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The Relationship between Self-Concept and Level of Aspiration with Negro and White Chidren

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-CONCEPT
AND LEVEL OF ASPIRATION WITH
NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN

by
Andre Lefebvre

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
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Abstract

It was hypothesized that (1) urban Negro children have a lower self-concept than their white counterparts, and (2) regardless of race, low-self-concept children have a more unrealistic and more rigid level of aspiration.

Subjects used for the testing of the first hypothesis were 40 Negro male seventh- and eighth-graders from an all-Negro parochial school of the west side of Chicago, and 40 white male seventh- and eighth-graders from an all-white parochial school in the same area. The Negro and white groups were matched in terms of age, Peabody IQ, and socioeconomic status. Both racial groups were administered the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). Negro children scored significantly lower than whites on the following scales: Total Positive ($p < .01$), Behavior ($p < .01$), Physical Self ($p < .01$), Personality Integration ($p < .01$), Ethical Self ($p < .05$), Identity ($p < .05$), and Self-Satisfaction ($p < .05$). Negro children also scored significantly lower on the General Maladjustment scale ($p < .01$) and, since this scale is an inverse scale, a lower raw score means a higher degree of maladjustment. In addition, the scores on the other subscales were all in the expected direction.

For the testing of the second hypothesis, the level of aspiration of those occupying the top quarter on the TSCS Total Positive scale ($N=20$) was compared with the one of the bottom quarter ($N=20$). This hypothesis was investigated mainly by means of subjects' level of aspiration in a game consisting of 20 trials, with a prearranged sequence of scores. In addition, information was obtained from each subject with respect to his aspirations in terms of occupational and educational goals. The second hypothesis was not supported. However, a few racial differences were noted: the Negro children had significantly higher educational goals than their white counterparts and, in the game, their level of aspiration was consistently--though not significantly--higher than the level of aspiration of whites.

Acknowledgment

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Life

Andre Lefebvre was born in Ste Therese, Canada, November 26, 1924. After attending College Saint-Ignace, Montreal, he entered the Jesuit novitiate. In 1951, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from College Jean-de-Brebeuf, Montreal, and the licentiate in philosophy from College de l'Immaculee-Conception, Montreal. During the years 1951-1955, he studied Chinese first at Chabanel Chinese Language School in Manila, Philippines. After teaching six years of Medical Latin and French at China Medical College, Taiwan, he studied two years at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, from which he obtained a M. Ed. in counseling psychology. From 1968 until the present he has been a doctoral candidate in experimental psychology at Loyola University, Chicago.

Table of Contents

	Page
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vi
Chapter	
I The Problem and Its Historical Background	1
Negro Children's Self-Concept	2
Self-Concept and Level of Aspiration	28
II Method	35
III Results	54
IV Discussion and Conclusions	68
Summary	73
References	75
Appendix A: Vocational and Educational Questionnaire	91

List of Tables

Table

1	Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Peabody IQ	37
2	Distribution of Subjects by Socioeconomic Class	38
3	Distribution of Subjects by Age	39
4	Distribution of Subjects by Grade	40
5	Prearranged Sequence of Scores	46
6	Negro and White Children's TSCS Scores	55
7	Distribution of Low-Self-Concept and High-Self-Concept Subjects by Social Class, IQ, and Age	60
8	Game LOAs of Low-Self-Concept (LSC) and High-Self- Concept (HSC) Subjects	61
9	Number and Range of Shifts for Low-Self-Concept and High-Self-Concept Subjects	63
10	Correlations between Self-Concept and the Nine Game LOAs	64
11	Correlations between Self-Concept and the Number and Range of Shifts	65
12	Educational Level of Aspiration of Low-Self-Concept and High-Self-Concept Subjects	66
13	Comparison between Negroes' and Whites' Means on Total Conflict, Total Variability, Distribution, Psychosis, Personality Disorder, and Personality Integration	69

List of Figures

Figure		Page
1	Prearranged Sequence of Scores	48

CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM
AND ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The present research has a double purpose: to compare Negro and white boys' self-concept and to examine the relationship between self-concept and level of aspiration.

There seems to be general agreement that in this country the average Negro adult has a lower self-esteem than his white counterpart. The whole history of Negro slavery and racial prejudice together with still prevalent, though less crude, forms of discrimination could not exist without having a negative influence upon Negro adults' self-image. A decade ago, Dreger and Miller (1960) concluded their extensive review of comparative psychological studies of Negroes and whites by stating that "self-concepts seem to suffer in the Negro sub-culture in contrast to those of whites [p. 394]." Besides, is not the Black Power movement itself, with its vigorous slogans,--"Black is beautiful," "I am somebody--an implicit and, at times, avowed attempt to heal a wounded self-concept?

But what about Negro children's self-concept? It is hard to imagine that they could remain totally unaware of and unaffected by the social and cultural conditions which have so negatively affected their parents. Such a negative self-concept can certainly not appear overnight. It is most likely already present to a certain extent in the Negro adolescent and perhaps even in the Negro child himself. Hence, the first part of this chapter will be devoted to a comparative study of Negro and white boys' self-concept.

In the last two or three decades a vast amount of literature has been published concerning self-concept, its central position in the study of human personality, and its impact upon human behavior. Self-concept has been called

the "missing link" for understanding behavior (Brandt, 1957). Even the American public is becoming increasingly familiar with "psycho-cybernetics" (Maltz, 1969) and the "magic power" of the hidden self-image (Maltz, 1967). Since so much seems to depend on self-concept, there is certainly a need to examine how it affects the level of aspiration. Does an individual with a lower self-concept necessarily have a lower level of aspiration? Hence, the second part of this chapter will be devoted to the investigation of this problem.

Negro Children's Self-Concept

Before reviewing the various studies which have more directly and expressly dealt with the self-concept of Negro boys, an examination will be made of several psychological problems particular to the Negro child as opposed to the white child and which might have real implications for his self-concept.

Psychological Problems of Negro Children

1. Skin-color Conflict. There is considerable evidence that preschool Negro children are already aware of the color of their skin and have incorporated many of the racial prejudices prevalent in the adult world. Clark and Clark (1939a, 1939b, 1947, 1950, 1963), in their series of studies on racial identification and preference among children, found that at all ages the light-skinned children made more choices of the white than of the colored boy, that light-skinned children showed a sharp increase in identification with the whites from the third- to the fourth-year level and maintained this increase at the fifth-year level. They concluded: "The discrepancy between identifying one's own color and indicating one's color preference is too great to be ignored. The negation of the color brown exists in the same complexity of attitudes in which there also exists knowledge of the fact that the child himself must be identified with that which he rejects. This apparently introduces a fundamental

conflict at the very foundations of the ego structure (1950, p. 350)."

In the same year that the Clarks were conducting their first experiment, another investigator (Crisswell, 1939), using sociometric techniques, found that white children surpassed Negro children in self-preference. A few years later, Helgerson (1943) in a similar study of preschool children noted a decided tendency for the older group to choose the colored playmate less frequently than the younger group did, with the greatest difference occurring in the colored group.

Koch (1946), exploring social distance with children from second, fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth and twelfth grades, found that the medium-brown Negro, whether male or female, tended to be preferred to the dark by Negroes of all shades as well as by whites. Besides, when choosing between whites and Negroes, the light Negro more frequently favored whites than the medium-brown or darker Negro did. The light Negro boys at all grade levels tended to prefer white girls to Negro girls.

Investigating a slightly different problem, social class and friendship among children, Neugarten (1946) concluded that awareness of social class distinctions appears by the fifth or sixth grade of elementary school. Children from both high and low socioeconomic backgrounds more frequently chose high-status children. Obviously, if status discrepancy is further associated with and rendered more visible by skin color, such awareness of differential prestige must appear much earlier.

In the same year, Seeman (1946), studying skin color values in all-Negro school classes, reported that third- and fourth-grade children appeared clearly committed to the superior value of light skin. Skin color differences were again associated with differences in friendship and reputational status. In a study of 100 nursery school children who were four years of Age, Goodman

(1950, 1952) found that Negro children were more often highly sensitized to race than white children. The degree of pigmentation was strongly associated with race awareness.

Radke and Trager (1950), using doll materials, investigated children's perceptions of the social roles of Negroes and whites. Some of their findings were as follows: 16 per cent of Negroes ascribed inferior roles to Negro dolls, especially with regard to money and housing; 24 per cent of Negroes assigned work to the Negro doll and leisure to the white doll; the great majority of children from both races gave the poor house to the Negro doll and the good house to the white doll; the Negro doll was the doll preferred by only 57 per cent of the Negroes, whereas the white doll was favored by 89 per cent of the whites. But Negro children's comments during the interview which accompanied the experiment revealed still more clearly how they undervalued their own race and were bitterly aware of the social disadvantage of being a Negro. Undoubtedly, the deep conflicts that race awareness brings about in Negro children aggravates the usual problems of personality development.

Landreth and Johnson (1953), using a picture and inset test, systematically examined 288 Negro children's reactions to persons of different skin color. They found significant differences in choice of white over black, white over brown, and even brown over black skin color. These patterns of response were present as early as three years of age and became accentuated during the succeeding two years.

In a study of racial recognition with 454 children, ages three to six, Morland (1958) observed that the ability to recognize racial differences increased with age, but was already present among three-year-olds. This researcher also noticed that many of the Negro children who replied that they were colored did so reluctantly and only with obvious emotional strain.

Stevenson and Stewart (1958), investigating the development of social awareness in 225 three- through seven-year-olds, observed that the Negro children assigned negative roles to Negroes more frequently than the white children assigned such roles to whites. Besides, the Negro children chose the Negro (in those stories, pictures, and dolls) more frequently as being an aggressor, as being less likely to give aid, and as being a bad man. By the age of four, five and six, these children were responding in a way which manifested not only awareness of racial differences but also the use of stereotyped roles.

Morland (1962), who studied racial acceptance and preference in nursery school children, reported that, relative to whites, Negro children had a stronger preference for children of the opposite ethnic group. One year later, the same experimenter (Morland, 1963) conducted an extensive study of racial self-identification among 407 nursery school children. To the question, "Which child do you look more like?" 71.9 per cent of white children correctly identified with their own race, as opposed to only 41.3 per cent of Negroes who made a correct self-identification. Moreover, the percentage of Negroes identifying with their own race actually decreased as the ability to recognize race differences increased, whereas it was the opposite for whites. When asked, "Which child would you rather be?" 67.6 per cent of whites preferred to be a child of their own race, contrasting with 65.9 per cent of Negroes who would rather be of the opposite race. Finally, Morland asked, in a much more direct manner, "Are you white or are you colored?" 98.3 per cent of whites said they were white, whereas only 57.1 per cent of Negroes said they were colored. In a more recent study (1966), the same researcher obtained similar findings.

Using puppet-play and interview techniques, Brody (1963, 1964) made a

thorough investigation of color and identity conflict in 19 pairs of Negro mothers and sons. The mothers, like their sons, clearly showed varying degrees of conflict about the color of their skin and their status as Negro.

Butts (1963), himself a Negro, attempted to clarify the relationship between perception of skin color and self-esteem. His hypothesis that the Negro children with impaired self-esteem would perceive themselves less accurately in terms of skin color was supported. He remarked that one factor which interferes with the development of security in Negroes is the tendency to measure personal worth by the degree of proximity to white complexion. This problem has also been extensively examined by Pettigrew in a series of publications (1964a, 1964b, 1964c; Pettigrew & Thompson, 1964).

Adopting a different approach, based on a modification of the semantic differential, Williams and his colleagues (Harbin & Williams, 1966; Renninger & Williams, 1966; Williams, 1964, 1966; Williams & Carter, 1967; Williams & Roberson, 1967) studied black-white color connotations and racial attitudes in white children. Some of their major findings were that for white children--as early as three years of age--positive words tended to cluster about the white concept, while negative words tended to gravitate around the black concept. Since this color-meaning concept was found to increase as a function of age precisely during that period in which racial awareness is developing, these researchers suggested that the color-meaning factor acts as a contributing or reinforcing factor in the early development of racial prejudice. Unfortunately, their investigations seem to have been limited to white children. However, judging from the considerable evidence already presented in this paper, it is very likely that their conclusions could also be applied to Negro children.

Brown (1967), assessing the self-concept of Negro and white four-year-olds, found that a significantly greater number of Negroes believed that their

teachers perceived them negatively and, among other things, as "not having a nice face." Using a Sentence Completion Test, Deutsch (1967) detected similar findings in Negro children. To the following incomplete sentence, "When I look in the mirror I...", the most frequent answer from both Negro and white children was "I see myself" (50 per cent of whites as opposed to 30 per cent of Negroes). But 20 per cent of the Negroes (9 per cent of whites) gave such responses as "I cry," "I'm sad," "I look ugly," and the like.

Finally, in a very recent study conducted among Negro and white preschool children, a group of researchers (Stabler, Johnson, Berke, & Baker, 1969) hypothesized that their young subjects would guess that the "good" objects-- previously and independently determined as "good" by the children themselves-- were in the white box and that the "bad" objects were in the black box. Their prediction was supported by the data. Hence, they suggested that the drive for cognitive consistency would presumably lead them to such thoughts as, "Black is bad; I'm black; therefore, I'm bad." They concluded that the evaluations our culture has for the colors black and white may be a source of conflict in the development of self-concepts of Negro children.

Perhaps there is no better way to close this section on skin-color conflict than to quote Bronfenbrenner (1967): "Not only does the Negro child feel powerless; he feels worthless as well. At the core of this sense of inferiority is the awareness of being black. From the age of three onward, Negro children begin to prefer white skin to black and to think of Negroes in general and themselves in particular as ugly, unwanted, and 'bad' [p. 911]." The kind of discrimination against the darker type of Negro which is so widespread even among Negroes themselves and operates in their selection of sexual mates, employees, and club members is already existing at home: the darker a child is, the less chance he has to be warmly accepted even by his own family.

2. Emasculation of the Negro Male. It is by now a well-documented and generally recognized fact (Bronfenbrenner, 1967; Frazier, 1940; Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951; Pettigrew, 1964b) that, compared to the average American family, the Negro family is characterized by its strongly matriarchal structure. Due to a higher proportion of divorces and a greater number of illegitimate births, cases of paternal absence are excessively numerous. Besides, the father who frequently is unemployed cannot easily surpass in prestige the mother who can more readily find employment and become the financial support of the family. Even when the father is fortunate enough to be employed, his occupation is often inferior in prestige to that of the employed mother. Moreover, during her hours of work outside the home, the mother is as a rule substituted by another female: her own mother, one of her own sisters, or simply a daughter. It is easy to imagine how deep an impact such a lack of an adequate male model must have on the self-development of the Negro boy. Hence, it is by no means surprising that Long and Henderson (1967) found Negro children to have less preference for their father.

Using the Allport-Vernon's Study of Values, Young (1942) compared the values of male and female Negro college students and found that Negro females gave the first rank to "religious" values. Three years later, Eagleson and Bell (1945) conducted a similar study of values with Negro women college students and obtained a similar finding. Negro women were not different from their white counterparts in that they assigned the first rank to religious values. However, Young's most astonishing finding was that Negro males also placed religious values at the top of their value hierarchy, thus strongly contrasting with white males.

According to Grossack (1957), who investigated the personality characteristics of a group of Negro students, his male subjects' weakest needs, as

measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), were exhibition and autonomy. When compared with Edwards' white normative group, Negro males scored significantly lower on exhibition, autonomy, affiliation, dominance, and heterosexuality. Using the same instrument, other researchers have obtained similar findings (Brazziel, 1964; Guba, Jackson, & Bidwell, 1959).

Gaier and Wambach (1960) compared Negro and white college students of both sexes with regard to their self-evaluation of personality assets and liabilities. Finding the Negro males to be more similar to Negro females, i.e., more feminine than white males, they suggested that the Negro male's compliant attitude was used "as a form of self-protection by obeying, not taking the initiative, and accepting--surface-wise, at least--the decisions made for them by the critical others in their surroundings [p. 141]."

Katz and his colleagues (Katz & Benjamin, 1960; Katz & Cohen, 1962; Katz, Goldston, & Benjamin, 1958; Katz & Greenbaum, 1963) conducted a series of experiments on problem-solving with biracial groups of college students. Their research showed that in mixed race teams, Negroes performed less well on tasks for which they had ability equal to that of their teammates. They responded compliantly and appeared more susceptible to group influence, even when their own judgments were correct. There was on their part an almost instinctive avoidance of self-assertion.

Derbyshire, Brody, and Schleifer (1963), who had to deal with many Negro male patients, conducted an investigation of Negro family structure. They remarked that the Negro male is constantly confronted by the model of the white male functioning in a role of leadership which his own father does not have for his family. Besides, the female's role appears to the young Negro boy as well-defined with little or no ambiguity, strongly contrasting with a male "model" which is typically deficient. They concluded that by white middle-class

standards the Negro family structure would be considered pathogenic.

To the typical Negro family structure as a basic factor explaining the Negro male's significant problem of sexual identity, Kardiner and Ovesey (1962) added another factor: the "emasculating pressure" of the white society, against which effective retaliation has, heretofore, been impossible. Brody (1966) termed this type of widespread discrimination "symbolic castration" and viewed the Negro male, still more than the Negro female, as its constant object. Referring to the study of Negro males that he and his colleagues had earlier conducted (Derbyshire, et al., 1963), Brody wrote: "It is perhaps significant in this respect that a sample of young Negro male psychiatric patients display a marked lack of interest in using contraceptive techniques. This is interpreted as one way of gaining recognition of masculine status within the Negro social world and also within the complacent yet suppressive white world [p. 637]."

This ambivalent sexual identity is most probably one of the factors--though certainly not the only one--which can explain the prevalence of juvenile delinquency and the central importance of gangs among Negro youth. Pettigrew (1964b) cites many studies showing that children from homes without fathers--regardless of their race--are more likely to have problems in sex-role adoption. Their sexual handicap appears to be compensated by gang delinquency.

Lately, Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968) made a comparative study of Negro and white children, ages from 7 to 14. They reported that Negro girls received higher popularity scores at each age level than Negro boys--the gap tended to grow larger with age--but such a sex difference was absent among the white children. They concluded: "This would appear to be a very important finding, for it indicates that at the age of seven the male in this Negro culture is in a disadvantageous position relative to the females. Already, at this young age, his alleged unattractiveness is being emphasized [p. 340]."

This pervasive and systematic devaluation of the Negro male within his own culture, especially in the lower class, is a condition already present in the very first years of his life. The origins of his sexual ambivalence are very well expressed in the following quotation from Schermerhorn (1956):

The Negro male child in a lower-class environment has difficulty in identifying with either parent....If he submits to the mother's demands, he may be regarded as a sissy by his father and by his age mates; for this he despises himself. Should he identify with the father? Yet the father image has already been damaged by the constant stream of rebukes and slurs thrown at him by the mother. A father identification may mean freedom from the mother's control, but it also separates him from the only safety and security he knows. Ambivalence towards both figures results; part of him is frustrated and repressed, whatever his choice [p. 881].

3. Academic Handicaps. The inferior academic achievement of Negroes is a fact which does not need any further evidence. Far from shrinking, the gap which separates them from their academically superior white peers becomes larger as age increases (Coleman, 1966; Deutsch, 1967; Kennedy, Van de Riet, & White, 1963). This is not only true in terms of scholastic achievement, but this is equally true of measures of general intelligence (Coleman, 1966; Deutsch & Brown, 1964; Kennedy, et al., 1963; Pettigrew, 1964b). In addition, the scholastic discrepancy between Negro and white children is not only present at all socioeconomic levels, but even increases at each higher level (Deutsch & Brown, 1964).

According to a series of studies conducted by Pasamanick and his colleagues (Knobloch, Rider, Harper, & Pasamanick, 1956; Pasamanick & Knobloch, 1958; Pasamanick, Knobloch, & Lillienfeld, 1956), the excessively high rates of prematurity and congenital defects in Negro children--due to inadequate nutrition and prenatal care--lead to neurological damage and various psychological handicaps, such as impaired intellectual function, hyperactivity, distractibility, and shortened attention span.

Several other factors accounting for academic inferiority have also been emphasized in the literature: impoverished home environment, handicap in reading and language skills, lack of real interest for abstract learning, and the like.

Whatever be the real factors ultimately responsible for Negro children's inferior academic achievement, there can hardly be any doubt about the negative effect that those repeated scholastic failures must have upon their self-image. There is increasing evidence indicating a positive relationship between self-concept and academic achievement (Brookover, Thomas, & Paterson, 1964; Caplin, 1969; Davidson & Lang, 1960; Frink, 1962; Hishiki, 1969; Lumpkin, 1959; Piers & Harris, 1964; Quimby, 1967; Rosenberg, 1965; Roth, 1959; Shaw & Alves, 1963; Shaw, Edison, & Bell, 1960). Of the two--positive self-concept and scholastic achievement--which one is the antecedent, and which one is the consequent? Wattenberg and Clifford (1964) conducted an exploratory study at the kindergarten level in a search for an answer to this question. They found that measures of self-concept and ego strength taken in kindergarten could predict reading achievement two and one-half years later. However, their study suffered from several limitations, including its nonrepresentative sample and the narrowness of its criterion, i.e., reading achievement. The author of the present paper is more inclined to agree with Tuel and Wursten (1965) that the relationship between self-concept and academic achievement is rather reciprocal. A poor self-image may be either the cause--among other factors--or the product of educational disability. In the case of Negro children, who are more likely to come to school with an already damaged self-image, their feeling of inferiority may generate a general expectancy of academic failure and undermine their motivation and interest. Conversely, their repeated scholastic failures--due not

only to a negative self-image but also to the other factors listed above-- may further reinforce their negative self-perception.

4. Cultural Ambivalence. Perhaps the best way to summarize the various psychological problems that confront the American Negro is to reduce them to a problem of self-identity or self-definition. Indeed, besides the very specific type of ambivalence regarding skin color, the particular kind of ambiguity surrounding the sex-role of the Negro male, and the feeling of "not-belonging" which must burden the Negro pupil because of his repeated scholastic failures, there is further room for a more general and pervasive type of ambivalence which, perhaps, could be called cultural ambivalence.

According to sociologists and social psychologists (Grossack, 1956; Johnson, 1955; Kerckhoff & McCormick, 1955; Lewin, 1941, 1948; Mann, 1958; Noel, 1964; Yarrow & Lande, 1953), ambivalence is commonplace among members of minority groups. There is undoubtedly in minority persons a minimum amount of group belongingness or positive identification with their own group, but there also exists widespread negative identification, so that they are torn between group pride and group disparagement. Social scientists have even invented the term "marginality" to describe this particular status of minority persons. Although it was Park (1928) who first used the term "marginal man" in connection with human migration, it has been associated more often with the name of Stonequist (1937). The latter described the marginal man as "...one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations [p. 8]." His "in-between" position results in his developing a constellation of personality

characteristics indicative of maladjustment: ambivalence, excessive self-consciousness, restlessness, irritability, lack of self-confidence, etc. Obviously, the essentially unstable position of the marginal man becomes a source of serious personality difficulties when group antagonism further complicates the problem of the duality of cultures.

Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955), in their comparative study of Indian and white children, from fifth- through eighth-grades, found that marginal personality characteristics were most prevalent in those children who were inclined to identify with the white outgroup but encountered a relatively impermeable barrier because of their more marked Indian appearance. Lewin (1941, 1948), in his investigation of self-hatred among Jews, concluded that the marginal man's "uncertainty of belongingness" generates self-hatred and a high sensitivity to anything in his own group which does not conform to the values of the majority group, and has the tendency to use deprecatory stereotypes with regard to his own group.

Although marginality is a phenomenon common to all minority persons, it is perhaps more evident in the American Negro. Indeed, greater visibility due to color differences, the whole historical background of slavery, centuries of either legal or de facto segregation, and discrimination pervading almost all areas of social life are all factors which tend to set the Negro apart from the mainstream of American society and give him the feeling of being unwanted. To this feeling many Negroes react defensively, either by compensatory efforts to prove the authenticity of their patriotism or, conversely, by overemphasizing the African aspects of their subculture and threatening to enclose themselves rigidly within black separatism.

This ambivalence which deeply divides the Negro personality has been

expressed in various ways. Schermerhorn (1956) remarked that the average Negro "...lives a dual existence since he is both a part of and separate from the wider community. This means that to survive he must follow two paths of socialization [p. 880]." And Shibutani (1961) indicated what a serious problem of integration such a dualism of socialization must entail: "When participating in societies in which the component group norms are not mutually consistent, it becomes progressively more difficult for any man to integrate his various self-images into a single unit [p. 246]." The result of this dual socialization is that the Negro personality feels torn between incompatible identifications. He tries to identify as much as possible with the ideals and values of the dominant majority but at the same time feels unable to escape membership in his own group, although this membership constitutes a barrier to his upward mobility. His feeling of ambivalence can also be described as a case of approach-avoidance conflict: he hopes to identify with and be assimilated by the outgroup, and yet this very aspiration is burdened with apprehension and the fear of being rejected by both the outgroup and the ingroup (Grossack, 1954). His marginality status compels him to over-use the dissociation mechanism: being himself--his true self--with other Negroes but, a moment later, shifting to his role of "Negro" to meet the expectations of prejudiced whites.

However, this ambivalence is not only felt in the Negro's relationship with the outgroup, it is also felt with regard to the ingroup. Erikson (1950) has emphasized the importance of a stable group membership in shaping a sense of self or ego identity. Besides having a normative function, it also contributes to the development of familial pride and self-esteem. Unfortunately, these functions of the reference group are so deficient in Negro kinship groups: ancestry of slavery, father's absence, constant migrations first from Southern

farms to Southern cities, later from Southern to Northern cities, and in the coming years from the inner city to the suburbs, each migration contributing to further uproot the American Negro and render his marginality status more visible and painful. Therefore, it is not surprising at all that Brody and his colleagues (Brody, Blumenfeld, De Vos, Lief, Samora, & Seward, 1962) concluded their study of the minority group child with the following observation: the absence of a family line as a reference group seems to be a characteristic differentiating the process of identity formation in lower-class Negroes--and most Negroes are lower-class--as compared with children of other minority groups in the United States.

Furthermore, social scientists have been regularly characterizing the Negro child-rearing pattern as being inconsistent, i.e., alternately repressive and indulgent, a pattern which, according to clinical experience, tends to create conflict and identity problems in children.

The existence of identity problems in Negroes is suggested by the findings of two recent studies. Williams and Byars (1968), using the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) (Fitts, 1965) with Negro and white high school students, found that, compared to their white counterparts, the Negro subjects scored significantly higher on a measure of conflict and significantly lower on a measure of personality integration. In the same year, Wendland (1968), using the same instrument with Negro and white eighth-graders, also found that Negro children compared to their white counterparts scored significantly lower in personal integration. Besides, his Negro subjects scored significantly higher both on a measure of variability and an experimental measure of psychosis. According to the test manual, the variability scores "...provide a simple measure of the amount of variability, or inconsistency, from one area of self-perception to

another.... High scores mean that the person's self-concept is so variable from one area to another as to reflect little unity or integration. High scoring persons tend to compartmentalize certain areas of self and view these areas quite apart from the remainder of self [p. 3]." With regard to the Negro children's significantly higher score on the experimental scale of psychosis, it should not be inferred that these Negro children were psychotic but only that their responses were more similar to psychotic patients' responses.

The factors which generally make for the development of schizoid personalities seem to be so present in the background of the lower-class Negro that some researchers could not resist comparing Negroes with schizophrenics (Brody, 1961, 1966; Goldenberg, 1953; Milner, 1953). Brody (1961) thus summarized the main similarities between schizophrenic males of any race and non-schizophrenic Negro males:

These similarities appear in family structure; problems in forming a satisfactory identification with a father figure; the need to resolve anxiety-induced conflicting identifications with figures of opposing symbolic significance; factors promoting the use of defensive techniques which impair the evaluation of and ability to act upon reality; and lack of opportunity to develop an individual identity which is a successful variant of group identity [p. 345].

Myers and Yochelson (1948) called attention to the frequency of preoccupations with color among Negro psychotics. Their psychosis often included elements which betrayed an obsessional need to solve the problem of color and the special hardships associated with being Negro. Similarly, Brody (1961) observed frequent cases of delusions among Negroes regarding their color. According to some surveys (Faris & Dunham, 1939; Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958), Negroes have significantly larger rates of schizophrenia than whites, which is not surprising since a positive correlation has been found between schizophrenia and lower class. Actually, several comparative studies of Negro and white adults

(Gottlieb & Eisdorfer, 1959; Hokanson & Calden, 1960; Panton, 1959) have found their Negro subjects to score significantly higher than whites on the Sc scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). Similar findings were obtained by Caldwell (1953) in his study of Negro and white juvenile delinquents, and by Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968) in their investigation of children of both races.

5. Expectancies of External Control of Behavior. In the last decade or two, an important personality variable has received special attention from psychologists: internal versus external control of reinforcements (Liverant & Scodel, 1960). This construct, as described by Battle and Rotter (1963), "distributes individuals according to the degree to which they accept personal responsibility for what happens to them, in contrast to the attribution of responsibility to forces outside their control. The external forces might be those of chance, fate, an inability to understand the world, or the influence of other, powerful people [p. 482]." According to the above description, the "internals" are those who have a feeling of self-determination and of being more or less master of their own destiny, whereas the "externals" are those who are filled with a sense of powerlessness and inability to cope with environmental problems.

There is some evidence that lower-class individuals are more likely to be "externals." In a study of 819 Australian adolescents, ages 14 through 16 years, Katz (1964) observed that the lower-class subjects tended to perceive success as being more dependent on factors over which the individual had no control, whereas the middle-class subjects emphasized effort, responsibility, and personal worthiness. Battle and Rotter (1963) in their study, already mentioned, of sixth- and eighth-grade children found that: (a) the lower-class

Negroes were the most "external" and the middle-class whites the most "internal"; (b) the lower-class Negroes were significantly more "external" than the middle-class Negroes, though less so than in the first comparison.

This feeling of external control is not only associated with lower class. Epstein and Komorita (1971) studied 120 lower-class Negro children from fourth to sixth grades and discovered that low-self-esteem subjects were more "external." Since the low-self-concept individual is less likely to see himself as worthy and adequate, this finding was to be expected.

In the preceding sections, a vast amount of evidence has suggested that the color conflict seems to be at the root of the many psychological and social problems of the American Negro. Burdened with these problems which have been imposed upon them, Negro youths must feel much more deeply a sense of helplessness and despair than other minority group persons. Proshansky and Newton (1968) have shown that this feeling of powerlessness exists relatively early in Negro children. In fact, if we accept Sullivan's concept of "prototaxic communication" or "emotional contagion" and hold that an infant can mysteriously perceive--though in a primitive way--his mother's tension and feelings of insecurity, how much more reasonably can it be assumed that an older Negro child perceives the sense of helplessness and powerlessness manifested by his parents and the whole environment. Actually, several studies have found that, compared to their white peers, Negro youth perceived their environment as significantly more threatening (Hughes & Thompson, 1954; Mussen, 1953).

This feeling of being externally controlled obviously has several implications. Gore and Rotter (1963), in a study conducted in a Southern Negro college much involved in social protest movements, found that those individuals who were more "internal" tended to commit themselves to more social action,

whereas the "externals" appeared more passive. James (1957) demonstrated that in angle and line-matching tasks "externals" were characterized by more "unusual shifts" in their expectancy for success. That is, they were more likely to expect future success when they had just failed, and were more likely to expect failure after succeeding. In a study of lower-class Negro and white inmates, Lefcourt and Ladwig (1965) obtained similar findings: Negroes made more "unusual shifts," suggesting their greater dependence on luck or magical, externally controlled factors. It seems that segregation and discrimination by denying positive reinforcements to Negroes, despite their individual achievements, facilitate the development of an external orientation, i.e., generalized expectancies of external control.

6. Aggressiveness and Hostility. According to Miller's (1941) revised version of the "frustration-aggression hypothesis," frustration does not always and necessarily lead to aggression but, nevertheless, aggression always presupposes frustration. Although deeply and repeatedly thwarted individuals do not necessarily resort to actual aggression, they are more likely to be filled with aggressive tendencies and hostile impulses. The preceding sections of the present paper sufficiently demonstrated that the American male has had more than his share of frustrations. Hence, in the light of the "frustration-aggression hypothesis," the present section will look for signs or traces of aggressiveness in the Negro male. But it is not by any means the purpose of this section to demonstrate the "frustration-aggression hypothesis."

In his thorough study of the Negro personality, Pettigrew (1964b) adopted Horney's (1945) classic scheme to analyze the various ways Negroes handle their conflicts and canalize their aggressiveness. He reached the conclusion that Horney's three types of strategy are found in the Negroes' moving against the

oppressor (riots and violence), their moving toward the oppressor (dependency, submissiveness, compliance, identifications), and their moving away from the oppressor (migrations, self-segregation, Black separatism, and the "Back-to-Africa" movement). Pettigrew remarked that the three strategies are found to some degree in every Negro. Though, broadly speaking, the "moving toward" strategy seems to be more predominant among middle-class Negroes, whereas the "moving against" strategy appears to be more typical of poorest and darkest Negroes. From Pettigrew's analysis it is clear that aggressiveness is something much more complex, subtle, and pervasive than an act of outward aggression.

Diener (1967) conducted a comparative study of Negro and white college women and found in the former a stronger need for aggression and a greater "anti-democratic potential." Psychiatric reports (Sclare, 1953; St. Clair, 1951), based on extensive psychotherapy experiences with Negro patients, told of those patients being overwhelmed with the problem of handling their aggressive impulses. They warned that hostility is a dominant problem for Negro patients and should be given particular attention during therapy.

Hammer (1953), using the House-Tree-Person technique with a group of 400 Negro children from grades 1 through 8, observed that the Negro children revealed significantly more aggression in their drawings than their white peers. Gray and Thompson (1953) used a modification of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale in a series of comparative studies, first with 700 college students, then with 100 high school students, and finally with 100 randomly selected adults. They consistently found their Negro subjects to be more negative than their white subjects toward outgroups. Mussen (1953) analyzed the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) responses of a group of Negro and white lower-class boys, ages 9 to 14; the Negro boys were significantly lower in need for affiliation, the respect of others, and kindness and considerateness.

Several studies using the MMPI with both adults and children have shown the Negro subjects to score significantly higher than whites on the Pd scale (Ball, 1962; Baughman & Dahlstrom, 1968; Caldwell, 1953; Gottlieb & Eisdorfer, 1959; Hokanson & Calden, 1960) and on the Ma scale (Butcher, Ball, & Ray, 1964; Caldwell, 1953, 1959; Hokanson & Calden, 1960; McDonald & Gynther, 1962; Pantan, 1959). In their interpretation of the MMPI scales, Hathaway and McKinley (1966) pointed out that the "disregard of social conventions" and the tendency to "get into trouble with the law" characterize the individuals who have a high score on either the Pd or the Ma scales. These findings seem to be corroborated by other studies made with a different instrument, the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). As was true with the MMPI, Negro subjects again scored significantly higher on the Pd scale (Wendland, 1968; Williams & Byars, 1968).

Findings about aggressivity are not always easy to interpret. For instance, Deutsch (1967) asked Negro and white children, ages 9 through 12, to complete the following sentence, "If someone makes fun of me...." Only 6 per cent of Negroes (vs. 47 per cent of whites) suggested some kind of counter-action. But when asked to complete the sentence, "If I could be an animal, I would most like to be....," 31 per cent of Negroes (vs. only 16 percent of whites) identified with an aggressive animal. Conversely, only 9 percent of Negroes (vs. 23 per cent of whites) chose animals which they associated with warm and positive contact. The apparent contradiction between the two responses might be due only to the discrepancy in the formulation of the two incomplete sentences: the former, too straightforward, probably triggered a defensive reaction in the Negro subjects, while the latter, more disguised, was more likely to tap underlying aggressivity. This interpretation is corroborated by Yarrow's (1958)

investigation of children in an interracial summer camp. In periods of tension, 85 per cent of Negro children showed tension of the "covert" variety--withdrawal, nightmare, and physical symptoms.

Another factor which further complicates the study of aggressiveness is the multiplicity of its object. Indeed, aggressiveness is not exclusively directed toward outgroups, but it can also be directed toward the ingroup, and frequently toward the individual himself. Kardiner and Ovesey (1962) postulated a dynamic sequence in which low self-esteem in Negroes results in an idealization of the white and in efforts to be white. But obviously unable to realize such an ideal, they become hostile to whites and indulge in self-hatred and hatred of other Negroes. Noel's (1954) empirical analysis of group identification among Negroes revealed a positive correlation between rejection of outgroups and rejection of the ingroup. This finding challenges the widespread belief that the rejection of outgroups is merely an expression of ingroup pride. A similar phenomenon seems to be present in interpersonal relationships. Thus, in a study of the adolescent self-image, Rosenberg (1965) observed that adolescents with low self-esteem tended to describe themselves as withdrawn, excessively sensitive, and suspicious. They were also more likely to clash with peers and so confirm their suspicions.

Direct Studies of Negro Children's Self-Concept

The numerous findings reported in the preceding sections strongly suggest that, compared to their white counterparts, Negro children must have a more negative self-concept. Each of the aspects of the Negro personality which was analyzed seems to be associated with an impaired self-image, either as an antecedent or as a consequent. And yet it is astonishing how few studies purport to assess more specifically Negro children's self-concept.

Dreger and Miller (1960), in their survey of comparative psychological studies of Negroes and whites covering the years 1943-1958, expressed the rather vague conclusion--already quoted in a preceding section: "Self-concepts seem to suffer in the Negro subculture in contrast to those of whites [p. 394]." A few years later, in their second survey (1968) covering the years 1959-1965, they were slightly more explicit: "In the area of temperament, studies of ego development indicate a generally, although not necessarily, self-depreciative attitude arising in lower-class and especially in Negro segregated children, beginning in infancy. Consequent actual (as contrasted with peripheral) levels of aspiration and self-esteem and group esteem are low.... [p. 47]." The belief in the existence of a lower self-esteem among Negro children has been based mainly on either a combination of rather impressionistic observations and interviews, on materials obtained through projective techniques, or has been inferred from incidental findings only indirectly related to self-concept.

It was only very recently that a serious attempt has been made to focus directly and explicitly upon Negro children's self-concept and to apply more rigorous quantitative techniques for its objective assessment. Brown (1967) devised his own self-rating instrument and asked Negro and white children to rate themselves first from their own point of view and then from others' point of view. The experiment indicated that a significantly greater number of Negroes believed that they were perceived negatively by their teachers. Unfortunately, in this experiment the socioeconomic variable was not controlled: the Negroes being from the lower class, while the whites were from the middle class. Carpenter and Busse (1969) also used a self-rating technique with a group of Negro and white welfare children, all at the bottom of

the economic ladder. They found Negro children's self-concept to be slightly --though not significantly--more negative than those of white children.

In a special attempt to assess objectively Negro self-evaluation in a period of increasing social and academic integration, Williams and Byars (1968) administered the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) to 310 Negro and white senior high school students from a cross-section of rural and urban schools in Georgia. The composition of the Negro sample was as follows: 35 were attending schools most of which had been desegregated within the year preceding the study, while 99 were in segregated schools. The Negroes, as a group, were found to have a significantly lower self-concept than their white counterparts. Not only did Negro subjects score significantly below the white group on 12 of the 17 dimensions measured by the TSCS, but their scores were even lower than the corresponding normative means on all of the 17 scales. However, Williams and Byars failed to find any significant difference between Negroes attending integrated and segregated schools.

In the same year, another researcher (Wendland, 1968), focusing upon the relationship between self-concept and area of residence, administered the TSCS to a sample of 685 eighth-graders of both races drawn from four points on the rural-urban continuum. The Negro and white schools included in her sample contained no adolescents of the other race. Her hypothesis that self-evaluations would be more positive at the rural end of the residential continuum was supported. However, she found Negro adolescents' self-concepts significantly higher than those of whites. This last finding clearly contradicts the whole literature on the personality of the American Negro, and conflicts with Williams and Byars' findings in particular. This surprising superiority of Negro self-image over the whites' could not be due to any socioeconomic discrepancy between

the two groups, for both were of lower-middle and lower class, with the whites being even slightly more representative of the lower-middle status.

How to explain Wendland's unexpected finding? The comparative analysis of both studies' results reveals that while Williams and Byars' TSCS scores are massively and significantly in the expected direction, Wendland's results appear rather inconsistent. Indeed, compared to her white subjects, not only did her Negro subjects score significantly higher on the Defensive scale (DP), but they also were significantly higher on two other scales--Total Conflict and Total Variability. Total Conflict scores indicate conflicting responses to positive and negative items within the same area of self-perception. According to the test manual (Fitts, 1965), "high scores indicate confusion, contradiction, and general conflict in self perception.... Disturbed people generally score high on this variable...[p. 4]." The Negroes' Total Conflict score was not only significantly higher than the whites' but it also was above the normative mean and, according to the manual, should even be considered "deviant." Total Variability scores reflect fluctuations from one area of self-perception to another, e.g., a high Physical Self contrasting with a low Social Self. "High scores mean that the person's self-concept is so variable from one area to another as to reflect little unity or integration [p. 3]." The Negroes' Total Variability score was not only significantly higher than the whites' but it also was above the normative mean. Besides, on two empirical scales--Psychosis (Psy) and Personality Disorder (PD)--Negroes not only were significantly higher than whites, but they also were considerably above the normative group. On another empirical scale--Personality Integration (PI)--Negroes scored significantly lower than whites and were below the normative mean.

Besides the TSCS, Wendland's subjects were also administered two special scales--Estrangement and Cynicism--derived from the MMPI by Harrison and Kass (1967). On both scales Negroes scored significantly higher than their white counterparts.

In summary, the constellation of the Negro scores on the above dimensions seems much more characteristic of persons who have a lower degree of self-esteem. Therefore, the Negro children's higher self-concept score could very well have resulted from defensive distortion.

Reasons for the Present Study

Despite the vast amount of psychological literature regarding the American Negroes' self-concept, the general conclusions remain predominantly of an impressionistic nature. The two recent studies conducted with the help of the TSCS seem to be a step in the right direction and to have opened a new era. There is a tremendous need for more research of this kind, preferably with the same instrument, so that serious, comparative analysis can be instituted.

Both of the TSCS investigations were conducted in the South. There is a need for similar studies to be made in the North. Williams and Byars' inquiry was among high school seniors. Wendland, who used eighth-graders as subjects, obtained different results which raise questions about the widespread assertions concerning Negro self-concept. To explain these conflicting results, there seems to be a need for a new study of eighth-graders' self-image. Besides, the apparent inconsistencies revealed in Wendland's data themselves call for, at least, a partial replication of her investigation.

Wendland found urban subjects, whatever their race, to have a significantly lower self-concept than rural subjects, but that trend was present to a greater extent among Negroes. In other words, city life seemed to have

affected Negroes more negatively than whites, although urban Negroes' self-appraisal was still significantly higher than that of urban whites. If the discrepancy between country and an industrialized city of 90,000 residents meant an increase in devaluating experience for Negroes, then could not the devaluating experience in a city of more than 3,300,000 residents, like Chicago, result in Negroes having a significantly lower self-concept than whites?

First Hypothesis

In the context of the various psychological problems of the American Negro reviewed in the preceding sections, it was hypothesized that urban Negro boys have a more negative self-concept than urban white boys.

Self-Concept and Level of Aspiration

Numerous studies of self-concept as well as general clinical experience provide abundant evidence that a low self-image has a crippling and paralyzing effect both on personality development and interpersonal relationships. Conversely, any enhancement of an individual's self-image with the feeling of personal adequacy that it implies seems to have a positive and healthy impact on his attitudes, decisions, and behavior. In the first part of this chapter reference has been made to a number of studies which strongly suggest a positive relationship between self-concept and academic achievement, though this relationship is most probably reciprocal. In a similar vein, initially it was supposed that there exists a positive relationship between self-concept and level of aspiration--a low degree of self-esteem probably having the effect of deflating the level of aspiration, as in the case of bright underachievers. Thus, Douvan and Adelson (1958) found a positive relationship between effective, autonomous ego functioning and upward social mobility among adolescent boys. Shutz and

Blocher (1961) found a similar relationship between a quantitative measure of self-satisfaction and the Occupational Level (OL) scale of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). Further support for this hypothesis was offered by Steiner (1957) in an experimental analysis of the goal-setting behavior of a group of undergraduates. Those who were pessimistic in their self-appraisal were found to make low and pessimistic estimates of their future performance, whereas those whose self-appraisal was favorable tended to set their goals high relative to their past performance. Such findings were confirmed by other investigators (Edwards & Webster, 1963).

On the other hand, there is a vast amount of observations which indirectly suggest that the relationship between self-image and level of aspiration might not be as simple and clear-cut as the above findings seem to indicate. Without going so far as to adhere completely to Adler's extreme position, it does not seem too unreasonable to consider the possibility that inferiority feelings not infrequently lead to high aspirations of a compensatory nature. Horney's emphasis on insecurity feelings and the drive for superiority helped to popularize the principle that not only underachievers but overachievers too could be neurotic. And who is not familiar with those common reactions that Allport (1954) called "compensation by substitution" [p. 153] and "symbolic status striving" [p. 154]? Lewin (1935), speaking of "substitute actions" which "spring from the tension system" and do not really correspond to a new goal but to "another way of reaching the original inner goal" gave the following example: "A young feeble-minded child wishes to throw a ball very far. He does not succeed, but he is happy because he made such a vigorous movement. The feeble-minded child has a tendency to be satisfied with a gesture if the real action is impossible [p. 186]." It is very possible that many high aspirations do not

genuinely stem from a healthy self-concept but are unrealistic substitutes the function of which is mainly to compensate for a deep feeling of deficiency or failure.

Atkinson and his colleagues (Atkinson, 1958; Clark, Teevan, & Ricciuti, 1956), in a series of studies of risk-taking behavior in simple, competitive games, found that individuals fearful of failure--i.e., more strongly motivated to avoid failure than to achieve success--tended either to overaspire or underaspire. Using a different technique, Mahone (1960) found that significantly more subjects who were fearful of failure and low in need achievement had an unrealistically high level of occupational aspiration compared to subjects who were high in need achievement and had little fear of failure. In the same vein, it was further demonstrated (Moulton, 1965) that subjects whose motivation to avoid failure exceeds the motivation to succeed are more likely to arbitrarily shift their level of aspiration on a task (i.e., raising their level of aspiration after failure instead of lowering it, or lowering it after success instead of raising it). Those "avoidance-oriented" subjects also tended to choose the easy or difficult task more often than others. The basic attitude of those subjects has been clearly described by Burnstein (1963) who conducted an inquiry along this line of research:

Theoretically, individuals high in FF [fear of failure] and low in n Ach are as likely to overaspire to an occupation whose probability of attainment is extremely low as they are to underaspire to an occupation they are certain of attaining. Both underaspiring and overaspiring allow the person to avoid a real test of competence. In the former case, success is a relatively sure thing; in the latter, success is not to be expected and failure is neither meaningful nor threatening [p. 192].

Attacking the problem from a different angle, Sears (1940) hypothesized that one factor in the level of aspiration pattern for a given task is the

particular past experience of success or failure which the individual associates with the task. She then presented two groups of children--the academically successful and the academically unsuccessful--with scholastic tasks in a series of 20 trials. After each trial, the subjects were asked to state their expected next score. The academically unsuccessful group were found to be less realistic, their expected scores being dispersed or scattered widely in both directions from the midpoint of the academically successful group's values, thus revealing a tendency to either overaspire or underaspire. Besides, the unsuccessful group's pattern of expected scores, as revealed by the relatively smaller number of shifts, showed more rigidity than the successful group (Sears, 1941). Byers (1962), who replicated Sears' experiment with high school students, obtained similar results.

Other researchers explored the relationship between adjustment and level of aspiration. Thus, Gruen (1945), using Roger's Test of Personality Adjustment, constituted two groups of children--the "well-adjusted" and the "mal-adjusted." He presented them with a task, asking them to state before each trial the score they expected to obtain. The aspiration pattern of the "mal-adjusted" was found to be characterized by very large overestimates and underestimates. These findings were confirmed by Small (1953) who observed particularly unrealistic vocational choices among a group of maladjusted adolescents. Some additional support for this line of thinking may be derived from clinical experience, as Coleman (1964) pointed out: "Well-adjusted people tend to have a reasonably accurate evaluation of themselves in relation to their world and hence a fairly realistic level of aspiration. Maladjusted people, on the other hand, tend to be unrealistic--to set their aspirations either too high or too low--leading to inevitable failure or to wasted opportunities and, in either case, to unhappiness [p. 80]."

Although it is generally believed that the level of vocational and educational aspiration is positively correlated with socioeconomic status, there is much evidence leading us to question that opinion (Antonovsky & Lerner, 1959; Gould, 1938, 1941; Hishiki, 1969; Holloway & Berreman, 1959; Stephenson, 1957). The presence of a negative correlation between the two variables is especially frequent among lower-class Negroes (Adams, 1950; Boyd, 1952; Gottlieb, 1964; Hyte, 1936; Kim, 1969; Pettigrew, 1964b; Smith & Abramson, 1962; Wylie & Hutchins, 1967). These conflicting findings are partly due to imperfect methodology. For instance, the question, "What would you like to do when you grow up?" may have an idealistic meaning, that is, "if it was only up to you." It may also have a more realistic meaning, that is, "considering the financial conditions of your family, your liabilities, etc...." The ambiguity of the leading question is undoubtedly one of the factors which contributes to these conflicting results. However, compensatory overaspiration seems also to play an important part.

According to self theories and general clinical experience, a too great discrepancy between self-ideal (the self one aspires to be) and self-concept (the perceived self) is a source of psychological problems. So, the therapeutic approach is either to enhance the individual's self-concept or to lead him to readjust his aspirations, bringing them down to a more realistic level. The approach implies that a low self-concept may result in overaspiration. Cohen (1954) found a curvilinear relationship between goal-level setting in a game and self-acceptance. Both very high and very low goal settings were significantly related to a high degree of self-rejection, while a lesser degree of self-rejection was related both to medium-high and medium-low goal settings. Holt (1945, 1946), reporting on an investigation destined to test what he called

the "defense-hypothesis," concluded: "There are indications in the present data that persons lacking in the ability and need to make friends, to adapt themselves to the requirements of social living--in short, those who enjoy the least esteem from others--tend to exhibit the most extreme levels of aspiration in a compensatory attempt to bolster and protect their own self-esteem [1945, p. 316]."

The conflicting results with regard to the nature of the relationship between self-concept and level of aspiration have divided researchers into two camps: those who favor a simple, linear relationship between the two variables, and those who hold that a complex, curvilinear relationship exists. The conflicting findings on which these different points of view are based might be due to several factors: (a) level of aspiration was not always compared with exactly the same personality variable, though most of these various personality variables seemed to some extent related to self-concept; (b) the tools adopted to assess these personality variables were generally not identical; (c) some studies were dealing with educational aspirations, others with the level of aspiration in an academic task, while others were concerned with the level of aspiration in a game, and still others were tapping an absolute or idealistic level of vocational aspiration while others were measuring that aspiration at a more relative or realistic level; (d) other important variables such as age, sex, intelligence, and socioeconomic level were not always controlled.

It seems more likely that individuals who have a negative self-image tend to have a rigid and unrealistic level of aspiration, either underaspiring lest their effort result in failure, or overaspiring as a means of compensating for their lack of self-esteem. In other words, subjects who have a low self-concept may react in different ways, depending on the type of defense mechanism

they use. In a game, while the subject with a sound self-concept seems more likely to constantly readjust his level of aspiration to reality (his actual performance), the subject with a low self-concept might be expected to react blindly to his own emotional needs without taking into consideration his actual performance. Hence, his rigidity and lack of realism.

Second Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that, regardless of race, those who have a more negative self-concept tend to have less realistic and more rigid levels of aspiration, i.e., either by overaspiring or underaspiring, and by not shifting their level of aspirations in relation to their actual performance.

This hypothesis was investigated mainly by means of subjects' levels of aspiration in a game situation. In addition, information was obtained from each subject with respect to his aspirations in terms of occupational and educational goals.

CHAPTER II

Method

Subjects

The authorities of an all-Negro parochial school on the west side of Chicago were first contacted and presented with the whole project: its need, its purpose and possible implications, its confidential character, time required, and so on. Once the project had been approved, the school records of seventh- and eighth-grade males ($N=40$) were examined to gather information on names, birth dates, birthplaces, parental occupations, and IQ scores. It is a rather common, though not necessarily general, practice in Chicago parochial schools to administer the Otis-Lennon test of intelligence to children. According to the principal of that school, the traditional average IQ of the school fluctuates between 90 and 93. An examination of the records showed that for the 20 children whose records included an Otis-Lennon IQ the average score was 92. It was also found that all of the 40 children, except 6, were born in Chicago.

Once the Negro group had been selected, an inquiry among teachers and pastors was conducted in order to find an all-white parochial school of approximately the same socioeconomic level--i.e., lower class--and of the same average IQ. A special effort was also made to select a school population truly representative of the basic, long-established, American white culture, not a composite of newly arrived and not yet assimilated immigrants of various subcultures, such as Orientals, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and other minorities. A school which appeared to more or less satisfy the above requirements was also found on the west side of Chicago. The school records of the 146 male seventh- and eighth-graders were examined. Only those children with the lowest Otis-Lennon IQ were selected, resulting in a group of 53 subjects with

an average IQ score of 96.

This initial screening process for the white school was followed by the individual administration of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) (Dunn, 1959) to all potential subjects, i.e., 40 Negroes and 53 whites. The results of this test led to the further elimination of 13 whites whose IQ deviated the most from the Negro group's mean PPVT IQ. This resulted in the constitution of two groups of 40 Negroes and 40 whites with an almost identical mean IQ (see Table 1).

The Coleman Index (Coleman, 1959) was then applied to parental occupations of both racial groups to make sure that they really belonged to the same socioeconomic level. No significant difference was found between the two racial groups (see Table 2).

Finally, with regard to age, the original plan was to eliminate from the sample any white child whose age did not fall within the age-range of the Negro group. However, the age-range for the two groups was identical and rendered this intended procedure unnecessary (see Table 3). It can also be seen from the distribution of subjects by grade (see Table 4) that neither grade appears to be disproportionately represented.

Measures

Coleman Index. In the present study, the father's occupation was rated according to Coleman Index (Coleman, 1959). In case of father's absence or unemployment, the mother's occupation was rated and substituted for that of the father. According to Coleman's scheme, there are three major socioeconomic levels: upper, middle and lower. Each of the last two levels is further subdivided into three sublevels: upper, indeterminate and lower. This results in a 7-point scale ranging from the upper level (7) to the lower-lower level (1).

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations, and
Ranges of Peabody IQs

Measures	Negroes (<u>N</u> =40)	Whites (<u>N</u> =40)	<u>t</u>
Mean	98.37	98.52	.69
Standard Deviation	9.75	9.28	
Range	75-114	82-114	

Table 2
Distribution of Subjects
by Socioeconomic Class

Socioeconomic Class	Negroes		Whites		<u>t</u>
	<u>N</u>	Rating	<u>N</u>	Rating	
7. Upper	0	0	0	0	
6. Upper-middle	0	0	0	0	
5. Intermediate-middle	2	10	1	5	
4. Lower-middle	10	40	11	44	
3. Upper-lower	13	39	22	66	
2. Intermediate-lower	11	22	5	10	
1. Lower-lower	4	4	1	1	
Total	40	115	40	126	
Mean		2.87		3.15	1.32

Note. Rating based on parental occupation according to Coleman Index (Coleman, 1959).

Table 3
Distribution of Subjects by Age

Age	Negroes (<u>N</u> =40)	Whites (<u>N</u> =40)
14	7	11
13	22	16
12	11	13
Median	13-4	13-5
Range	12-2 to 14-10	12-2 to 14-10

Table 4

Distribution of Subjects by Grade

Grade	Negroes	Whites
8	23	18
7	17	22
Total	40	40

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT). A relatively recent test, the PPVT (Dunn, 1959), according to the test manual, was devised "to provide a well-standardized estimate of a subject's verbal intelligence through measuring his hearing vocabulary." Used with normal subjects, ages 2.5 through 18, as a quick estimate of intelligence, it is also particularly valuable in the testing of handicapped groups for whom the standard intelligence tests are not always appropriate, e.g., subjects with reading problems, speech problems, mental retardation, or emotional withdrawal. Its concrete pictures and the exclusive use of the recognition method as opposed to the recall method help to make it an instrument which is more interesting and less unfair to Negro children. According to one school principal,¹ there is a trend toward using the PPVT with Negro children instead of the Otis.

The PPVT consists of 3 practice and 150 test plates (each with 4 numbered pictures) arranged in ascending order of difficulty. Two parallel forms are available, differing only in the stimulus word for each of the 150 items. Alternate form reliability for each age level ranges from .67 to .84 with standard errors of measurement from 6.00 to 8.61 IQ points. A test-retest reliability of .88 after one year has been reported.

According to the test manual and other studies (see Buros, 1965), correlations with Stanford-Binet mental ages are generally in the .70s and low .80s, with IQ correlations running lower. Correlations with WISC IQs are also in the high .70s and low .80s.

Concluding her review of the PPVT, Piers (Buros, 1965) wrote: "...the PPVT is probably now the best of its kind. It seems to do at least as well

¹Personal communication.

as the Ammons FRPV, and has considerably more range than the Van Alstyne [p. 823]."

The Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). Already in use in mimeographed form since 1955 (Fitts, 1955), the TSCS was revised and published 10 years later (Fitts, 1965). The impressive number of references on the TSCS (180 references by April 1970, to be added to the 30 references already cited in the 1965 manual) is indicative of its significant impact on self-concept research. It is described by the manual itself as "simple for the subject, widely applicable, well standardized, and multidimensional in its description of the self concept [p. 1]."

Consisting of 100 self-descriptive statements, this Likert-type instrument can be used with subjects aged 12 or older and having at least a sixth grade reading level. Most subjects can complete the Scale in less than 20 minutes.

Two forms are available, a Counseling Form and a Clinical and Research Form. The difference between the two forms is only in the scoring and profiling system. In the present study, the Clinical and Research Form was used.

According to the manual, the standardization group was "a broad sample of 626 people. The sample included people from various parts of the country, and age ranges from 12 to 68. There were approximately equal numbers of both sexes, both Negro and white subjects, representative of all social, economic, and intellectual levels and educational levels from 6th grade through the Ph. D. degree [p. 13]."

A table of reliability data based on test-retest with 60 college students over a two-week period is provided by the manual and indicates a reliability of .92 for the total Scale, reliabilities in the .80s and .90s for the major

subscales, and in the .60s and .70s for minor subscales. Besides, the author claims to have demonstrated through profile analysis that "the distinctive features of individual profiles are still present for most persons a year or more later [p. 15]."

The original pool of items was derived from several other self-concept inventories and also from written self-descriptions of patients and nonpatients. Of the 100 items used in the Scale, 90 are those which were agreed upon unanimously by the seven clinical psychologists employed as judges. The remaining 10 items, those comprising the Self-Criticism scale, were borrowed from the L-scale of the MMPI. Thus it may be assumed that the TSCS has a reasonable degree of content validity. With regard to its construct validity, two investigators (Vacchiano & Strauss, 1968) have recently submitted the Scale to factor analysis and have reached a favorable conclusion.

A comparison instituted between 369 psychiatric patients and the 626 non-patients of the standardization group has revealed highly significant (mostly at the .001 level) differences between the two groups for almost every subscale. This finding was confirmed by other studies cited in the manual. Numerous correlations between various TSCS subscales and other personality measures, such as the MMPI and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), are also provided by the manual, and appear to support the validity of the instrument.

One of the major features of the TSCS is its multidimensionality. Besides providing a Total Positive score, reflecting the overall level of self-esteem, the TSCS also includes an assessment of Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self. In addition, it provides measures of Identity ("what I am"), Self-Satisfaction ("how I feel"), Behavior ("what

I do"), Self-Criticism (obvious defensiveness), Conflict (inconsistency within the same area), Variability (inconsistency from one area to another), Distribution (to detect response sets on the five available choices), True-False Ratio, and six empirical scales: Defensive Positive (subtle defensiveness), General Maladjustment, Psychosis, Personality Disorder, Neurosis, and Personality Integration.

Vocational and Educational Questionnaire. As explained in Chapter 1, too many studies of vocational aspiration have neglected the important distinction between a certain idealistic or absolute level and a rather realistic, relative or expected level of aspiration. The neglect of this distinction has led to equivocal data and conflicting conclusions. Hence, the children were asked the following two questions: (a) "If it was completely up to you and there was nothing to stop you, what job would you like to choose when you grow up? Name one job only." (b) "In fact, what job do you actually plan to get when you grow up? Name one job only."

Of the two questions above, the first one was more likely to tap the absolutely preferred level of aspiration, while the second one was designed to tap the relative or expected level.

On the same mimeographed sheet (see Appendix A), subjects were presented with an educational scale consisting of 9 levels from 1 (1 year of high school) to 9 (beyond college). They were asked to check the highest level of education they would like to reach. For instance, the subject whose educational level of aspiration (LOA) was 4 years of high school received a score of 4; one whose ideal was to go through 3 years of college was assigned a score of 7.

Poker Chip Game. In this individual game, the subject is presented with a box of 80 poker chips. The whole game consists of a series of 20 trials.

On each trial, the subject is asked how many poker chips he expects to be able to pile up into stacks of 5 in 30 seconds. The 20 stated or expected scores constitute a series of 20 estimates or predictions. Presumably, this chain of "bets" reflects each individual's level of aspiration (LOA) with its upward and downward fluctuations, as the subject proceeds through the whole game.

In order to control objective differences in performance due to individual differences in manual dexterity, the series of performance scores to be reported to each individual after each trial is exactly the same for all subjects (see Table 5). This technique of a "prearranged sequence of scores" was essentially borrowed from Gardner (1939), except for a few modifications both in the curve of scores and in several of the analytical steps.

The main problem with the use of this predetermined score technique is the risk of detection by the subject. Since the subject is able to count the actual number of chips he has piled up on a given trial, the reported score necessarily has to correspond to the actual score. In a game of this nature, only the time element, which is rather intangible and difficult for the subject to estimate with accuracy, can lend itself to experimental manipulation without running the risk of detection. Although the alleged criterion for stopping the subject on each trial is the 30-second limit stated in the instructions, the criterion actually used by the experimenter is the subject's actual reaching of the predetermined score for that trial.

It is most probable that, in addition to the intrinsic intangibility of the time element, the subject's ego-involvement in the piling up of chips may further reduce his capacity for an objective estimation of duration time. Besides, social psychologists' experiments have demonstrated the powerful

Table 5

Prearranged Sequence of Scores

Trials	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
LOAs																				
Scores	30	24	27	45	30	27	27	45	54	60	66	69	75	60	54	45	38	32	- ^a	- ^a

^a Arbitrarily assigned ascending scores, varying with subjects, and eliminated from the data.

influence of "prestige suggestion" on judgment and perception, especially when the situation is ambiguous. Hence, there is sufficient reason to assume that the subject is more likely to trust the experimenter who, after all, is conspicuously holding a stop-watch.

Moreover, the pattern of the prearranged sequence of scores, while allowing the opportunity to study the subject's reactions to success and failure, also seems very plausible (see Figure 1): an upward curve starting with the 8th trial could easily be considered a practice effect; a downward trend starting with the 14th trial could be interpreted as a combined product of tension, fatigue, or perhaps monotony; and a final upward trend on the last two trials could appear as a last spurt following a word of encouragement from the experimenter. These last two scores, the function of which was to leave the subject with a good impression about the whole game, were not included in the data. Since the last scores in the series are most likely to be remembered, they were deliberately varied lest the exchange of impressions among subjects might lead some of them to be suspicious of the procedure. The success of a pilot-test with several adults and high school students further convinced the experimenter that the risk of detection on the part of the younger subjects of the present study was practically nonexistent.

It was expected that the prearranged sequence of scores, which includes an ascending trend of gradual improvement and a descending trend of gradual deterioration, would induce different reactions on the part of subjects, thus differentiating between those with low and high self-concepts: the former, driven by their own emotional needs, reacting in a rather rigid and unrealistic way, the latter closely adjusting their LOAs to their immediate past performance.

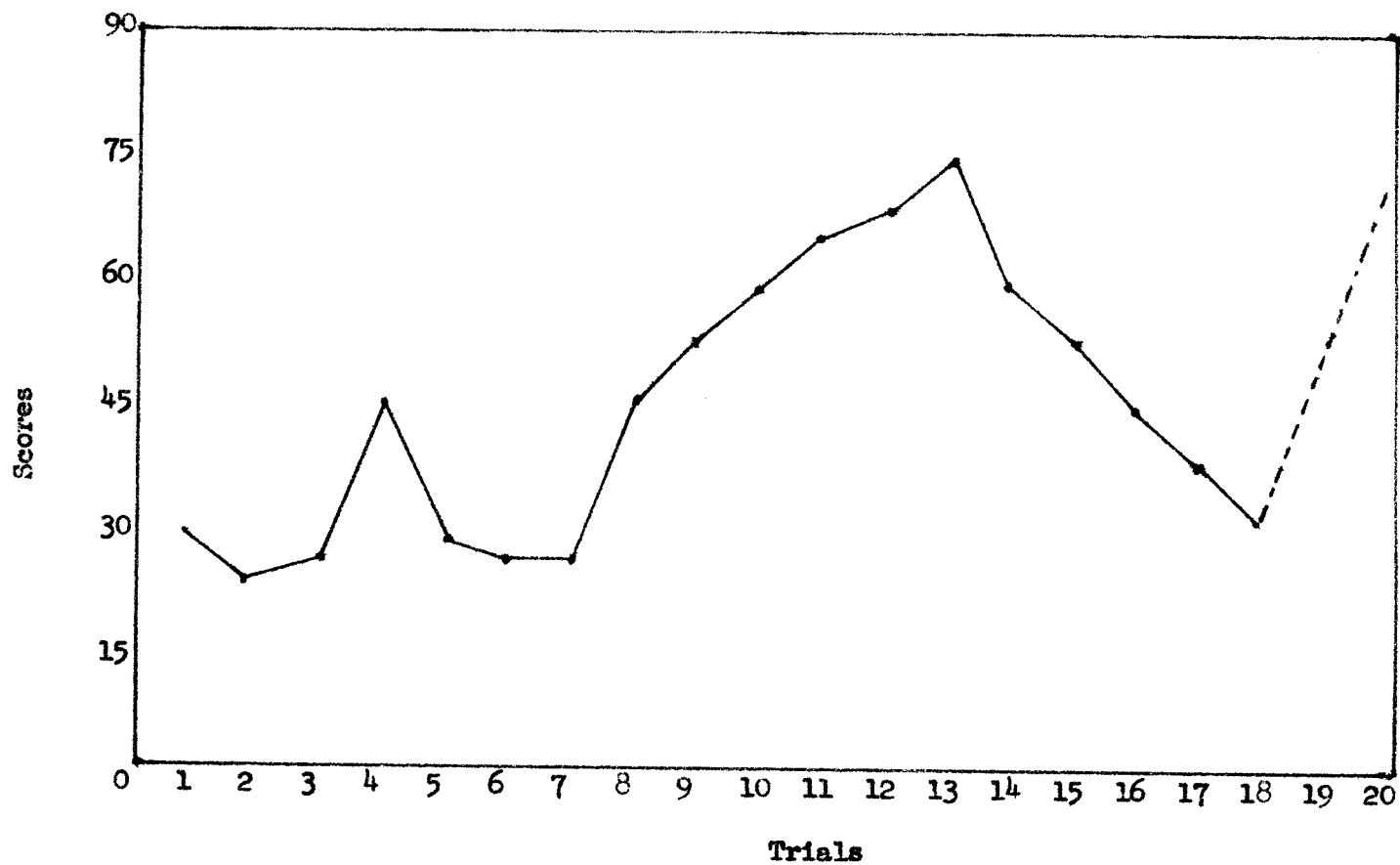


Fig. 1. Prearranged Sequence of Scores

Nine measures, taken at crucial moments along the series of trials, enable the experimenter to analyze each subject's LOAs and their fluctuations. The nine measures (A through I), based on the interplay between LOAs and prearranged scores, were as follows:

$$A = L_4 - S_3$$

In the above formula, L_4 means LOA or the score expected by the subject on trial 4; S_3 means the prearranged score reported by the experimenter or, more precisely, the score that the experimenter allows the subject to reach on trial 3. This measure reflects how well the subject has adjusted his LOA to his performance. The function of the first three reported scores is to give the subject a base line.

$$B = L_5 - L_4$$

B measures the effect of a sudden improvement on the immediately subsequent LOA.

$$C = \frac{(L_6 - S_5) + (L_7 - S_6) + (L_8 - S_7)}{3}$$

Reaction to a performance which, after a brief improvement, went back to the original base line.

$$D = \frac{(L_9 - S_8) + (L_{10} - S_9) + (L_{11} - S_{10}) + (L_{12} - S_{11}) + (L_{13} - S_{12}) + (L_{14} - S_{13})}{6}$$

Reaction to a progressive improvement in performance.

$$E = \frac{(L_{15} - S_{14}) + (L_{16} - S_{15}) + (L_{17} - S_{16}) + (L_{18} - S_{17}) + (L_{19} - S_{18})}{5}$$

Reaction to a gradual deterioration of performance.

$$F = \frac{(L_3 - S_2) + (L_4 - S_3) + (L_5 - S_4) + \dots + (L_{19} - S_{18})}{17}$$

Average LOA for the whole game, except for the first and the last two reported scores.

$$G = (L_2 - S_1) + (L_3 - S_2) + (L_4 - S_3) + (L_5 - S_4) + (L_6 - S_5) + (L_7 - S_6)$$

Reaction to performance for the first segment of the sequence.

$$H = (L_8 - S_7) + (L_9 - S_8) + (L_{10} - S_9) + (L_{11} - S_{10}) + (L_{12} - S_{11}) + (L_{13} - S_{12})$$

Reaction to performance for the middle segment of the sequence.

$$I = (L_{14} - S_{13}) + (L_{15} - S_{14}) + (L_{16} - S_{15}) + (L_{17} - S_{16}) + (L_{18} - S_{17}) + (L_{19} - S_{18})$$

Reaction to performance for the last segment of the sequence.

Procedure

Both racial groups having been matched on age, sex, IQ (through the individual administration of the PPVT), and socioeconomic status, each group then was administered in group in a classroom the Clinical and Research Form of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). Instructions, printed on the inside cover of the test booklet, were read aloud by the experimenter while the subjects read them in silence. Then the experimenter went around the classroom with a copy of the test booklet and an answer sheet, showing each subject how to line them up evenly, so that the item numbers match each other. Subjects were not allowed to start before the answering procedure had been demonstrated and understood.

Immediately after all the TSCS answer sheets and test booklets were collected, the vocational and educational questionnaire was distributed. Instructions, on the questionnaire itself, were read aloud by the experimenter.

While the TSCS and the questionnaire were administered to each group during a single session, the Poker Chip Game required an average of 30 minutes for each subject. At the pace of about eight subjects a day, it took a little more than two weeks to complete the testing of the 80 subjects. The game was conducted in a room in which the experimenter and the subject could be isolated from other people's distracting presence and especially from other subjects' curiosity. Little material was required: two chairs, a table (about the size of a card table), a box of 80 poker chips, a stop-watch, and scoring sheets (one for each subject). The authorities and the teachers of both schools were extremely cooperative, despite the disturbance of their students' time schedule occasioned by this individual game.

As soon as each subject entered the experimental room, the experimenter tried to establish good rapport with him and have him relax, avoiding giving the impression that this was a test. Besides using the subject's first name and appearing as spontaneous and natural as possible, the experimenter emphasized the fact that it was a game and that it would not in any way affect his school marks. Then the subject was addressed with the following instructions, memorized by the experimenter, but told in a very natural manner:

"This has nothing to do with your school work. I would just like to know how fast you can work with your hands. Here are 80 chips. Using only one hand--your best one--and picking up only one chip at a time, try to put them into stacks of five. See how I do." (Here, the experimenter gave a demonstration, completing two stacks of five chips and a third one of only two chips.) "Twelve chips! How many chips do you think you can pile up into stacks of five in 30 seconds?" (Here, the experimenter would discreetly write down the number stated by the subject. This number represents his level of aspiration (LOA) on the first trial. Then the experimenter would hold the stop-watch in a very obvious way.) "Be ready...Start!"

At the beginning of each of the first few trials, the experimenter would ask: "How many chips will you be able to pile up this time?" He would then give the signal, "Ready? Start!" It was only after the subject had started and all of his attention had been concentrated on the chip-piling work that the experimenter would write down the subject's expected score, so as not to induce any suspicion that this stated score was the all-important one. On the other hand, as soon as the subject had piled up a number of chips equal to the predetermined score (the counting being facilitated by the arrangement of chips into stacks of five), the experimenter would say: "Stop!", join the subject in "counting" the number of chips, and feign recording this score, holding the score sheet in such a way that the subject was never able to check it. The whole game proceeded very smoothly. After a few trials, most of the subjects would spontaneously state their expected score, without waiting for the experimenter's question, which thus became superfluous and was dropped.

The majority of subjects did not seem to be suspicious about the manipulation of the time limit. They either were not at all aware of time discrepancies between different trials, or possibly they assumed that the 30-second limit stated at the beginning of the game was only for the first trial and so, though aware of a time discrepancy, accepted it as part of the game and without questioning. A few noticed a difference in duration and asked whether use was made of different time-limits on different trials. However, they appeared to believe the experimenter's denial and be reassured by his negative answer to their inquiry. Only three subjects appeared so perplexed that, following the game, the experimenter had to rationalize the "apparent" discrepancy by drawing a curve, showing the upward trend due to practice effect until a

maximum was reached beyond which no improvement was possible, and the downward trend due to a combination of fatigue and monotony. The analogy of the worker's production curve which, contrasting with the machine, ends up with a coffee-break, appeared to satisfy them. But whatever was their attitude toward time limit, all seemed very well motivated and anxious to do well in the game. A final word of congratulation was sufficient to elicit a broad smile of satisfaction.

CHAPTER III

Results

The obtained data were analyzed with respect to the two hypotheses:

(1) urban Negro boys have a more negative self-concept than urban white boys, and (2) regardless of race, those who have a more negative self-concept tend to have less realistic and more rigid levels of aspiration than those with more positive self-concepts. Accordingly, the comparative data concerning the self-concept of both racial groups will be presented first.

Racial Differences in Self-Concept

As can be seen from the descriptive statistics for the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) scores (Table 6), the expected difference between the two racial groups is evident and pervasive. Indeed, Negro children were significantly lower than their white counterparts on the Total Positive score, which according to the manual is "the most important single score.... It reflects the overall level of self esteem (Fitts, 1965, p. 2)." The Negro group's Total Positive score was not only significantly lower than that of the white group, but it was so far below the normative mean provided by the manual (see Table 6) that it fell within what the manual calls a "deviant" zone. Of those with low scores on this scale, the manual states that they are "doubtful about their own worth; see themselves as undesirable; often feel anxious, depressed, and unhappy; and have little faith or confidence in themselves (p. 2)."

The Total Positive score is derived from eight basic subscores. Five of them (Physical Self, Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self) permit the researcher to analyze more completely the content of the self-concept and thereby learn in which particular areas it is comparatively strong or weak.

Table 6

Negro and White Children's TSCS Scores

Scale	Normative	Negro Group		White Group		<u>t</u>
	Mean	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	
Self-Criticism	35.54	35.27	4.93	34.42	7.42	0.58
True-False Ratio	1.03	1.49 ^a	0.77	1.25	0.90	1.97
Total Conflict	30.10	43.85 ^a	14.21	41.62	15.01	0.67
Total Positive Score	345.57	317.55 ^a	33.12	336.27	26.89	2.73 ^{**}
Identity	127.10	116.62 ^a	15.43	123.05	10.37	2.15 [*]
Self-Satisfaction	103.67	100.52	13.13	106.45	12.70	2.02 [*]
Behavior	115.01	100.40	11.0	106.77	9.40	2.73 ^{**}
Physical Self	71.78	67.52	8.63	73.12	5.41	3.40 ^{**}
Ethical Self	70.33	60.42 ^a	9.04	64.40	7.65	2.08 [*]
Personal Self	64.55	63.15	6.62	65.72	6.07	1.76
Family Self	70.83	65.60	8.74	68.87	7.40	1.77

(Table continued on next page)

Table 6, continued

Scale	Normative	Negro Group		White Group		<u>t</u>
		Mean	<u>SD</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	
Social Self	68.14	60.80	8.21	64.15	6.89	1.93
Total Variability	48.53	54.87	15.67	51.20	11.29	1.18
Distribution	120.44	124.12	32.52	118.80	22.61	0.83
Defensive Positive	54.40	56.52	11.90	59.70	10.52	1.24
General Maladjustment ^b	98.80	84.82 ^a	9.92	91.42	10.13	2.89**
Psychosis	46.10	59.17 ^a	20.15	52.90	6.45	1.84
Personality Disorder ^b	76.39	61.95 ^a	11.11	65.75	11.07	1.50
Neurosis ^b	84.31	80.80	10.78	84.87	7.82	1.89
Personality Integration	10.42	4.87 ^a	2.69	8.40	3.48	4.76**

^a"Deviant" scores; i.e., deviating beyond specified normal limits.

^bInverse scales: i.e., low scores on these scales mean high similarity to the group of patients from which the scale was derived.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

The three remaining basic subscores provide information from different levels of description: being, feeling, and doing. More specifically, through his identity score the subject describes "what I am"; through his Self-Satisfaction score he indicates "how I feel"; and through his Behavior score he reveals "what I do." On all of these eight dimensions, Negro children scored lower than their white counterparts. On five of them (Physical Self, Ethical Self, Identity, Self-Satisfaction, and Behavior) the differences were statistically significant. Besides, the Negro children scored lower on all of these subscales than the normative group, even being "deviant" on the Ethical and the Identity dimensions.

In addition to the basic scales presented above, the manual for the TSCS describes four supplementary scales--Total Conflict, Total Variability (V), Distribution (D), and True-False Ratio (T/F). The function of these scales is to analyze further the modality of responses. Thus, the Total Conflict score reflects "conflicting responses to positive and negative items within the same area of self perception (p. 4)" with high scores on this scale indicating confusion, contradiction, and general conflict in self-perception. The manual notes that disturbed people generally score high on this variable. The Total Variability (V) score reflects inconsistencies from one area of self-perception to another. Thus, "high scores mean that the person's self concept is so variable from one area to another as to reflect little unity or integration. High scoring persons tend to compartmentalize certain areas of self and view these areas quite apart from the remainder of self (p. 3)." The Distribution (D) score summarizes the way one distributes his answers along the Likert-type 5-point continuum. The True-False Ratio (T/F) serves as a measure of response set, indicating the strength of the

tendency to agree or disagree regardless of item content. To this interpretation, the manual adds another possible signification in terms of self theory: high T/F scores would mean that "the individual is achieving self definition or self description by focusing on what he is and is relatively unable to accomplish the same thing by eliminating or rejecting what he is not (p. 4)." Although the racial groups did not significantly differ on any of the four supplementary scales just described, the Negro group did, however, consistently score higher than both the white and the normative groups. In fact, the Negro children were even deviant compared to the normative group, on two of the four supplementary scales--the Total Conflict and the T/F scales.

The TSCS provides two measures of defensiveness: one more obvious, the Self-Criticism (SC) score, and the other more subtle, the Defensive Positive (DP) score. On neither of these two measures did the racial groups show any significant difference.

Finally, besides the DI scale just mentioned, the TSCS has five other experimental scales: General Maladjustment (GM), Psychosis (Psy), Personality Disorder (PD), Neurosis (N), and Personality Integration (PI). Not only did the Negro group score in the expected direction (i.e., greater maladjustment than the white group) on all of these five scales, but the differences were significant on two scales (GM and PI). Furthermore, on four of these five scales, the Negro children's scores were deviant when compared to the normative group.

In short, on every dimension of the TSCS, the Negro group scored in the expected direction. Besides, on six of the basic scales and two of the experimental scales, the differences between the two racial groups were significant. Moreover, the Negro group's scores were deviant on nine of the scales,

whereas the white group's scores were not deviant on any of the scales. Consequently, the first hypothesis was definitely supported.

Self-Concept and Level of Aspiration

The hypothesis that, regardless of race, those who have a more negative self-concept tend to have less realistic and more rigid levels of aspiration, was investigated by comparing the LOA performance of subjects scoring high and low on the TSCS. The high and low self-concept groups were obtained by selecting the subjects who were in the top quarter ($N=20$) and in the bottom quarter ($N=20$) on the TSCS Total Positive scale. From Table 7 it can be seen that the dropping of the middle 40 subjects from the original population of 80 did not significantly modify the initial balance in terms of SES, IQ, and age. Only racial symmetry has been broken, resulting in 14 Negroes and 6 whites being included in the experimental group, against 7 Negroes and 13 whites in the control group.

Level of Aspiration in the Game. The data provided by the game were submitted to various kinds of statistical analysis to see whether a differential pattern of reactions could be detected. The lack of realism in the level of aspiration is not necessarily manifested by a difference between means but by differences in variability--some subjects overaspiring and others underaspiring. Therefore, the absence of a significant difference between the two groups' means (Table 8) on any of the nine crucial measures (A through I) did not come as a surprise. Nevertheless, the careful examination of the rank order of the scores on each of the nine measures did not show any particular tendency on the part of the experimental subjects to go to extremes. In a further attempt at detecting a pattern of extreme reactions, each of the two

Table 7
 Distribution of Low-Self-Concept and
 High-Self-Concept Subjects by Social Class, IQ, and Age

Variables	Low Self-Concept (N=20)		High Self-Concept (N=20)		<u>t</u>
	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	
Social Class	2.7	1.08	2.95	0.89	0.79
Peabody IQ	98.9	9.77	100.85	8.49	0.67
Age	13-3		13-2		

Table 8

Game LOAs of Low-Self-Concept (LSC)
and High-Self-Concept (HSC) Subjects

Game LOAs	Mean		Standard Deviation		<u>t</u>
	LSC	HSC	LSC	HSC	
A	5.3	3.1	5.53	3.28	1.53
B	9.4	9.9	6.44	7.09	2.33
C	5.58	5.45	5.08	3.87	0.89
D	-5.48	-7.32	9.51	12.5	0.52
E	7.07	7.94	9.41	7.76	0.31
F	1.48	1.97	6.48	5.32	0.26
G	31.85	25.85	30.82	25.78	0.66
H	-25.75	-19.85	48.99	36.84	0.43
I	27.55	35.85	48.70	44.12	0.56

groups' average range of shifts was computed--an individual's range of shifts being equal to the difference between his highest and his lowest "bets." But this statistical step failed to reveal any significant discrepancy (see Table 9). Bartlett's test for homogeneity of variance (Walker & Lev, 1953) was also applied without effect.

Failing to detect any tendency to go to extremes, an attempt was then made at finding the expected greater degree of rigidity on the part of the experimental subjects. The total number of shifts made by the experimental subjects was counted and averaged, and compared with the control group's mean number of shifts. The mean difference was not significant, as can be seen from Table 9. Finally, Pearson correlations were computed first between self-concept and the nine game LOAs (see Table 10), then between self-concept and the range and number of shifts (see Table 11) for both the whole population of this study and for each racial group respectively. It can be seen from these two tables of correlational data that the game failed to reveal any significant relationship between self-concept and level of aspiration.

Educational and Vocational Levels of Aspiration. The question concerning educational objectives failed to elicit responses which differentiated the low-self-concept from the high-self-concept subjects (Table 12). This finding was confirmed by the absence of Pearson correlation ($r=.04$) between self-concept and educational LOA for the total population of the study ($N=80$).

Finally, with regard to the vocational LOA, only 18 children out of a total population of 80 made (or perceived?) any distinction between the absolute (idealistic) and relative (realistic) levels of aspiration. Too many vocational choices could not be rated, either because of their too vague formulation or because of their absence on the North-Hatt list (Reiss, Duncan,

Table 9
 Number and Range of Shifts for
 Low-Self-Concept and High-Self-Concept Subjects

Shifts	Mean		Standard Deviation		<u>t</u>
	LSC	HSC	LSC	HSC	
Number	15.25	14.4	2.43	2.41	1.11
Range	44.6	48.1	10.26	12.17	0.98

Table 10
Correlations between Self-Concept
and the Nine Game LOAs

Game LOAs	Negroes (N=40)	Whites (N=40)	Total Population (N=80)
A	.05	-.14	-.07
B	.03	.21	.10
C	.13	.09	.08
D	.05	-.02	-.03
E	.04	.10	.02
F	.07	.10	.04
G	.08	-.01	.16
H	.21	.05	.09
I	.05	.12	.03

Table 11
Correlations between Self-Concept
and the Number and Range of Shifts

Shifts	Negroes (<u>N</u> =40)	Whites (<u>N</u> =40)	Total Population (<u>N</u> =80)
Number	-.16	-.08	-.03
Range	.09	.00	.01

Table 12
Educational Level of Aspiration of
Low-Self-Concept and High-Self-Concept Subjects

Subjects	Mean	Standard Deviation
Low Self-Concept	7.10	1.65
High Self-Concept	7.65	1.69
<u>t</u>	1.04	

Hatt, & North, 1961). Consequently, it was not possible to use these data.

In short, while the first hypothesis of the present study was decisively supported, the second hypothesis failed to be verified.

CHAPTER IV

Discussion and Conclusions

Self-Concept

The profile of the Negro child offered by the TSCS scores of the present study is very much in accordance with the literature surveyed in Chapter I. Compared to whites, the Negro children had a significantly lower Total Positive score. This significant difference in self-concept was also clearly revealed by the fact that 65 per cent of those in the top quarter were white (13 whites, 7 Negroes), whereas 70 per cent of the subjects in the bottom quarter were Negro (14 Negroes, 6 whites).

Undoubtedly, there is a need for more research on the Negro personality, especially with the use of the TSCS, so that a comparative analysis may be instituted. It can be seen from Table 13 that, on six of the TSCS scales, three comparative studies appear to be in perfect agreement with regard to the direction of the difference between Negroes and whites. The lesser frequency of a significant difference between Negroes and whites in the present study was not due to a relatively higher self-concept of the Negro subjects. In fact, not only was their mean Total Positive score lower than the Negroes' of the two other studies, but they had more deviant scores. The difference appears to be due to the fact that the white group of the present study was relatively more similar to the Negro group. What factors account for this relative similarity? Perhaps the combination of an equally low SES and an equally low IQ together with the low academic achievement that a low IQ usually entails, can explain this relative similarity. It should not be forgotten that the selection entailed in obtaining a comparable white group meant that this group was not representative of the academic level of their school.

Table 13

Comparison between Negroes' and Whites' Means on Total Conflict,
Total Variability, Distribution, Psychosis, Personality Disorder,
and Personality Integration

Scale	Wendland's Study		Level of Sign. ^a	Williams & Byars' Study		Level of Sign. ^a	Present Study		Level of Sign. ^b
	N	W		N	W		N	W	
Tot. Confl.	43.73 ^c	35.33	.001	44.92 ^c	33.70	.005	43.85 ^c	41.62	n.s.
Tot. Var.	58.11	55.20	.016	53.92	53.89	n.s.	54.87	51.20	n.s.
Distrib.	130.93	111.11	.001	120.66	113.53	.025	124.12	118.80	n.s.
Psychosis	53.01	48.80	.001	54.84 ^c	48.24	.005	59.17 ^c	52.90	n.s.
Pers. Dis. ^d	63.87	64.45	n.s.	64.74	68.50	.01	61.95 ^c	65.75	n.s.
Pers. Integr.	6.49	8.32	.001	6.08 ^c	8.58	.005	4.87 ^c	8.40	.01

^aF test.

^bt test.

^cDeviant scores.

^dInverse scale.

On the contrary, they had been chosen precisely because they were the lowest ones in terms of IQ. However, this momentary emphasis upon their relative similarity to the Negro group should not obscure the basic fact that the white children still scored significantly higher in self-esteem than the Negro children.

With regard to the Physical Self, the Negro children scored significantly lower than their white counterparts. In their study, Williams and Byars (1968) obtained different results: their Negro subjects scored higher--though not significantly--than the whites. Their finding led them to conclude: "The one scale on which the Negro subjects had the highest degree of self-confidence was the evaluation of physical prowess. Undoubtedly, the Negro's accomplishments in athletics at all levels of competition plus his proclivity for physical activities have enhanced the appraisal of physical self [p. 123]." Since only one of the 18 items which constitute the Physical Self scale has to do with sports, it is difficult to consider this scale simply as "the evaluation of physical prowess." Indeed, inspection of the content of the 18 items indicates that the Physical Self scale is not unidimensional but complex. Of the 18 items, six deal with health or physical comfort, six have to do with bodily appearance, four are supposed to measure the degree of care for one's body and for one's appearance (including one's clothes), and two have to do with physical skills ("I do poorly in sports and games." "I often act like I am 'all thumbs'."). Hence, it appears that a high or low score on the Physical Self scale cannot be interpreted without a detailed examination of responses to its 18 items.

Self-Concept and Level of Aspiration

The second hypothesis that, regardless of race, the low-self-concept

subjects have a more unrealistic and more rigid level of aspiration, was not verified. Perhaps, such a game was too superficial a task to induce a sufficiently deep ego-involvement. But neither the stating of their educational ideal nor the choosing of a vocation were in any manner more successful. On the other hand, further comparisons revealed a few interesting racial differences. For instance, in the game, the Negro children tended to make a lesser number of shifts. Thus, the white group's minimum number of shifts was 12 times, whereas one Negro shifted his bet only 11 times, another 10 times, 4 others shifted it 9 times, and another only 8 times. The same tendency could be observed from a slightly different angle: counting the number of consecutive bets without shifts, it was found that, while the whites had a maximum of 2 chains of 5 consecutive bets without shifts, the Negroes not only had 4 chains of this type but they also had one chain of 6 and another of 7 consecutive bets without shifts. According to the interpretation commonly found in previous LOA-game studies, a smaller number of shifts would indicate greater rigidity. However, since the difference in this respect between Negroes and whites was not significant, more research is needed. Another racial difference which, though not significant either, seemed quite intriguing was the Negro group's consistently higher score on each of the nine crucial measures in the game. This could represent a tendency on the part of Negro children to have a higher LOA than their white counterparts in this type of game. This incidental finding seems worth investigating.

Another incidental finding was the Negroes' significantly higher educational LOA ($p < .01$). While only one Negro expressed the desire not to go beyond the fourth year of high school, as many as 9 whites said they did not plan to go to college. Moreover, of the 39 Negroes who planned to go to

college, 16 (against 6 whites only) expressed the desire to go beyond college. Such an unrealistic educational ideal on the part of Negro children has been frequently found in the literature.

With regard to vocational LOA, of the 18 (out of 80) subjects who made a distinction between absolute and relative LOAs, 6 were Negro and 12 were white. For one third of the Negroes (14 as absolute LOA, 13 as relative LOA), the most desired career was in sports, thus strongly contrasting with their white counterparts (4 as absolute LOA, 5 as relative LOA).

It is hoped that additional studies using the TSCS will be conducted with larger and more representative samples of Negroes and whites of different age, IQ, sex, and socioeconomic background, so as to systematically and methodically contribute to an objective science of Negro personality.

Summary

It was hypothesized that (1) urban Negro children have a lower self-concept than their white counterparts, and that (2) regardless of race, low-self-concept children have a more unrealistic and more rigid level of aspiration.

Subjects used for the testing of the first hypothesis were 40 Negro male seventh- and eighth-graders from an all-Negro parochial school of the west side of Chicago, and 40 white male seventh- and eighth-graders from an all-white parochial school in the same area. The Negro and white groups were matched in terms of age, Peabody IQ, and socioeconomic status. Both racial groups were administered the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). Negro children scored significantly lower than whites on the following scales: Total Positive ($p < .01$), Behavior ($p < .01$), Physical Self ($p < .01$), Personality Integration ($p < .01$), Ethical Self ($p < .05$), Identity ($p < .05$), and Self-Satisfaction ($p < .05$). Negro children also scored significantly lower on the General Maladjustment scale ($p < .01$), and since this scale is an inverse scale, a lower raw score means a higher degree of maladjustment. In addition, the scores on the other subscales were all in the expected direction.

For the testing of the second hypothesis, the level of aspiration of those occupying the top quarter on the TSCS Total Positive scale ($N=20$) was compared with the one of the bottom quarter ($N=20$). This hypothesis was investigated mainly by means of subjects' level of aspiration in a game consisting of 20 trials, with a prearranged sequence of scores. In addition, information was obtained from each subject with respect to his aspirations in terms of occupational and educational goals. The second hypothesis was not supported. However, a few racial differences were noted: the Negro children

had significantly higher educational goals than their white counterparts and, in the game, their level of aspiration was consistently--though not significantly--higher than the level of aspiration of whites.

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APPENDIX A

Vocational and Educational Questionnaire

Name: Grade:
 (last) (first) (middle)

- A. If it was completely up to you and there was nothing to stop you, what job would you like to chose when you grow up? Name one job only:
- B. In fact, what job do you actually plan to get when you grow up? Name one job only:
- C. Please check the highest grade that you would like to reach:

Beyond college:

College:

4

3

2

1

High school:

4

3

2

1

The Dissertation submitted by Andre Lefebvre has been read and approved by members of the Department of Psychology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the Dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the Dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The Dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 20, 1971
Date

Jeanne M. Foley
Signature of Advisor