unexpected termination from one or both programs, and 2) prolonged illnesses (chicken pox, measles). The criteria used is based on the population median score of the figure drawings. Those scores falling either above or below the median determined the high and low self esteem groupings. The Ss whose scores equalled the median were not included in the study. Once the Ss were placed into groups they then participated in the experimental conditions.

There were two male experimenters, one black and the other white. Both are approximately 6'2" tall, weighing between 185-200 lbs. The children within each grouping met with either the black or the white experimenter on a random basis for approximately 10 minutes. Each child was escorted by this experimenter, whom they already knew, into a room where one of the two experimenters was waiting. This was done to minimize any fears or uncomfortable feelings the Ss may have had and also, to facilitate a rapport between the Ss and male experimenter. Following a brief introduction this experimenter left the room. The male experimenters were instructed to say:

I am going to show you two pictures. In the first one, six men are getting ready to run a race. They are practicing now. They will run in the race next Saturday. I want you to look at each man carefully and tell me:

1. Who you would like to win the race next Saturday?  
Come in 2nd, 3rd...last?
2. Which one would you like to be?
3. Which one is most like you?

Okay, in this next picture, six men are getting ready to take a very hard arithmetic test. They are practicing now. They will take the important test next Monday. Tell me:

1. who you would like to get the best(highest) grade on the test? then 2nd highest...lowest grade?
2. which one would you like to be?
3. which one is most like you?

The two different competitive activities in the photographs were chosen to control for possible expectation biases reflected in the Ss responses. The belief that blacks and whites display unequal ability has led to stereotyping blacks as excelling in sports, music and dance and whites excelling in the academic, intellectual spheres (Allport, 1954). The extent to which these attitudes have been adopted by this preschool population were analysed.

For approximately one third of the population, the order of presentation was reversed. This randomly selected

group responded first to the academic competition and second to the sport competition. The reversal of the presentation presumably controlled for any order effect.

## RESULTS

### Reliability and Validity

In the Porter(1971) study item-by-item correlations on the self portrait ranged from  $+0.10$  to  $+0.65$ , suggesting that the picture categories seemed to be related to one another. There was a connection found between some of the themes in the stories although no correlations were given. "We asked each child to tell a story about his self portrait. The relationship between the content of the stories and the form of the self portraits precludes intellectual capacity as the only explanation of these observed differences, since those pictures which indicated poor self image tended to be accompanied by stories in which themes of fear and powerlessness were stressed"(p. 144). She also states that these story themes correlated well with the overall raw score on the drawings. Support for convergent validity of the two measures was not found in the present study. The story themes did not correlate well with the score on the drawings( $r=0.15$ ). The correlation coefficient, however, for the intercoder reliability on the self portrait and the self report were  $.94$  and  $.72$  respectively. This suggests two possible explanations. Because the procedures used in the Porter technique

and the method of analysis were not explicitly described, it is likely that the procedures and methods of analysis used in this study differed from the previous study. The alternative explanation suggests that perhaps the two measures, the self portrait and the self report are measures of different constructs or perhaps very different aspects of the same construct.

### Controls

Before presenting the experimental results, it might be advisable to mention briefly two extraneous variables tested for possible effects on the experimental findings: age and the order of presentation of the RLD photographs. The age range of the children was intentionally kept small in order to eliminate any confounding by age. Although Pearson product moment correlations suggested a trend towards higher self esteem among older Ss ( $r=.26$ ), there was no overall significant correlation between the Ss' age and the level of self esteem. Age accounted for less than 6% of the variance in the self esteem score. Therefore, the experimenter concluded that age, considered separately, was not, in this study an important factor in the child's ability to produce a figure drawing or the resulting self esteem score. This result was expected. As stated earlier, the self esteem instrument was predicated on the child's ability to perform certain motor and interactional skills.

The subjects in this study had been enrolled since September 1972 in a compensatory program designed to enhance and facilitate the development of these skills. By the time this study began in April of 1973, it was assumed that the majority of children had acquired or developed these necessary skills.

The data also indicated that the order of presentation of the two RID photographs did not influence the Ss' responses to the competitive activities. On each of the dependent measures, order as a main effect yielded a nonsignificant chi square.

### Findings

The RID indices were used to evaluate the previously stated hypotheses concerning the differences in rooting behavior. The data were analyzed in two ways: a series of 2x2x2 analyses of variance and the chi square statistic. Aside from the findings on the salience of race to rooting behavior, the results are given within the context of the four major independent variables: self esteem, race of child, race of experimenter and racial congruence. This format is also followed in the Discussion section.

### Salience of Race

Table 2 presents the findings on the salience of race.

The data analysis yielded supporting evidence that race was a salient factor in rooting behavior on RID index 1a but not salient on RID index 1b. The expected nonsignificant F ratios on these indices indicate that there are no significant difference between the children in the way the two racial groups responded. Each child's score was based on the conceptualization of his responses as either "own" or "other" race instead of black and white. The own race/other race concept suggests the nature of the identification process involved in rooting behavior. The child is not merely rooting for a black or white person; he is rooting, on the basis of some selection or identification process, for a person like him in some way. In this case race is the crucial factor. A series of 1-way chi square computations showed that white children made significantly more own race responses on RID index 1a. The finding for black children approached significance at the .05 level.

It is interesting to note that the own race response was not observed on RID index 1b, suggesting two possible explanations. It is more than likely that a sport competition is more salient to this age group than a test situation as a consequence of experiential circumstances. Young children may root for a student in a test situation at random because of his limited experience and knowledge about

the competitive aspects of tests and grades. On the other hand, he has experience and knowledge about playing games and sports, therefore he probably uses some criteria for rooting. The alternative explanation is that rooting is more associated with sports than academic competition. The appropriateness of rooting in an academic competition is therefore questionable, especially for this age group.

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Place Table 2 about here  
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Of relative importance to the salience of race among these preschool children are the significant findings confirming that both the black and white Ss in this study correctly identified according to race on RLD indices 3a and 3b. The major implications of both groups of Ss responding to these semi-projective indices in the same way is that these children 1) are cognizant of racial differences and 2) make preferences based on this awareness when they perceive it is appropriate. These results demonstrate that these children, for the most part, are therefore capable of rooting on the basis of race as hypothesized in this study. Table 3 presents these findings.

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Place Table 3 about here  
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TABLE 2  
 PERCENT CHOOSING OWN RACE ON RID  
 INDICES 1a,1b BY RACE OF Ss

Race Ss	Sport	Test
Black (N=53)	60.0 chi = 2.28	54.0 chi = .47
White (N=38)	71.0 chi = 6.74*	39.0 chi = 1.68

\*p .01

TABLE 3  
 PERCENT CHOOSING OWN RACE ON RID  
 INDICES 3a, 3b BY RACE OF Ss

Race Ss	Sport	Test
Black (N=53)	73.6 chi = 11.78**	73.6 chi = 11.78**
White (N=38)	81.6 chi = 15.14**	76.3 chi = 10.52**

\*\* p .001

### Self Esteem

Table 4 presents the percent of Ss with high or low self esteem making own race responses on the RLD indices. A significant chi square value ( $\chi^2=4.43$ ,  $p .05$ ) was observed on RLD index 2b indicating that on that item Ss with high self esteem made more own race responses than did Ss with low self esteem. The analysis of variance yielded no supporting evidence for this main effect. Contrary to prediction, Ss with high or low self esteem showed little differences in making own race preferences.

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Place Table 4 about here  
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The interaction between self esteem and the race of the child was significant ( $p .05$ ) for rooting behavior on RLD index 1b. Appropriate F-tests were done and the values are summarized in Table 5. Tables 6 and 7 present data

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Place Table 5 about here  
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contrary to the expected findings indicated in the hypothesized interaction between self esteem and the race of the child. A larger mean score represents a higher own race rooting behavior to win in the test situation. The black

TABLE 4  
 PERCENT CHOOSING OWN RACE ON RID  
 INDICES 2a,2b BY SELF ESTEEM

Esteem Level	Sport	Test
High (N=44)	70.5	72.7
Low (N=47)	59.6	48.9
	chi = .75	chi = 4.43*

\*p .05

TABLE 5

T-TEST VALUES FOR COMPARISON OF  
OWN RACE PREFERENCE TO WIN

	1	2	3	4
1. Black Ss- High Self Esteem	--	1.43	2.10*	**
2. Black Ss- Low Self Esteem		--	**	1.18
3. White Ss- high Self Esteem			--	1.89
4. White Ss- Low Self Esteem				--

\*p .05

\*\*values not meaningful for this study

Ss with high self esteem had a lower mean score for own race preference than did black Ss with low self esteem.

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 Place Table 6 about here  
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Among the white Ss, those with high self esteem had a higher mean score for own race preference than did white Ss with low self esteem. Racial comparisons by self esteem show that among Ss with low self esteem, black children had a higher mean score for own race rooting behavior than did white children with low self esteem. This finding was reversed among those Ss with high self esteem. White children with high self esteem had a higher mean score for own race rooting behavior than did black children with high self esteem.

It is noteworthy that chi square computations showed a significant interaction between the level of self esteem and the race of the child on RLD indices 2a and 2b. As can be seen in Table 7, the percent of black children with high self esteem wanting to be like the own race runner was significantly higher than the percent of black children with low self esteem. Among white children the difference in the percent wanting to be like the own race runner was negligible. On RLD index 2b the finding was reversed.

TABLE 6  
 MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND T VALUES ON  
 RID INDEX 1b BY RACE OF SS AND  
 SELF ESTEEM LEVEL

Esteem Level	Race of Ss					
	Black		White		t	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.		
High (N=44)	10.22	2.32	11.72	2.41	2.10*	
Low (N=47)	11.09	1.95	10.37	2.00	1.19	

\*p<.05

There was no significant difference in the percent of black Ss with high or low self esteem wanting to be like the own race student, while significant differences were observed among white children. A greater percent of high self esteem Ss made own race choices on this index than did Ss with low self esteem. These findings point to the salience of the foot race to the interaction between self esteem and black Ss, and the salience of the test to the interaction between self esteem and the white Ss. It is concluded that the overall interaction between the level of self esteem and the race of the child signifies a departure from previously accepted hypotheses about the relationship between black and white children's self esteem and racial preference.

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 Place Table 7 about here  
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In general, the interaction between self esteem and experimenter race was not significant. A trend was observed, however, on the chi square statistic in which the white experimenter seemingly elicited own race responses on RLD index 2b from a greater percent of the children from both high and low self esteem groupings than did the black experimenter (See Appendix B). This trend in part was ex-

TABLE 7  
 PERCENT CHOOSING OWN RACE ON RID INDICES  
 2a, 2b BY ESTEEM LEVEL, RACE OF Ss

Race Ss	Esteem Level	Sport	Test
Black			
	high	77.3	63.6
	Low	58.1	61.3
		chi = 6.62*	chi = .01
White			
	High	63.6	81.8
	Low	62.5	25.0
		chi = .07	chi = 10.04**

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

pected and predicted in the hypothesized interaction between self esteem and the race of the experimenter.

There was a minimally significant interaction between the level of self esteem and racial congruence on the "position" of the runner on RID index 2a( $p=.046$ ). Appropriate T-tests did not, however, specify the differences between the means. It is likely that different statistical procedures could partial out the significant differences. As such procedures would not, in all probability, yield results pertinent to interpreting the interaction as it relates to this study, these methods were not employed.

#### Race of Child

No main effect appeared for the race of the child, contrary to the prediction. This finding suggests that the race of the child is inconsequential to the pattern of rooting behavior.

The prediction that white children when the experimenter is black will show a significant own race choice pattern than will black children when the experimenter is white was not supported. As shown in Table 8 a trend opposite to that predicted was observed. There was support for the hypothesized interaction between the race of the child and racial congruence. Black and white children exposed to the racially congruent situation did not exhibit a different

pattern of rooting behavior. The analysis of variance showed no significant differences between the means of these two groups on any RID index. There was little evidence pointing to a significant interaction effect between race of the child and the racial noncongruence variable. As can be seen in Table 8, the difference in the percent of black and white children making own race responses in the racially noncongruent situation suggests an interaction effect not readily explainable.

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 Place Table 8 about here  
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#### Experimenter Race

A chi square value of 7.30 ( $p < .01$ ) was noted on RID index 2b. As shown in Table 9, the white experimenter elicited an own race response from a greater percent of the Ss seen by him than did the black experimenter. The overall anticipated experimenter effect was supported by the analysis of variance indicating that the race of the experimenter is not a significant factor in racial identification and rooting behavior.

The predicted interaction between the race of the experimenter and racial congruence was not borne out. There was no significant difference in rooting behavior of

TABLE 8  
 PERCENT CHOOSING OWN RACE ON RID INDICES  
 BY RACE OF Ss AND RACE OF E

RID Indices	Race of E			
	Black		White	
	Black Ss	White Ss	Black Ss	White Ss
1a.	48.0	66.7	50.0	64.3
	(chi = .94)		(chi = .42)	
2a.	76.0	47.6	57.1	82.4
	(chi = 2.82)		(chi = 1.99)	
3a.	68.0	90.5	78.6	70.6
	(chi = 2.19)		(chi = .06)	
1b.	44.0	57.1	64.3	58.8
	(chi = .35)		(chi = .00)	
2b.	48.0	42.9	75.0	76.5
	(chi = .00)		(chi = .06)	
3b.	72.0	71.4	75.0	82.4
	(chi = .08)		(chi = .04)	

the children as a function of the interaction between the experimenter race and the racial congruence variable. Analysis of variance indicated no differences between the means of these groups.

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Place Table 9 about here  
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### Racial Congruence

Contrary to prediction, no main effect for racial congruence was observed, suggesting that this factor when considered separately is unimportant to rooting behavior.

It is interesting to note that two 3-way interactions appeared. The first was between the child's race, self esteem level and the race of the experimenter; and, the second involved the child's race, self esteem level and racial congruence. A series of T-tests pertinent to the interpretation of the results of this study failed to specify the significant differences between the groups. A trend suggesting the predicted relationship between the self esteem level and the racial congruence variable among black and white children was discernable upon inspection of the means. Tables 10 and 11 present the data. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the trend suggested by the results.

TABLE 9  
 PERCENT CHOOSING OWN RACE ON RID  
 INDICES 2a, 2b BY RACE OF E

Race E	Sport	Test
Black	63.0	45.7
White	66.7 ( $\chi^2 = .02$ )	75.6 ( $\chi^2 = 7.30$ )*

\*p .01

TABLE 10

MEAN SCORES ON RID INDICES 1a,1b IN RELATION TO  
RACE CONGRUENCE, RACE OF Ss AND SELF ESTEEM

Race Congruence	Race Ss	Esteem Level	RID Index			
			1a		1b	
			M	S.D.	M	S.D.
		High	11.00	2.33	9.90	1.52
	Black	Low	11.00	1.88	10.86	2.06
Congruent		High	11.83	2.58	12.41	2.23
	White	Low	12.00	2.12	10.40	2.88
		High	11.08	3.08	10.50	2.87
	Black	Low	11.31	2.77	11.31	1.88
Noncongruent		High	11.10	1.52	10.90	2.47
	White	Low	11.00	2.14	10.36	1.62

TABLE 11

MEAN SCORES ON RID INDICES 1a,1b IN RELATION TO  
SELF ESTEEM, RACE OF Ss, AND RACE OF E

Esteem Level	Race Ss	Race E	RID index			
			1a		1b	
			M	S.D.	M	S.D.
High	Black	Black	11.00	1.89	9.90	1.52
		white	11.10	1.52	10.50	2.88
	White	Black	11.08	3.09	10.90	2.47
		white	11.83	2.59	12.41	2.23
Low	Black	Black	11.00	2.33	10.86	2.07
		White	11.31	2.77	11.31	1.89
	White	Black	11.00	2.15	10.36	1.62
		white	12.00	2.12	10.40	2.88

Race E

Self Esteem

Low

High

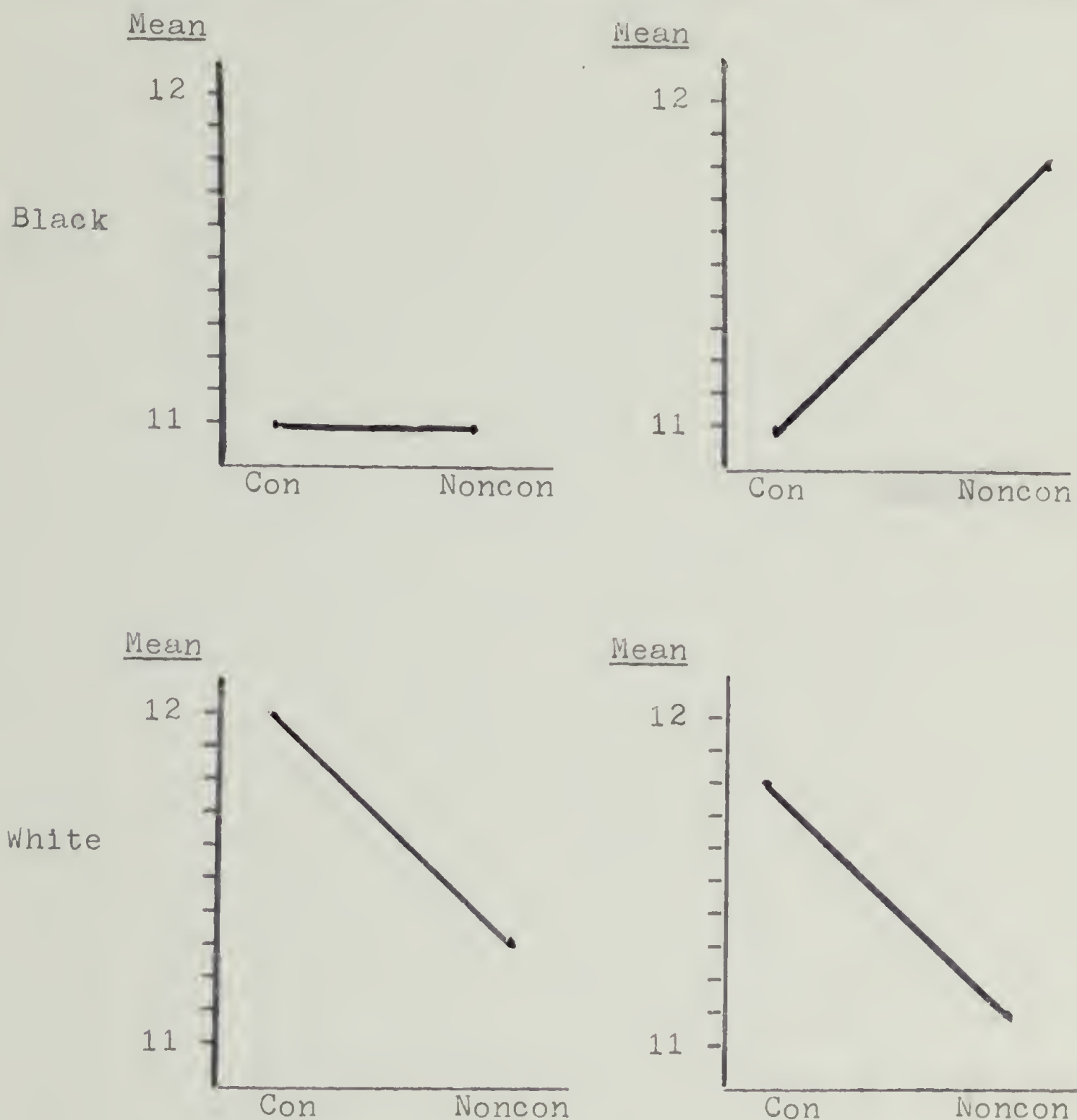


Fig. 1.--Schematic presentation of mean scores on RID index 1a by race of E, self esteem and race congruence.

Race E

Self Esteem

Low

High

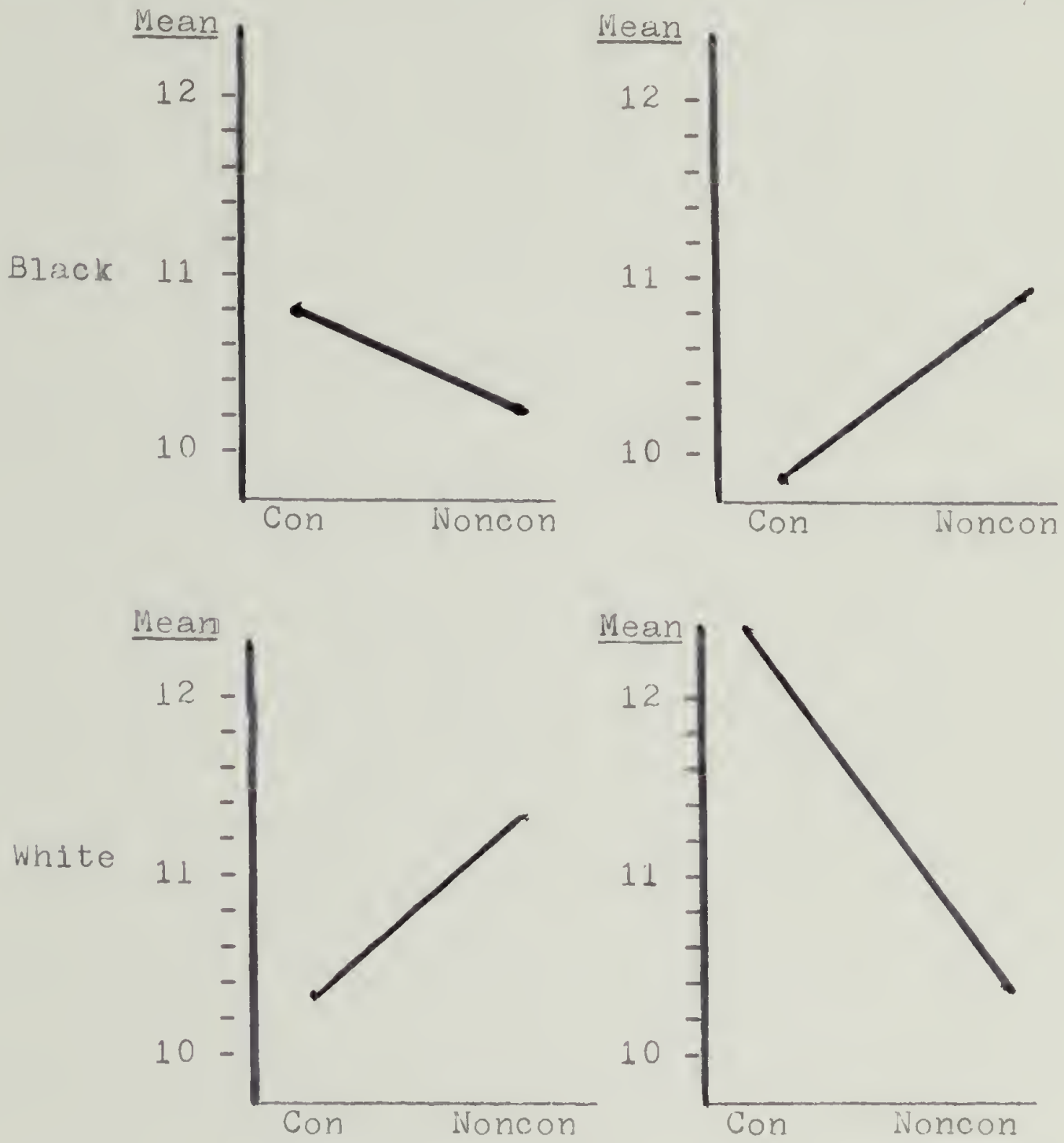


Fig. 2.--Schematic presentation of mean scores on R1D index 1b by race of E, self esteem and race congruence.

## DISCUSSION

This study focused on the racial identification of black and white children from low SES backgrounds as a function of four independent variables: self esteem level, race of child, race of experimenter and racial congruence. Racial identification was operationally defined primarily in terms of rooting behavior. It was hypothesized that children asked to root for a particular participant with no information about their real abilities would identify with the race of the participant.

The basic assumption is that racial identification is most usefully considered within the contexts in which it is salient to individuals. This suggests that the concept of racial identification encompasses more than the heretofore accepted static personal characteristic, i.e. either one does or does not identify with one's race. Rather racial identification is best viewed as one possible criterion out of many upon which information is sorted and evaluated by the individual. It therefore becomes necessary to assess other variables operating within specific contexts that foster the use of race by some as a perceptual framework, to avoid making faulty inferences about the psychological character of individuals based on the outcomes of racial preference studies.

In the present study, rooting was examined in two contexts (a sport and academic setting), both competitive in nature. There was evidence that for this age group, race was salient to the sports competition but not the academic competition. It was suggested that this finding reflected the extent of knowledge and experience these Js had with these situations. For them it is possible that rooting was more associated with sports than testing situations.

This suggests that rooting can be viewed as an exercise of imagination. A child, when interested, can presumably visualize a situation, in this case a foot race, when given minimal information about the setting and the participants. He may then proceed to fantasize the total sport event including such things as the type of day, the excitement of the crowd, the color of the race track, the desires of the runners to win and whom he wants to win. The less information about the participants provided for the child, the more likely the child's choice for a winner will reveal the child's perceptions and attitudes based on his needs and prior experiences. It is reasonable to assume that a child is more likely capable of imagining a situation or event which is familiar to him, and less capable of imagining a situation which is unfamiliar to him. The differences in rooting behavior observed on the two dimen-

sions substantially support the basic hypothesis that the concept of racial identification reflects a point of view (rooting through imagination) evidenced in a context which was salient to the Ss.

### Self Esteem

The concept of self esteem was evaluated in conjunction with the three other variables cited as measures of racial identification and racial preference among these Ss. While experimental manipulation produced differences in rooting behavior, these differences did not, for the most part, provide conclusive evidence supporting the major assumptions about the importance of self esteem for rooting behavior, even in interactions with other factors, e.g. race of child.

Studies examining the differences in self esteem between black and white Ss present a contradictory picture. Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, weinfeld and York (1966) found no difference in self concept between blacks and whites. Other investigators report that low SES groups have lower self esteem than whites (Rosenberg, 1965; Hess, 1970). Edwards (1974) on the other hand, has found that black children do not have lower self esteem than white children regardless of SES level, a finding also reported by Greenberg, 1965; Shuey, 1966; and, Soares and Soares, 1970.

The latter findings cast doubt on theories about self esteem as a psychological correlate of outgroup preferences among black children. Previous interpretations suggested that race was a salient determinant of the black child's self esteem as a result of societal inadequacies subjugating people to adverse living conditions based on race and color. Butts(1963) suggested a relationship between self esteem and accuracy of self perception in terms of skin color. In this study, children with lower self esteem perceived themselves less accurately than children with higher self esteem. Previous doll preference studies also interpreted the observed outgroup preferences among blacks and not whites in terms of self esteem. white children were assumed to have healthy, positive views of their ethnicity, indicating a good self concept. Among black children, ~~the~~ higher incidence of outgroup preferences than that found among whites was interpreted as signifying an impaired self concept.

In the present investigation, self esteem as a main effect appeared not to be an important factor in rooting behavior. There were minimal differences between high and low self esteem Ss in making own race preferences. This in part, could reflect the degree of effectiveness of the measure used to assess self esteem and the method of assigning Ss to self esteem groupings. However, the interactions involving self esteem suggest that the relation-

ship of self esteem to racial preferences and rooting behavior varies as a function of other variables, e.g. race of child.

Several significant interactions between the self esteem level and the race of the child were observed. However, the findings were inconsistent and contrary to prediction. Most notably, black Ss with low self esteem were more likely to exhibit own race preference than black Ss with high self esteem or white children with low self esteem on RID index 1b (winning in the test situation).

A possible explanation for these findings is that the constructs of self esteem and racial identification are not fully assimilated into the personalities of this preschool population. Their attitudes about themselves and others may still be developing and subject to change. Responses obtained during this time may be unreliable indicators of these psychological constructs due to the complexity of the growth process. While this explanation is plausible it negates the generally accepted assumptions about white preschool children made in previous studies.

A second possibility is that previous interpretations about self esteem and racial identification among black and white children were based on a method presumed to assess racial identification. Instead, Hraba and Grant (1970) propose that the Clark and Clark (1947) doll technique is more

a measure of racial ethnocentrism instead of racial identification. If this is the case, then the concept of self esteem is seemingly inadequate as an explanation for the underlying process involved in choosing a doll.

Harris and Braun(1971) proffer that the relationship between self esteem and racial preference signifies a "new spirit of dignity" among black children. In their study the majority of black children with high and low self esteem preferred the object(puppet) symbolizing black identification. Other studies cite similar findings(Gregor and McPherson,1966; Hraba and Grant,1970). The results of this study lend support to these studies.

A fourth possibility is that the measure of self esteem used in this study may have failed to account for individual differences. Therefore differences in self esteem scores may not reflect differences in self esteem at all. Since self esteem is a process of self evaluation, it follows that this evaluation is based on criteria salient to the individual. A true assessment of the individual's self esteem necessitates a consideration of the referent salient to the process of self evaluation for each individual. For instance, one child may be strongly influenced by his mother in the way he perceives himself. For another child his peers may be the salient referent and so on.

In the present study, self esteem was determined by a

semiprojective and linear measure. The self esteem level was inferred from self portraits primarily on one dimension, the relative accuracy of the figure. Distortions or omissions were scored negatively thus lowering the self esteem score. What appears to be needed is a measure which accounts for the context salient to an individual's self esteem. The Brown-IDs Self Concept Referents Test seems to include more than one referent for evaluating self esteem. In it, Ss are asked to respond to the same descriptive list four times indicating his perceptions of himself against four criteria: 1) his own perceptions, 2) his mother's perceptions of him, 3) his teacher's perceptions of him, and 4) his peers perceptions of him. Such a measure would most likely yield more accurate self esteem scores enabling researchers to better understand the presumed relationship between self esteem and racial identification. Overall, the data from this study suggest that formerly accepted hypotheses about the correlation between self esteem and racial identification among black and white children are no longer tenable.

#### Race of Child

That the race of the child was hypothesized as significant to rooting behavior reflects in part, a research trend that perpetuates the stereotypes in which group differences are attributed to individual and/or group

pathology. Edwards(1974) questions when race is a relevant variable in research. He asserts:

It seems obvious that race should not be a relevant variable for personality research or theory, for racial classifications ignore the individual...the data here also argue against global conclusions about the association between race and some personality variables...it(race) may be a relevant variable for understanding behavioral differences in some social situations; and it may be a relevant variable for rectifying social injustice(p.48).

In this study, race was seen as an important variable to study not only because it ~~has been used in past research,~~ but it is also salient to the understanding of behavioral differences in social and/or interracial situations. It was found that the race of the child was not statistically significant to the pattern of rooting behavior. No main effect appeared, suggesting that both groups of Ss responded in similar ways to the RLD indices.

It is noteworthy that both groups of Ss were cognizant of racial differences and when asked, "which one is most like you?", both groups apparently perceived that they were to respond according to race. The fact that these Ss conceptualized a nondirect question as one asking, "what race are you?" suggests two related interpretations.

It is possible that these children are incorporating into their personalities the societal obsession with racial consciousness. Implicit in this awareness of racial differences based on societal standards are the biases

associated with racial differences. Blacks are generally considered incompetent and inferior to whites, equalling or surpassing them only in areas such as music, dance and sports. Mussen(1963) indicates that negative attitudes toward minority groups develop early in life in some parts of the country. Thus one may infer that the Ss in the present study were reflecting the pathology of the dominant culture by responding according to race when no explicit instructions were given to do so.

In the present investigation, the findings on the two dimensions(sport and testing situation) indicated that in fact these Ss had to some extent adopted stereotypic attitudes about the abilities of blacks and whites. On R1D indices 2a,b, it was observed that the context was important to the expression of the Ss expectations. Among black Ss the foot race was salient to own race preferences by self esteem. Black Ss with high self esteem made more own race preferences than did black Ss with low self esteem. On the other hand, the test was more salient to white Ss for own race preferences by self esteem. white Ss with high self esteem made more own race preferences than did white Ss with low self esteem. These findings suggest that these Ss have learned the biases associated with racial differences, but fails to explain why both black and white children would respond according to race to an indirect question(which one is most like you?).

A second interpretation suggests that recognition of racial differences is a naturally occurring phenomenon which begins during the preschool years. That these Ss responded according to race to an indirect question suggests that the concept of race is being assimilated into the personality and is therefore at the present time salient to this age group.

Clark and Clark(1939) using a series of line drawings of white and black boys, a lion, dog, clown, and hen found that black male Ss made more choices of the line drawings of black boys than white boys. The ratio of choices of black to choices of white increased with age favoring the black drawing. Also, choices of the animals dropped out after the end of the third year. The Clarks hypothesized that this finding indicated a level of conscious development in which the child perceives himself as a distinct person rather than in terms of animals. In the present study the relevance of the salience of race to rooting is that Ss were capable of rooting, and for the most part, did root on the basis of race.

The interaction effects between the race of the child and the race of the experimenter were contrary to prediction. It was assumed that black Ss, having internalized society's negative values about him, would make other race responses with the white experimenter. Apparently this is not the case. Perhaps, as Harris and Braun(1971) suggest, the

"Black is Beautiful" movement of the 1960's has established an alternative value system fostering a sense of racial pride in these black children such that making own race responses to someone of another race dominant within the society arouses little if any internal conflict.

An alternative hypothesis is that these ss, previously shown to be aware of racial differences, recognize that the race of the experimenter is either the same as, or different from their own by comparison of skin color. Their responses to the RID indices could, therefore reflect an acceptance or rejection of the skin color of the experimenter instead of the more ~~intrinsic~~ concept of racial identification. The Trent(1954) study lends support to this hypothesis. Children were asked to identify "their" mothers from three photographs of one white woman, one light-skinned black woman, and one dark-skinned black woman and explain their choice. He reports that black and white children made no verbalized racial remarks or remarks about the color of the mothers when tested by the white experimenters. However, 47.5% of the white children and 38.0% of the black children gave spontaneous racial remarks when the experimenter was black. It was also noted that both black and white children had significant differences in the selections of the mother as a function of the race of the experimenter.

McDonald(1970) states that:

...skin color is the most striking distinguishing feature of racial differences, the one which produces the greatest visual impact...in a multiracial society the mastery of skin color anxiety becomes an important developmental task of childhood. When successfully carried out it contributes to total personality development, as the child sorts out the reality of skin color differences, detaches other irrelevant developmental problems and comes to value himself as well as others for their personalities without being disturbed by differing skin colors...(pp. 107-108).

In the interactions between race of the child and the race of the experimenter it is plausible that the results indicate the Ss internal conflict with the impact of skin color differences in the nonracially congruent situation rather than his racial preferences. This hypothesis suggests that recognition and acceptance of differing skin colors is a normal developmental process which may not necessarily be indicative of one's racial identification.

#### Race of Experimenter

A critical assumption of the present study was that the race of the experimenter is not an important main effect variable in determining the racial preferences and rooting behavior of preschool children. In the studies of Hirabe and Grant(1970) and Harris and Braun(1971) the race of the experimenter was found to have no effect on the Ss performance. The data from this study support these findings. It is possible that the experimenters could exhibit different behaviors and elicit information in a way characteristic of their cultural backgrounds, thereby ex-

posing the Ss to dissimilar contexts.

In view of previous findings it is more plausible to assume that the interactions between the race of the experimenter and the other variables are more important to racial identification and rooting behavior. Previous research presumed that the perceptual differences between black and white children, based on the stigma associated with race, resulted in differences in the Ss' behavior and performance as a function of the interaction between Ss and race of the experimenter (Frent, 1954; Natton, 1965; Katz, Roberts and Robinson, 1965).

In the present study the interaction effects between race of experimenter and the other variables were generally inconclusive. The predicted interactions between race of the experimenter and the variables self esteem and race of child were not supported. Perhaps, as previously suggested the race of the experimenter is significant to understanding and assessing the child's mastery of skin color differences rather than his racial identification or rooting behavior. The data when viewed from this frame of reference suggest that both black and white Ss in this study are cognizant of the skin color of the experimenter which seems to interfere with their rooting behavior and racial preferences but does not necessarily indicate the Ss' racial identification.

### Racial Congruence

No statistically significant differences in rooting behavior as a function of the racial congruence variable was found, therefore the following conclusion must be regarded as tentative. It was assumed that racial congruence is a salient contextual variable to rooting behavior, as such it is defined as that particular interaction between the race of the child and the race of the experimenter in which both Ss and the experimenter are of the same race. It was hypothesized that the child's choice pattern on the RID indices would show more own race choices than would the child exposed to the nonracial congruence variable e.g. the interaction between Ss and experimenter when the child and experimenter are of different races. The results, although not significant are in the predicted direction. The mean score for own race rooting was higher on both dimensions in the racially congruent situation than in the racially noncongruent treatment (See Appendix B).

Previous research has shown a significant interaction effect between Ss and the race of the experimenter (Frent, 1954; Hatton, 1965; Katz, Roberts and Robinson, 1965). Explanations for this finding vary as a function of the variables tested. Among preschool children however, the consensus of the research seems to support a developmental model which includes the concurrent processes of: 1) awareness of self through others, 2) recognition of individual

differences e.g. sex, skin color, 3) acceptance of self through recognized differences and similarities of others, and 4) acceptance of others on two dimensions: mastery of skin color differences, in this instance, and identification of individuals as members of a larger ethnic grouping. It is most reasonable to assume that differing contexts reveal different aspects of this developmental process in young children. In the context of the interactions between the race of the experimenter and the race of the Ss, it would seem that mastery of the impact of skin color differences, recognition of racial differences, acceptance of racial differences and the ability to identify individuals as members of larger ethnic groupings are more salient factors than self esteem, for instance. The contribution of the latter, although relevant, is possibly more indirectly influential in this context.

It is apparent that racial congruence as a contextual variable can not only serve to point out the difficulties a child may be experiencing as a result of problems occurring during this time. When applied to daily situations the concept can be used to facilitate normal growth and understanding among preschool children. Crooks(1970) replicated the Clark and Clark(1947) study controlling for Ss in and out of an interracial preschool program. His results suggest that the program was effective in breaking down certain established forms of behavior and was **success-**

ful in building new ones. "What is present in the nursery school setting is a hypothetical state, of a quality quite unlike that which is experienced in the real worlds of these children. Equal numbers of Negro and white children were present with both Negro and white teachers; a great deal of emphasis was placed upon the development of self respect, especially in Negro children. It is suggested that these experiences have strongly influenced the development of the more positive attitudes displayed by both Negro and white children in the nursery school group"(p.143).

It is concluded that racial congruence is a salient factor in rooting behavior and racial identification of preschool children. Much more research is needed to specify in detail the dimensions inherent in the concept of racial congruence which facilitates or interferes with the child's search for a realistic understanding of racial differences.

### Implications

The most impressive finding is that contexts salient to black and white children appear to facilitate racial identification. The failure of the test dimension to show rooting behavior on the basis of race for both groups is most instructive, because heretofore, racial identification has been viewed as a trait seemingly independent of contextual variables. It is evident that these children are aware of racial differences and identify or root on the basis

of race in those situations where race is perceived as salient. One task of future research is to specify the contexts in which rooting and racial identification on the basis of race is appropriate among preschool children.

Self esteem appears not to play a significant role in rooting behavior. In this study minimal differences in the interactions between high and low self esteem and rooting behavior were observed. It may be salient to the child's expression of expectations. It is noteworthy that when asked, "Which one do you want to be?", the percent of Ss with high self esteem making own race preferences was greater than the percent of Ss with low self esteem on both dimensions. It seems most likely that the relationship between self esteem and racial identification is not linear in nature e.g. the level of self esteem is not indicative of the kind of racial preferences. Rather, the relationship may be contingent upon more complex attitudes reflecting intra- and interpersonal experiences. These suggestive findings require replication with a larger sample using a more sensitive measure of self esteem.

The concept of racial congruence is most amenable to understanding the development in children of healthy attitudes about racial differences. At the fundamental level, the concept suggests that the interaction between a child and an adult having similar characteristics, in this study, race, establishes an empathic experience in which the

child can express his perceptions and feelings about skin color differences freely, leading to a realistic understanding. It is hypothesized that the attitudes a child has developed about skin color differences indicate his beliefs and feelings about racial differences; the latter is predicated by the former.

A more abstract view of racial congruence involves the interaction between a child and an adult in which the adult's positive attitudes about racial differences are consistent with his behavior towards those who are racially different, thus providing a healthy model for the child to emulate. In most social situations children learn the accepted ways of interacting with others from direct, didactic verbal and nonverbal communications from adults and/or indirect, subtle verbal and nonverbal communications of which the sender may or may not be aware. It becomes clear how young children during the growth process of racial consciousness develop the biases of those significant adults, often times despite the adults' honest, well meaning intentions.

A most exciting possibility for lessening the likelihood of children developing unhealthy racial concepts is evidenced in Crooks(1970) interracial preschool program in which children of different races have positive interactions with an interracial staff. A further improvement might be to encourage teachers, parents and other adults

who interact with preschool children to participate in workshops on race relations and communication processes. To increase individual responsibility for the awareness of the importance of communicating healthy racial attitudes to children will hopefully counteract and amend the negative societal influences perpetuated for so long.

Another possibility is suggested by those black nationalists, independent and/or community organized groups who have established preschool programs and special projects in uniracial settings to further enhance the notion of black consciousness. The assumption is that the young black child enrolled in such a program learns to appreciate himself and others by participating in, and experiencing positive interactions with peers and adults who are of his own race. It is anticipated that the early development of black consciousness and self confidence among these children will enable them to compete successfully in school, and later, in the society at large. The findings of this study lend support to the rationale for preschool programs in uniracial settings, especially when the program fosters the concept of black consciousness by positive comparisons with other ethnic groups. It is hypothesized that exposure to those who are racially different is important to the healthy development of racial attitudes in preschool children.

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APPENDIX A

## SCORING SCHEME FOR FIGURE DRAWINGS

Characteristic	Score	
	1	0
Size of figure	More than half the page	Less than half the page
Placement of self figure on paper	More than half of drawing in middle third of paper	On side or near edge
Amount of color	More than 3 colors	Less than 3 colors
Amount of detail in face		
Eyes	Present	Absent
Ears	Present	Absent
Nose	Present	Absent
Mouth	Present	Absent
Hair	Present	Absent
Eyebrows	Present	Absent
Expression on face	Lively or smiling	Sad or neutral
Presence of body	Present	Absent
Presence of clothes on body	Present and clearly outlined: distinct from body	Absent
Presence of Arms	Present	Absent
Presence of Fingers (regardless of correct number)	Present	Absent
Presence of Legs	Present	Absent
Presence of Feet	Present	Absent
Realism of Drawing	Clearly resembles person	Does not resemble person or poor resemblance

## SCORING SCHEME FOR STORIES

Daily description: Lively-cheerful, lively description.

Child elaborates upon type of play or interpersonal relations and/or expresses enjoyment in what he does.

Daily description: Dull-lack of imagination, no elaboration of details or interpersonal relationships. Simple enumeration of features of things the child does.

Typical story: "Plays and Sleeps."

Self-description: Positive-subject implies that he likes his appearance or his attributes and/or reiterates proudly that it is a picture of himself.

Self-description: Negative-negative and self-deprecating.

Personal Efficacy: Subject discusses things he is able to do. Brags about his ability to master the environment.

Powerlessness: Subject deprecates his ability to do things; says he can not do or accomplish tasks.

Physical harm: Fear imagery, frightening imagery. Subject is frightened of things, real or imaginary, which will injure him; says others wish to injure him or he wishes to injure himself.

## RID INDICES

Child's Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Number \_\_\_\_\_  
 Experimenter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Instructions:

I am going to show you two pictures. In the first one, six men are getting ready to run a race. They are practicing now. They will run in the race next Saturday. I want you to look at each man carefully and tell me:

1. Who you would like to win the race next Saturday?  
 Come in 2nd, 3rd...last?(Rank responses).

a\_\_\_ b\_\_\_ c\_\_\_ d\_\_\_ e\_\_\_ f\_\_\_

2. Which one would you like to be?(Check one).

a\_\_\_ b\_\_\_ c\_\_\_ d\_\_\_ e\_\_\_ f\_\_\_

3. Which one is most like you?(Check one).

a\_\_\_ b\_\_\_ c\_\_\_ d\_\_\_ e\_\_\_ f\_\_\_

Okay, in this next picture, six men are getting ready to take a very hard arithmetic test. They are practicing now. They will take the important test next Monday. Tell me:

1. Who you would like to get the best(highest) grade?  
 (Rank responses).

a\_\_\_ b\_\_\_ c\_\_\_ d\_\_\_ e\_\_\_ f\_\_\_

2. Who would you like to be?(Check one).

a\_\_\_ b\_\_\_ c\_\_\_ d\_\_\_ e\_\_\_ f\_\_\_

3. Which one is most like you?(Check one).

a\_\_\_ b\_\_\_ c\_\_\_ d\_\_\_ e\_\_\_ f\_\_\_

RID PHOTOGRAPH OF FOOT RACE



To the victor

RID PHOTOGRAPH OF FEST



APPENDIX B

TABLE A  
 PERCENT CHOOSING OWN RACE ON RID INDICES  
 BY RACE OF Ss, SELF ESTEEM AND AGE

		Age			
Race S	RID Index	Young		Old	
		Self Esteem			
		High	Low	High	Low
Black	1a.	38.5	46.4	66.7	66.7
	2a.	76.9	60.7	77.8	33.3
	3a.	84.6	67.9	77.8	66.7
	1b.	30.8	60.7	66.7	66.7
	2b.	69.2	64.3*	55.6	33.3
	3b.	76.9	64.3	88.9	100.0
White	1a.	54.5	69.2	63.6	100.0
	2a.	54.5	53.8	72.7	100.0
	3a.	72.7	69.2	100.0	100.0
	1b.	63.6	46.2	72.7	33.3
	2b.	72.7	23.1*	90.9	33.3
	3b.	81.8	61.5	90.9	66.7

\*p .05

TABLE B  
 MEAN SCORES ON RLD INDICES 1a,1b  
 BY SELF ESTEEM

Esteem Level	Sport		Test	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
High (N=44)	11.27	2.35	10.98	2.46
Low (N=47)	11.21	2.38	10.85	1.98

TABLE C  
 MEAN SCORES ON RID INDICES 1a,1b  
 BY RACE OF Ss

Race Ss	Sport		Test	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Black (N=53)	11.11	2.52	10.74	2.14
White (N=38)	11.42	2.11	11.15	2.31

TABLE D  
 MEAN SCORES ON RID INDICES 1a,1b  
 BY RACIAL CONGRUENCE

Racial Congruence	Sport		Test	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Congruent (N=42)	11.36	2.25	11.02	2.25
Non Congruent (N=49)	11.14	2.45	10.82	2.21

TABLE E  
 MEAN SCORES ON RID INDICES 1a,1b  
 BY RACE OF EXPERIMENTER

Race E	Sport		Test	
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.
Black (N=46)	11.02	1.98	10.54	1.94
White (N=45)	11.46	2.69	11.29	2.43



