Self-Esteem, Stereotyped Thinking and Locus of Control in

African-American Children

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Abstract

The relationship between self-esteem, locus of control and stereotyped thinking were investigated in this study. Subjects were thirty-two kindergarten (six boys and twenty-five girls), thirty-seven second grade (twenty-one boys and seventeen girls) and thirty-six (fourteen boys and twenty girls) fourth grade students. The measures used were Harter's Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC), Connell's Measure of Perceived Control (MPC) and a stereotyped thinking measure previously used by Bigler and Liben. MANOVAs revealed grade effects for control measures. Fourth grade subjects were increasingly internal and had higher global self-esteem scores. Although correlational analyses did show that internal control and global self-esteem were both significantly negatively correlated with stereotyped thinking, other significant correlations were few in number and they tended to be small. Possible reasons for the lack of significant effects include small sample size and instability of the measures; internal consistency was very low.

As the population of the United states becomes more diverse, social scientists are placing increasing emphasis on cross-cultural research, including differences in children's personality development. It is important to investigate cross-cultural populations because some research suggests that ethnic differences exist in many constructs independent of socioeconomic status (SES). One area with a long history of cross-cultural controversy is that of self-esteem and self-concept in African-American children. Self-esteem and ethnicity have been studied since the early thirties; locus of control and racial differences have also been widely researched.

Self-esteem is the evaluation one makes about oneself. Level of self-esteem concerns the extent to which an individual feels that he or she is competent and worthy. High self-esteem is considered a necessity for normal functioning while low self-esteem is related to maladaptive psychological functioning (Goodman, Cooley, Sewell & Leavitt, 1994). Harter (1985) distinguishes between self-concept in various domains and self-esteem or global self-worth. These domains include social skills physical appearance and athletic ability. General self-worth, according to Harter's views, is not necessarily the sum of these self-concepts. Rather, self-worth is determined by actually tapping into how much and individual likes him or herself. Self-worth can be protected from the effects of a low self-concept in a particular domain by discounting the importance of that domain. One of the controversial issues surrounding self-esteem whether

or not there are ethnic differences in self-esteem and whether the structure of self-esteem (i.e.the importance of particular domains) is the same for different ethnic groups.

Historically, it has been assumed that African-American children suffer from lower self-esteem than their European-American counterparts. These assumptions are based on two hypotheses: reflected appraisal and social comparison. The theory of reflected appraisal states that African-American children are victims of low self-esteem due to their internalization of the negative views the majority culture has about minority cultures. The social comparison hypothesis proposes that the comparison of the underprivileged status of African-Americans to European-Americans more privileged status leads to low self-esteem (Whaley, 1993). Among the earliest and most influential studies of African-American children were those done by Dr. Kenneth Clark. In the 1930's Clark studied African-American school children in order to assess their racial identity. In these studies children were presented with various racial stimuli such as dolls, pictures and drawings. Clark introduced the concept of racial preference when he found that African-American children identified with African-American stimuli but preferred European-American stimuli (Clark & Clark, 1940). This phenomena is also known as "White preference behavior" or "race dissonance." This study and others similar to it were termed "racially symbolic studies" because they examined behavior that reflected attitudes toward racial groups and

included outcome variables associated with race awareness. As a result of racially symbolic studies, it was concluded that African-American children suffered from low self-esteem. This information was used during the Civil Rights movement to help end school segregation (Whaley, 1993).

Most recent studies have found that African-American children do not suffer from lower self-esteem. In fact they often have higher global self-esteem than other children (Wood, Hillman & Sawilowsky, 1992; Tashakkori, 1993). This pattern becomes more varied and differences become less dramatic when investigating specific domains of self-esteem such as perceived attractiveness and school competence. All children tend to put more value in the areas in which they consider themselves superior; however, it seems as if African-American children tend to do this more often and with more success. Tashakkori (1992) studied 299 African-American and 338 European-American middle school students and found that the best predictors of self-esteem in both groups were appearance and peer and parent relationships. The importance of other areas varied across ethnic groups. Reading, math, science and social studies were strong indicators of self-esteem for White students. These areas were irrelevant to self-esteem for Black students. African-American youth protected their self-esteem by ranking areas at which they considered themselves to excel higher than areas in which they did not excel. Based on these results, Tashakkori concluded that the structure of self-esteem is different for different groups of

people based on their individual perceptions of the world.

Pallas, Entwisle, Alexander and Weinstein (1990), on the other hand, state that the structure of self-esteem is the same for all children. There are five dimensions of self-esteem: character, personal responsibility, academics, appearance and athletics. These domains remain the same while only the levels of the domains differ for various groups. In their study of the development of self-esteem, they did a longitudinal investigation of a mixed race sample of urban school children. They found the structure of self-esteem to be the same, but found that self-perception is not identical in all domains. Black children reported more positive self-concepts over time with the most salient differences being their views of their body and athletic ability. They found differences in the scores of the individual domains of their model, but believed that the structure was identical to that of other groups.

Self-esteem has been related to a variety of other constructs. One which has been studied often with self-esteem is locus of control. Control has been found to be a significant factor governing each individual's life. In fact, human behavior is sometimes seen as an attempt to take control of seemingly uncontrollable events. Locus of control is defined as the extent to which an individual feels that life experiences are affected by his or her own behavior (Weigel, Wertlieb & Feldstein, 1989). Control has been distinguished between strategy beliefs: the causes of success and failure, and capacity beliefs: the extent

to which the self has access to particular causes (Patrick, Skinner & Connell, 1993). Both of these strategies are essential when accounting for whether or not the individual feels that he or she is responsible for their actions and to what degree. Within these distinctions control is often described as either internal or external. Individuals who demonstrate an internal locus of control feel that life events are controlled by their actions. Externals feel that events are due to chance or luck (Weigel, Wertlieb & Feldstein, 1989). Internals tend to take on a more active participation in life, while externals tend to feel hopeless and do not actively participate in life (Goodman, Cooley, Sewell, & Leavitt, 1994). Control is often cited in the learned helplessness literature. Research indicates that individuals who feel that there is no relationship between their actions and life events become passive (Patrick, Skinner & Connell, 1993). Also, the type of attributions made for outcomes: internal vs. external, stable vs. unstable or global vs. specific; is related to the degree, duration and effects of perceived helplessness (Connell, 1985). Locus of control, as a result, is important in psychological functioning.

Not only are locus of control and self-esteem by themselves important factors, together they interact as moderators of many psychosocial symptoms. The combined effects of an internal locus of control and high self-esteem can buffer the effects of psychological problems such as psychological distress and stress in both children and adults (Kliewer & Sandler, 1992; Weigel,

Wertlieb & Feldstein, 1989; Ormel & Schaufeli, 1991). Children with an external locus of control and low self-esteem are more susceptible to the effects of negative life events, especially girls (Kliewer & Sandler, 1992).

It has been suggested that control is related to coping styles; however, the evidence is somewhat contradictory. Some studies show that adult as well as child internals tend to use problem-focused coping strategies that they match to the controllability of events. Problem-focused coping is associated with effective adaptation. Other studies show that adolescent and child internals use escape-avoidance, hostile and self-blame coping strategies. It is assumed that situational differences are important when considering coping styles (Kliewer & Sandler, 1992). These contradictory findings highlight the need for more research in this area. This need becomes more significant when considering the racial differences associated with locus of control.

The relationship between locus of control and ethnicity has been investigated but some controversial issues still remain. In general, research indicates that both Black and low SES individuals tend to have a more external locus of control. It is assumed that these individuals are more external in response to the external factors associated with ethnicity and SES, more specifically, discrimination and poverty (Goodman, Cooley, Sewell & Leavitt, 1994). Considering this evidence it appears as if low income African-Americans are more susceptible to psychological

disorders and their maintenance. This trend has not been found.

In fact, externalization is viewed as a protective factor for

members of a stigmatized group such as ethnic minorities, women,

or persons with physical handicaps (Hillman, Wood & Sawilowsky,

1992; Hendrix, 1980). It has been suggested that African-

Americans may externalize to make attributions for difficulties

and turn to significant others for positive feedback. As a

result, African-American externals have higher self-esteem.

European-Americans, on the other hand, tend to internalize

societal norms to determine self-esteem and also internalize for

negative outcomes (Goodman, Cooley, Sewell & Leavitt, 1994).

Ethnicity therefore is a significant factor when studying the

interaction of locus of control and self-esteem.

Ethnicity is also a significant factor in that it can

regulate people's attitudes towards different groups. According

to adults, race is both biological characteristic and a social

status. Research indicates that even young children understand

the social status associated with race (Hirschfeld, 1995).

Research also indicates that by age five, White children begin to

attribute negative characteristics to Black people and positive

characteristics to White people. Bigler & Liben (1993) studied

racial attitudes in preschool and elementary school White

children. The subjects were given stories that contained

positive stereotypes, negative stereotypes or counter stereotypes

and later their memories for the stories was assessed. Subjects

were found to have a poorer memory for the counter stereotyped

stories. Also, the subjects whose thinking was highly stereotyped tended to forget the counter stereotyped stories and even distorted the information to fit their schemas. Race, as evidenced by these studies, is influential in the way White people view Black people and other minorities.

The view that minorities have of themselves as minorities is also an important issue. Most research suggests that the most influential aspect governing development is identity achievement. For African-American children ethnic identity development is crucial. Ethnic identity achievement involves a commitment to one's group based on knowledge from the exploration of one's cultural background. Ethnic identity is thought to develop from diffusion and foreclosure through moratorium and finally to achievement (Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Identity development is related to an individual's experiences and the broader social context in which they occur. Thus, minority children must learn to discount the pejorative stereotypes from other cultures while fostering the positive aspects of their own culture (Spenser & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). The relationship between positive ethnic identity and self-esteem is unclear. Differences in measurement of ethnic identity appear to contribute to the discrepancies. A meta-analysis by Steen (1996), identified eleven different concepts which have been labeled ethnic identity with relation to self-esteem ranging from quite low (Self-Identification) to moderately high (Clarity of Identity). He found that positive or negative evaluation of a group to be more highly related to self-

esteem than most approaches.

Ethnic identity in children has not been heavily researched because identity development is often seen as a task of adolescence. Also, evaluation of one's group has not been used in children to tap ethnic identity.

This study investigated the relationship between self-esteem, locus of control and stereotyped thinking. Some specific questions that were investigated included: How were children's stereotypes about other ethnic groups related to perceived control? Did Black children have high self-esteem in the face of negative stereotypes? How were racial attitudes related to self-esteem? How was Black children's ethnic identity related to perceived control?

Based on previous research, it was hypothesized that Black children's images of Black people would be related to self-esteem and control. There was also a developmental difference expected between kindergarten, second and fourth grade children in relation to esteem and control levels. It was expected that a positive perception of Black people among Black children would be related to high self-esteem and an internal locus of control. It was also expected that older Black children would be better able to deal with the discrepancies of negative images and their own feelings of self-worth. Decreased stereotyped thinking was expected to be related to an internal locus of control and high self-esteem.

Method

Subjects

Approximately 300 parental consent letters with a demographic data questionnaire were sent out in order to obtain at least fifty subjects per grade. The children who returned letters, whether or not consent was obtained, were entered into a drawing for a small portable cassette player in order to improve the return rate and increase the likelihood of the letters getting home to the parents. However, the return rate was less than expected. Subjects were thirty-one kindergarten (six boys and twenty-five girls), forty second grade (twenty-two boys and eighteen girls) and thirty-six fourth grade students (sixteen boys and twenty girls) from the Hearne Independent School District. Eleven subjects were dropped due to various problems with their data such as position bias and missing measures, bringing the total N=107. There were forty-four boys and sixty-three girls in the subject pool. Sixty-one of the subjects were African-American, twenty-two subjects were White and twenty-three subjects were Hispanic. Four subjects were described as "Other" and deleted from analyses which involved ethnicity due to the small number of this population. The number of subjects varied slightly in different analyses as a result of missing data. The study's focus was African-American children but all children who had parental consent and later gave their own assent were run as subjects. Fifty-two of the subjects' mothers reported their marital status as single, divorced, separated or widowed.

Seventy-two mothers had completed high school or less, while thirty-two mothers reported any college training. Subjects were predominantly low SES, based on mother's level of education.

Measures

Three measures were used to assess the constructs under investigation. The first measure used was the Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC) (Harter, 1985). This scale measured athletic, scholastic, behavioral and social competence, physical attractiveness and general self-worth. Children were given a statement such as "Some kids have a lot of friends but other kids don't have very many friends" The child then chose which statement best described him or her and how much, very true or sort of true. The scale was scored from one to four, one representing the value for low self-esteem and four representing the value for high self-esteem. Harter (1985) reported Cronbach's alpha levels between .70 and .80.

The next measure, the Measure of Child Perception of Control (MPC) (Connell, 1985) was used to assess perceived control. The MPC measures who children felt controlled cognitive, social, physical and general domains. The subscales of the measure were internal, powerful others and unknown and each subscale included only four items. The children were given items including: "When I do well in school, it's because the teacher likes me." The child then reported how true the statement was for him or her: "very true", "sort of true", " not very true" or "not very true at all." These items were scored from one "not very true at all"

to four "very true." On measures of internal validity, the scores were moderately high r=.40-.70 (Connell, 1985).

The last measure was a measure of stereotyped thinking previously used by Bigler and Liben (1993) to assess stereotyped thinking in White children. Subjects were given a question similar to: "Who can be nice?" and they were given the opportunity to select a single ethnic group (Black or White people for both Black and White subjects or Hispanic or White for Hispanic subjects) or both ethnic. There were a total of six positive and six negative items for kindergarten and second graders and a total of twelve negative and twelve positive items for the fourth graders. The scores were broken down into totals for positive stereotypes (e.g. positive characteristics assigned to White people), negative stereotypes (negative characteristics assigned to Black or Hispanic people), total stereotypes and counter stereotypes (attributing positive stereotypes to Black or Hispanic people or attributing negative stereotypes to White people). The values for each of these scales were calculated by assigning a value of one for the responses "only Black/Hispanic people" for negative stereotypes or " only White people" for positive stereotypes. A score of zero was assigned for the response "both Black and White/ Hispanic and White people" or the counter stereotyped response. For the counter stereotyped scale a score of one was assigned for attributing positive characteristics to Black or Hispanic people or for attributing negative characteristics to White people. As a result, the

measure reflected "extreme" beliefs and any score above one represented some degree of stereotyped thinking. The higher the score the higher the level of stereotyped thinking. The internal validity for this measure is unknown.

Procedure

The subjects who had parental consent were tested individually in a quiet location by African-American female undergraduate research assistants after they gave their assent to participate. A script was used by the research assistants in order to insure some form of standardization. All of the children were given all of the measures in the same order, the SPPC, the MPC and the stereotyped thinking measure. The measures were cut in half for the kindergartners in order to complete the procedure in thirty minutes. The measures were cut in half for the second graders due to the limited amount of time per day in which they were available. The children were given a prize for participation and told not to discuss the nature of the research with other children.

Results

Internal Consistency

Because the measures were reduced in length, preliminary analyses were conducted to determine whether or not the scales were internally consistent. Cronbach's alpha was calculated for each of the subscales of the Self-Perception Profile for Children and for The Measure of Perceived Control both shown in Table 1. For the entire sample the values were relatively low. The low

internal consistency could be due to the reduced number of items or to the developmental immaturity of the younger subjects. In order to evaluate the effects of item reduction, we calculated alphas for the fourth grade subjects who had completed the full measures. As seen in Table 1, internal consistency was higher for the full SPPC (although lower than reported by authors of the measure), with alphas between .5 and .6. When alphas were calculated for the fourth grade subjects using only half of the items, the alphas dropped again, and were especially poor for Global Self-Worth. This suggests that item reduction was a major cause of the low internal consistency, although immaturity may have played a role as well.

Internal consistency for the control measures were also poor. When alphas were calculated for the full measures for the fourth grade subjects, they were comparable to Connell's figures, but were lower on the reduced measures; some were negative. The reduced scales had only two items, which were often negatively correlated. Given the inconsistency of the measures, total scores were calculated for powerful others, unknown control and internal control across domains as well as for each individual subscale. After this analysis Cronbach's alphas were similar to those reported by Connell.

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Insert Table 1 about here

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Ethnic, Gender and Grade Differences in Control and Self Esteem

A 3(grade) X 2(gender) x 2 (ethnic minority vs majority) MANOVA was run with the self-concept and internal control subscales as the dependent variables. No significant effects were found for gender, ethnicity or any interactions, and as a result they were dropped from further analyses. A grade effect, however, was found. The overall Wilks' Lambda was $F(20, 190)=3.48$, $p<.001$. Univariate analyses revealed significant grade effects for athletic self-concept, $F(2,104)=6.51$, $p<.003$, cognitive internal control, $F(2,104)=17.94$, $p<001$, social internal control, $F(2,104)=7.52$, $p<.001$, physical internal control $F(2,104)=5.09$, $p<.008$ and general internal control, $F(2,104)=11.89$, $p<.001$. The means and standard deviations are shown in Table 2. In general, fourth graders were more internal than kindergartners and second graders were in between. On the subscales of the Self-Perception Profile, there was only one significant difference, on Athletic ability, such that fourth graders had lower scores than the kindergartners and second graders which did not differ from each other. Significant grade effects were also found for the powerful others and unknown control subscales. A MANOVA of these variables found a significant overall grade effect, Wilks' Lambda $F(28,190)=2.48$, $p<.001$. Univariate analyses revealed significant grade effects for cognitive powerful others, $F(2,108)=11.66$, $p<.001$, cognitive unknown, $F(2,108)=3.12$, $p<.05$), social powerful others, $F(2,108)=5.55$ $p<.006$), social unknown, $F(2,108)=5.09$, $p<.008$,

general powerful others, $F(2,108)=4.51$ $p<.02$), and general unknown $F(2,108)=3.07$, $p<.05$). These results coincide with an increase in internal control in that external control decreased in fourth grade subjects. Fourth graders reported lower levels of unknown control or control by powerful others, although the specific grade effects varied by subscale. The trend for decreasing internal control changed with the general control subscales. This time, fourth graders were more external. These means and standard deviations are also shown in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Although there were no ethnic differences found (possibly because we lacked statistical power), a MANOVA on the same dependent variables was run for the Black subjects. This analysis was run in order to discover any trends that might have been masked by the inclusion of other subjects since different results were predicted for Black subjects. The results for the self-concept scales and the internal control subscales was Wilks' Lambda $F(28,92) = 3.05$, $p<.001$. Univariate analyses revealed significant grade effects for scholastic self-concept $F(2,59)=3.38$ $p<.05$, athletic self-concept $F(2,59)=9.26$, $p<.001$, cognitive internal control $F(2,59)=7.87$, $p<.001$, social internal control $F(2,59)=6.06$, $p<.004$, and general internal control $F(2,59)=6.95$, $p<.002$). Black fourth graders scored lower than both Black kindergarten and Black second grade subjects on the

self-perception profiles for athletic ability and scholastic ability. These lower scores were similar to the scores seen in the entire sample and indicate lower levels of self-perception for the older subjects for these individual subscales. Also, as seen in the results of the MANOVA for the entire sample, Black fourth graders were more internal in their perceived locus of control. Wilks' Lambda for unknown control and powerful others control also showed a significant grade effect $F(28,92) = 2.20$ p<.003. Univariate analyses revealed significant grade effects for cognitive powerful others $F(2,59)=12.35$, p<.001, cognitive unknown $F(2,59)=3.74$, p<.03, social powerful others $F(2,59)=9.99$, p<.001, and general powerful others $F(2,59)=5.21$, p<.008. Again similar to the entire sample, Black fourth graders had decreased external control beliefs. Interestingly, Black fourth graders felt that powerful others significantly controlled general domains. This result is consistent with the literature that Black people tend to be more external; however, the pattern of decreasing externalization in general just reported is inconsistent with the literature. Once again, low internal consistency could be the culprit.

Correlations Between Self-concept and Control

Correlational analyses were conducted in order to identify any relationships that existed between the six perceived self-perception subscales and the 12 perceived control subscales. Of the 72 correlations that were calculated, three were statistically significant; 3.6 would be predicted by chance. In

addition, the particular correlations which were significant had not been predicted and did not appear to form any particular pattern. These results appear to be chance and will not be discussed further.

Because different patterns of correlations were predicted for Black and White subjects, it seemed possible that the small number of White and Hispanic subjects may have masked more meaningful results for the larger sample of Black subjects. Although there were more significant correlations (16 of 72), they were low and still did not form any meaningful pattern and will not be presented.

Correlations Between Racial Stereotypes and Control

A correlational analyses was calculated to determine the relationship between stereotyped thinking, the total control means and the self-perception scales. For the relationships associated with stereotyped thinking some consistent results were found and patterns revealed. These correlations are shown in Table 3.

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Insert Table 3 about here

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Internal control was negatively correlated with negative, positive, total and counter stereotyped scores. As one's feelings that they are in control of their lives decreased, their stereotyped beliefs increased. The correlations between negative and total stereotypes and internal control showed the strongest

relationship. Also, as expected, global self-esteem was negatively correlated with stereotyped thinking. As the negative evaluation about oneself increases so do their negative evaluations about others or members of their own ethnic group for minorities.

Correlations were calculated separately for Black subjects only. These correlations are shown in Table 4

Insert Table 4 about here

For Black subjects internal control was significantly negatively correlated with all of the stereotyped thinking subscales. The more internal the subjects were, the less likely they were to exhibit extreme thinking. Not only were they less likely to attribute negative characteristics to themselves, they were also less likely to make positive attributions for White people only. They were also less likely to exhibit counter stereotyped thinking and attribute positive characteristics to Black people while attributing negative characteristics to White people. For Black children, global self-esteem was also significantly negatively correlated with stereotyped beliefs. The better Black children felt about themselves the less likely they were to attribute negative characteristics to themselves only while attributing positive characteristics to White people only. They were also less likely to exhibit reversed stereotyped thinking.

Discussion

The internal consistency of the measures was low. Cronbach's alpha levels varied from subscale to subscale even within the same measure. Overall Cronbach's alpha for the fourth graders using the full measures were higher than the levels for all of the subjects with the reduced measures. When Cronbach's alpha was recalculated for the fourth graders using only half of the measures to parallel the measures used by kindergarten and second grade subjects, the levels dropped. In fact, some subscales were negatively correlated with each other. These results indicated that the low internal consistency was in part due to the reduced measures used for this study. Cronbach's alpha was calculated individually for kindergarten and second grade subjects although not reported. The even lower scores indicated that developmental immaturity was also a culprit that contributed to low internal consistency.

Due to the low internal validity of the measures correlational analyses for perceived control and self-perception were not reported. Only a negligible number of correlations were found and these were more than likely due to chance.

Results of the Correlational analyses for the stereotyped thinking, self-esteem and self-perception subscales were inconsistent and there were instances when both internal and external (powerful others or unknown) subscales showed the same positive or negative correlation with the same self-perception subscale instead of showing an opposite relationship. One is

not usually external and internal for the same subscale. Also,
many of the correlations did not reach significance due to the
small number of subjects. For the few correlations that did
reach significance, the relationships were not strong.
Correlational analyses for the stereotyped thinking did yield
more significant results as expected and as stated earlier did
support our hypotheses. The correlations for all subjects
internal control and global self-esteem was stronger than the
correlations for Black and White subjects individually. As
reported earlier, no significant ethnic effects were found for
self-esteem and perceived control. As a result, racial
differences were difficult to establish.

The negative relationships found between stereotyped
thinking and self-esteem indicate that a negative evaluation
about oneself may be related to a negative evaluation about
others, or in the case of the Black and Hispanic subjects, one's
own group. Also, internal control was negatively correlated with
the stereotyped thinking measure. The more in control an
individual felt in his or her life, the less likely he or she was
to exhibit positive, negative or counter stereotyped thinking.
Again, it should be noted that the stereotyped thinking measure
indicated extreme thinking, attributing negative or positive
characteristics to only one group instead of acknowledging that
all people have their strengths and weaknesses. The results of
these analyses, while not strong, supported our hypothesis.
Stereotyped thinking was negatively correlated to both internal

control and self-esteem for all subjects.

Grade effects indicated a developmental difference in control. For most subscales, internal control increased for the older subjects. Interestingly, there were subscales in which older subjects scored higher for unknown or powerful others, i.e. external control. These areas somewhat coincided with the self-esteem subscales that decreased in the older subjects because the decreased internal control was seen in scholastic and cognitive subscales and decreased self-concept was seen in the scholastic subscale. Grade effects were also found for other self-concept subscales. Global self-esteem increased with age, although it was not statistically significant, but individual self-concepts did not show this same trend. Athletic self-concept also declined with age. This trend could be the result of the increase in social comparison that comes with age. Also, for children in this age range, fourth grade, the most salient areas of social comparison are in academics and physical ability.

The sample size in this investigation was small. Initially 117 subjects were run; however, eleven of the subjects were dropped due to problems with their data such as position bias and missing measures. Also, the reduced measures coupled with the developmental immaturity of the younger subjects, greatly lowered the internal validity for the measures. The level of some of the measures, especially the SPPC and the MPC, often proved too sophisticated for the kindergarten subjects. It is possible that these subjects did not understand the task.

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Table 1

Coefficient Alpha's

	K 2 4	4	4 reduced
SPPC			
Scholastic	.22	.56	.41
Athletic	.33	.66	.27
Behavioral	.41	.66	.42
Social	.29	.67	.58
Physical Appearance	.42	.66	.52
Global	.19	.56	.12
MPC			
Cognitive Unknown	.48	.72	.65
Cognitive Powerful Others	.32	.55	.33
Cognitive Internal	.32	.39	-.24
Social Unknown	.26	.24	-.14
Social Powerful Others	.50	.68	.40
Social Internal	.47	.32	.22
Physical Unknown	.34	.59	.40
Physical Powerful Others	.34	.77	.55
Physical Internal	.32	.63	.29
General Unknown	.19	.44	-.26
General Powerful Others	.26	.24	-.22
General Unknown	.27	.40	.40
Unknown Control Total	.64	.78	.54
Powerful Others Control Total	.61	.76	.60
Internal Control Total	.69	.46	.33

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations

	K		2		4	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
SPPC						
Scholastic	2.91	.72	2.93	.61	2.56	.81
Social	2.94	.75	2.78	.65	2.88	.93
Athletic	3.05	.80	2.84	.69	2.40	.93
Physical Appearance	3.01	.80	3.22	.62	3.03	.85
Behavioral	3.14	.74	3.12	.73	2.83	.80
Global	2.98	.71	3.17	.66	3.31	.65
Stereotypes						
Negative	1.35	1.05	.44	1.03	.32	.59
Positive	2.00	1.61	.49	1.14	.12	.41
Total	3.35	2.15	.93	1.85	.44	.82
Counter	3.97	2.97	1.76	3.02	.62	1.23

Table 2 (cont.)

Means and Standard Deviations

	K		2		4	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
MPC						
Cognitive Internal	2.73	.89	3.43	.67	3.71	.44
Cognitive Others	2.70	.77	2.49	1.00	1.76	.72
Cognitive Unknown	2.64	.89	2.94	.85	2.42	1.07
Social Internal	2.50	1.08	2.95	.79	3.31	.68
Social Others	2.69	.96	2.69	.96	2.06	.88
Social Unknown	2.47	.79	3.08	.93	2.90	.74
Physical Internal	2.89	.70	3.27	.80	3.44	.63
Physical Others	2.67	.92	2.65	.91	2.72	.93
Physical Unknown	2.69	.71	2.76	.84	2.64	.81
General Internal	2.35	.86	3.18	.73	3.14	.76
General Others	2.59	.92	3.07	.81	3.13	.66
General Unknown	2.53	.93	2.85	.80	3.00	.63
Unknown Control	2.60	.55	2.89	.73	2.75	.54
Powerful Others	2.70	.58	2.70	.66	2.40	.53
Internal Control	2.62	.59	3.21	.55	3.40	.36

Self-esteem and stereotyping

Table 3

Correlations of Self-Perception, Control Means and Stereotypes for All Subjects

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1Sch												
2Soc	.20*											
3Ath	.21*	.09										
4Phy	.22*	.15	.20*									
5Beh	.13	.06	.19*	.31*								
6Gbl	.06	.08	.01	.11	.21*							
7UMN	-.04	-.16	-.02	.05	.07	.16						
8OMN	.08	-.02	.24*	-.07	.11	.06	.36*					
9IMN	-.09	-.10	-.13	-.04	.004	.24*	.39*	-.24*				
10NS	.03	-.003	.08	-.08	.005	-.32*	-.24*	-.13*	-.41*			
11PS	.13	.02	.09	-.18	-.05	-.18*	-.14	.10	-.38*	.51*		
12TS	.10	.02	.10	-.16	-.03	-.27*	-.21*	.001	-.45*	.82*	.91*	
13CS	.06	.09	.21	-.07	.13	-.11	-.10	.23*	-.21*	.24*	.31*	.32*

Self-esteem and stereotyping

Table 4

Correlations for Black Subjects

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1Sch												
2Soc	.14											
3Ath	.21	.008										
4Phy	.19	.03	.30*									
5Beh	.16	.10	.14	.38*								
6Gbl	.05	-.02	.04	.11	.28*							
7UMN	.005	-.24	.08	-.07	.17	.38*						
8OMN	.17	-.11	.30	.03	.20	.13	.39*					
9IMN	-.11	-.23	-.18	-.09	-.003	.23	.47*	.20				
10NS	.05	.10	.22	-.10	.06	-.21	-.29*	.04	-.27*			
11PS	.13	.16	.11	-.20	.0003	-.14	-.10	.04	-.30*	.69*		
12TS	.11	.15	.17	-.17	.03	-.19	-.20	.04	-.31*	.89*	.94*	
13CS	.08	.20	.23	-.06	.23	-.13	-.21	.16	-.34*	.31*	.27*	.31*