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DIFFERENCES IN GIRLS' PERCEIVED PATERNAL

A Thesis

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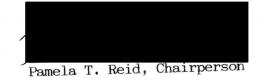
Master of Science Degree

The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

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I am submitting a thesis written by Ivora Deon Hinton, entitled "Differences in Girls' Perceived Paternal Relationships and Their Self-Esteem". I have examined the final copy of this thesis and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science with a concentration in research psychology.



We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:



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ABSTRACT

Few studies have concentrated on the father-children relationship. Of those that have, only a small number have dealt solely with the father-daughter relationship (Biller, 1974; Musser & Fleck, 1983; Walters & Stinnett, 1971). Studies on the relationship of Black fathers and their daughters are severely lacking (McAdoo, 1981; Shulz, 1949; Staples, 1970). Those who have studied Black fathers and their families have found differences in the way Black and White fathers interact with their daughters (Bartz & Levine, 1978; Cazenave, 1979; Klonsky, 1982; McAdoo, 1979; McAdoo, 1981; Reid, 1985).

This study was designed to examine the difference in Black and White girls' perceptions of their relationship with their fathers. Since previous studies have indicated that there is a significant correlation of self-esteem with paternal acceptance (Fisher & Biller, 1973) and paternal control (Musser & Fleck, 1983), this study was also designed to determine if the effect of the father-daughter relationship on the self-esteem of Black and White girls is different.

Subjects were 58 high school girls who lived with both parents. Sixteen items from the Children's Report

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of Parental Behavior Inventory (Schaefer, 1985) were used to measure the daughters' perception of their relationships with their fathers. Perceived paternal acceptance was assessed by combining scores from the nurturance, involvement and rejection subscale, while perceived paternal control was assessed by the control subscale. Self-esteem scores were derived from the subjects responses to the Coppersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (1967). Each subject was given a questionnaire containing demography items, questions about time spent with father, and the two scales.

The results of the study indicated strong positive correlations with self-esteem and paternal acceptance. However, the results did not indicate a correlation between self-esteem and paternal control. Although there was no significant racial difference in the perceived parental acceptance, amount of time involvement, amount of nurturance or amount of control fathers give, the results did indicate that Black fathers were perceived as less rejecting. The self-esteem of the Black girls in this study was significantly higher than White girls. Perhaps feeling less paternal rejection is, in part, the basis for Black girl's higher self-esteem.

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chapter I

Introduction

The parent-child relationship is one of the most important influences over the development of a child's personality. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that this relationship has been studied intensively. Most of the research in this area has focused on the mother-child relationship, whereas relatively few studies have been conducted which concentrate on the father-child relationship. The role of the father has gained increasing interest among researchers and theorists (Musser & Fleck, 1983). Almost all theorists suggest that fathers have a strong effect on their children's sex-role development (Lamb, 1981). Several agree that close father-child relationships are associated with high achievement and good psychological adjustment (e.g., Lamb, 1981), and although there is less agreement among theorists on the effect father's have on their children's moral development, several suggest that they play a prominent role (e.g., Lamb, 1981).

Most of the research on the role of fathers has centered on the relationship of fathers and their sons.

Compared to the emphasis placed on the father-son relationship, little attention has been given to the impact of the father-daughter relationship (Biller, 1974; Walters & Stinnett, 1971). In the studies that have included both boys and girls, researchers have concluded that boys who experience poor father-child relationships have more academic, interpersonal and psychological adjustment problems than girls in the same situation (Lessing, Zagorin, & Nelson, 1970; Lynn & Sawrey, 1959; Santrock, 1972; Shinn, 1979; Winch, 1950). Unfortunately, some theorists thus have developed the attitude that a father's participation in raising his daughters is not as important as it is for his sons. Recent research, however, has indicated that a father's influence is at least as crucial to the sex-role development, achievement motivation and psychological adjustment in girls as in boys (Biller, 1971; Biller, 1974; Biller & Weiss, 1970; Hetherington, 1972).

For Black families as for White families, the mother-child relationship has been studied a great deal more than the father-child relationship. In fact, the role of the Black father in his family has been virtually ignored (McAdoo, 1981; Schulz, 1949; Staples, 1970). In the past, most theorists accepted the

pathological and dysfunctional view of the Black family (Dodson, 1981). That view described the Black father as an invisible man who had virtually no control or interest in raising his childern. For the theorists who upheld this point of view, the Black father failed to fit the theoretical models of fathers (McAdoo, 1979).

Today, however, many researchers are finding that Black fathers do indeed have an interest in their family's welfare and that they have a strong influence on their children's development (McAdoo, 1979). Researchers argue that past studies on the Black family were flawed by conceptual, methodological and interpretational problems. They stress the fact that these problems must be thoroughly examined so that they will not be an influence in future research (Allen, 1978). Researchers are beginning to recognize the need to study Black fathers and their children. However, as in the case of White fathers and daughters, Black father-daughter relationships receive very little attention. Of the few studies conducted on the Black father-child relationship, the data have shown that the Black fathers have just as strong an influence over their daughters' personality growth as White father (Lamb, 1981). However, there appear to be some very

important differences in the father-daughter relationship in a Black family.

In this study the historical and theoretical perspectives of fatherhood in general and Black fatherhood in particular are reviewed. The theories examined are those created by Freud, Parson and the social learning theorists. In addition, the relationship of the Black father and daugther will be examined and compared to the father-daughter relationship in White families.

<u>Historical</u> <u>Prespective</u> of <u>Fatherhood</u>

The traditional father has been depicted by some as being brutual, callous and indifferent toward his family (Young & Willmott, 1962). In the past, the father was dominant, and in some societies, he held power over the life and death of his family (McKee & O'Brien, 1982). Critics of this portrayal of the father accuse historians of generalizing from evidence drawn from the literate upper-class. They argue that the image of an all-powerful father figure misrepresents the working people's experience (McKee & O'Brien, 1982).

In fact, this stereotypical image is not a representation of fathers everywhere. Fathers have not

always been seen in such an absolutist view. In the hunting and gathering societies, fathers shared in the care of young. Kenkel (1966) reported that fathers in the Trobriand Islands bathe, feed and carry their children. The agricultural father had less time for playful, nonwork activities with his children; thus, the mother's role as the primary care-giver began to develop (Bloom-Feshbach, 1981). Bloom-Feshbach (1981) reported, that the father became the "disciplinarian, exerting an authoritarian mode of control that breds conformity and successful adaptation to farming life." Still the agricultural father spent more time with his children than the industrial father (Thompson, 1977). In the areas of heavy industry, where work was entirely segregated and physically exhausting, male participation in housework and child care was seldom observed (Thompson, 1977). In the view of some social scientists, the father's authority in the family began to deteriorate (McKee & O'Brien, 1982).

The lack of property and time to spend with his family further reduced the working man, or as Pleck (1979) calls him, the traditional father's authority in the family. During the industrial period, women took over the job of providing a network of relatives who could assist the family during economic difficulties.

Therefore, if a couple could not afford their own apartment, they went to live with her parents (Stearns, 1979). This clearly reduced the man's authority (Stearns, 1979), and as Bloom-Feshbach (1981) notes, it reduced his sense of personal worth. In many industrial cities, the working man did not see his home as a source of enjoyment (Young & Willmott, 1965). Bloom-Feshbach (1981) said that some men "satisfied his affiliative needs in friendships with other men". He often frequented neighborhood taverns which were rigorously masculine. There he could drink and play cards or darts without distraction (Marrus, 1974; Stearns, 1979). The housekeeping allowance might suffer for such activity. Young and Willmott (1965) said, "the husband too often took for himself what he should have spent on his family" (p. 4). They described the working class father as being harsh to the children, violent when drunk (which was often), and they said that he was a "sort of absentee husband, sharing with his wife neither responsibility nor affection". Stearns (1979) said that although he remained the head of his family, the traditional father was an "intermittent boss and authority model at best". Patriarchalism was still expected even by the sons, but it no longer worked. The relationship between father

and child deteriorated and the child's attachment to mother grew (Stearns, 1979).

Pleck (1979) called the middle class father of the 18th and 19th centuries the modern father. Bloom-Feshbach (1981) said that the modern father tended to be less authoritarian than the traditional father. His esteem and perceived authority in the family were higher. However, like the traditional working father, the modern father had only a secondary role in household maintenance and childrearing. Because of technological advances, the middle class mother became less involved in household tasks, and since monetary security had freed her from working outside the home, she began to focus all of her attention on child care. Thus, for the middle class family, as well as the working class family, the importance of motherhood increased. The middle class father began to serve as a "disciplinarian of last resort...'wait till your father comes home'" (Stearns, 1979, p.98).

Bloom-Feshbach (1981) notes that the outstanding development between 1750 and 1950 was the emergence of

the traditional and modern male/paternal roles. He said:

As the twentieth century has progressed, the simple equation between working class and traditional, and middle class and modern, has broken down. Many working class men today fit the modern family pattern, and many middle class men drink 'with the boys', are emotionally distant from their wives...(p. 96).

An even more outstanding change was noted by Pleck and Lang (1978). They found that husbands of employed wives spend more absolute time in child care and household task performance than husbands whose wives are not employed outside the home. In the past no such difference was ever found. Bloom-Feshbach (1981) said, "the figures, though small, are meaningful indicators of a nationwide trend toward greater male participation in family work." On the other hand, Bloom-Feschbach also notes that since 1900, the rise in the divorce rate in this country has been enormous. In addition, a big increase in the number of unwed mothers has contributed to the trend for many children to grow up in single-parent households. Biller (1981) said, "it is estimated that 40 to 50 percent of the children born in the last decade will spend at least a significant portion of their childhoods in single-parent families". Typically, divorce results in father absence or at least decreased father availability (Biller, 1981).

Thus, although father patricipation in family work is increasing, for many children father availability is declining. Bronfenbrenner (1975) argued that these trends are very harmful for children. Lynn (1974) said, "father absence has been associated with drug addiction, alcoholism, depression and suicide attempts".

Theoretical Perspective of Fatherhood

Theoretically, fatherhood has been somewhat neglected (Benson, 1968). Freud (1948; 1950) and Parson (1955) alloted fathers a place of considerable importance, but most theorists, especially most of the social learning theorists, did not. At first Freud considered the father-child relationship to be more important than the mother-child relationship. He later modified this view stressing that both boys and girls formed their first and most influential relationship with their mother (Lamb, 1981). But Freud continued to emphasize three aspects of the father-child relationship. He considered the father to be a source of protection for the child, the source of positive identifications especially for boys, and the source of the superego. The smallness of the child creates an overwhelming feeling of helplessness which, in turn,

creates a feeling of a need for protection by someone strong. Freud believed that the father provided that protection therefore satisfying the need (Machtlinger, 1981). Identification with father and the formation of the superego (that part of the consciousness which holds the moral attitudes instilled by one's parents) relates to the center of Freud's theory of the father, the resolution of the Oedipus conflict. Freud believed that the male is motivated by fear of the father's aggression to repress his desires for mother and identify with his father, and the female is motivated by fear of the loss of the mother's love to repress her desire for father (Lynn, 1974). The identification process leads to children learning not only the prohibition of incest but other prohibitions as well (Machtlinger, 1981). Freud saw the father as the socializing agent; he thought that the father symbolized the authority of society for both boys and girls (Lynn, 1974). Benson (1968) said that the father appears to be a threatening figure and as one who speaks as authority and therefore should be obeyed. Talcott Parson (1955) also views the father as the socializing agent. He thinks that in the family a way of incorporating the instrumental and expressive functions of society is provided, and that the father

commonly plays the instrumental role while the mother plays the expressive role. Benson (1968) said, "the instrumental orientation evokes a disciplined pursuit of goals transcending the immediate situation and encourages resistance to any emotional involvement as an end in itself". The father in his instrumental role is expected to provide authority, discipline and judgment, for he is society's representation within the family, and the family's representation in the society, as well. Benson (1968) describes expressiveness as being "characterized by a basic predisposition toward pleasing others." He said, "pleasant interpersonal relationships are ends in themselves". The mother in her expressive role is the caretaker. Like Freud, Parson believes that the father's role generates hostility in his children (he stresses that father must be able to absorb the hostility). The mother must act as mediator of the father-child relationship, thus keeping the internal affairs of the family intact. Clearly her role, in Parson's view, is very important. Indeed, although Parson considers the father's role important, he believes that the mother's role in the family is more important (Lamb, 1981; Lynn, 1974; Parson & Bales, 1955).

Most of the social learning theorists view the father's role as passive. They believe that personality development is the result of modeling or imitation and reinforcement and punishment (Benson, 1968). They would argue that children prefer to model after individuals who most control valued resources; for example, money (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Biller, 1981; Mussen & Distler, 1959). Therefore, the social learning theorists believe that the father-child relationship could have a very influential impact on a child's development, especially for the boy. However, the father's role as provider causes him seldom to be present. In most families, fathers leave home before the children awake, and they return long after the children have been put to bed. Thus, although he could have a strong impact, the father does not influence his children's development as much as the ever-present mother (Benson, 1968).

Recently, the father role's has gained a great deal of attention. The negative historical image is being reexamined, and his importance in his family's development is becoming more apparent (McKee & O'Brien, 1982).

Father-Daughter Relationship

Most theorists maintain that daughters identify with their mothers, so the father's lack of salience is not as detrimental for her development as for the son's development, and studies have shown that this may be true (Lessing, Zagorin, & Nelson, 1970; Lynn & Sawrey, 1959; Santrock, 1972; Shinn, 1979; Winch, 1950). Unfortunately, acceptance of this view leads many theorists to develop the attitude that fathers are not as important in girls' personality development as are mothers. Recent studies, however, indicate that identification with the father is crucial to a girl's sex-role orientation, cognitive development and psychological adjustment (Biller, 1974).

Fathers tend to influence their children's sex role identification more than mothers because they are more concerned with sex-role differentiation (Biller, 1974; Goodenough, 1957); that is, fathers tend to worry about boys behaving like little men and girls behaving like little ladies. Sears , Rau and Alpert (1965) found that girls' femininity is related to their fathers concept of the appropriate sex-role orientation for his daughter. Hetherington, Cox and Cox (1978) found that fathers of extremely feminine girls were

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generally extremely masculine. Biller (1974) said that it appears that the more a father interacts with his daughter, and the more that interaction involves encouraging her to "value her feminity", the more secure her sex-role orientation will be.

The relationship between a father's behavior and the daughter's intellectual competence is complex. Many studies have indicated that fathers can greatly stimulate their daughters' cognitive functioning and intellectual attainment. For example, Plank and Plank (1954) found that outstanding female mathematicians were particularly attached to and identified with their fathers. Other researchers (Crandell, Dewey, Katkovsky, & Preston, 1964; Katkovsky, Crandell, & Good, 1967) found that girls who were intellectually competent had fathers who consistently praised and rewarded their intellectual efforts. On the other hand, many other studies indicate that there is no relationship between a fathers' behavior and his daughter's cognitive growth (Heilbrun, 1973; Heilbrun, Harrel & Gellard, 1967; Teahan, 1963). For example, when Teahan (1963) compared parental attitudes of high and low achieving college freshman, he found that the fathers of high achieving girls exerted less control over them and expressed less nurturance than fathers of

low achievers, and even Crandell et al. (1964) found that some fathers who encouraged and instigated intellectual pursuits in their girls had less proficient daughters. Thus, it appears that some paternal distance seems to foster girls' cognitive functioning (Radin, 1981). Radin (1981) said the explanation of these contradictions may lie in the different aspects of paternal behavior measured. In the earlier study of traditional fathers, observed paternal behavior was audiotaped and coded in discrete categories; in the study of families with different childcare arrangements, questionnaire data were used to assess the total amount of involvement the father had with the child and the content of his activities with the youngster. Therefore, different parental variables and different methodologies were involved.

Radin (1981) also points out the fact that many men tend to perceive intelligence as a masculine rather than a feminine quality. Because many fathers tend to stress stereotypically sex-typed behaviors in their daughters, they tend to communicate ambivalent messages concerning intellectual growth (e.g., females are not supposed to be intelligent). A father may want his daughter to be the smartest child on earth, yet instead of encouraging her to be independent and self-confident

(the characteristics she will need), he may encourage her to be dependent and timid. Thus, if fathers who are prone to encourage so-called feminine thinking in their daughters, do not spent much time with their girls, the daughters tend to develop good cognitive functioning (Lynn, 1974). Radin (1981) further points out that there are indications that the mixed messages have less effect when "paternal instructional activities are presented in the context of some strictness and warmth".

As for personality adjustment, Fish and Biller (1973) argued that girls whose fathers were relatively uninvolved and/or rejecting would have more difficulties in their personality adjustment than girls whose fathers were nurturant or warm and accepting. They conducted a study in which they compared 137 female undergraduate's perceptions of their relationships with their fathers to their personal adjustment scores obtained on Gough and Heilbrun's (1980) Adjective Checklist, a self-perception measure scale. They found that subjects who had negative self-perceptions also seemed to have a negative view of their relationship with their fathers during childhood. In 1983 Musser and Fleck conducted a study similar to that of Fish and Biller (1973). However, basing their

arguments on the work of Diana Baumrind (1971), Musser and Fleck (1983) thought that personality adjustment would be positively correlated with the authoritative parenting style. Baumrind classified the styles of parenting into three categories: permissive, authoritarian and authoritative. The permissive father generally tends to have little control over his children's behavior. The authoritarian father, on the other hand, tends to be very restrictive; that is, he has a great deal of control, but he tends to show very little warmth toward the children. The authoritative father tends to have a high level of control, but he also tends to be highly nurturant toward his children. Thus, in their study, Musser and Fleck examined the relationship between 72 college females' personality adjustment and paternal acceptance and parental control. Like Fish and Biller, Musser and Fleck found that a high level of paternal nurturance and positive involvement was significantly related to a high level of personality adjustment in females. In addition to this, the results of their study also supported their hypothesis that personality adjustment in females is significantly related to a high level of paternal control and paternal acceptance (Musser & Fleck, 1983).

Black Fathers

There are problems involved in studying any topic. One very important problem in the case of paternal relationships is over-generalization. The historical accounts of fatherhood have been heavily subject to this fallacy (McKee & O'Brien, 1982). Every society recognizes a special bond between a child and one or more "fathers", but the father's role in the family is not always the same (Bloom-Feshbach, 1981). It has been argued that researchers who have attemped to study the Black family have been influenced by this fallacy (Dodson, 1981). Historically, Black men have been depicted as irresponsible, weak and ineffective (Darden & Bayton, 1977; Gray, 1981; Pinckney, 1983; Reid, 1985). It was believed that if the Black father was present in the family, he had little or no interest in his children's welfare (McAdoo, 1979). For many researchers the Black father fails to fit the theoretical models of fatherhood. For example, it is not uncommon for Black men to engage in many expressive functions (Billingsley, 1968; Cazenave, 1979; Reid; 1979), something Parsons would not expect, and often the Black father fails to fit the provider role. Thus, his role in the family has been considered pathological

(Nobles, 1979). The Black mother, on the other hand, has been viewed as the dominating parent, and for many researchers the parent to study. An unfortunate consequence of this view is that the role of the Black father in his family has been virtually ignored (McAdoo, 1981; Reid, 1985; Schulz, 1949; Staples, 1970). Recent studies, however, indicate that most Black families are stable two-parent households. Billingsley (1968) found that two-thirds of Black families living in metropolitan areas are headed by husbands with their wives. Nine-tenths of these families are self-supporting, and both parents share equal responsibility in making family decisions, (Mack, 1978; Middleton & Putney, 1960; Willie, 1976; Willie & Greenblatt, 1978). Some argue that in the past researchers have confounded ethnicity and social class in their studies of the Black family, and that they have placed too much emphasis on the provider role as a parenting style (Cazenave, 1979; McAdoo, 1981). Lower-class Black families have been compared to middle-class white families. But studies show that family stability and parenting styles are different in different social classes, and that the lower the social class, the greater the differences will probably be found (Bartz & Levine, 1978). For example, Cazenave

(1979) found that as economic security for Black fathers increased, their involvement in childrearing functions increased. Researchers have also failed to take into account that many Black families are extended families, and most single-parent households are usually part of an extended family system which is generally headed by a male (Winch, 1968). Thus, in many cases, inaccurate or nonrepresentative data have been misinterpreted as fact.

Black Father-Daughter Relationship

More and more researchers are beginning to recognize the need to study Black fathers and their children; however, as in the case of White fathers and daughters, Black father-daughter relationships receive very little attention. Of the few studies conducted on the Black father-child relationship, the data have shown that the Black father has just as strong an influence over his daughter's personality growth as the White father (Lamb, 1981); however, there appear to be some very important differences in the father-daughter relationship in the Black family. Black fathers seem to spend more time with their children than White fathers (McAdoo, 1979). Futhermore, as noted previously, Cazenave (1979) found that as economic security for Black fathers increased their involvement in childrearing functions increased. Although most Black fathers describe themselves as traditional fathers, and studies indicate that their beliefs and values are quite traditional (McAdoo, 1981), they tend to be more nurturant than White fathers, and they seem to be authoritative, rather than permissive, as previously thought (Bartz & Levine, 1978). Unlike authoritarian White fathers, Black fathers expect their daughters to be independent and assertive, and their parenting style has been associated with high competence and achievement levels and high leadership abilities in their daughters (Klonsky, 1982; McAdoo, 1981; Reid, 1985).

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Chapter II

Purpose of Study

As stated before, it is not unusual for researchers to overlook possible racial differences in the study of father-child relationships. Fish and Biller (1973) used only White females as subjects. They failed to discuss any racial differences that may have occurred. Musser and Fleck (1983) also failed to indicate or discuss racial differences in their study. Those who have studied Black fathers and their families have implied that there are differences in the way Black and White fathers interact with their children, especially their daughters (Bartz & Levine, 1978; Cazenave, 1979; Klonsky, 1982; McAdoo, 1979; McAdoo, 1981; Reid, 1985). Therefore, it stands to reason that there should be differences in the way Black and White girls perceive their relationship with their fathers. Since, both the Fisher and Biller (1973) and the Musser and Fleck (1983) studies found that a girl's perception of her relationship with her father is significantly related to her personality adjustment, the effect of the father-daughter relationship on the Black and White girls' personality adjustment should be different. Using much of the same procedures as Musser and Fleck

(1983), this study was designed to examine the differences in Black and White girls' preceptions of their relationship with their fathers, and to determine if the effect of the father-daughter relationship on the personality adjustment of Black and White girls is different.

Hypotheses

Based on a review of the literature and theory, the predictions are summarized as follows:

(1) There will be a positive correlation of the daugther's self-esteem with her perception of paternal acceptance and control for both races holding socioeconomic status (SES) constant.

For this study self-esteem will be defined by responses to the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (1967). Paternal acceptance will be measured by items from the nurturance, involvement, and rejections subscales of Schaefer's (1965) Children's Report of Paternal Behavior Inventory (CRPBI). Paternal control will be measured by items from the control subscale of the CRPBI.

(2) The daughter's perception of her relationship with her father and her perception of time involvement should be better for Black subjects than for White subjects regardless of SES level.

(3) If there is a positive correlation between paternal acceptance and control and personality adjustment, and if there are racial differences in the perception of paternal behaviors in each SES level, then there will be higher self-esteem among Black than White girls in each SES level.

Chapter III

Method

Participants

Subjects were 58 high school girls who were students at two local high schools, Chattanooga Central High School and Brainerd High School, and members of three local youth groups, Jack and Jill, Upward Bound and Career Beginnings. Thirty-three of the girls were Black and 25 were White. There were 39 middle-class subjects (21 Blacks and 18 Whites) and 19 working-class subjects (12 Blacks and 7 Whites). The age range was 14 to 18 years old (mean age 16 years, 1 month). All subjects live with both parents; that is, subjects whose fathers or mothers were absent in the family or who were under the care of step-parents or guardians were not included in the study. Due to the restrictions on family structures over 70% of the available data were eliminated.

Social Status

Social class was determined by the Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position (1957). This index utilizes occupation and education to determine an individuals' class status. Although it is somewhat dated, it has been shown to be valid as a measure of social hierarchy (Hollingshead, 1957; Myers and Bean, 1968). Subjects were asked to report both parents' occupation and educational levels.

In the Two-Factor Index of Social Position Scale, professions are ranked into 7 different groups and businesses according to their size and value. The 7 positions on the scale are: (1) executives and proprietors of large concerns and major professionals; (2) managers and proprietors of medium concerns and minor professionals; (3) administrative personnel of large concerns, owners of small independent businesses and semiprofessionals; (4) owners of little businesses, clerical and sales workers and technicians; (5) skilled workers; (6) semiskilled workers; and (7) unskilled workers. Each father's occuptational rank was multiplied by a factor weight of 7. The result became the occupation subscale score. The educational levels are also divided into 7 positions: (1) graduate professional training; (2) standard college or university graduation; (3) partial college training (completed at least one year); (4) high-school graduation (including trade schools); (5) partial high school (completed the 10th or 11th grade); (6) junior

high school (completed the 7th, 8th, or 9th grade); (7) less than 7 years of school. Each father's educational rank was multiplied by a factor weight of 4, and the result became the education subscale score. The occupation subscale score and the education subscale score were then added, and the range of the computed scale scores were divided to determine the social status of each subjects. The division in the range was based on the work of Myers and Bean (1968). Subjects whose fathers obtained computed scores ranging from 28 to 43 were categorized as middle class. Subjects whose fathers obtained computed scores ranging from 44 to 60 were categorized as working class.

Measures

1. Perception of Paternal Relationship

Sixteen items from the Children's Report of Parental Behavior Inventory (Schaefer, 1965) were used to measure the daughters' perception of their relationships with their fathers. The items used consisted of possible father behaviors which assessed Positive involvement (e.g., "enjoys working with me in the house or yard"), nurturance (e.g., "makes me feel that I am loved"), rejection (e.g., "thinks my ideas

are silly") and control (e.g., always makes sure I hear about it if I break a rule). The subject could respond to each item with "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree", or "strongly disagree". The items from these subscales were selected and randomly arranged in the questionnaire (see Appendix A). Each subject received an overall paternal acceptance score by adding up the scores obtained on the nurturance, involvement and rejection subscales. The score obtained on the control subscale became the control score. The subjects received 2 points for strongly agreeing, 1 point for agreeing, -1 point for disagreeing and -2 points for strongly disagreeing.

For girls' report of their father's behavior, Schaefer found the internal consistency reliabilites for involvement (or sharing) to be .90, for nurturance (or emotional support) .93, for rejection .78 and for control (or parental direction) .74.

2. <u>Self-Esteem</u>

Adjustment scores were derived from the subjects' responses to the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (1967). This scale measures evaluative attitudes toward the self. The items are short statements generally answered "like me" or "unlike me". In order

to increase the discriminative response the choices were expanded so that the subjects could choose from 4 responses, "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree", "strongly disagree" (see Appendix B). This 25-item short form of the original 50-item inventory was correlated over .95 with the longer form. Taylor and Reitz (1968) found a .90 split-half reliability for the long form, and Coopersmith reported a test-retest reliability as .88 over 5 weeks and .70 over three years. However, no data are available for the shorter form (Robinson & Shaver, 1973).

For the Self-Esteem Inventory (1967), subjects received 2 points for strongly agreeing with positive items and for strongly disagreeing with negative items. They received 1 point for agreeing to positive items and disagreeing to negative items. They received -1 point for disagreeing with positive items and for agreeing to negative items and they received -2 points for strongly disagreeing to positive items and for strongly agreeing to negative items. The possible range of scores was -100 to 100.

3. Time

Each subject was also asked to respond to three statements which assessed their perception of the

amount of time they spend with their father. They were actual time, relative time, and evaluative time (see Appendix C).

Procedure

Participation was completely voluntary. Each subject was given a questionnaire containing demographic items, questions about time spent with father, the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (1967) and the items from the CRPBI (see Appendix D). All were informed that filling out the questionnaire was not compulsory and that all information would be kept confidential. The survey was either filled out immediately and returned, or it was completed at home and returned at a later date.

Chapter IV

<u>Results</u>

Self-esteem and Perceived Paternal Behavior

To test the first hypothesis of a positive correlation of self-esteem with the perception of paternal acceptance and control a partial correlation analysis was conducted. Self-esteem scores were correlated with scores obtained on the overall perceived paternal acceptance scores (the combined score of the rejection, nurturance and involvement subscales scores) and on the perceived paternal control scores. The effect of SES was partialed out. As predicted in hypothesis 1, with the effect of SES partialed out, there was a positive correlation between self-esteem and paternal acceptance (r= .639, p < .01). However, there was no significant correlation between self-esteem and paternal control. Further examination of the data indicate that even without considering SES the correlation does not differ (r= .643, p < .01). In order to determine if all of the subfactors of paternal acceptance (nurturance, involvement, and rejection subscales) were contributing to the analysis, correlations were also conducted on each subscale. The

data revealed positive correlations between Self-esteem and nurturance (r= .583, $\underline{p} < .01$), and involvement scores (r= .599, $\underline{p} < .01$); and a negative correlation between Self-esteem and rejection scores (r= -.572, \underline{p} <.01).

Race and SES Differences in Perceived Paternal Behavior

The hypothesis that Black girls perceive a more positive relationship (higher paternal acceptance scores) with their fathers and greater time involvement on his part was assessed using analyses of variance. The dependent variables included perceived paternal acceptance, paternal control, and the measures of perception of time involvement (actual time, relative time, and evaluative time). Race and SES were the independent variables. There was no significant racial or SES differences, nor was there an interaction for paternal acceptance (see Table 3). However, there was a trend toward Black girls obtaining higher paternal acceptance scores than White subjects (\underline{F} (1,54) = 3.24, P < .08). There was no significant difference in the control scores of the Black and White subjects (see Table 4); however, there was a significant SES difference (<u>F</u> (1,54) = 6.79, <u>p</u> $\langle .01 \rangle$. The results show no significant racial difference in any of the measures

of time involvement, nor were there any significant SES differences or interactions (see Tables 5,6 and 7).

Separate analyses of variance were conducted using race and SES as the independent variables and the subscales of paternal acceptance (involvement, rejection, and nurturance subscales) as the dependent variables. Although Black subjects tended to obtain higher involvement scores than White subjects, there was no significant racial difference (see Table 8). There was no significant SES difference in the involvement scores, but there was a trend toward middle class subjects receiving higher scores than lower class subjects (F (1,54) = 3.76, p (.06). There was no interaction in the involvement scores. There were no significant racial or SES differences in the nurturance subscale scores, nor was there an interaction (see Table 9). There was a significant racial difference in the rejection scores. The Black subjects obtain significantly lower scores on the rejection subscale (\underline{F} (1,54) = 7.23, p <.01) than the White subjects; that is, their scores indicate that they experience less rejection from their fathers. But there was no significant SES difference or interaction (see Table 10).

Race Difference in Self-esteem

In the third hypothesis, Black girls were predicted to have higher self-esteem than White girls. An analysis of variance using race and SES as independent variables and self-esteem as the dependent variable did reveal a significant racial difference for self-esteem (\underline{F} (1,54)= 5.65, \underline{p} <.02). The Black subjects obtained significantly higher self-esteem scores than the White subjects (see Table 11). There was no significant SES difference, nor was there an interaction.

found. It may be that the analysis and the paternal control scores are the back the back the back of any significant correlations. Perhaps and the back of the control scores would warp accessed the back of the control with control and self-esteen model of the control with control and self-esteen model of the back of the back of the possible caveat is the control scheme which is study, only 4 items from esteen to for the back of the back of the back of the scheme back of the back of the back of the back of the control control. On the back of the back of the back of the control control. On the back of the back of the back of the control control of the back of the back of the back of the back of the control control of the back of t

Chapter V

Discussion

Self-esteem and Perceived Paternal Behavior

There was a strong positive correlation with self-esteem and paternal acceptance. Thus, as both Fish and Biller (1973) and Musser and Fleck (1981) have found, there does seem to be a very strong association between girls' perception of the way their fathers interact with them and their self-esteem. However. unlike the Musser and Fleck (1983) study a significant correlation between control and self-esteem was not found. It may be that the variance in the paternal control scores are too small to detect any significant correlations. Perhaps with more subjects, the control scores would vary more, and thus, a correlation with control and self-esteem would be found. Another possible caveat is the control subscale itself. Musser and Fleck used the whole CRPBI, while in this study, only 4 items from each subscale were used. Perhaps this number of items is too few to adequately assess paternal control. On the other hand, Fisher and Biller (1973) only used 6 items in their nurturant, involvement and rejection subscale, yet the results of

all three studies indicated the same strong correlations. It may also be that the items selected for the control subscale in this study did not accurately assess control when separated from the other items. However, Schaefer (1965) found the internal validity scores for the control subscale to be quite good.

Race Difference In Perceived Paternal Behavior

Although the difference in the father acceptance scores was in the predicted direction with Black subjects obtaining higher scores, the difference was not large enough to be considered significant. There was no significant racial difference on the control scores, nor were there significant racial differences on any of the three measures which indicate perceived paternal time involvement (actual, relative, evaluative time). Thus, it appears that there is no difference in the way Black and White girls perceive their relationship with their fathers. The results of the analyses of the subscales indicate that this may be true for perceived paternal involvement and nurturance. There was no significant main effect for race. However, there was a significant difference in the rejection subscale scores, with the Black subjects

obtaining lower scores. Thus, the results do indeed indicate a difference in the way Black and White girls' perceive their relationships with their fathers. Black girls feel less rejected by their fathers. This is an important finding. Many have argued that there are differences in the way Black and White fathers interact with their daughters (Bartz & Levine, 1978; Cazenave, 1979; Klonsky, 1982; McAdoo, 1979; McAdoo, 1981; Reid, 1985), but very little empiricial data has been reported. In the past, researchers have concentrated on racial differences in paternal involvement (Bartz & Levine, 1978; McAdoo, 1981; Cazenave, 1979). However, in this study a large significant racial difference was found in the rejection scores. Since there was such a large difference in Black and White subjects' rejection scores, it stands to reason that there may be a significant racial difference in the paternal acceptance scores if the sample size was larger. Thus, it is obvious that more research in the area of paternal acceptance should be conducted, especially, research designed to examine racial differences in paternal rejection.

Race Difference in Self-esteem

The results indicate significant racial difference in self-esteem with Black girls obtaining higher scores than the White girls. Since rejection has an effect on self-esteem (Erikson, 1963; Jersild, 1963; Felker, 1974), and since the results indicate that there is a strong negative correlation between self-esteem and rejection scores (i.e., as self-esteem scores increased the rejection scores decreased), it can be argued that the significant racial difference in self-esteem scores is, in part, due to the fact that the Black subjects experience less paternal rejection than the White subjects.

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Summary

This present study has indicated strong positive correlations between self-esteem and paternal acceptance. This finding is consistent with the two previous studies by Fish and Biller (1978) and Musser and Fleck (1983). However, the result did not indicate a correlation between self-esteem and paternal control as Musser and Fleck (1983) found. The reason for this difference may be due to the small sample size of this study or perhaps the operational definition of control is not the same. It may even be that the father's of this study did not fit exactly into authoritarian or authoritative categories. Future studies then should concentrate on defining control, and looking at other levels of parenting styles.

The results did not show any statistical racial differences in percieved paternal acceptance, time involvement as predicted. In addition there were ho significant racial differences in the scores of the nurturance or involvement subscales. However, there was a significant racial difference in the rejection subscales. There appears to significant less paternal rejection among the Black subjects than the White subjects. Thus, there was indeed a difference in the

way the Black and White subjects viewed their relationships with their fathers. The Black girls seem to feel less rejected by their fathers. The results also indicated a significant racial difference in self-esteem with the Black subjects receiving higher scores than the White subjects. Since Black girls seem to feel less rejected, and since self-esteem is related to paternal acceptance, perhaps feeling less paternal rejection is the basis for Black girl's higher self-esteem. In the past, the focus was on racial differences in paternal involvement, but racial differences in paternal rejection were not studied. These results obviously suggest that more research must be conducted to find out more about the effect paternal rejection rather than involvement alone, has on girls' self-esteem.

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Appendix A

<u>The Sixteen Items from the Childrens Report of</u> <u>Parental Behavior Inventory</u>

- The Involvement Subscale
- 29. He is happy to see me when I come home from school.
- 32. He enjoys talking things over with me.
- 36. My father enjoys working with me in the house or yard.
- 41. He likes to talk to me and be with me much of the time.

The Nurturance Subscale

- 28. My father believes in showing his love for me.
- 30. He tells me I'm good looking.
- 37. He almost always speaks to me with a warm and friendly voice.
- 40. My father hugged and kissed me goodnight when I was small.

The Rejection Subscale

- 27. He thinks my ideas are silly.
- 34. My father says I'm a big problem.
- 38. He isn't very patient with me.
- 39. He makes me feel I am not loved.

<u>The Sixteen Items from the Childrens Report of</u> <u>Parental Behavior Inventory, continued</u>

The Control Subscale

- 26. If I don't behave at school, my father punishes me when I get home.
- 31. My father always makes sure I hear about it if I break a rule.
- 33. He worries about me when I'm away.
- 35. He wants to control whatever I do.

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Appendix B

The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory

- 1. I often wish I were someone else.
- 2. I find it very hard to talk in front of a group.
- 3. There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could.
- 4. I can make up my mind without too much trouble.
- 5. I'm a lot of fun to be with.
- 6. I get upset easily at home.
- 7. It takes me a long time to get used to anything new.
- 8. I'm popular with people my own age.
- 9. My family expects too much of me.
- 10. My family usually considers my feelings.
- 11. I give in very easily.
- 12. It's pretty tough to be me.
- 13. Things are all mixed up in my life.
- 14. Other people usually follow my ideas.
- 15. I have a low opinion of myself.
- 16. There are many times when I'd like to leave home.
- 17. I often feel upset about the work that I do.
- 18. I'm not as nice looking as most people.
- 19. If I have something to say, I usually say it.
- 20. My family understands me.
- 21. Most people are better liked than I am.

Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory, continued

22. I usually feel as if my family is pushing me.
23. I often get discouraged at what I am doing.
24. Things usually don't bother me.
25. I can't be depended on.

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Appendix C

Perceived Paternal Time Involvement Questions

How many hours a week do you spent with your father?

On a scale of 1 to 10 how much time do you think you spend with your father? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (circle one)

Do you wish you could spend more time with your father, or do you wish you could spend less time with you father?

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APPENDIX D

High School Questionnaire

You <u>Are Not Required</u> to fill out the questionnaire, but if you do, <u>Please Respond to All of the Statements</u>. No one will know who you are, so please be <u>Completely</u> <u>Honest</u>, and <u>Do not</u> write you name or your parents' name anywhere on the questionnaire. Read each statement carefully and choice the best response, and thank you very much.

Student's Age Sex Race

Do you live with (circle one) 1. both of your parents 2. neither of your parents 3. only your mother 4. only your father

How many hours a week do you spent with your father?

What is your father's occupation (be specific)?

What is your father's educational level? What grade did he finish? High School

College 1st 2nd 3rd 4th year (circle one) Graduate or Professional School (law, medicine, etc.) 5th 6th 7th 8th year (circle one) More than 8 years of college

What is your mother's occupation (be specific)?

What is your mother's educational level? What grade did she finish? High School

College1st2nd3rd4thyear (circle one)Graduate orProfessional School (law, medicine, etc.)5th6th7th8thyear (circle one)More than 8 years of college

On a scale of 1 to 10 how much time do you think you spend with your father? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (circle one)

Do you wish you could spend more time with your father, or do you wish you could spend less time with you father?

High School Questionnaire, continued

<u>Read</u> each statement carefully and choice the best response.

Example: The first statement reads, "I often wish I were someone else". If you agree with this then circle (2. A), but if you strongly disagree, circle (4. SD).

1.Strongly(SA) 2.Agree(A) 3.Disagree(D) 4.Strongly(SD) Agree Disagree

Circle One Number 1. I often wish I were someone else. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 2. I find it very hard to talk in 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD front of a group. 3. There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 4. I can make up my mind without too much trouble. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 5. I'm a lot of fun to be with. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 6. I get upset easily at home. 7. It takes me a long time to get used to anything new. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 8. I'm popular with people my own age. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 9. My family expects too much of me. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 10. My family usually considers my feelings. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 11. I give in very easily. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD 12. It's pretty tough to be me. 1.SA 2.A 3.D 4.SD

High School Questionnaire, continued

1.Strongly(SA) 2.Agree(A) 3.Disagree(D) 4.Strongly(SD) Agree Disagree

Circle One Number

13.	Things are all mixed up in my life.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
14.	Other people usually follow my ideas.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
15.	I have a low opinion of myself.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
16.	There are many times when I'd like to leave home.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
17.	I often feel upset about the work that I do.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
18.	I'm not as nice looking as most people.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
19.	If I have something to say, I usually say it.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
20.	My family understands me.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
21.	Most people are better liked than I am.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
22.	I usually feel as if my family is pushing me.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
23.	I often get discouraged at what I am doing.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
24.	Things usually don't bother me.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
25.	I can't be depended on.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
26.	If I don't behave at school, my father punishes me when I get home.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
27.	He thinks my ideas are silly.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD

High School Questionnaire, continued

1.Strongly(SA) 2.Agree(A) 3.Disagree(D) 4.Strongly(SD) Agree Disagree

<u>Circle One Number</u>

28.	My father believes in showing his love for me.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
29.	He is happy to see me when I come home from school.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
30.	He tells me I'm good looking.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
31.	My father always makes sure I hear about it if I break a rule.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
32.	He enjoys talking things over with me	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
33.	He worries about me when I'm away.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
34.	My father says I'm a big problem.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
35.	He wants to control whatever I do.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
36.	My father enjoys working with me in the house or yard.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
37.	He almost always speaks to me with a warm and friendly voice.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
38.	He isn't very patient with me.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
39.	He makes me feel I am not loved.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
40.	My father hugged and kissed me goodnight when I was small.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD
41.	He likes to talk to me and be with me much of the time.	1.SA	2.A	3.D	4.SD

Significance of With The Effect	Correlations at <u>p</u> <.01 of SES Partialed Out	
Self-esteem with:		<u>r</u>
· · ·	Father acceptance	.639
	Involvement	.596
	Nurturance	.580
	Rejection	565
Self-esteem with Control		.124

Significance of Correlations at \underline{p} <.01 Without the Effect of SES Partialed Out					
Self-esteem with:		r			
	Father acceptance	.643			
	Involvement	.599			
	Nurturance	.583			
	Rejection	572			
 Self-esteem with Control	was nonsignificant	. 151			

Table of Means and Standard Deviations Paternal Acceptance Scores by Race and SES Level

SES	W	hite	Black	Marginal	
Middle	m =	6.33	13.0	5	8.69
	sd=	(11.48)	(7.7	7)	
Working		4.14	7.2	5	
		(11.32)	(7.7	5)	

		Means and Scores by				
SES	Whit	e	Black		Marginal	
Middle	m =	1.22		2.86		1.50
	sd= (1.77)	(2.61)	
Working		.43		.17		
	(1.99)	(2.69)	

Table of Means and Standard Deviations Actual Time Scores by Race and SES Level							
SES	W	hite	Black	Marginal			
Middle	m =	15.78	25.29		19.31		
	sd=	(16.92)	(32.85)			
Working		24.57	11.08				
		(34.74)	(13.82)			

Table of Means and Standard Deviations Relative Time Scores by Race and SES Level							
SES	W	<u>hi</u>	te	Black	Marginal		
Middle	m =		5.67	6.6	7	5.79	
	sd=	(2.83)	(2.6	5)		
Working			5.00	4.9	1		
		(3.11)	(2.78)		

Table of Means and Standard Deviations Evaluative Time Scores by Race and SES Level							
SES	W	<u>hite</u>	Black	Marg	inal		
Middle	m =	1.67		1.33	1.48		
	sd=	(.67)	(.73)			
Working		1.57		1.42			
		(.77)	(.90)			

Table of Means and Standard Deviations Involvement Scores by Race and SES Level

_ _ _ _ _

523						
SES	Wh	ite	Black		Marginal	
Middle	m =	1.83		3.52		2.07
	sd=	(3.73)	(3.19)		
Working		2.00		2.33		
		(3.74)	(2.46)		

Table of Means and Standard Deviations Nurturance Scores by Race and SES Level

SES	White	Black <u>Marginal</u>
Middle	m= 1.33	15.23 2.57
	sd= (4.53)	(3.30)
Working	0.43	0.75
	(4.54)	(2.38)

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Table of Means and Standard Deviations
Rejection Scores by Race and SES LevelSESWhiteBlackMarginalMiddlem= - 3.17- 5.52- 3.98sd= (4.09)(2.20)Working- 1.144.17(4.18)(3.93)

	Table 11							
			and Standard Dev res by Race and S					
SES		White	Black	<u>Marginal</u>				
Middle	m =	8.33	15.23	11.08				
	sd=	(15.69)	(12.07)					
Working		2.00	13.25					
		(14.28)	(10.58)					

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Source Table for Analysis of Variance Paternal Acceptance Scores by Race and SES Level

Source	df	Mean square	F	prob.
Mean	1	2875.312	31.83	.000
Race	1	292.868	3.24	.077
SES	1	193.735	2.14	.149
Interaction	1	39.505	.44	.511
ERROR	54	90.334		

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		ole for Analysis cores by Race and		e
Source	df	Mean square	F	prob.
lean	1	66.346	12.22	.001
Race	1	5.724	1.05	.309
SES	1	36.856	6.79	.012
Interaction	1	10.924	2.01	.162
ERROR	54	5.427		

		ole for Analysis of			
Actua	1 Time	Scores by Race and	d SES Leve	el	
Source	df	Mean square	F	prob.	
Mean	1	17869.807	26.96	.000	
Race	1	48.098	.07	.789	
SES	1	88.820	.13	.716	
Interaction	1	1605.566	2.42	.126	
ERROR	54	662.852			

Source Table for Analysis of Variance Relative Time Scores by Race and SES Level						
Source	df	Mean square	F	prob.		
Mean	1	1503.081	193.45	.000		
Race	1	2.551	.33	.569		
SES	1	17.732	2.28	.137		
Interaction	1	3.563	.40	.501		
ERROR	54	7.770				

					•
		ole for Analysis one Scores by Race			
					-
Source	df	Mean square	F	prob.	
Mean	1	108.868	187.84	.000	
Race	1	.723	1.25	.269	
SES	1	.004	.00	.978	
Interaction	1	.097	.17	.684	
ERROR	54	.580			

		for Analysis of ores by Race and			
•					
Source	df	Mean square	F	prob.	
Mean	1	128.747	9.25	.004	
Race	1	27.109	1.95	.169	
SES	1	52.410	3.76	.058	
Interaction	1	16.699	1.20	.278	
ERROR	54	13.925			

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Sou Nurt	rce Tabl urance S	e for Analysis of cores by Race and	Variance SES Level	
Source	df	Mean square	F	prob.
Mean	1	285.110	26.08	.000
Race	1	12.435	1.14	.291
SES	1	3.182	.29	.592
Interaction	1	10.933	.51	.478
ERROR	54	5.427		

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Source Table for Analysis of Variance Rejection Scores by Race and SES Level ______ Source df Mean square F prob. 1 595.084 48.97 .000 Mean Race 1 87.910 7.23 .009 34.706 2.86 SES 1 .097 Interaction 1 1.349 .11 .740 ERROR 54 12.153

		e for Analysis of cores by Race and			
Source	df	Mean square	F	prob.	
Mean	1	4575.783	25.86	.000	
Race	1	1000.699	5.65	.021	
SES	1	210.241	1.19	.281	
Interaction	1	57.326	.32	.572	
ERROR	54	176.964			