SELF CONCEPTS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN AND ANGLO-AMERICAN
HEAD START CHILDREN

by

Sue Ann Erickson

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

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in

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Sue Ann Erickson

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ABSTRACT

Self Concepts of Mexican-American and Anglo-American Head Start Children

by

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Utah State University, 1970

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This study investigated the differences in self concept of Mexican-American and Anglo-American preschool children to determine if Mexican children have less favorable self concepts when compared with Anglo children of the same age and socioeconomic background. Differences between self concepts of Mexican boys and girls and between Anglo boys and girls were investigated. A third object was to determine the extent to which children's reports of self agree with their perceptions of significant others' perceptions of them.

Twenty-two Mexican-American and 20 Anglo-American Head Start children were given the Brown-IDS Self Concept Referents Test. This test was specially designed for use with preschool children and consisted of taking a full length Polaroid photograph of each child which served as an object about which subjects were asked questions concerning their perception of self and their perceptions of significant others' (mother, teacher, and peers) perceptions of them.
Results indicated that both Anglo- and Mexican-American children appear to have developed positive feelings about themselves. There were, however, significant differences in the responses of children in the two groups. Mexican-American children perceived their mothers and teachers as seeing them less favorably than Anglo children.

(102 pages)
INTRODUCTION

Increasing evidence of mental illness among children and adolescents in the United States is cause for alarm. The National Institute of Mental Health predicts that the number of patients under 15 years of age in state and county mental hospitals (which has increased over 300 per cent in the years 1950 to 1963) will double in the next decade. The most common reason for psychiatric referral of children is "school failure" (Patrick, 1968). The question must be asked--is it our children who are failing or is it our schools that are failing the child. It is useless to debate whether teachers teach subjects or whether they teach children. Both are essential. But neither is it wise to give subject matter precedence over the child who all too soon becomes the adult.

The child, who sees himself as unable to please, who produces nothing that is praise worthy, and who can never measure up to an impossible standard, overlooks his strengths and sees only his failures. Combs (1962, p. 53) wrote, "People learn that they are able, not from failure, but from success." Lecky (1945) believed the development of an essentially positive concept of self is highly important to the young child because once a value is accepted it functions to reject values which are not compatible with it. The child, who sees himself as stupid, will reject any inputs which contradict his view of himself. The principle of consistency is essential to the maintenance of his identity.
The self concept is learned and, therefore, it can be modified. While it is important to be aware that the self concept is not static, evidence indicates that it becomes more fixed with age. This emphasizes the necessity of identifying children with less than adequate self concepts early in their school experience.

Recently, self concept theory has received much interest as a means of explaining and modifying unsatisfactory behavior; however, research in the area is hampered by lack of an adequate measurement technique, especially research in relation to children. Several authors question the validity of accepting self report, which is what a child is willing to say about himself, as self concept, which is what a child actually believes about himself. Paschal (1968) feels that acceptance of self report, as a measure of self concept, is as necessary as accepting I.Q. scores as measures of intelligence. This approach suffers the same reliability-gap which has plagued intelligence testing.

Negro children have frequently been thought to have poor or even negative self concepts. However, research procedure has often compared them with white children, particularly white middle-class or upper-class children. The effects of prejudice and discrimination on the developing self concept of Negro and other minority children are confused with social class. Mexican-Americans, who number approximately four million in the United States today, constitute this nation's second largest recognized ethnic minority. Hishiki (1969, p. 57) stated, "No systematic studies ... dealing with the self concepts of
Mexican-Americans have been found to date."

Statement of the Problem

This study is an investigation of the differences in self concept of Mexican-American and Anglo-American preschool children of the same socioeconomic class.

Objectives

The objectives of the investigation are:

1. To determine if Mexican preschool children have less favorable self concepts when compared with Anglo children of the same age and socioeconomic background.

2. To determine whether there exists a significant difference between the self concepts of Mexican boys and girls and between those of Anglo boys and girls of preschool age.

3. To determine the extent to which children's reports of self (self referent) agree with their perceptions of significant others' perceptions of them (sum of mother, teacher, and peer referents).

Hypotheses

The hypotheses of the investigation are:

1. There is no significant difference between the self concepts of lower socioeconomic class Mexican and Anglo preschool children as measured by the Brown-IDS Self Concept Referents Test.
2. There is no significant difference between the self concepts of lower socioeconomic class Mexican boys and girls or Anglo boys and girls as measured by the Brown-IDS Self Concept Referents Test.

3. There is no significant correlation between children's perceptions of self (self as subject) and their perceptions of significant others' perceptions of them (self as object).
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

General areas to be covered by this review of literature are: development and theory of self concept, measurement of self concept, self concept and learning, and self concepts of disadvantaged children.

**Development and Theory of Self Concept**

The self concept is defined as that organization of qualities, perceptions, attitudes, and roles which an individual considers to be characteristic of himself.

The process of distinguishing "self" from "other" is first in the development of self:

When the infant puts thumb in mouth, he experiences sensation in both his thumb and his mouth and learns that the thumb is part of him. When the numerous other objects that the infant places in his mouth do not yield the double sensation, he separates self from other. (Gordon, 1969, p. 375)

This "distinction between his sensations and the conditions which produce them," said Jersild (1960, p. 117), begins an active process of self awareness which continues throughout one's life, with different aspects of self being perceived with varying degrees of clarity. An early sign of self-awareness is when the child begins actively to control objects in his environment, at first by accident and later by design. Other evidence of increasing development of self are reflected in the child's frequent use of "me" or "mine" and "no" which reflect his self-centeredness and desire to be autonomous.
Kinch (1963, p. 481) has proposed a formalized theory of self concept attempting to facilitate communication and define a systematic procedure for investigating the self. Stated in general terms, "the individual's conception of himself emerges from social interactions and, in turn, guides or influences the behavior of that individual." More specifically, the individual's self concept reflects the perceived and actual responses of significant others. Snyder (1965) adds that since behavior reflects the way an individual perceives the situation, if the situation is redefined, a change in behavior can be expected. This principle, which has been especially useful in counseling and psychotherapy, is of increasing interest to educators who wish to investigate the psychological factors which influence learning and development.

The family introduces the child to life and provides him with his earliest and most permanent self definitions which function to guide and shape his behavior (Bowman, 1963). Kelley (1962) said the minimal social environment, the mother and child, is provided so that self may be achieved. The self is built in relation to others who are significant to that individual and consists of an organization of accumulated experience, the quality of the self depending upon the quality of experiences.

Many of the child's earliest and most important feelings about himself are learned and nurtured in the family. Here the child receives his first impression about the world and about people and their worth. Often the teaching is indirect; feelings and attitudes are communicated through the basic relationships
and through the numerous interchanges and incidents which create the tone and texture of family life. (Proshansky and Newton, 1968, p. 203)

Several studies (Tatum, 1956; Peppin, 1962; Mote, 1966; Schwartz, 1966) found a positive relationship between parental acceptance of children and the way children regard themselves.

Hawk (1967) wrote that methods of discipline have an influence on the self concept as well as descriptive labels used when speaking of the child. The high degree of emotional content, which characterize relationships between parents and children, makes the family one of the major contexts in which the self concept develops.

Hughes (1964) stressed that the self concept is what the individual believes about himself. The people who are significant to him reflect him to himself. He tends to see himself as he is seen by others. For example, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1967) conducted an experiment in which "expectation" was the independent variable. Teachers were told that certain children, randomly selected from above-average, average, and below-average scholastic achievement groups, would show unusual intellectual growth in the coming academic year. These children did show greater intellectual development than controls and were also perceived by their teachers to be more likely to succeed, more interesting, curious, happy, appealing, affectionate, and autonomous. Thus, children behaved in accord with their teachers' perceptions of them.

Rather than being static and unchanging, the self is constantly in the process of organizing, taking in new ideas and attitudes, and adding
these to the already developed personality. Human behavior is characterized by order, regularity, predictability, and purpose (Bowman, 1963). "Although the self-concept is ever changing and growing," said Sebeson (1970, p. 461), "it is the unifying force within the individual's personality, and change and growth derive direction from the existing self-concept."

Maturation is also an important factor affecting the stability, consistency, and congruence between self concept and ideal self concept. Piers and Harris (1964) in the absence of longitudinal studies over a period longer than two years used a cross-sectional study to investigate changes in content and stability of self concept at various ages. The instrument used avoided negative terms such as "do not" to reduce the confusion of a double negative. A large sample representing a cross section of socioeconomic and ability levels consisted of third, sixth, and tenth grade children. Third and tenth grade children were significantly higher in reported self concept than sixth grade children. Sex was not found to be a significant variable. The self-report scale was administered to adolescent institutionalized retarded females for validation. As expected, their self concepts were significantly below any of the public school groups. Similarly, Phillips (1963) hypothesized that the self perceptions of older (sixth grade) children would be more accurate or realistic than self perceptions of younger (third grade) children. Sixth grade children's self estimates were in closer agreement with estimates by teacher and peers, and third grade children's estimates
were unrelated to estimates of teacher and peers. Additional findings were that self-perceptions were distorted by highly ego-involving situations, especially for the younger subjects and usually in the direction of self enhancement. Bowman (1963) also found significant changes in self concepts and ideal self concepts of boys and girls over a two-year period. Children were rated in the fourth and sixth grades and again in the sixth and eighth grades. Both sexes obtained a higher mean self concept and ideal self concept scores at the upper grade levels. Likewise, Perkins (1958) reported that self concepts and ideal selves of fourth and sixth grade children became increasingly and significantly congruent through time.

The self is unique to each individual, a personal organization of his own biological structure, accumulated experience, and the actual or perceived evaluations made of him by significant others. As the self concept develops, it functions to evaluate, select, and organize future experience.

Rogers (1968) saw a significant relationship between the self and behavior:

... all behavior which is perceived as being in the realm of conscious control is consistent with the concept of self. If there are exceptions, they are accompanied by marked distress. Consequently when the concept of self is changed, alteration in behavior is a predictable concomitant. The new behavior will be consistent with the new structure of self. (Rogers, 1968, p. 438)

Lecky (1945) proposed a theory of self consistency which conceives of personality as an organized system of ideas which are consistent with
emphasized the fact that one of the most basic and continuing need is for a self-image that is essentially positive.

The self concept is believed to influence the responses of others:

It is hypothesized that when he has decided what kind of person he is, the individual moves through life behaving sub-consciously in a certain way so as to evoke the treatment or response to which he has become adjusted. Moreover, he is comfortable with this anticipated response because it tends to reinforce his self-view. (Gillham, 1967, p. 271)

"Selves are not born but made and they are made according to the pattern prevailing in the culture or particular segments thereof" (Montague, 1964, p. 6). The self concept is learned. Myers (1964, p. 37) believed it is learned as a result of what the self "perceives, accepts, reviews, synthesizes, interprets and uses..." The self concept can be modified by learning, especially when it enhances the position of the individual. According to Proshansky and Newton (1968), the individual identifies and evaluates himself:

Thus, he learns "who he is" on dimensions such as appearance, group membership, achievement, and aspirations. This learning is never a neutral process, for the process of learning "who one is" invariably carries with it value judgements, for example, "good" or "bad," "desirable" or "undesirable," "worth much" or "worth little." (Proshansky and Newton, 1968, p. 182)

A positive self concept is a tremendous advantage in living. Combs (1962) stated that people, who feel positively about themselves, expect to be successful and behave in ways that tend to bring it about. Feelings of being loved, wanted, and acceptable come from having been loved, wanted, and accepted.
How the individual sees himself is critical "because it is what the person sees that is enabling or disabling. The crucial matter is not so much what you are, but what you think you are" (Kelley, 1962, p. 10).

Brim (1960) saw the personality as a learned repertoire of roles and socialization as a process of learning the expected behavior required in a variety of situations. Such learning occurs throughout life but is of special importance in early childhood because of its primacy as it sets the pattern for future learning. Self evaluation (realistic or not) depends on how similar role performance is to others' expectations and how correct one's appraisal of others' expectations are (whether they are based on a valid standard or not). The social structure, characteristic of a child's environment, is highly important since it channels and regulates the culture learned. Gergen (1968) described consistency as a social value which is necessary for maintenance of personal security and social order. Persons are expected to behave in predictable ways, and consistent behavior is valued and reinforced. A teacher or parent, who perceives a child to be stupid, effectively reinforces "stupid behavior" and fails to encourage conduct that is inconsistent with this perception. Thus, the self concept of a child may be unintentionally modified toward unsatisfactory behavior. Snyder (1965) also stated that it is extremely difficult for a person to behave contrary to the expectations of the group.

The self concept is learned, and what is learned will be taught, consciously or unconsciously.
Measurement of the Self Concept

Gaier and White (1965) reported the conclusions of Ruth C. Wylie's critical survey of research and comprehensive review of instruments used prior to 1961 to assess the self: existing theories are incomplete and lacking in extensive empirical support; studies are inadequate and inconclusive; there are many contradictions associated with the possible interaction of variables; typical studies are based on various forms of self report (an instrument of low validity); studies lack generalizability; and terms such as self concept, self report, self image, and self identity are used interchangeably and may not be equivalent.

"Every evaluative statement that a person makes concerning himself can be considered a sample of his self concept, from which inferences may then be made about the various properties of that self concept" (Strong and Feder, 1961, p. 170). In their critique of the literature on measurement, Strong and Feder listed several techniques which have been used. Four general categories include:

The Q sort consists of having subjects sort 70-150 self reference statements into piles along a continuum from those "least like" him to those "most like" him. The number of items sorted into each pile is specified, and an approximately normal distribution results. The Q sort is very adaptable and has been used extensively. It has limitations, however, since it must be administered to older subjects who are able to perform the sorting task, is usually administered individually,
is time consuming, and individuals with entirely different personalities may be grouped together according to similarity in profiles.

The majority of devices constructed to measure self concept are **Likert-type ratings**, statements or personality traits rated on a scale usually ranging from "never" or "seldom" to "very often" or "most of the time." Numerical values are given these designations for computing a total score for all items. The possibility of rating oneself consistently in the middle or the extremes and the importance of individual items being obscured by summing ratings assigned to each item are limitations of this technique.

**Free response methods** such as the W-A-Y technique and incomplete sentences are difficult to quantify and score objectively, and scoring depends upon the subjective judgment of the scorer. It is difficult to classify some responses into preselected categories and, therefore, validity is questionable.

**Check lists**, where the individual checks the appropriate adjectives or statements that describe himself, do not provide for qualitatively rating separate items. The Likert-type rating method has this advantage.

Using the question "Who are you?" (the W-A-Y technique), subjects' self perceptions were investigated by Bugental and Zelen (1950). Ideally, this question allows a free field for responses to be structured as most expressive of the subject's needs and most meaningfully related to his current situation. The subject is given a plain piece of paper and
asked to write three answers using words, phrases, sentences, or anything at all. Responses are then categorized. The name appeared to be a central aspect of self concept as it occurred on over half of all responses. Other responses were categorized by sex, age, occupation, family status, social status, descriptions of qualities, and so forth. Nationality and race designations were consistently chosen by members of minority groups.

The Self-Description Inventory, for age groups from adolescence through adulthood, consists of statements describing best and worst qualities. The test is self-administered and brief (20 minutes). Subjects are to indicate how much they feel each statement is like them using a 9-point rating scale. Scores consist of average ratings for items in each scale of unfavorable and favorable attributes (Wahler, 1968).

Wattenberg and Clifford (1964) used tape recordings of children's remarks while drawing a picture of their families and responding to an incomplete sentence test to measure self concept. Two independent raters classified comments as suggestive of a positive or negative self concept; correlation between raters was high. Classroom teachers and trained interviewers also rated the children on feelings of competence and worth.

The validity of the self concept scale of the Draw-A-Person Test, as a measure of self concept, was investigated and confirmed by Bodwin and Bruck (1960). The 13 characteristics thought to reveal self concept are: shading, areas emphasized by retracing, erasures, detail, sketchy
lines, transparency or inadequately clothed figure, asymmetry, distortion of body parts, incompleteness, mixed age of various body parts, opposite sex of figure drawn from that of subject, primitiveness, and immaturity of drawings.

Long and Henderson (1967) used a nonverbal instrument to measure the self concepts of 192 Negro and white preschool children from lower and middle classes in both races. All directions of the Children's Self-Social Constructs Test were oral and responses nonverbal. The test, which was administered individually, required the child to select a circle to represent himself from among those presented to him. The placement of gummed circles on the page gave measures of esteem (as indicated by selecting a circle to represent self higher rather than lower in a column of circles), social dependency (measured by placing the circle within rather than without a group of circles representing others), identification and preference for others (by placing a circle nearer rather than further from circles representing mother, father, teacher, and peers), and minority identification (by selecting a shaded circle rather than a plain one when the majority of circles were plain). The value of such a projective technique for adequately assessing a child's self concept is questionable; no other measures of self concept such as parent or teacher ratings were used. A similar instrument (Long, Ziller, and Henderson, 1968) was used with adolescents on the assumption that individuals can communicate various aspects of their self-social system symbolically and that certain symbolic patterns have common meaning;
for example, physical distance in the test may represent psychological distance in the person's life space. In placing a circle representing self in a row of circles representing others, positions to the left are assumed to represent greater importance.

Parker (1966) defined self concept as an internal and personal organization of the individual's perceptions about himself and self report as what the individual is willing and able to say about himself. How closely the self report approximates the self concept depends upon the individual's clarity of awareness, the availability of adequate symbols of expression, his willingness to cooperate, feelings of personal adequacy, freedom from threat, and social expectancy. Since the self concept is not open to direct observation but must be inferred from behavior, Parker used a picture story test (11 simple black and white drawings of school scenes designed for individual administration) for eliciting behavior upon which inference about the self concept of subjects could be based, the inferred self concept. A rating scale of 30 items arranged in pairs of positive and negative statements, i.e., "I'm healthy" and "I'm not too healthy," was used to measure the self report. Both self report and inferred self concept were administered to 30 sixth-grade children, first anonymously but coded for the investigator's identification and the second time being signed and emphasizing that the information would be interpreted and given to their teacher. Both self report and inferred self concept remained consistent under the varying conditions. However, correlations between the signed self
report and inferred self concept were even lower than the correlation between the anonymous self report and inferred self concept which was not significant at the .05 level. Parker and the teacher concluded that inferred self concept represented a more accurate and realistic appraisal of children's perceptions of self than do self reports.

Similarly, Combs, Soper, and Courson (1963) also found no significant relationship between the inferred self concepts of children obtained from observations of their behavior and self reports obtained directly from the children. Jersild (1960), too, cautioned against acceptance of self report as self concept which is dependent upon what the subject is consciously able to recognize, what he is willing to admit, what he feels impelled to deny, and what he feels impelled to claim about himself.

Loehlin (1961) found that concepts used to describe subjects were chosen consistently using three different measurement techniques, but appeared to differ in meaning from person to person as much as their use in self description. He pointed out the tendency for subjects to apply socially desirable words to themselves and avoid socially undesirable words.

Egbert, Ballif, and Hendrix (1968) investigated the extent and nature of development of the body image (as an integral part of the self concept) in children from different socioeconomic levels by measuring their ability to recognize their own photographs from five other unidentified photographs on each of a series of six different views: front
view, 45 degree right view, 90 degree right view, back view, 90 degree left view, and 45 degree left view. Subjects were 20 preschool children from homes below the poverty line established by Office of Economic Opportunity enrolled in a local Head Start program and 20 upper middle class subjects enrolled in the Brigham Young University nursery school. Subjects were scheduled to enter kindergarten in the fall of the coming year. Preschool middle class children were significantly better able to recognize themselves than were the preschool lower class children (p = .005), indicating that lower class children have less well developed self concepts pertaining to body image (or have had less experience with their own photographs). A front view was significantly easier to recognize than any of the other views (p = .05). Analysis of variance of time required to make a recognition of self showed no significant differences between cultures, sexes, views, or any of the interactions. There was a trend for girls to recognize themselves more accurately than boys, but this difference was not significant.

Palermo and Martire (1960) investigated the influences of order of administration of self concept measures and concluded that the relative position of each trait tended to remain the same on all three scales administered for both sexes regardless of their order of administration.

Brown (1967) identified several areas of difficulty in reliably assessing the dimensions of self concept in children younger than five or six, the relatively unstable self perception in early childhood influenced by biological and interpersonal forces, the need to impose
psychological interpretations on responses to projective techniques, the scarcity of instruments for measuring young children's self concepts which do not rely heavily on verbal ability, limited attention span, and the tendency to be influenced by aspects of the immediate physical environment.

It appears highly important that findings be interpreted in light of instrument(s) used, terms defined, and controls for independent variables such as social class, sex, group identification, and parent and teacher attitudes.

**Self Concept and Learning**

Davidson and Lang (1960) investigated children's perceptions of their teachers' feelings toward them in an attempt to define their relationship to self perception, school achievement, and behavior. Several assumptions are basic to this study: the child's self concept develops in a social setting being established early in life and modified by subsequent experience. Significant others (parents, teachers, and peers) affect the child's self concept which is a major factor influencing behavior. Over 200 fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade children were asked to respond to 35 descriptive adjectives on a three-point rating scale ("most of the time," "half of the time," and "seldom or almost never") first from the perspective of "My teacher thinks I am" and second "I think I am." Teachers also rated their pupils on academic achievement and behavioral characteristics. A highly significant correlation between
children's perceptions of their teachers' feelings toward them and their perceptions of self was found which supports the theory that a child's assessment of self is related to the assessment "significant others" make of him. A positive relationship between a favorable perception of teachers' feelings and academic achievement was established. Based on teacher ratings, children described as disorderly, defiant, unfriendly, or troublesome perceived their teachers' feelings toward them as less favorable than children who were described as eager, cooperative, and assertive. Girls perceived their teachers' feelings toward them more favorably than boys, and behavior ratings of girls were more favorable than those for boys. Children in upper and middle social class groups perceived their teachers' feelings more favorably than children in the lower social class group.

Ozehosky (1967) also found a definite congruence between teachers' perceptions of children's self concept and a nonverbal measure of children's self concepts. Teacher ratings of children's self concepts were predictive of children's achievement on a readiness test.

Two assumptions, which seem basic to all current theories of self, said Ludwig and Maehr (1967) are first, the concept of self is a product of social reaction--development and change in the concept of self are direct functions of the response of significant others--and second, the concept of self has a predictable effect on behavior generally. Sixty-five junior high boys, ages 12 to 14, of comparable socioeconomic background but varied physical capacity and skill were asked to rate
their self adequacy using a nine-point scale on 30 items dealing with body coordination and motor skills, general athletic skill, and general physical fitness. Other measures of general feelings of self-esteem and preference for physical or nonphysical activity were obtained. Tests were administered one week in advance of treatment, one week later, and three weeks later. Following the pretest, three matched groups were formed (Control, Approval, and Disapproval) based on the number of subjects from each grade, pretest ratings, and teacher's judgment of actual physical ability. The treatment, administered one week after the pretest in a regular gym class, consisted of having subjects perform assigned physical tasks; Control received no evaluation while Approval and Disapproval received an evaluation by a "physical development expert" who gave them standardized approval or disapproval statements as to whether or not the subjects had "reached the proper level of physical development for persons their age and size" (Ludwig and Maehr, 1967, p. 459). Approval treatment was followed by an increase in self ratings which tended to diminish over time returning to the pretest level and by an increased preference for activities directly related to the treatment. Disapproval was followed by a decrease in self ratings which also diminished over time and by a decreased preference for activities directly related to the treatment. These reported preference changes infer that a changed self concept is accompanied by a change in the direction of behavior. The reaction of significant others did result in changed self ratings. The group for which approval was congruent with
their self concept was above the pretest level at last testing. The group for which approval was incongruent readily accepted the approval and definitely rated themselves more favorably in the approved areas following the treatment; this tendency appeared to generalize somewhat to related areas. The group for which disapproval was incongruent showed a tendency to return rapidly to the pretreatment level, and when disapproval was congruent with self concept the group was consistently below the pretest level at final testing.

Williams and Cole (1968) hypothesized that a child's conception of school would be related to his self concept. Defining a positive school concept as little discrepancy between ratings of school experience as subjects perceived it and how they would like it to be, significant correlations were found between self concept measures and social status, mental ability, reading achievement, and mathematical achievement. The self concept was found to be highly related to emotional adjustment.

One hundred and twenty children (Binet I.Q. 60-85), entering the first grade in public schools, were assigned randomly to special education classes and regular first grade rooms. At the end of the first year, these 120 children were compared with 60 first-graders (Binet I.Q. 95-110) selected from matching socioeconomic backgrounds. There was a significant difference in self concept between children at the two I.Q. levels, and the more retarded group was also more self-derogatory. Within the retarded group, those in the regular first grade rooms were
less self-derogatory than those in the special education classes (Meyerowitz, 1962).

While there is little doubt of the importance of self concept as a determiner of behavior, the degree of relationship between self concept and academic achievement is difficult to specify. In a study by Paschal (1968) subjects classified as having adequate self concepts had significantly higher over-all English, geography, and science grades. No such significant relationship was established for mathematics. While a significant difference was found between children classified as having adequate or inadequate self concepts for children who were older or an only child, no difference was found when considering mothers who work outside the home, occupation of father, age, or sex.

Bruck and Bodwin (1962) found a positive and very significant correlation between educational disability (as described by a discrepancy between intelligence test scores and achievement tests) and immature self concept (as measured by the self concept scale of the Draw-A-Person Test). Fink (1962), whose subjects were matched on the basis of sex and I.Q. and paired (an achiever with an underachiever), found a significant relationship between adequacy of self concept and level of academic achievement. This relationship was especially strong for boys and less positive for girls. He concluded that a relationship between adequacy of self concept and level of academic achievement does exist.

Measuring intellectual ability and self concept of children in kindergarten and self concept and reading ability 2 1/2 years later,
Wattenberg and Clifford (1964) concluded that measures of self concept taken in kindergarten were generally predictive of reading achievement. They did not obtain a significant relationship between intellectual ability and self concept at the kindergarten level but suggested that measures of self concept will add to the predictive efficiency of intelligence tests. As to which is the antecedent in the association between self concept and academic achievement, the authors felt that "the self concept is more important as a determinant of learning efficiency than learning experiences are in the formation of the self concept" (Wattenberg and Clifford, 1964, p. 463). Ozehosky (1967) also reported a relationship between self concept and achievement at the kindergarten level.

Much of the literature dealing with the child and school recognizes the importance of self concept theory in an effort to achieve a more adequate interpretation of behavior. While there is some empirical support, there is much more descriptive literature on the self concept and its correlates.

A school psychologist (Soper, 1960) stated that a child's ability to see and deal with himself in an essentially healthy way is descriptive of his mental health. As the beliefs a child develops about the kind of person he is (his self concept) is closely connected with his perceptions of the world he inhabits and determines his behavior, the child with a healthy self concept will see himself as an adequate person. Soper cautioned, however, that adequacy should not be confused with ability,
but is defined as feelings of being worthy of respect, understanding, and love—whether he sees himself as having the right to be himself, the opportunity to try and fail without self-defeating reactions. Self-acceptance, in the same sense, does not necessarily imply self-satisfaction but a realistic awareness of the different aspects of oneself.

When an individual feels he is basically adequate, he is able to perceive others and his world as well as himself with a minimum of distortion (Soper, 1960). Kelley (1962) described a selective screen or boundary (selective perception) that is essential to the maintenance of the self. Whether the environment is perceived as facilitating or endangering determines the permeability of this screen with a threatening situation requiring much more protection. When adverse conditions are common, such a screen develops into a shell. Kelley (1962, p. 15) said, "Boundaries then become barriers. Protection becomes isolation. The self becomes a prisoner . . ." The self is cut off from that which is most necessary to its growth and development—ideas which come from other people. Alone, such a self becomes less adequate, losing his ability to explore and create. Sadly, one cannot do much about it by himself.

Rather than supporting the proposition that positive attitude toward self is correlated with positive attitude toward others, Jervis (1959) concluded that a positive self concept may indicate a "highly defensive paranoid individual" and may be compensatory for some people. However, positive self concept was defined as a small descrepancy between
self and ideal-self ratings. The larger the discrepancy, the greater should be the degree of personality maladjustment. Subjects with low self scores and low ideal-self scores were, therefore, accepted as being indicative of a positive self concept but were, naturally, characterized by negative attitude towards others.

Campbell (1967) reaffirms Lecky's position that self-consistency is so necessary that it is the prime motivator of all behavior. The child will resist any attempt to change his self perception and tends to deny facts which contradict it. Dissatisfaction with his self picture does not lead to motivation to change for fear of failure. Campbell reviewed several recent unpublished doctoral dissertations which showed a relationship between self concept and academic achievement. He alerts the public to a need for more research in this area but arrives at no conclusion.

Every child has some kind of self picture. His teacher, mother, and peers act as a mirror through which he gets his ideas about himself. A child's self picture is so significant because, once it is conceived, he acts it out, and if it is poor, whether this is true or not, he may always think of himself as inferior (Roe, 1962).

Combs (1962, p. 51) wrote that "the kind of self concepts an individual possesses determines, in large measures, whether he is maladjusted or well adjusted." Soper (1960) and Roe (1962) agreed that one's self concept determines not only his behavior but his mental health as well.

A three-year investigation, funded by the U. S. Office of Education
at the University of Michigan, included studies of aggression, how children formulate early coping patterns, and an analysis of school classroom behavior. Most schools collect information on ability and achievement and possibly measures of interest and personality. Six hundred subjects in alternate grades 3 to 11 were given the self, social, and school subscales of Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and asked to check "like me" or "unlike me." Another set of 21 adjectives was to be checked indicating the child's self concept. These measures of self concept indicated that children reported they were "proud of their school work" and "doing the best they could" significantly less frequently as grade level increased (Morse, 1964).

Montague (1964) described the controversy over the purpose of schools and concluded that we need to recognize that the "three R's" can never be anything more than skills, techniques which are quite secondary to their main purpose, which is the maximum realization of whatever potentials the individual is endowed with--self fulfillment. Teach human relations first, reading, writing, and arithmetic second. Another writer saw the development of self as the aim of American education:

... the self refers to the moral principle that the American way of life is to achieve the full development of the individual as a unique and autonomous person, exercising freedom of choice and accepting accountability for the choice. (Koo, 1964, p. 111)

Ellsworth (1967) described conditions which influence the development of a negative self concept (which has been described as feeling
like an inverted pyramid) such as over protection (mother does for her child things he is capable of doing for himself implying that she can do it better or he could not do it good enough), domination (lack of trust in the child's ability), neglect (implying that the child is unworthy of attention and is unimportant), and poor discipline (humiliating the child or unclear limits). The mother interacts with the child hundreds of times each day reinforcing such a self concept. A positive self concept (feelings of self confidence, dignity, and happiness) grows in an atmosphere of love, respect, trust, confidence, admiration, and understanding.

Lambert (1969) suggested using the child's name, physical contact, conversation, displaying work at the child's eye level, a place of his own, a full-length or three-way mirror, and group or individual pictures as well as establishing a warm relationship to facilitate development of a positive self concept.

Sebeson (1970) recommended accepting each child as a unique person; encouraging children to talk about what they think, believe, feel, and worry about; and providing opportunities for each child to succeed and experiences which facilitate the child's ability to relate what he has learned to his own worth. Insecurity, inattention, antagonism, loneliness, indecision, low motivation, lack of social confidence, nervousness, discouragement, emotional instability, and inability to accept rules are behaviors indicative of poor self concepts. (Sebeson, 1970, p. 462) noted that "because reading, in our culture, is an essential
developmental task, failure in reading can block the child's attempts to satisfy this need for self-esteem . . ."

The growing self must feel involved and then he becomes responsible for his own destiny. Kelley (1962) said children will not neglect or sabotage their own projects. Education becomes a matter of doing things "with" children rather than "to" them.

According to Hawk (1967, p. 197), "education has failed, regardless of the amount of knowledge imparted, when selves of pupils are inadequate, defensive, and characterized by a general feeling of incompetence in what matters to them."

**Self Concepts of Disadvantaged Children**

"Of the many critical dimensions in which the advantaged differ from the disadvantaged, the one that overshadows all others is the self-concept" (Congreve, 1966, p. 4). If the self concept is learned, developing from experiences which include the attitudes, ideas, behavior, and self concepts of the people around the child, the lower class child, who has before him frustrated, defeated models (rather than living and identifying with successful and optimistic significant others), will be predisposed to a negative self concept. Any child, lacking a home environment where conditions foster development of a healthy self concept, is disadvantaged, said Congreve, whether rich or poor.

Snyder (1965) saw the possibility of using Kinch's formalized self concept theory in the school setting as a basis for understanding the
behavior of disadvantaged children. As the personality structure is somewhat flexible and since behavior reflects the way an individual perceives the situation, if the situation is redefined, a corresponding change in behavior can be expected.

Radke, Trager, and Davis (1949) examined the early stages of social awareness and attitude development in young children (250 kindergarten, first, and second grade children) in an attempt to understand the nature of social concepts held by young children and their sensitivity to value, status differences, and conflicts among groups in our culture. Using pictures of simple social situations involving children (playground, schoolroom, and city street), children were interviewed to obtain perceptions and attitudes concerning racial and religious groups (white, Negro, Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic). The authors concluded that friendly, cooperative behavior in the classroom does not prevent growth of group stereotypes and prejudices.

Contact cannot then be used as the only means for prevention or changing prejudices. Children very often simply regard their happy contacts with persons of rejected groups as exceptions which in no way alter the generalizations which they make about groups as a whole. (Radke, Trager, and Davis, 1949, p. 443)

Radke, Trager, and Davis recommend planned teaching of concepts of anthropology and sociology beginning in preschool if the personal-social needs of children are to be met since social prejudices and group consciousness are recognized in early childhood.

Munat (1968, p. 5) quoted Horowitz who was "tempted to conclude
that membership in a group which is marked off sharply from the majority tends to lead to a constriction in the development of the self not present at the same chronological age in the members of the majority group."

Compiling the Horowitz study and four by Kenneth Clark and Mamie Clark, Munat concluded that three- to seven-year-old Negro children have a well developed concept of racial difference between "white" and "colored" as this is indicated by the characteristic of skin color. A white skin color was preferred by a majority of Negro children and a brown skin color rejected; this preference decreased gradually from four through seven years and was most pronounced in children of light skin color.

Butts (1963) administered the coloring test devised by Clark and Clark to 50 Negro children, ages 9 to 12, as well as measures of self esteem. His hypothesis that Negro children with impaired self-esteem would perceive themselves less accurately in terms of skin color was supported (significant at the .01 level). However, all subjects had I.Q.'s "above 80" which might have contributed to their low self-esteem.

Using a self report measure of self concept, Caplin (1969) found that children (matched for sex, race, intelligence, and socioeconomic status), attending a de facto segregated school as compared to those attending the newly and long-term desegregated schools, have less positive self concepts. Also, those children with more positive self concepts had higher academic achievement.

Proshansky and Newton (1968, p. 183) also recognized early
childhood "as a crucial period in the growth and differentiation of the child's feelings about himself and his feelings toward others who are ethnically different . . ." Considerable evidence supports the assumption of a direct relationship between problems in emergence of the self concept and the child's membership in an ethnic or racial group which is socially unacceptable and subject to noticeable deprivation. The Negro suffers not only obvious inequalities such as differences in schooling, housing, employment and income, but the invisible psychological burden of low self-esteem and feelings of helplessness from being forced to play an inferior role. As previously noted (Gaier and White, 1965), Proshansky and Newton related methodological problems to the limited research on aspects of Negro self concept, pointing out the tendency of researchers to think only in "black-white terms" and ignore important social-class variables. The amount and type of prejudice and reactions to prejudice depend on individual variables (age, education, occupation, temperament, family training, and even color variations in the case of Negroes) which must be considered. Most standard instruments used for measuring intelligence, achievement, and personality are not free of middle-class bias. Rather than draw generalizations from simple comparisons of Negroes and whites, each individual must be viewed within his own frame of reference or the normality or abnormality of his behavior cannot be accurately assessed.

Brown (1967) administered the Brown-IDS Self Concept Referents Test to 38 four-year-old lower socioeconomic class Negro children and
36 upper-middle socioeconomic class white children of the same age. He found a relatively high level of reliability in self concept over a three week interval. Although both groups perceived themselves and significant others' perceptions of them in generally positive ways, Negro children scored significantly lower than white children on both the "self as subject" and "self as object" referents. Negro children perceived themselves as sad rather than happy, stupid rather than smart, sickly as distinguished from healthy, and not liking their facial appearance opposed to liking it. Negro children perceived their teachers as seeing them in negative ways more frequently than white children, especially as sad rather than happy, frightened of many things and of many people, and sickly rather than healthy. There was no significant difference between Negro and white children regarding their mothers' and peers' evaluations of them which were positive. Generally high positive correlations between children's perceptions of self and their perceptions of significant others' perceptions of them were observed. Subjects saw themselves as they perceived others saw them. The effects of social desirability on children's responses, the possible response bias because white examiners were used, and the fact that subjects came from two different classes were suggested as limitations of Brown's study.

The development of negative self concepts among many Negro children, then, begins in early childhood. General findings, however, clearly have relevance for other minority groups.

Lipton (1963, p. 211) suggested that "cultural heritage enables a
child to look at himself and acquire a feeling of strength and worth in terms of the people from which he came." He identifies with a hero, history, or movement.

It is assumed that negative self-identity is frequently rooted in negative group identification. The converse might be expected, then, that positive self-identity is an expression of group pride or belongingness which are essential for individual growth and continuity. Proshansky and Newton (1968) listed three resources for minorities to establish strong group ties. First, social insight--an understanding that his grievances, problems, and injustices are shared and result from social arrangements rather than individuals. Second, hope--the possibility of "taking action" and such evidences as the Civil Rights movement even if only symbolic rather than actual. Third, a recognized heritage or tradition which gives significance to existence and instills hope for the future.

On the basis of both verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests, a majority of Mexican-American children in California school districts are classified as "slow learners" or "mentally retarded" as they are rated considerably below average of predominantly Anglo-American normative groups on which tests were standardized. In six studies cited, the average Stanford-Binet I.Q.'s of Mexican-Americans tended to cluster around 80. Use of a Spanish translation of the Stanford-Binet with bilingual Mexican-Americans did not make a difference. Even when socioeconomic status is controlled, there are still marked I.Q. and scholastic differences. Jensen (1961) was interested in finding whether
Mexican-American and Anglo-American children (age fourth and sixth grades) equated on I.Q. (as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity) were also equal in learning ability (as measured by immediate recall, serial learning, and paired-associates learning of commonly recognized objects and shapes of various colors). Mexican subjects came from intact, bilingual homes and Anglo subjects from intact, monolingual homes; all were considered lower socioeconomic class. The author notes difficulty in finding nine Mexican-Americans with I.Q. over 110 to fill one cell of the research design. On these learning tasks, low I.Q. Mexican-American children performed as well as both Mexican and Anglo high I.Q. children. The author concluded that low I.Q. for the Anglo-American group was in most cases a valid indication of poor learning ability, but for the Mexican-American low I.Q. group their basic learning ability was actually quite normal. Mexican-Americans of above average I.Q. did not differ significantly in learning ability from Anglo-Americans of the same I.Q. As reported in the July 13, 1970 U.S. News & World Report, a federal-court decision in San Francisco ordered California schools to revise testing procedures so that children from non-English-speaking homes will not be placed in "mentally retarded" classes because of faulty I.Q. ratings, and another court ruling in Texas on June 5, 1970, which labels Mexican-Americans as "an identifiable ethnic minority group," gave them the same protection as Negroes under school-desegregation procedures.

Hishiki (1969) wrote that disadvantages in areas of educational
attainment, occupational structure, income, housing, effective community organization, political strength, and lack of facility in the language of the majority are problems faced by Mexican-Americans. A particular cultural milieu shapes and colors the Mexican-American's background of experience. Rather than being "culturally deprived," he brings a culture of his own to the "middle-class" school. Mexican-Americans number approximately four million in the Southwest and constitute this nation's second largest deprived minority. Hishiki found a statistically significant and positive correlation between self concept and measures of intelligence and academic achievement for bilingual Mexican-American sixth grade girls attending two schools in East Los Angeles. In agreement with earlier research (Davidson and Lang, 1960; Piers and Harris, 1964), children's perceptions of their teacher's feelings toward them were related to self perception, school achievement, and behavior.

Carter (1968) hypothesized that most educators are convinced that Mexican-Americans have a larger percentage than normal of individuals who view themselves negatively, and he attributed this negative self-image as the principle reason for the group's lack of school success. Perhaps in reality, reasoned Carter, the supposed negative self-image of Mexican-American's is a stereotype projected onto them. Thinking of them in negative ways, they see themselves in the same way. Carter's study used seventh- and eighth-grade children in an area approximately 65 per cent Mexican-American; parents, students, teachers, and
administrators were interviewed and classes observed repeatedly. The three sociopsychological instruments administered produced no evidence that Mexican-American students saw themselves more negatively than Anglo students. However, teachers and administrators believed them to be inferior and believed they saw themselves that way also. "The apparent submissiveness of some Mexican-American girls often is judged as reflecting the girl's negative view of herself. However, this behavior may be well established in the girl's home culture as normal and desirable" (Carter, 1968, p. 218). Educators should be cautious about interpreting a minority's behavior from an "Anglo" frame of reference. One limitation of this study, said Carter, was the fact that the sample was rural and agricultural with a numerical majority of Mexican-Americans in a close-knit community.

McKenney quoted Wilson's Record who wrote:

The Mexican-American minority is frequently treated as if it were a "racial" as well as a nationality, religious, and linguistic minority. Sociologically, Mexican-Americans can be thought of as a distinct group whose physical characteristics, coupled with their cultural traits, lead to their being discriminated against in a variety of ways by the dominant "white" elements in the culture, and by their occupying a general position closely akin to that of the Negro. It is the Mexican's cultural disparity more than his color that sets him apart, and cultural disparity is more readily shucked than is pigmentation. (McKenney, 1965, p. 17)

An interesting survey by Goodman and Beman (1968) summarized what school-age children say about the life styles and values in a Mexican-American barrio. The authors felt that children were an excellent and seldom utilized source of ethnographic information. Children
responded eagerly to 123 questions. Interviewers used both Texas Spanish and English to question 34 children living in 16 households who ranged in age from 7 to 13. Parents most frequently had only four to six years of education and consequently had a low earning power. The modal household had six children and half had grandparents or other relatives in addition to or in place of parents. Two-thirds had or used Anglicized names, an indication of their level of acculturation. Two-thirds of the children reported that they go to church on Sunday. Grandparents were respected; fathers were seen as providers and disciplinarians; mothers filled a domestic role of preparing food and cleaning. Barrio children valued parents and relatives while Negro and Anglo children (part of the larger study) were more oriented toward agemates and friends. All but one family had television, and viewing was reported as a favorite pastime at almost any hour of the day or night. More than half of the children watched late shows beyond nine o'clock (possibly because of limited space). Work was valued and not to be avoided, and everyone in the family helped. Judging from the interview, power, wealth, and high prestige were little valued or thought about. Numerous interested relatives, training in helping, discipline, and respect for others, Goodman and Beman pointed out, should be conducive to self-satisfaction and a firm sense of identity.
METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Setting and Procedures

Forty-eight subjects were selected from five classrooms in two schools participating in the Summer Head Start program operated by the Ogden City School District, 1969. Grant and Pingree Elementary Schools are located in the industrial area of Ogden City. Excluded from the population from which the sample was drawn were Negro children, Mexican-American children whose birth dates were only approximations, and children who were enrolled but had not attended regularly.

Twenty-four Mexican-American subjects (12 boys and 12 girls) and 24 Anglo-American subjects (12 boys and 12 girls) were tested initially. Data from six of the originally selected 48 subjects are not reported here due to absences or refusals to participate: an Anglo boy and a Mexican boy would give no verbal responses; an Anglo girl moved from the city; an Anglo boy, a Mexican boy, and an Anglo girl were absent because of sickness or family vacation. The children ranged in age from four years, ten months to six years, two months.

Head Start is a government poverty program operated under the Office of Economic Opportunity since 1963. Summer Head Start programs are only for children who will be attending kindergarten or first grade for the first time in the fall. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) requires that the children for the program be recruited systematically from
the most disadvantaged homes and reflect the racial or ethnic composition of families in the area. Children are eligible if, after considering household size and income, they are below the "poverty line." It is, therefore, assumed that the children participating in this study are representative of the lower socioeconomic class.

**Development of the Brown-IDS Self Concept Referents Test**

The technique used (Brown, 1967) is specifically designed to measure the dimensions of self concept among very young children, attempting to (1) minimize the extent to which psychological interpretation must be imposed upon responses, (2) maximize comparability of responses between children in order to permit generalization, and (3) test the stability of responses over a given period of time. Taken into consideration also is the limited attention span characteristic of young children and the need to control extraneous physical conditions during testing. The procedure should be easily understood by young children.

A basic assumption of the assessment technique is that self concepts are formed not only from a child's perception of self (self as subject) but are also reflections of his perceptions of significant others' perceptions of him (self as object). Three significant others, who strongly influence the ways in which children perceive themselves, are the child's mother, teacher, and peers or classmates. The child is required to assume the perspective of each of these significant others
1. Self I referent score--represents the "self as subject" dimension of self concept. Possible scoring range 0-14.

2. Mother referent score--represents the extent to which the child perceives his mother as seeing him positively or negatively. Possible scoring range 0-14 points.

3. Teacher referent score--represents the extent to which the child perceives his teacher as seeing him positively or negatively. Possible scoring range 0-14 points.

4. Other kids' referent score--represents the extent to which the child perceives his peers as seeing him positively or negatively. Possible scoring range 0-14 points.

5. Self II referent score--this measure is taken three weeks after the child is given Self I referent and is used as a test-retest reliability estimate for the self referent.

6. Combined mother plus teacher plus other kids' referent score--represents the "self as object" score and the over-all extent to which the child perceives these significant others as seeing him positively or negatively. Possible scoring range 0-42 points.

In addition, the number of items to which a child is unable to respond can be computed to determine the extent to which he does not fully understand the bipolar pairs and/or the extent to which he may not have formed impressions of himself or his characteristics. For all items presented in an either-or format, the more socially desirable choice is
scored "1" and the less socially desirable choice is score "0." These items are presented in the Appendix.

The set of items is repeated five times, and the only factor, which is varied, is the perspective from which the items are viewed (see Appendix). Each question is asked with specific reference to the photograph taken of the child as the examiner points to the picture of the child directing his attention to the photograph. The self and mother referents are administered at the first examination, and the self, teacher, and peer referents are administered three weeks later using the same picture and room.

Using this technique with his sample of white and Negro four-year-olds, Brown (1967) found a relatively high level of reliability in the perceptions of self held over a three-week interval (.76 for white subjects and .71 for Negro subjects). Subjects, who reported negative perceptions of self on the first administration of the self referent, also tended to report negative perceptions of self on the retest three weeks later. Similarly, children, who perceived themselves in predominantly positive ways the first time, tended to report positive perceptions of self on the retest.

Several changes in administration and scoring are noted here:

1. The interval between testing in Brown's (1967) study was three weeks while the interval between administration of the self and mother referents and the self, teacher, and peer referents for this study was two weeks.
2. Scoring on items 9 and 10 was reversed, giving one point for "not scared of a lot of things" and "not scared of a lot of people" which are felt by the author to be more socially desirable than being scared of things and people.

3. Brown (1967) used black-and-white photographs while colored photographs were used in this study.

**Administration and Collection of Data**

The data were collected during a five-week period beginning June 30, 1969, and ending August 1, 1969. Each child was invited to go with the examiner and have his picture taken. The child was taken to an unoccupied room where the Polaroid camera was introduced by asking, "Do you know what this is called?" The examiner explained that she was going to take the child's picture. As a spontaneous facial expression was desired, no instruction to "smile" was given. A full-front photograph was taken from approximately 6 feet with the child standing against a neutral background. A Polaroid camera, equipped with flash unit, produced a completely developed 3 X 4 inch color print in 60 seconds. While waiting for the picture to develop, the examiner talked with the child to establish rapport. The picture was then mounted on a 3 X 4 inch cardboard and placed before the child who sat across a small table from the examiner. Before proceeding, the examiner asked, "Can you tell me who is in the picture?" A response, indicating that the child did recognize himself in the photograph, such as "me,"
naming himself, or pointing to himself was required before continuing.

The examiner began, pointing to the picture before asking each question: now I would like to ask you a few questions about (child's name). Can you tell me, is (child's name) happy or is he sad? The examiner proceeded to ask each of the 14 items in the self referent in this manner (see Appendix), each time repeating the question stem in the objective case. For example, "Is (child's name) ... or is he ... ?"

The mother referent was then introduced: that was very good (child's name). I would like to ask you a few more questions. This time I want to ask you a few questions about (child's name) mother. Can you tell me, does (child's name) mother think that (child's name) is happy or sad?

The examiner proceeded through the 14 items in the mother referent, pointing to the photograph and repeating the appropriate stem before asking each question. The child was told that the examiner would return in a few weeks and ask more questions, and then the picture would be given to the child to keep for himself. Two weeks later, the child was again invited to the same room and seated across the table from the examiner who said: do you remember looking at your picture with me a few weeks ago? Here is your picture again. I want to ask you some questions, and then I am going to give you your picture to keep for yourself.

The referent administered was a repeat of the self referent given two weeks earlier. A test-retest reliability measure was taken between
responses to the first self referent (referred to as Self I) and the second self referent (referred to as Self II).

   The teacher referent was then administered: now I want to ask you a few questions about (child's name) teacher. Does (insert name of child's teacher) think (child's name) is happy or sad?

   The referent was shifted to the other kids: do the other kids in the class think that (child's name) is happy or sad?

   After completing the five referents, the examination was terminated. The child was presented with the promised photograph which was specially displayed by his teacher at the child's eye level in his classroom.
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In this study, 42 lower-socioeconomic class preschool children (22 Mexican and 20 Anglo), participating in the Head Start program located in Ogden, Utah, were given a test designed to elicit each child's self concept. Children were asked to report their perceptions of themselves and their perceptions of the ways in which they supposed they were seen by significant others, their mothers, teachers, and peers.

Fourteen items presented in an either-or format constituted the dimensions on which children reported each of the five referents. The more socially desirable choice was scored "1" and the less socially desirable choice scored "0."

A Pearson product moment correlation between Self I and Self II referents as a test-retest reliability measure yielded a low but positive correlation of .324 which is significant at the .05 level of confidence (N = 42; df = 40). The retest, conducted in the same room using the same photograph and administered two weeks after the initial test, suggests a reasonable level of stability of young children's perceptions over a short period of time. Thus, children, who reported predominantly positive self perceptions on the first administration of the self referent, tended to report positive self perceptions on the second administration of the self referent.
These findings are based on the assumption that subjects responded honestly and that their self report is indicative of their self concept. Figures 1 through 20 graphically illustrate response differences among Mexican girls, Anglo girls, Mexican boys, and Anglo boys. Each hypothesis will be presented separately, followed by a discussion. Examination of the data suggests the following findings.

**Hypothesis 1**

There is no significant difference between the self concepts of lower socioeconomic class Mexican and Anglo preschool children as measured by the Brown-IDS Self Concept Referents Test.

Using analysis of variance, no statistically significant difference between Mexican and Anglo children was obtained for the "self as subject" referent. Examination of Figures 1 through 4 shows that children from all groups reported high positive self concepts; Mexican girls answered 83 per cent of the items positively; Anglo girls responded positively to 94 per cent of the items; Mexican boys responded to 87 per cent of the items positively; and Anglo boys answered 90 per cent of the items positively. Half of the Mexican girls responded to "Is (child's name) strong or is (child's name) weak?" with "weak;" three-fourths of the Mexican girls responded "sick" to the question "Is (child's name) healthy or is (child's name) sick." A small number of Mexican girls responded negatively to the same two items on each of the other referents. For the "mother" and "teacher" referents, this might indicate that they
were able to take the perspective of their mothers and teachers and saw themselves as weak in comparison. Hishiki (1969) reported that sixth-grade Mexican-American girls in her study indicated one item, "I have to be very careful of my health," was of great importance.

Using analysis of variance, a statistically significant difference at the .01 level was obtained between subjects on the "self as object" referent (score obtained by adding the positive responses to mother, teacher, and peer referents). Again, attention must be given to the fact that while these differences between Mexican and Anglo subjects reached statistical significance, the means for both groups were relatively high. This difference can be explored by comparing the frequency with which Mexican and Anglo subjects responded positively to each of the 14 questions on the mother, teacher, and peer referents.

Analysis of variance revealed a significant difference between Mexican and Anglo subjects in how they perceived their mothers view them. Figures 5 through 8 indicate that more Mexican than Anglo subjects perceived their mothers as seeing them in negative ways and that more Anglo than Mexican subjects perceived their mothers as seeing them in positive ways. Examination of the number of positive and negative responses to each question within the mother referent indicates that this difference between groups comes mainly from five items. Mexican subjects more frequently than Anglo subjects reported their own perceptions of their mothers' perceptions of them as:
1. Weak rather than strong
2. Sick rather than healthy
Mexican girls are responsible for the greatest difference attributed to Mexican children and reported their mothers' perceptions of them as:
3. Ugly rather than good looking
4. Sad rather than happy
5. Liking to have other kids' things as opposed to liking to have their own things

However, the majority of children perceived their mothers' perceptions of them as positive.

Analysis of variance revealed a significant difference between Mexican and Anglo subjects in how they perceive their teachers view them. Figures 9 through 12 indicate that more Mexican than Anglo subjects perceived their teachers as seeing them in negative ways. Examination of the number of positive and negative responses to each question within the mother referent indicates that this difference between groups comes mainly from five items which distinguish between the two groups. Mexican subjects more frequently than Anglo subjects reported their own perceptions of their teachers' perceptions of them as:

1. Not liking to play with other kids as opposed to liking to play with other kids

Mexican boys' profile on the teacher referent appears to be more like that for Anglo subjects with the exception of the above item, and
Mexican girls appear to have contributed the most difference especially on items:

2. Sad rather than happy

3. Ugly rather than good looking

4. Liking to have other kids' things as opposed to liking to have their own things

5. Sick rather than healthy

Roughly, 27 per cent of the Mexican girls' responses were negative on the teacher referent.

Analysis of variance revealed no significant difference between Mexican and Anglo subjects in how they perceived their peers (other kids) saw them.

The seventh item administered in the test, "Does (child's name) like to talk a lot, or doesn't (child's name) like to talk a lot," was consistently responded to negatively by boys and girls in both groups on the mother, teacher, and peer referents. Both Mexican and Anglo boys perceived their mothers as believing they did not like to talk a lot more often than either Mexican or Anglo girls. On the teacher referent, two-thirds of the Mexican girls, half of the Anglo girls, half of the Mexican boys, and two-fifths of the Anglo boys perceived their teachers as believing they did not like to talk a lot. One-third and over of all the children perceived their peers as believing they did not like to talk a lot.
Hypothesis 2

There is no significant difference between the self concepts of lower socioeconomic class Mexican boys and girls or between Anglo boys and girls as measured by the Brown-IDS Self Concept Referents Tests.

Analysis of variance revealed no statistically significant difference between Mexican and Anglo boys and Mexican and Anglo girls.

An examination of the per cent of negative responses given by each of the groups presented below (Table 1) will show that, while all subjects perceived themselves and significant others as seeing them favorably in general, Mexican girls were less positive than any of the other groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Self I</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Peer</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mexican girls</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo girls</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mexican boys</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Anglo boys</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examination of Figures 5 through 8 shows that Mexican-American girls perceived their mothers' perceptions of them less favorably than any
of the other groups, particularly on the following items:

1. Sad rather than happy
2. Ugly rather than good looking
3. Liking other kids' things as opposed to liking their own things
4. Weak rather than strong
5. Sick rather than healthy

Examination of Figures 9 through 12 shows that Mexican-American girls perceived their teachers' perceptions of them less favorably than any of the other groups, particularly on the following items:

1. Sad rather than happy
2. Ugly rather than good looking
3. Liking to have other kids' things as opposed to liking their own things
4. Not liking to talk a lot as opposed to liking to talk a lot
5. Sick rather than healthy

**Hypothesis 3**

There is no significant correlation between children's perceptions of self (self as subject) and their perceptions of significant others' perceptions of them (self as object: sum of mother, teacher, and peer referents).

The intercorrelations (Table 2) show a generally high level of congruency between subjects' perceptions of self and their perceptions of their mothers' perceptions of them. A high correlation between these two
Table 2. Pearson product-moment correlation between children's perceptions of self and their perceptions of significant others' perceptions of them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Self I</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Peer</th>
<th>Self as object</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self as subject</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.725</td>
<td>0.450</td>
<td>0.355</td>
<td>0.692</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.271</td>
<td>0.216</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.770</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self as object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant at the .01 level (r = .69)

Referents is understandable since the mother is the child's most significant other in his life, and possibly because the self and mother referents were administered on the same day.

Subjects were encouraged to assume the perspective of their mothers, teachers, and peers. The question stem containing the identification of the referent was restated by the examiner 14 times in each referent, and the child's attention was directed to the photograph each time a question was asked.

The number of items to which children would not or were unable to respond can be accepted as indications of the extent to which they did not fully understand the questions. "No response" might also be interpreted as a denial of the particular characteristic or inability to claim that verbal label.
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND DISCUSSION

Summary

The self concept emerges in social interaction and is a reflection of the perceived and actual responses of those who are significant to the child. The self concept, which is the center of personality, functions to direct behavior which is consistent with it. The self concept is learned and, therefore, can be modified with a corresponding change in behavior.

The self concept is of increasing interest to educators who wish to investigate the psychological factors which influence learning and development. Self concept theory can be helpful in providing remediation for the particular learning disabilities of disadvantaged children. Evidence suggests that the self concept becomes more fixed and less malleable with increasing age. Realizing the importance of identifying poor or negative self concepts held by children early in their development, this study has attempted to determine if Mexican preschool children (members of a recognized ethnic minority) have less favorable self concepts when compared with Anglo-American children of the same age and socioeconomic background. A second objective was to determine whether there exists a significant difference between the self concepts of Mexican boys and girls and between those of Anglo boys and girls of preschool age. The extent to which children's perceptions of self agree
with their perceptions of those who are significant to them was also investigated.

Twenty-two Mexican-American preschool children and 20 Anglo-American children were given the Brown-IDS Self Concept Referents Test. The technique was especially designed for use with very young children and is based on the assumptions that self concept is a product of social interaction and is formed by one's perceptions of self and the responses of significant others. A Polaroid photograph was taken of each child against a standardized background and used as an object about which the child responded to 14 questions from the perspective of self, mother, teacher, and other kids. Children's responses to the self referent gave a measure of the favorableness of self as subject. Responses to the mother, teacher, and peer referents were totaled for a measure of the favorableness of self as object. A retest of the self referent after a two-week interval confirmed the reliability of the measure.

The following results were obtained:

1. Both Mexican and Anglo children tended to perceive themselves and to see significant others as seeing them in generally positive ways. No statistically significant difference between Mexican and Anglo children was obtained for the self as subject. There was a statistically significant difference between Mexican and Anglo children regarding their perceptions of significant others' perceptions of them or the self as object measure. Mexican children perceived their mothers as seeing them less favorably, particularly as:
a. Weak rather than strong
b. Sick rather than healthy
c. Ugly rather than good looking
d. Sad rather than happy
e. Liking other kids' things rather than their own things

In addition, Mexican children perceived their teachers as seeing them less favorably, particularly as:

a. Not liking to play with other kids as opposed to liking to play with other kids
b. Sad rather than happy
c. Ugly rather than good looking
d. Liking to have other kids' things as opposed to liking to have their own things
e. Sick rather than healthy

There was no significant difference between Mexican and Anglo children with regard to their peers' perceptions of them.

2. No significant difference between the self concepts of Mexican boys and girls or between self concepts of Anglo boys and girls of preschool age was found. However, Mexican girls tended to view themselves less favorably than any of the other groups.

3. There was a high positive correlation between children's perceptions of self and their perceptions of significant others' perceptions of them. Children tended to see others as seeing them positively when
they perceived themselves positively, or negatively when they perceived themselves negatively.

Children from both groups consistently and most frequently reported that they did not like to talk a lot as opposed to liking to talk a lot.

Conclusions

Both Anglo- and Mexican-American children in this study appear to have developed positive feelings about themselves. There are, however, significant differences in the responses of children in the two groups. The Mexican-American children perceive their mothers and teachers as seeing them more negatively than do the Anglo children. The degree to which this difference is due to life experiences or to cultural values, as in the case of the Mexican girl, has not been determined by this study.

Discussion

Findings of this study, which were not part of the hypotheses but which are especially interesting, were the responses and language used by the children in the sample. Without attempting to qualify each response, patterns and content are presented here with the suggestion that an investigation of language in combination with self concept would be especially worthwhile.

The procedure was frequently interrupted with spontaneous remarks:

"Do you have kids in this classroom sometimes?"

"I don't have brown shoes. I have black shoes."
"Hey, there's my same dress. Hey! there's my shoes." The same child was excited about the barret in her hair being the same as the one in her picture, but she called it a ribbon.

"Look at my hands!"

"Hey, I have the same shoes on today."

"I have my stocking rolled down."

"It's my grandmother's birthday today."

"Do I get to take this picture?"

"Who lives there?" At one of the schools, the nurse's room was provided for administering the test. The room was rather small so the photographs were taken against the door. This child noticed the door knob behind her.

Some of the questions prompted additional remarks: question number nine asked whether the child was scared or not scared of a lot of things. Typical responses were: "Down at our house we put a new light in;" "A great big monster is in the basement." On the mother referent of this question, one girl responded: "Her thinks I ain't a scared of things and I ain't!"

Question five, which asked whether the child liked to have his own things or the other kids' things, was responded to with: "Somebody stole Maurine's iron!" and "My mother likes me to have my own things. Do you know what my mother's name is?"

Question 13 was sometimes qualified by responding, "Sick. I got a cold anyway," or "Sometimes I get sick."
"Hey, there's my same dress. Hey! there's my shoes." The same
child was excited about the barret in her hair being the same as the one
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"Look at my hands!"

"Hey, I have the same shoes on today."

"I have my stocking rolled down."

"It's my grandmother's birthday today."

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you know what my mother's name is?"

Question 13 was sometimes qualified by responding, "Sick. I got
a cold anyway," or "Sometimes I get sick."
Nonverbal responses (shaking the head "yes" or "no") were especially common on four items: "Does (child's name) like to play with other kids or doesn't (child's name) like to play with other kids?" "Does (child's name) like to talk a lot or doesn't (child's name) like to talk a lot?" "Does (child's name) like the way his clothes look, or doesn't (child's name) like the way his clothes look?" and "Does (child's name) like the way his face looks, or doesn't (child's name) like the way his face looks?" Culturally deprived children characteristically make more supplementary use of nonverbal communication. Though the Mexican children spoke English, Spanish was the preferred language used in the homes of 20 of the 22 subjects. However, there were no recognizable patterns of responses used exclusively by Mexican children; therefore, no distinction between Mexican and Anglo children is made in the following discussion.

"Is (child's name) scared of a lot of things (or people), or is (child's name) not scared of a lot of things (or people)?" were most frequently answered with "no" or "not scared" or a head shake "no."

"Is (child's name) good looking or is (child's name) ugly?" was quite often answered with a synonym for good looking, either "pretty" or "cute." Likewise, on the question "Is (child's name) smart, or is he stupid?" children would respond "dumb" when answering negatively.

Sometimes questions were answered by rejecting the less desirable adjective, such as "not weak" or "not sick" or "he ain't sick."

Several responses indicated that for Mexican children "clean" was
similar in meaning to "pretty," or children may have responded with "clean" because the question just before asked, "Is (child's name) clean or is (child's name) dirty?"

By far, questions were responded to with one word such as "happy," "good," and "good looking," or with a phrase such as, "my things," and "like my face."

An examination of patterns and content of responses to questions from the perspective of significant others indicates that only a very few of the children were reporting their perceptions of the way in which their mothers, teachers, and peers saw them; at least, their language did not make it clear if they were or not. For example, to indicate that he viewed himself as an object from the perspective of his mother, the child was expected to say, "Ben's mother likes the way his face looks." Only a very few of the children consistently responded in this manner. Typical responses were "like my face looks," "she does," and "yes, I like the way it looks."

It was difficult to evaluate many of the children's responses because of uncertainty as to whether they were speaking in a condensation of standard English or in a condensation of the style of language which often characterizes the less well educated person. For example, when a child was asked, "Does (child's name) teacher think (child's name) is clean or dirty?" and responded by making a comment such as "dirty" or "me dirty" or "think me dirty," it was difficult to know for certain if he meant "my teacher thinks I am dirty" or if he was saying "I think I am
dirty." However, the structure of nonstandard English is such as to give good support to the conclusion that the child may have been referring to the person mentioned in the question as it was asked of him.

**Suggestions for Further Research and Study**

1. The usefulness and accuracy of self concept data would be increased by a survey of life style and attitudes of subjects' families and would more appropriately define the attitudes and behavior of the children involved. (See Goodman and Beman, 1968.)

2. Use of a tape recorder would illustrate the language of children. The relationship between verbal ability and self concept, especially with regard to bilingual children, should be clarified.

3. Although the choice of items was modified by Brown and felt to be easily understood by his subjects, there is no way of knowing if these words had the same meaning for both Anglo and Mexican children. Dimensions of self concept other than those examined in this study could be investigated using different item pairs.

4. Rephrasing questions to eliminate "doesn't" would facilitate communication between examiner and subjects.

5. Evidence that children as young as those used in this sample are aware of social and ethnic differences suggests an attempt to construct item pairs in such a way that bias, due to social desirability, is eliminated.
LITERATURE CITED


Congreve, W. J. 1966. Not all the disadvantaged are poor. Education Digest 31:4-6.


Lambert, C. 1969. This is me! Childhood Education 49:381-384.


Data Collection Sheet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Scorea</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Happy--sad</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Clean--dirty</td>
<td>1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Good looking--ugly</td>
<td>1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Likes to play with other kids--doesn't like to play with other kids</td>
<td>1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Likes to have own things--likes to have other kids' things</td>
<td>1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Good--bad</td>
<td>1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Likes to talk a lot--doesn't like to talk a lot</td>
<td>1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Smart--stupid</td>
<td>1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Scared of a lot of things--not scared of a lot of things</td>
<td>0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1</td>
</tr>
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<td>10. Scared of a lot of people--not scared of a lot of people</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Likes the way clothes look--doesn't like the way clothes look</td>
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<td>Item</td>
<td>Score&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>12. Strong--weak</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Healthy--sick</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Likes the way face looks-- doesn't like the way face looks</td>
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<sup>a</sup>Score values parallel order in which adjectives are presented.
Figure 1: Responses of 12 Mexican-American Head Start girls to questions 1-14 on the Self-I referent.

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn't like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn't like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn't like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn't like the way face looks
Figure 2: Responses of 10 Anglo-American Head Start girls to questions 1-14 on the Self-I Referent.

- Likes to talk a lot
- Likes to have other kids things
- Likes to have other kids
- Likes to play with other kids
- Likes to play with other kids
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn't like the way clothes look
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Smart
- Stupid
- Does not like to talk a lot
- Likes to talk a lot
- Healthy
- Sick
- Strong
- Weak
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Good
- Bad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Happy
- Sad
Figure 3.

Responses of 10 Mexican-American Head Start boys to questions 1-14 on the Self I

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn't like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn't like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn't like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn't like the way face looks
Figure 5. Responses of 12 Mexican-American Head Start girls to questions 1-14 on the mother referent.

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn’t like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn’t like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn’t like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn’t like the way face looks
Figure 6: Responses of 10 Anglo-American Head Start girls to questions 1-14 on the mother referent.

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn’t like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn’t like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn’t like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn’t like the way face looks
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Doesn't like to play with other kids</td>
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<td>Clean</td>
<td>Likes to have own things</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dirty</td>
<td>Likes to have other kids things</td>
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<tr>
<td>Good</td>
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<td>Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart</td>
<td>Smart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stupid</td>
<td>Stupid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not scared of a lot of things</td>
<td>Not scared of a lot of things</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scared of a lot of things</td>
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<td>Not scared of a lot of people</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scared of a lot of people</td>
<td>Scared of a lot of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likes the way clothes look</td>
<td>Likes the way clothes look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't like the way clothes look</td>
<td>Doesn't like the way clothes look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthy</td>
<td>Healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick</td>
<td>Sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likes the way face looks</td>
<td>Likes the way face looks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't like the way face looks</td>
<td>Doesn't like the way face looks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 9. Responses of 12 Mexican-American Head Start girls to questions 1-14 on the teacher referent.

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn't like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn't like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn't like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn't like the way face looks
Figure 10. Responses of 10 Anglo-American Head Start girls to questions 1-14 on the Teacher Referent.
Figure II. Responses of 10 Mexican-American Head Start boys to questions 1-14 on the teacher referent.

1. Happy
2. Sad
3. Clean
4. Dirty
5. Good looking
6. Ugly
7. Likes to play with other kids
8. Doesn’t like to play with other kids
9. Likes to have own things
10. Likes to have other kids things
11. Good
12. Bad
13. Likes to talk a lot
14. Doesn’t like to talk a lot
15. Smart
16. Stupid
17. Not scared of a lot of things
18. Scared of a lot of things
19. Not scared of a lot of people
20. Scared of a lot of people
21. Likes the way clothes look
22. Doesn’t like the way clothes look
23. Strong
24. Weak
25. Healthy
26. Sick
27. Likes the way face looks
28. Doesn’t like the way face looks
Figure 12. Responses of 10 Anglo-American Head Start boys to questions 1-14 on the teacher

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn’t like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn’t like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn’t like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn’t like the way face looks
Happy
Sad
Clean
Dirty
Good looking
Ugly
Likes to play with other kids
Doesn’t like to play with other kids
Likes to have own things
Likes to have other kids things
Good
Bad
Likes to talk a lot
Doesn’t like to talk a lot
Smart
Stupid
Not scared of a lot of things
Scared of a lot of things
Not scared of a lot of people
Scared of a lot of people
Likes the way clothes look
Doesn’t like the way clothes look
Strong
Weak
Healthy
Sick
Likes the way face looks
Doesn’t like the way face looks
Figure 14. Responses of 10 Anglo-American Head Start girls to questions 1-14 on the Peer referent.

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn’t like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn’t like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn’t like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn’t like the way face looks
Figure 15. Responses of 10 Mexican-American Head Start boys to questions 1-14 on the peer referent.

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn't like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn't like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn't like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn't like the way face looks
Figure 16. Responses of 10 Anglo-American Head Start boys to Questions 1-14 on the peer referent.
Figure 17. Responses of 12 Mexican-American Head Start girls to questions 1-14 on the BPI II.
Figure 19. Responses of 10 Mexican-American Head Start boys to questions 1-14 on the Self II referent.

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn't like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn't like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn't like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn't like the way face looks
Figure 20. Responses of 10 Anglo-American Head Start boys to questions 1-14 on the Self II Referent.

- Happy
- Sad
- Clean
- Dirty
- Good looking
- Ugly
- Likes to play with other kids
- Doesn't like to play with other kids
- Likes to have own things
- Likes to have other kids things
- Good
- Bad
- Likes to talk a lot
- Doesn't like to talk a lot
- Smart
- Stupid
- Not scared of a lot of things
- Scared of a lot of things
- Not scared of a lot of people
- Scared of a lot of people
- Likes the way clothes look
- Doesn't like the way clothes look
- Strong
- Weak
- Healthy
- Sick
- Likes the way face looks
- Doesn't like the way face looks
VITA

Sue Ann Erickson

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

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