

A Comparative Study of the Self-Esteem of the Pakistani  
Minority and the Indigenous Children in Scotland.

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## SUMMARY

This is a comparative study of the self-esteem of Pakistani (minority) and indigenous children in Scotland. The study examines: (1) whether there is any difference in the level of self-esteem of the Pakistani minority and the indigenous children; (2) what is the relationship between the self-esteem of these children and their (a) ethnic identity and preference (b) parents' child-rearing behaviour (viz., support, control, protection and methods of control) and (c) academic achievement; (3) how these relationships vary with sex and cultural background of the children; and (4) what is the most important social determinant of their self-esteem.

The study is based on a sample of 160 children aged 10-11 (80 Pakistani minority and 80 indigenous). The two groups were equally divided by sex and culture, so that cross-sex and cross-cultural comparisons could be carried out. Furthermore, the mothers and class teachers of these children were interviewed in the study.

The level of self-esteem of the children was assessed by the 'Pier Harris Short Form', the 'Semantic Differential Scales' and the class teachers subjective evaluations of the childrens' self-esteem. The ethnic identity and preference was measured by the 'Family Picture Test', specially prepared for the project. The parental child-rearing behaviour was measured by the 'Cornell Parental Behaviour Inventory' and by the structured interview conducted independently with the mother and child. Academic achievement was obtained from the respective class teachers on teachers' assessment forms for each child.

Following are the main results of the study:

- (1) The Pakistani minority and the indigenous children have similar levels of self-esteem.
- (2) In both cultural groups ethnic identity and preference of the children did not show a significant relationship with their self-esteem.
- (3) In both cultural groups there is a positive relationship between the childrens' self-esteem

and parental support and use of inductive methods of control. On the other hand, there is a negative relationship between the childrens' self-esteem and parental love withdrawal methods of control. The relationship between the child's self-esteem and parental control, protection and use of power assertion vary with the sex and cultural background of the child.

- (4) In both cultural groups there is a positive relationship between academic-achievement and the self-esteem of the children.
- (5) The most important determinant for the self-esteem of the children in both cultural groups is their parents' child-rearing behaviour.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Psychologists and educationalists are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the self-esteem of an individual or his evaluation of himself is an important determinant of his behaviour. The growing interest of researchers in self-esteem is reflected in current literature which uses self-esteem to explain a broad variety of behavioural phenomena, namely, educational performance, delinquency, anxiety, prejudice, social desirability and conformity, self-esteem is also believed to be important for personal happiness, adjustment and effective functioning (Wells & Marwell, 1976).

It seems appropriate to first define 'self-esteem'. By self-esteem we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself. It expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant and worthy. In short, self-esteem is a personal judgement of worthiness that the individual holds towards himself.

According to psychologists self-evaluations can be made in three different ways. Firstly, evaluation of self can be made by comparison of the self-image with the ideal self-image (James, 1890). Secondly, an individual might assess himself as a relative success or failure in doing what his identity demands of him according to culturally learned roles and accepted standards. Thirdly, self-evaluation is determined by the belief of the individual as to how others evaluate him. This view is promoted by the symbolic interactionists (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934).

Most of the work in the area of self-evaluation follows the symbolic-interactionists' approach and is generally related to the self-esteem of the minorities. The psychologists and social theorists working in this area are interested in knowing whether the minorities internalize the negative stereotypes which the majority community hold about them. Few topics have commanded greater attention in self-evaluation than the level of self-esteem of racial, religious and ethnic group minorities (Wylie, 1979, chapter Four). Most of this work has been done in the U.S.A. Research in the U.S.A. until the 1970's revealed that ethnic minorities had lower self-esteem than the dominant majority. Recent research, however, challenges this

view, indicating that ethnic minorities do not have a significantly lower self-esteem than the dominant majority.

In recent years there has been growing interest in the level of self-esteem of the ethnic minority children in Britain. Studies in Britain have produced findings which have been both diverse and contradictory (Burns, 1982). One of the reasons why researchers have come up with contradictory results is that though they have measured the level of self-esteem of the children of ethnic minorities, little attention has been given to the determinants of the self-esteem of these children. It has been assumed that the broader social factors i.e. ethnic status, play a vital part in determining the ethnic minority child's self-esteem without actually examining the link between the two. Hence there is a need to study the social determinants of self-esteem of the ethnic minority child.

Some studies have shown that interaction with parents plays an important role in developing the self-esteem of the child (Rosenberg, 1965; Coopersmith, 1967). The interpretations of parents behaviour by the children and the actual behaviour of the parents is

influenced by various factors, the most important among them being the culture. The cultural values and norms of a society determine what is good or bad, desirable or undesirable, and worthy or unworthy forms of behaviour for its members. Behaviour regarded as desirable and encouraged in one society may be regarded as undesirable or even pathological in another (Hetherington & Park, 1979, p. 417). In the same way marked differences may exist between different cultural groups of a pluralistic society. The cultural variations of different ethnic groups in a plural society are often reflected in their child rearing practises and the primary socialization of their children. Ethnic minority cultures in a plural society have their own independent historical continuity, and although they may interact with other cultures in a plural society this does not make them a mere section of the dominant group's tradition (Clammer, 1976, 1980; Smolicz, 1981).

In Britain different ethnic groups which are of a substantial size have managed to preserve their cultural distinctiveness over many generations. These different ethnic groups have a varying approach to the family and to the upbringing of children. How do these differences in parent child-rearing behaviour

effect the self-esteem of the child? If a particular parental behaviour has a positive effect on the child's self-esteem in one culture does it have the same or different consequences in another? How does the academic performance of the children of different ethnic cultures relate with the self-esteem of the child? are all unresolved issues. Little is known about the social determinants of self-esteem of the ethnic minority child or how they would vary with the cultural background of the ethnic minority and the indigenous child. We plan to examine this for the ethnic minority child and the indigenous child in Scotland.

#### 1:1. Identifying the Problem

Over the past twenty years, the composition of the Scottish school population has changed considerably following the arrival of children from different ethnic minority backgrounds. The largest minority group in Scotland is that of Pakistanis. Although these pupils constitute a small proportion of the total school population in Scotland, they are concentrated in certain urban areas and account for a large proportion of the school population. For example in 1984 the

total number of ethnic minority children in Glasgow Educational Division was 4,821 (see Appendix 1) and a majority of these were children of Pakistani immigrant parents. Children of other immigrant communities in schools in Glasgow are mainly of Indian, Chinese and Bangladeshi origin. The number of children of West Indian origin noted in the corporation survey is very small. Whilst there are several local schools in Glasgow with few children of ethnic minorities, schools with large numbers of ethnic minority children are increasing.

Though the numbers of Pakistani ethnic minority children are growing rapidly in schools in Scotland little is known about their level of self-esteem; the social determinants of their self-esteem or how these determinants may differ from the indigenous child; the parental child-rearing behaviour of the Pakistani parents; the academic achievement and ethnic identity and preference<sup>(1)</sup> of the Pakistani minority children. These aspects of the Pakistani ethnic minority child have been mostly overlooked. The purpose of the

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(1) However this aspect of Pakistani children has been studied by Jahoda, 1972.

present study is to examine these for the Pakistani minority and the indigenous child.

The selection of this subject is due to our interest in the psychological health of the Pakistani minority and the indigenous children in Scotland. It would be useful to know the level of self-esteem of children as well as the social determinants of their self-esteem in order to promote the healthy adjustment of these children in school and society. It is also believed that the knowledge about the relationship of the various social factors with the self-esteem of the children and the most important social factors determining the self-esteem of these children will be of considerable interest and value to the parents and the teachers.

Moreover, the knowledge about the impact of sex and culture on the relationship between different social factors and the self-esteem of the children, and the information regarding the child rearing behaviour of the parents, the academic achievement of the children, the teacher's evaluation of the self-esteem of the children, and the ethnic identity and preference of the children in both the groups is expected to

provide valuable information for the social workers, educationists and social scientists in understanding, helping and working with the Pakistani minority and the indigenous children.

1:2. **Focus of the Study**

The primary objectives of the study are the following:-

- (1) To measure the level of self-esteem of the Pakistani ethnic minority and the indigenous children in Scotland, and to see whether the level of self-esteem of these two differ.
- (2) To find out the difference, if any, in the level of self-esteem of the male and female children in our sample.
- (3) To ascertain the relationship between the self-esteem of the Pakistani and Scottish children and the following social factors identified by the review of research literature (see Chapter Four).
  - (i) Parental child-rearing behaviours regarding support, control, protection and methods of control.

(ii) Academic Achievement.

(iii) Ethnic Identity and Preference.

- (4) To see how the high and the low self-esteem groups of Pakistani and Scottish children differ with respect to each of the three social factors mentioned above.
- (5) To find out how the relationship between the social factors varies with the sex and cultural background of these children.
- (6) To determine the most important social factor for the self-esteem of the Pakistani and Scottish boys and girls.

The secondary objectives of this study are to identify the differences or similarities that exist between the Pakistani ethnic minority and the indigenous children regarding the following:-

- (1) Ethnic identity and preferences.
- (2) Parental child rearing behaviour viz., support, control, protection and methods of control.

(3) Academic achievement.

(4) Teacher's evaluation of the self-esteem of the children.

1:3. Methodology.

The objectives of the present study demand the inclusion of children as well as their parents and teachers as respondents. By obtaining information from different sources we hoped to get a clear picture of the actual events as they occurred which would not have been possible if we relied on only one source of information. The total sample consisted of 160 children. Since this is a comparative study the sample was equally divided among the Pakistani and Scottish groups so that the comparisons between them could be made with confidence.

For the collection of the data we relied on quantitative and qualitative methods. The decision to combine questionnaires and personal interviews was guided by the belief that such a combination would yield a wide range of information relevant to the problem at hand. Since the level of self-esteem formed the main core of the study we planned to use multiple test

design for measuring it. Three different measures were used for measuring the self-esteem of the children - first, the 'Pier Harris Short Form' recently adapted for use with children in Britain by Professor Bagley; second, the 'Semantic Differential Scale' and third, class teacher's subjective evaluation of the children's self-esteem. Ethnic identity and preference of the children was measured by the 'Family Picture Test' specially developed to meet the requirements of the project. Information regarding parental child-rearing behaviour viz., support, control, protection and methods of control was measured by the 'Cornell Parent Behaviour Description' and through structured interviews conducted with the mother and the child. Data regarding the academic achievement of each child was obtained from the respective class teachers through the Teacher's Assessment Forms.

#### 1:4. The Structure of the Study

This study is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter introduces the problem and identifies the main objectives of the study. The second chapter "Pakistanis in Glasgow", reviews the socio-cultural background of the Pakistani immigrants in Glasgow. We

focus on the salient features of the Pakistani ethnic community here and the role of the Pakistani parents in making their children aware of their ethnic identity and heritage. Chapter Three deals with the theoretical perspective of self-esteem. The first section of this chapter briefly traces the history of 'self' and 'self-esteem'. In the second section, the nature and definition of 'self-esteem' as used in this study is discussed. In the third section we review the important theoretical explanation and the formulation of self-esteem, and the last section of this chapter identifies the important factors which influence the formulation of self-esteem.

In Chapter Four of the study "Review of Research Literature" we survey the research literature related to the three main areas examined by us, (1) Parental child-rearing behaviour and the self-esteem of the child. (2) Academic achievement and the self-esteem of the child. (3) Ethnic status, identity and preference, and the self-esteem of the child. In Chapter five "Overview and Hypothesis" the hypotheses of the study are discussed. In Chapter six "Method and Procedure" the test materials and the preliminary considerations which led to their choice are examined. The pilot study, the nature and characteristics of the

sample and the administration of the main study are included in it. The statistical analysis and the results are given in chapter seven. The results are divided into five main sections i.e. (1) The level of self-esteem. (2) Parental variables and the self-esteem of the child. (3) Academic achievement and the self-esteem of the child. (4) Ethnic identity and preference and the self-esteem of the child. (5) The most important determinatnt for the self-esteem of the child. In the final chapter (eight) we discuss the results and summarize the main conclusions.

## CHAPTER TWO

### PAKISTANIS IN GLASGOW

#### Introduction.

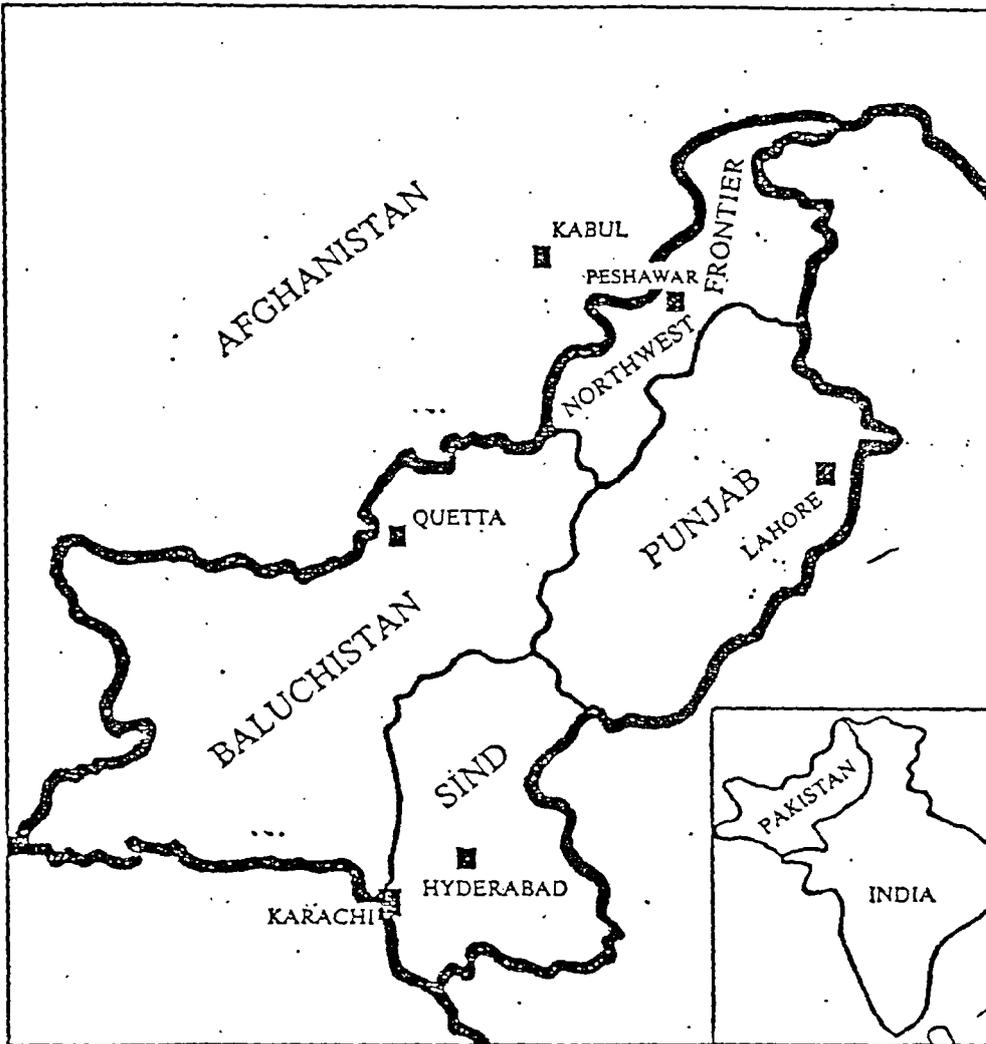
This chapter reviews the socio-cultural background of the Pakistani immigrants in Glasgow. We trace their arrival and the growth of their community in the city. Our purpose is to outline some of the salient features of the Pakistani ethnic community here. We are particularly concerned with the role of the Pakistani immigrant parents in making their children aware of their cultural heritage. While doing this we will concentrate on the immigrant parents' attitude towards education and their aspirations and motivations with regard to their children.

#### 2:1. Background Information Concerning Pakistan.

Before we continue the discussion of the Pakistani community in Glasgow we need to examine their general background in Pakistan. The Pakistanis in Glasgow mainly consist of people coming from rural areas of Punjab, in particular from the districts of Sahiwal and Fasilabad (see Figure 2:1). Their religion is Islam

Fig: 2:1

PAKISTAN



and their mother-tongue is Punjabi. A majority come from small land owning peasant families. They are extremely religious and conservative people. The village-kin network is strong among such rural communities (Khan, 1979).. This means that people belonging to the same village clan will tend to rely on one another for mutual help in times of emotional and economic stress. These relations of trust and mutual support within the network are associated with an insistence on the upholding of group values.

In the rural Punjab land holdings, no matter how small their size, are seen not only as a means of economic resource, but also of esteem. To give up a land holding means giving up one's claims to membership of the village and kin network. Because of this every man regards it as his duty to work hard to build up his family's land holding and other forms of property during his working life to pass on to his children. The small land holders in the Punjab tend to eat what they obtain from their fields, and occasionally barter some of the produce for other goods. It is difficult even for a moderate farmer to lay aside cash for consumer goods, for education of the children, for such expenditures as marriage of sons and daughters or for meeting emergencies such as illness etc. To

supplement their income it is customary for the sons to migrate in search of work, to join the army or any other service. It is a general practice that one or more male members of a family would cultivate the land and maintain the family's base, while other male members would supplement the family income by migrating or seeking employment within the country. Thus, the diversity of a family's activities provides security against misfortune.

Almost all the villages in the Punjab are now connected by roads and rail to the main cities. Village life in the Punjab is neither isolated nor static. In spite of this the quality of life in the rural areas has not changed much (Khan, 1977). This reflects the conservatism and tradition loving nature of the Punjabi villagers. The desire to hold on to their traditions is reflected in their behaviour after migration.

#### A. Family Life in Pakistan.

The Joined Family System. The joined family system (extended family living together) prevails in the rural Punjab. An average joined family consists of three,

sometimes four generations. The joined family usually lives in its own small house, built around a courtyard. The courtyard is the centre of all kinds of household activities and forms the living area for the whole family. This is where children play, women attend to their household chores, guests are received and entertained, discussions take place and family decisions are made.

Property is held in common by the family unit, so that a kind of pooling of resources occurs. Sharing of material amenities among family members is encouraged. A system of mutual trust and support operates within the family. Individualism and independence is frowned upon and is regarded as selfish. The emphasis is not on individual achievements but on the well-being and the future well-being of the family. The family 'izzet' (honour) is important and rests on the behaviour and the status of all the family members, women in particular. Important decisions are made on a communal basis and are discussed among the members of the family but the final authority rests with the head of the family, usually the eldest male. Each member of the family enjoys a certain rank with well-defined rights and duties. Status is assigned according to gender (males enjoy more authority than females) and

age (elders enjoy more authority than juniors). Women gain prestige as they grow older and also wield more authority with age. Status of an individual member within the family is not determined by his worldly qualifications and material contributions but by the rank assigned to him in the hierarchial order of the family. There is a pattern of subordination of the individual to the group. Family and kin take priority over individual preferences. Relationships within the family are intimate, they are relationships of love, loyalty and obligations. Elders (even elder siblings) are not called by their name but by the relation they stand to each other.

B. Differential Treatment of Boys and Girls.

From infancy boys and girls are treated differently in Pakistani homes. The differential treatment of boys and girls is attributable to economic and cultural factors. Since Pakistan's economy is predominately agricultural, the importance of 'man-power' for agricultural work cannot be over-emphasized. Boys are regarded as future bread-earners of the family and the birth of a male child is taken as a God's blessing.

The birth of a son enhances the mother's status within the family. Her position in her husband's family is consolidated only after the birth of a son. Moreover, the son ensures economic security for the parents in old age and the continuity of the family. Son's arrival is celebrated by distributing 'laddoos' (sweets) among family and friends. In some cases it is also celebrated with dancing sessions. Similarly religious rites such as circumcision and 'Bismillah' (christening) of boys are formally celebrated.

By contrast the birth of a girl is a solemn occasion. Her birth brings responsibilities, obligations and constraints to the parents. The dowry system practised in Pakistani culture involves a lot of expenditure. Parents have to plan and save for their daughter's marriage. Moreover the Pakistani culture attaches great significance to the conduct of females. The girl's conduct and behaviour has serious consequences for the family's good name and honour. Parents are cautious about the socialisation of the girls and anxious for them to acquire appropriate behaviour. Girls are chaperoned and protected from all undersirable exposures. The behaviour of boys, on the other hand, though supervised is open to less scrutiny. Their misdemeanours are more easily ignored.

C. Children's Care and Socialisation.

The children's care and socialisation is shared by all the members of the joined family and the child can turn for support to all of them. Thus the child learns early in life to regard with affection all the members of his family and the bond of affection within the family group forms a secure anchorage for him. The child is taught to share with other relatives, specially with cousins of his own age. Cousins are classified as 'sisters' or 'brothers' and the relationship with them acquires the interdependency and loyalty typical of siblings. Child care tends to be relaxed and affectionate rather than authoritarian (Cropley, 1983). Even the smallest children are taken on all family outings, they are present at all ceremonies and participate in all functions. In fact the child is never left alone and he spends the first year of his life under supervision or in the lap of one of the adult family members. The child learns the norms and values of his group mainly by observing adults. From an early age the child is encouraged to participate in all family events and, in this way, he learns to behave responsibly. The child learns through imitative play and gradually starts taking part in the household activities.

Sex roles. The child is encouraged to learn his or her appropriate sex role behaviour. Sex roles are acquired by observing and imitating the same sex adults. Children are encouraged to stay in the company of members of their own sex. For example from an early age boys are left in the company of men. The father, uncle and grandfather all play a dominant role in the socialisation of the male child. Boys generally accompany their father to the fields. They are expected to participate actively in all male activities. Girls are confined to their family quarter, and their work and play draw them more closely to the females of the family. As the young adolescents develop they live and lead increasingly segregated lives.

D. Education in Pakistan.

i. Schooling. At the time of Independence (1947) Pakistan had very few schools in the rural areas. A few parents who were keen were able to send their boys to schools in the cities. The girls, however, were not sent. Firstly, because there were fewer schools for girls and secondly, because it was not considered proper to send the girls away from home (see Appendix 2 for literacy rate in Pakistan). This explains why a

vast majority of Pakistani parents in Glasgow have had little or no experience of formal schooling. This is particularly true of Pakistani immigrant mothers and, contrary to general belief, has nothing to do with socio-economic status or negative attitudes towards education.

After Independence the situation changed rapidly and more schools were set up in the urban as well as rural areas of Pakistan.

By 1972, a new educational policy was introduced and elementary education was made compulsory. With proper facilities available more children are now able to go to schools. A recent study conducted by Hassan (1982) in Pakistan, reveals that Pakistani parents consider education equally important for their male and female child.

ii. Religious Education. An important feature of education in Pakistan is the study of 'Islamiyat' (the study of the holy Koran). Pakistanis as Muslims are expected to be able to read and understand the Koran. As the Koran is written in Arabic, Muslims learn to read Arabic. This form of religious education was always practised among the Muslim children of the sub-

continent even if they were unable to go to school. The majority of children learned to read the Koran (sometimes learning it by heart) in the local mosques. Religious education is highly valued by Pakistani Muslims. The present education system of Pakistan recognizes Islamiat as an essential part of the school curriculum, and it is accepted as the core of schooling because it is believed to provide the rational of national life.

## 2:2. The Growth of Pakistani Community in Glasgow.

People from the Indian sub-continent have been coming to Glasgow since the beginning of this century. Their settlement in the Glasgow area can be broadly divided into four main phases: the early Pakistani settlers; the arrival of Pakistanis during labour shortages; arrival of families and growth during 1970's to the present day.

A. Early Settlers. The earliest attempt to describe the Pakistani community in Glasgow dates from the 1950's. According to the data collected in the period 1953-56, Hooper (1965) estimated that there were 1,000 Pakistani muslims in Glasgow. These early immigrants were mainly employed as travelling salesmen, a few were

small shopkeepers, while some worked in factories, railways and transport.

B. The Arrival of Pakistanies During the Labour Shortage of the 1950's. During the labour shortage of the late 1950's Britain pursued a policy of deliberately recruiting workers from the New Commonwealth. Recruiting offices were set up in Pakistan. As a result, immigrants from Pakistan began arriving, largely in response to the local shortage of transport workers.

During the early phase of migration, men came alone, their prime motive for migration being to improve their families' economic conditions. They came to Glasgow with the idea of working for a few years and after accumulating sufficient earnings, to return home. They lived together in boarding houses which were cheap and did not create so much loneliness. There was a natural tendency for the later arrivals to seek accommodation close to their countrymen. This tendency is common among immigrant communities and has been observed before among other immigrants (Oakley, 1979). The overwhelming emphasis at this stage was on saving rather than on consumption. The savings tended

to be variously utilized in supplementing the family income in Pakistan and sponsoring kinsmen. The all-male household was a characteristic institution of this period. Since the individuals already settled here were obliged to provide accommodation to newly arrived kin until such time as the latter succeeded in finding their own accommodation, overcrowding was common.

C. Arrival of Families. During the 1960's the men who were sufficiently well settled began to send for their wives and children. The decision to bring the family over to Glasgow necessitated further savings in order to buy a house. Several early immigrants had encountered difficulties in obtaining rented accommodation and this constituted an additional incentive to buy a house. However, the need for privacy and independence and the desire to avoid discrimination were not the only reasons why Pakistani immigrants placed such a high priority on the purchase of property. A house of your own is a traditional status symbol and considered to be a sound investment. Moreover, the Pakistani cultural norms required them to offer generous hospitality to kinsmen, fellow-villagers and friends. The Pakistani concept of hospitality is closely bound up with a system of mutual rights and obligations which are defined according to complex

kinship rules. A typical obligation which the Pakistani immigrant had to fulfill was to lodge kin and friends until such time as the latter found suitable, separate accommodation. Such obligations rendered the need to buy a house even more pressing.

Since the early migrants did not plan to settle in Britain permanently, and also because they could not afford expensive new houses, they bought old tenement flats. Settling into the new environment and meeting people of different cultures, often for the first time, caused many forms of stress. The immigrant families had to adjust to a different climate as well as different housing and living conditions. The immigrants and especially the women, missed the relaxed, informal social interaction of their 'courtyards'. Moreover, the poor knowledge of English language and mannerisms hindered their communication with the indigenous population. In such circumstances the Pakistani immigrants considered it appropriate to reside close to one another. In some instances members of the same clan pooled their savings to buy the whole 'close' with individual families residing in each flat. From the immigrants point of view this was an ideal arrangement. The women felt less lonely while men were

at work. Moreover they could rely on one another in time of need. The success of such an arrangement laid the foundations for the recreation of the kin and community network in the new environment.

In Glasgow the Pakistani ethnic communities settled on the South side of the city (East Pollokshields) and around St. George's Cross/Woodlands Road. These areas, with high concentrations of Asian population, gave the new arrivals the psychological reassurance and social warmth of having about them members of their own regional and linguistic group. At the same time these areas performed the invaluable functions of preventing social and psychological dislocation. Gordon characterizes this function well when he writes about immigrant colonies in the United States:-

"The self-contained communal life of the immigrant colonies served...as a kind of decompression chamber in which the newcomers could, at their own pace, make a reasonable adjustment to the new forces of a society vastly different from that which they had known in the old world" (1964, p.40).

Some studies (Kovacs & Cropley, 1975) have shown that contact with other immigrants of similar ethnic background reduces mental health failure in immigrants.

D. Growth During 1970's to the Present Day. By the 1970's the number of Pakistanis in Glasgow had increased considerably. The strongest evidence of this increase comes from the Glasgow Corporation Education department's Annual Survey of immigrant pupils for the year 1973 (see TABLE 2:1). By 1982 the Pakistanis formed the majority of the ethnic minorities in Glasgow. To some extent this has been the result of natural growth. However, despite the various Acts regulating immigration certain groups of relatives and dependents of persons already in Britain were able to join their families in Glasgow. A more precise number of Pakistani immigrants in Glasgow is provided by the population census. According to the Census of 1981 (see TABLE 2:2), Pakistanis constituted the largest (31.2%) of the ethnic population in Glasgow. They form an essential component of the city's economic and social life. As a result of the relative racial harmony which prevails in the city (Dickinson, 1975, Islam, 1985) the prosperity and economic participation of the Pakistani community have accelerated over the decades.

2:3. The Economic Activities of the Pakistani Community in Glasgow.

The Pakistani population in Glasgow has become engaged in economic activities to a greater degree than both the local indigenous people and Asians in other parts of Britain (Annual Census of Employment, 1978). The growth of Pakistani businesses has taken place almost entirely through self-motivation of the Pakistani community, as little help was extended to them by local and central authorities or the financial institutions. In many instances they have been able to make a success of businesses abandoned by white entrepreneurs because of high overhead costs and competition from multiple chain shops. The Pakistani businessmen owe their success to hard work, family support and the will to survive.

The Pakistani ethnic minority was motivated to set up private businesses for several reasons - the desire to maintain an independent means of business; the desire for social mobility and better standards of living and the need to create a means of providing suitable employment for themselves and their kin (Wilson, 1983, Mars & Ward, 1985). In the beginning,

TABLE 2:1

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN GLASGOW SCHOOLS

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>Percentage increase over 1965</u>
Pakistani	548	1571	187
Indian	363	807	122
Others	136	499	267
All immigrants	1047	2877	175
Pakistanis and Indians as percentage of all immigrants	87	83	-

Sources: Beharrell (1965), Glasgow Corporation Education  
Department (1973).

the Pakistani immigrants had little accumulated capital to start up businesses. They also did not have easy access to loans from the conventional credit giving sources like the clearing banks, building societies and merchant banks. To overcome this they turned to the traditional loan system that exists within the Pakistani community. It is a common practise that two or more Pakistanis would pool their resources (their individual savings as well as interest-free loans obtained from friends and kin) and set up a business. These entrepreneurs owe their success to hard work and the mutual help and support system which operates within the community.

As the Asian community increased in size in Glasgow, (see TABLE 2:2) the economic concerns set-up by Pakistanis (initially to meet the special needs of the Asian population) prospered. Grocery shops with items specific to the Asian needs; Halal food shops; Asian drapers and tailors (usually managed by women), cafes, restaurants, carry-outs, laundrettes and book shops - stocking publications and newspapers from the Indian sub-continent flourished. These businesses now not only cater for the needs of the Asian communities but also draw a clientele from the indigenous population. In a recent survey conducted by the

Queen's College (Islam, 1985) it is noted that the Asian restaurants and cash-and-carries served a large proportion of indigenous customers (i.e. 99% and 95% respectively). The growth of Pakistani businesses in Glasgow led to the development of services (e.g. accountants, lawyers, property dealers, driving schools, taxi services and travel agencies) managed by members of their own community. "

Many Pakistani families who set up in business during the early period of Pakistani settlement in Glasgow, because of their hard work and enterprising spirit, have now become significantly wealthy. These families have since diversified their enterprises so that several different types of business concerns may now be owned by the same family (i.e. Sher Brothers, Shaheens). But they are a small proportion of the total Pakistani population of Glasgow. The majority of Pakistanis manage small grocery shops, some work as employees in Pakistani establishments while others still work for the transport system. The success of the Pakistani entrepreneurs in Glasgow and the recognition of their success by the Government (two Pakistani businessmen have been awarded the O.B.E.)

TABLE 2:2

POPULATION GROWTH DURING 1961 TO 1981

Country of Origin	1961		1971		1981	
	Scotland	Glasgow	Scotland	Glasgow	Scotland	Glasgow
Total for Glasgow & Scotland	5,179,344	1,057,679	5,238,965	897,485	5,035,315	755,429
India	8,434	2,412	9,150	2,935	9,097	2,628
Pakistan	1,124	685	3,785	2,295	6,459	3,531
Other Asian Countries *	13,379	576	7,470	1,335	27,938	5,159
TOTAL ASIAN POPULATION	22,937	3,673	20,405	6,565	432,494	11,318

\* mainly Chinese and Bangladeshi.

SOURCE: Population Census of 1961, 1971 and 1981.

has had a special bearing on the self-esteem of the Pakistani community in general and children in particular. The children no doubt would derive strength from the fact that their parents or members of their community have been able to make a success of their lives in the new world.

2:4. Education and Adjustment of the Immigrant Child in Schools.

The schools to which the immigrant child came in the 1960's were unprepared to handle the sudden influx. They were often in old buildings which were ill equipped and suffered from staff shortage. The Head teachers began to complain about the poor adjustment of the immigrant children in school. The poor performance and adjustment of the Asian immigrant children was attributed to poor knowledge of the English language (Derrick, 1966). The attempts that were made by

various schools to organise language classes or groups for non-English speaking children varied according to their ability to obtain extra teachers, the number of children on the rolls and the rooms available in the school for special classes. While discussing the teaching of English to immigrants Derrick writes:-

"The pupils may fail to comply with school rules and codes of behavior because they cannot be made to understand them....often immigrant pupils are blamed for making no progress in English when in fact they have not been given a true opportunity for learning" (1966, p.42).

The Plowden Report (1967) highlighted the problems faced by the immigrant child in schools. Various measures were adopted by the educational authorities to meet the needs of the children whose mother-tongue was not English.

A. Provisions for Learning English.

In 1970 the Language Centre<sup>(1)</sup> was set up in Glasgow. Immigrant children from the age of 8 upwards

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1. The name was later changed to the Language Teaching Centre.

were sent there so that they could be gradually introduced to the demands both linguistic and conceptual, of the Primary and Secondary curriculum. The brief stay in the centre was of course not enough, as it has been observed that it takes up to a year at least to acquire a new language (Taylor, 1974).

Immigrant children under the age of 8 were placed in the Infant Department of their local schools where it was felt that the activity-oriented approach of the lower schools would be supportive and allow them to settle into their new environment. As the numbers of immigrant children in schools increased in Glasgow (Appendix 3), so did the problems which the immigrant child had to face in acquiring English. The teacher-pupil ratio, for example, in the Language Teaching Centre was at times more than 1 to a 100 pupils in a class. It was felt that inadequate support was being given to pupils whose mother-tongue was not English.

The Education Department became increasingly aware of the difficulties of children who had to acquire English as a second language. It was accepted that provision must be made to train teachers to deal with problems related to teaching English as a second language (E.S.L. teachers). At present there is a

provision of E.S.L. teachers in schools where there is a high concentration of ethnic minority pupils (see Appendix 4,5,6). However, it is felt that this provision is not enough.

The problems of learning the English language are not confined to children who arrived in Britain. The problems of children of immigrant parents who were born and brought up in Britain are not dissimilar. The majority of Pakistani immigrant parents speak Punjabi or Urdu at home, so that at admission to school the child of Pakistani immigrant parents has little or no knowledge of the English language. At this stage, if the Pakistani immigrant mother desires to help her child in acquiring English language, she is unable to do so because of her own deficiency in this language. For the child of Pakistani immigrant parents the normal stress of joining school is magnified due to a complete failure of communication. The young child cannot communicate with the teacher and the teacher has no way of finding out what the child needs or how he feels. It is now strongly recommended that provision must be made to support the child in his mother-tongue (Cropley, 1983; Paulson, 1978; Verma & Mallick, 1978). It is believed that this would facilitate the acquisition of the English language. To meet this .

need a programme of introducing bi-lingual teachers<sup>(1)</sup> in nursery schools in Glasgow is now being recommended.

B. Multi-Cultural Education.

However, the problems of immigrant children in Britain are not restricted to the acquisition of the English language. Immigrant children experience several other problems. Most of the difficulties experienced by the children are due to their exposure to competing sets of norms, those of the parents' mother-country on the one hand, those of the British society on the other. For most Pakistani children in Glasgow, school provides the first organised direct contact with British ways. On entering school the child becomes aware of his differences from teachers and British children. Moreover, the school curriculum and procedures, the attitudes of the indigenous children and teaching staff, convey to the child in a variety of ways that his values, cultural

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1. One experimental bilingual teaching post has already been established in the Glasgow Division.

and religious beliefs are not acceptable (Townsend & Brittain, 1972). As Saunders put it:

"...in some schools there is a reluctance to recognise the increased heterogeneity of the pupil population; in many others, even when the fact is acknowledged, there is no agreement on the criteria that might be followed in developing or adopting relevant curricula; and in yet others, curricular modifications are limited, for example, to the teaching of English as a second language and religious studies".

(1980, p.32).

This fact has been observed by a number of researchers. Jeffcoate (1979) feels that the schools 'under-estimate' or 'disparage' the school potential of immigrant children. How subtly the school can ignore the immigrant child has been demonstrated by Deslonde (1976). Due to misconceptions, pre-conceptions and unfavourable stereotypes (Jeffcoate, 1979; Weinberg, 1976) the children of immigrants are surrounded by 'negative racial bias' (NUT, 1981). It is generally feared that the problems faced by the immigrant

children would lead to a poor self-image. Cropley writes:-

"Quite apart from considerations such as accuracy or even fair play, disparaging immigrants can be expected to have serious negative effects on the self-image of immigrant children, on the attitudes of their British classmates, and even on those of teachers". (1983, p.131).

The need for reforms in British schools had been recognised in England as early as 1973. The School Council had published a report calling for multi-racial education. A 1977 Green Paper recognised that there were now stable communities of immigrants in Britain, often with children born in Britain, but wanting to maintain their links with the country of their origin. The Bullock Report (1974) emphasized the need to understand the immigrant child's home background and cultural ties and attitudes. Little & Willey (1981) observe that there is no widespread acceptance of the need for what they called "multi ethnic education". All this indicates that educators, as well as decision makers, are now becoming increasingly aware of the problems faced by the Pakistani immigrant parents of

British born children. They are making conscious attempts to help the immigrant children to overcome self-doubts and strengthen their faith in the worthwhileness of their 'cultural heritage'. Efforts are now being made to eliminate negative stereotypes of immigrants, and to include the positive contributions of immigrants home countries to world history in the school curriculum. The school authorities now aim at emphasising the contribution of immigrants to life in Britain, and encouraging activities aimed at promoting pride in their ethnic background among immigrant children. All these changes which are now being introduced in the schools are aimed at enhancing the self-esteem of the ethnic minority child in Britain.

Some ethnic minorities in Britain still perceive the British Educational System as a threat to their culture and their child's self-image. Several minority communities in Britain have made attempts to remedy this by establishing their own schools, for example, the Sikh School of Southall, Muslim School of Bradford. The Pakistani ethnic community in Glasgow has also adopted this measure and a single sex school for girls was opened in East Pollokshields in 1982. This school is one of the several measures taken by the

Pakistani ethnic community in Glasgow to sustain their cultural and religious beliefs and to protect their child's self-image.

2:5 Religious and Cultural Education of the Pakistani Child.

Pakistanis come from a society with a long history and a rich cultural heritage. The Pakistani immigrant parents in Glasgow consider it to be their foremost duty as parents to impart their religious and cultural heritage to their children. They make their children aware, very early in life, that they are a part of a wide and stable family group. In the absence of full kinship groups in Britain, friends and other members of the ethnic community (specially neighbours) took over the role of the kinship group. The Pakistani immigrant families spend much time exchanging visits. The Pakistani child's experiences of mutual support that binds his community together are very intense. The constant exposure to the social life of the community is a very effective conditioning for the child. Living in areas with high Asian concentration, and maintaining their distinctive life style patterns in Glasgow, the Pakistani parents socialise their child into a very different set of values from those of the indigenous population.

By the end of the 1970's Pakistani immigrants had come to accept that their stay in Britain was unlikely to be temporary. Once the families had reunited, established their own friendship groups, set up their businesses and made their homes in Glasgow, 'the myth of return' (Anwar, 1979) was largely being accepted as such, and attention was directed much more to life in Britain. The realisation that Britain was now home for them and their children made issues of culture and language more salient in their mind. The immigrant parents became increasingly conscious of the religious and cultural education of their children.

Though the Pakistani immigrant parents hold the British education system in great esteem, they have become increasingly aware of the fact that this system tends to undermine the cultural and religious identity of their children. Ghuman (1980a; 1980b; Ghuman & Gallop, 1981) who have carried out several small scale studies of Asian families and education, found that Asian parents, though basically satisfied with the education system in Britain, have important reservations. They felt their identity and way of life threatened by the school. The immigrant parents worry that their child's ambiguity about his parents

religious and cultural norms might result in undermining his parents life style. The immigrant parents also fear that the child's poor knowledge of his own ethnic community's culture and tradition might make it difficult for the child to adjust within his own ethnic community, thus depriving their child of the support and backing of his own ethnic community.

Social history has shown that ethnic minorities, even after they had lost all traces of their cultural past, were still singled out, if the dominant majority wished to do so (Gordon, 1978; Baldwin, 1971; Smolicz, 1981). The Pakistani immigrant parents are conscious of this. They realise that the loss of core elements in their ethnic culture would not by itself guarantee equality of treatment in occupational and social life for them as well as their children. Their children, no matter how much they tried, would not be able to obliterate the traces of their ethnic origin, i.e. surnames, physical appearance, accent or mannerisms etc. These characteristics would always single them out as not belonging to the majority culture. The awareness that assimilation of the majority culture does not in itself ensure social mobility further promoted the Pakistan immigrant to plan for the retention of their ethnic culture.

Ethnic language and culture retention programmes are recognised as tools for developing a sense of pride in ethnic group membership (Bhatnagar, 1982; Berry et al., 1977; O'Bryan, 1978; Deosaran & Gushman, 1976; Moody, 1971). The Pakistani immigrant parents are becoming increasingly concerned about issues of culture and identity. They make conscious efforts to adopt strategies which would facilitate cultural continuity.

In order to provide religion and education for their children the Pakistani ethnic community in Glasgow made efforts to develop numerous mosques and cultural bodies.

Mosques. Pakistani immigrants as Muslims take great pride in the establishment of mosques. At present there are more than seven mosques in the City of Glasgow. The biggest among them is the "Islamic Centre". Mosques form an important source of religious and cultural identity for the Pakistani migrants. Mosques can be used for a variety of purposes: for prayers, for celebration of religious festivals, for ritual gatherings and for imparting religious and cultural (including instructions in the mother-tongue) education to the children.

Mosques in Glasgow serve the purpose of both religious and cultural functions. Attendance at mosque for a religious ritual has the added function of being an occasion of meeting other members of the community and establishing links with them. Congregation in the mosque on all religious and traditional functions helps to bring the community together and assure the members that they are bound to one another by virtue of their shared past, their experiences and interest in Britain and their orientation to one culture. Such occasions provide unique opportunities to discuss problems and plan for the welfare of the community as a whole. Mosque committees, consisting of the 'Imam' (priest) and elected members, act as pressure group, for example on the local education authority, in order to emphasise their religious and cultural traditions and to seek concessions with regard to female dress and the content of education, especially physical education. Thus, the community takes steps to ensure that some aspects of their community's traditional values are respected in schools and transmitted to the second generation.

Mosques also perform the important function of imparting religious and cultural education to the second generation of Pakistanis in Britain. Nearly

all Muslim children in Glasgow go to the mosques for religious education i.e. learning of prayers and reading of the holy Koran. In addition the children also receive instructions in their mother-tongue. According to a recent study done by Mirza & Morsbach (1985) and an earlier study conducted by Dickenson et al., (1975), Muslim children in Glasgow visit the mosque on weekends and holidays and/or every day after school for religious and mother-tongue instructions. This study also revealed that a considerable percentage of children report that they dress in Pakistani style; eat Pakistani food, speak their mother-tongue and have visited Pakistan. Taylor (1976) reports that Muslim immigrants in Britain tend to be more 'culture bond' and traditional than other immigrants from the Indian sub-continent. Taylor (1976) for instance, found that in a group of Asian immigrants which he studied, more Muslims than Sikhs or Hindus could read their mother-tongue, claimed to be devout, reported that they had only Muslims as close friends, and maintained religious customs such as avoiding the eating of pork or observing of Ramadan.

Another important feature of the Pakistani immigrants in Glasgow is their attempt to pay regular visit to Pakistan (Mirza & Morsbach, 1985; Dickenson et

al., 1975). Visits to Pakistan help the migrant to sustain his religious and cultural identity. These visits ensure his ties with kin and are an important source of reviving his language, cultural beliefs and values. These visits are of great value particularly to the child, as it helps him not only to revive his mother-tongue and cultural values but also to reject the stereotyped image projected by the school, media and the majority culture, of his parents' culture.

## 2:6 Aspirations and Motivations

### A. Parental Aspirations and Motivations.

Pakistani immigrant parents have high hopes for their children. It must be remembered that one of their motives of immigration was to ensure better lives and educational opportunities for their offspring. Their desire to 'improve their lot' is consistent with the spirit of other immigrant communities. Research literature shows that immigrant parents, in general, have higher ambitions for their children and offer more encouragement to them (Smolicz & Wiseman, 1971). The standard explanation for this is the common argument that people who migrate are people of unusual ambition

and enterprise. Goldman for example has written:-

"If the evidence from any other immigrant movement in the world's history is to be taken as good evidence, it is already established that it is generally the people with initiative and drive and with high ability who leave a poor and difficult situation to find something more promising" (1967, p.8).

Pakistani immigrants in Glasgow had all the initiative and drive which, according to Goodal (1968, is typical of immigrant communities. Pakistani parents wanted their children to make the best use of all the educational facilities available to them in Britain. Pakistanis are quite favourably disposed towards Western education. It should be remembered that during colonialism the acquisition of a Western education represented an important means of social mobility. In the modern world, Western countries continue to play a dominant role in the international social and economic order. Consequently, Western education remains a coveted possession in the Third World. It is no wonder that the Pakistani immigrant

parents hold the British educational system in great esteem. Educational qualification, they feel, would enable their children to get better jobs than those which they have themselves. Several researchers have observed the Pakistani immigrant parents' enthusiasm for their children to succeed educationally (Siann & Khalid, 1984; Cropley, 1983; Weinreich, 1979; Tomlinson, 1983). This enthusiasm is also reflected in their eagerness to help their children with their school work. Several among them seek extra help for their child by employing a private tutor to help their child with his school work.

There is an increasing desire among Pakistani parents to send their children to private schools in Glasgow. In the beginning most immigrant parents were not aware of the educational disadvantage suffered by indigenous working class pupils living in the type of localities where they themselves had come to settle. With the passage of time immigrant parents became increasingly aware of better educational facilities and those among them who could afford private schooling

preferred to send their children to private schools<sup>(1)</sup>. We observed that some Pakistani parents preferred to send their children to private school even though they were doing ordinary jobs like flower selling on pavements, etc. While such schools make no pretence at offering anything other than traditional Anglo-Saxon education, their small classes and concern for individual pupils do offer ethnic minority children a greater chance of academic success and, hence perhaps, better vocational opportunities.

The Pakistani immigrant parents encourage their child to perform well in school and do all they can to support him. The Pakistani children's desire to achieve at school is reflected in the increasingly better performance of the Pakistani pupils at school (Swann Report, 1985). Their motivation to perform well is no doubt also reflected in their future high aspirations.

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1. This is particularly true for the female child. The Pakistani immigrant parents feel that single sex private schools will allow their child to concentrate on studies without undue distraction.

B. Aspirations and Attitudes of Pakistani Adolescents.

It has often been observed that the Pakistani adolescents in Britain have 'higher' aims than the indigenous population (Brah, 1982; Fowler et al., 1977; Gupta, 1977). Gupta's study of adolescents of South Asian (Pakistani and Indian) descent showed that the adolescents had higher occupational mobility between generations, which he attributed to parental attitudes and 'minority status' of his sample.

However, the high aspiration of the minority South Asian youth in Britain had earlier been interpreted as 'unrealistic' (Beetham, 1967). Criticism has been levelled at this interpretation by Hiro (1968). He suggests that the so called 'unrealistic' aspirations of the minority youth might be a recognition on their part of a discriminated minority. The minority youth realises that he must have a higher aim than the indigenous youth in order to have a chance of achieving at the same level. Louden (1977) suggests a similar explanation while discussing the high aspiration of minority youth in Britain. A recent research done by Verma & Ashworth (1981) concludes that South Asian (Pakistani and Indian) youths in Britain are not

'unrealistic' in their aspirations, and 90% of their sample saw great difficulties in the way of attainment of their goals. In spite of this the youths in their sample were highly motivated and seemed anxious to succeed in their academic work. Craft & Craft (1983) in a pilot study of the participation of minority children in further and higher education in a London Borough observe that Asian pupils, even those from working-class families, were more likely than other groups (West Indian and White pupils) to move into the sixth form and then into higher education. Other studies however, have observed that this greater persistence in acquiring qualification on the part of minority groups may not have the same consequences as for the indigenous pupils: "increased pay-off for immigrants" (Fowler et al., 1977). Several other studies have recorded the greater persistence of minority pupils in staying on at school or moving into further education (Taylor, 1976; Driver, 1980; Craft, 1981; Rutter et al., 1982).

Little has been done on this topic in Glasgow. Perhaps the only work done in this area is by Ishceek, J. (1979) whose unpublished work shows that Pakistani adolescents in Glasgow have high aspirations. One must not be surprised by the high aspirations of the

Pakistani youth in Glasgow. The relative social mobility that a number of Pakistani immigrants have attained since their arrival in Britain, the success that several Pakistani entrepreneurs have made of their businesses in Glasgow (Islam, 1985) motivates the youth to aspire for better opportunities in life.

#### 2:7. Continuity and Change.

The Pakistani immigrants make great efforts to retain their cultural norms and sustain their family unity. Most Pakistanis find the Western culture materially attractive but morally disturbing. From the Pakistani's perspective the individualism and autonomy prized by the Western cultures is regarded as selfish. They observe the indigenous population's growing inability to provide secure and cordial homes (due to divorce, separation etc.) for their children with concern. They are also touched by the plight of the old and regard the younger generation's neglect of their elders as 'wicked'. Moreover they find some of the Western customs unacceptable, for example, the relative permissiveness of the Western society, they fear, leads to the emotional and physical exploitation of the very young girls. This view of the Western

culture makes them worry that their children might slip away and become 'Westernised' and thus become unhappy. This fear has made most Pakistani immigrants strongly conservative in their attitudes and convinced that they must maintain their traditional patterns in their entity. However, this does not mean that no change has taken place in their behaviour, and that they have not adapted to the British way of life. With the passage of time they have selectively assimilated the indigenous cultural patterns. This has enabled them to live in harmony with their new environment.

The most significant change of Pakistani immigrants' life style in Britain is the development of the nuclear family as a basic unit (Khan, 1979' Ballard, 1982). The Pakistani nuclear family, though physically split, continues to rely on the extended family for all sorts of material and emotional support. The members of the nuclear family make great efforts to ensure the smooth operation of wider familial reciprocities of the extended family as a whole. Thus the Pakistani nuclear family does not operate as the nuclear family of the indigenous population. The trend towards nuclear households in Britain means that Pakistani women enjoy much more freedom and

independence in managing their domestic affairs. They are now solely responsible for the socialisation of their children (relatives living in the same area may still help, i.e. child minding etc.). This has made many young Pakistani couples more aware of their role as parents. It is generally observed that Pakistani fathers are becoming more actively involved in the upbringing of the child. The privacy available to young married couples in single unit families has also contributed to the increasing companionship among young Pakistani couples, which is typical only of elderly couples in the rural Punjab.

Living in single unit families has also brought isolation for the women. With men at work and children in schools, the Pakistani women, used to the joined family system, feel lonely. This loneliness urged some women to join their husbands in their shops. In the beginning their presence in the workplace was mainly for overcoming their 'loneliness'. Soon their potential as a reliable worker was recognized. Now several women help their self-employed husbands. However, most of them do not do so on a regular basis. For example, Pakistani women may be summoned to the business premises to take charge while the husband attends to other engagements i.e. Friday afternoon

prayers in the mosque, or collection of goods from the suppliers etc. Some women work in clothing factories while others prefer to work at home as out workers (supplying samosas, pakoras etc. or stitching clothes), utilizing their basic skills of good housekeeping. The fact that Pakistani women now work, has significantly changed the balance of power within the family, wives are now less economically dependent on their husbands. This however does not mean that they resent their parents' and husbands' control over issues of working patterns (Siann & Khalid, 1984). The women usually refrain from taking up any work that their husband resents, marital harmony is still a priority for Pakistani women and divorce and separation is still rare among the Pakistani communities in Britain.

Over the years Pakistani immigrants have replaced some of their cultural practices with the local norms. They are now celebrating birthdays, mother's day, etc. They have also adopted Western/urban practices (women driving cars, eating out, shopping on their own etc.) which bear little resemblance to their Punjabi rural life. All these new developments are more obvious in the case of the younger generation. It is generally observed that the

younger and the second generation of Pakistanis is more familiar with the language and mannerisms, as well as the status symbols, of the indigenous population. It is also observed that although they adopt and appreciate Western dress, fashions, foods, music etc. more readily than their parents, they still have been able to maintain their cultural distinctiveness. They accept their parents values and beliefs and are seeking to generate new life styles based on their parents' cultural heritage (Ballard, 1978, 1979, 1982; Brah, 1979; Crishna, 1975; Taylor, 1976).

Those studies that have been conducted with young females of South Asian (Pakistani and Indian) descent who live in Britain echo the same theme. For example, Fuller (1983), while examining the views of second generation females of South Asian descent, concludes that they endorsed the protective stance taken by their parents and favoured the practice of arranged marriages. Similar results were earlier reported by Brah, 1977.

Ballard, while discussing the second generation of South Asians (Pakistanis and Indians) in Britain, writes:

"Although they may eventually adopt considerably modified versions of their parents life styles, their behaviour generally remains quite distinct from that of their 'English' peers",

(1982, p. 196).

Most of the second generation of Pakistanis have learned to adapt to the demands of the indigenous culture as well as the requirements of their own ethnic community remarkably well. At the work place they tend to conduct themselves in British style, yet most of them choose to organize their entire domestic life on the basis of strong cultural continuity with the established beliefs and values of their parents.

CHAPTER THREE

SELF-ESTEEM IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction.

This chapter deals with the theoretical perspectives of 'self' and especially the evaluative aspect of the self-system. The first section of this chapter briefly traces the history of self and self-esteem in psychological literature. The idea of self (and of various self-referent phenomena) is as old as philosophy itself. Earlier philosophers were concerned with self-reflexive relations and obligations although the word 'self' was usually synonymous with the terms 'soul' or 'persons'. Since the concern here is with the 'self' and self-esteem as it appeared in psychological literature the survey will be limited to this century, rather than the earlier work on self. In the second section of this chapter, the nature and definition of the concept of self-esteem as used in this study will be discussed. The third section will deal with important theoretical explanations about the formulation of self-esteem. The last section of this chapter will identify the important factors which influence the formulation of self-esteem.

### 3:1. Brief History of Self: Self-Esteem.

For a long time psychologists were primarily interested in the study of personal experiences of individuals. Using the method of introspection, the individual subjects were made to report on their state of consciousness. The most important contents of the conscious mind to the early experimentalist were the individuals experiences of himself. Self or self-awareness was primarily awareness of muscle tensions or other internal states. However, the early work of William James (1890) helped to abandon this restricted view of self. He divided the 'self' into three categories; material, social and spiritual and suggested that the 'bodily self' was just one aspect of the material self.

William James identified two fundamentally different dimensions of self: the self as the knower (spiritual self) and the self as an object of what is known (material and social self). He saw no value in self as a knower for understanding behaviour and felt that it belonged to philosophy. The self as an object of knowledge, according to him, consists of whatever the individual views as belonging to himself. He

analyzed the significance of self as an object, and concluded that individuals' aspirations and values are important in determining the way in which they regard themselves:

"...Our self-feeling in the world depends entirely on what we back ourselves to be and do. It is determined by the ratio of our actualities to our supposed potentialities; a fraction of which our pretensions are the denominator, and the numerator our success; thus self-esteem = success

(1890. pp. 310-12).

After William James, the notion of self continued to grow in importance for some three decades, with a number of notable contributors to its development. Among the earliest was the sociologist Charles Horton Cooley, (1902) who emphasized the relationship between self and the social environment. He introduced the concept of the 'looking glass self' which refers to an individual perceiving himself in the way others perceive him. In contrast to Cooley's emphasis on social interaction Freud's, (1900) work emphasized the

role of unconscious. The concept of 'ego' in Freud's work had much in common with the notion of self. However it remained for Freud's disciples to extend psychoanalytical theory in ways most useful to later research on the self. The neo-Freudians - Horney, Sullivan and Adler rejected the idea of unconscious as a force behind behaviour and saw self as a mediator between basic drives and social reality.

Early contribution to the subject of self came from the developmental psychologist Baldwin, (1897) who presented stimulating ideas concerning the way in which innate physiological processes influences self-perception. However, such keen interest in the subject of self did not continue for long. For the Behaviourists - Watson, Thorndike, Hull and Skinner - believed that all theoretical concepts which could not be studied empirically must be discarded. Concepts referring to internal phenomena like 'self' were not concrete or observable directly, they were subjective and therefore not fit for psychological study. Thus during the 1930's through to the 1940's and 1950's the concept of self received very little attention from psychologists.

Although decline of interest in self could be

linked to the increasing influence of behaviourism, this lack of interest in the subject of self was not entirely due to the behaviourist approach in psychology. Diggory (1966) points out that very little of the literature on self during these years described empirical reseaches and contained references to experimental studies in this area. Thus, those who advocated importance of 'self' weakened their position by their neglect of systematic study. Whatever the cause, 'self' received little attention from the psychologists during the second quarter of this century. There were, however, a few exceptions to this general trend.

G.H. Mead's contributions on this topic are an elaboration of what James called the 'Social Self' and Cooley called 'the looking glass self'. As a sociologist, Mead (1934) noted that the self of an individual arises in social interreaction as an outgrowth of the individual's concern about how others react to him. In order to anticipate other peoples reactions so that he can behave accordingly, the individual learns to perceive the world as they do. Mead suggested that we come to know ourselves and respond to ourselves as we see others responding to us.

Some psychologists (Lecky, 1945; Hilgard, 1949; Allport, 1943, 1955; & Maslow, 1954), though not directly concerned with the study of self, emphasized the role of self-esteem (i.e. evaluative aspect of the self system) in human motivation. K. Goldstein (1939) analysed the process of self actualization as the basic motivational determinant of behaviour. Prescott Lecky (1945) contributed the notion of self-consistency as a primary motivating force in all human behaviour. His ideas became the basis of the self-consistency theory. Hilgard (1949) noted that the existence of defense mechanisms provide strong evidence for existence of self-esteem, as in order for there to be defense mechanisms, there has to be some aspect of the self that requires defending. Similarly, Maslow (1954) emphasized the drive for self-esteem and self-actualization within a theory of human motivation. Further impetus in the study of self-esteem came from the work of the clinical psychologists. They found the tenets of behaviourism too narrow and passive to account for most human behaviour. Among the most consistent in objecting to behaviourism was Carl Rogers who, in a series of articles, books and lectures (1942, 1947, 1951, 1954, 1959 and 1965), presented a system of psychotherapy which was built around the

importance of self and self-esteem. He was concerned with the general nature of subjective experiences and the individual's acceptance of his experience.

Rogers' discussions about the self omitted concepts like ego and super-ego. His approach was primarily phenomenological. As expressed in his own words: "The central construct of our theory would be concept of self, or the self as perceived object in the phenomenal field" (1950, p.379). His writings linked the earlier ideas about the self together and his impact was so great that his approach became known as "self-theory". As a phenomenologist he believed that awareness is the cause of behaviour and that what individuals think and feel determines what they will do. His work emphasised the motivational force of self-esteem.

Combs and Snygg (1959), after extensive research, concluded that all behaviour is dependent on the individuals personal frame of reference. They, like Rogers, believed that there is a basic need to maintain and enhance self-esteem.

Studies based on the work of the theorists mentioned above provided an increased understanding of

the subjective basis of human behaviour and helped to contribute a number of procedural innovations and refinements which made the study of self much more popular in psychology.

In recent years there has been an enthusiastic rebirth of interest in the subject of self-esteem. Among others the research writings of Brookover (1965), Patterson (1961), Diggory (1968), Rosenberg (1965) and Coopersmith (1967) have provided a deeper understanding of the dynamics of self-esteem in determining behaviour. In addition, recent developments in the areas of developmental, cognitive, experimental, social and clinical psychology have all contributed to the recognition of the importance of self-concept and self-esteem in understanding human behaviour.

### 3:2. Nature and Definition of Self-Esteem.

As the "self" has evolved in psychological literature, it has come to have two distinct meanings. From one point of view it is defined as a group of psychological processes which influence behaviour and adjustment, and from another it is regarded as a person's attitudes and feelings about himself. The

first meaning can be looked at as the 'self as process' and includes an active group of processes such as thinking, remembering, and perceiving. The second meaning may be looked at as 'self as object', as it conveys a person's attitudes, feelings, and perceptions of himself as an object. That is, it is as if he could stand outside of himself and evaluate what he sees from a more or less detached point of view. The terms self-concept and self-esteem have now come into use to refer to the second meaning (Wylie, 1965).

A. Hypothetical Construct: 'Self' as an object of a person's own knowledge and evaluation is a hypothetical construct used by psychologists for predicting and understanding human behaviour. It is an abstraction that a person develops about the characteristics, capacities, objects and activities which he possesses and pursues. We must be careful not to view it as if it actually exists like a real world object. Like the hypothetical concepts of "intelligence" and "creativity", 'self-esteem', 'self-conflict' and 'self-image' are seen as useful in predicting human behaviour, but this does not mean that they refer to directly observable real world phenomena. The 'self' is an abstraction and is believed to be made up of all the beliefs and evaluations that a person has about

himself. These beliefs (self-images) and evaluations (self-esteem) are the two major parts of the self-concept (Burns, 1979; 1982; Gergen, 1971; Gecas, 1972; Hamachek, 1978 and Coopersmith, 1967). The concept of self is thus multidimensional, with the different dimensions reflecting both the diversity of experience, attributes and capacity and different emphases in the process of abstraction. For the purpose of this study, rather than study this multidimensional constellation of concepts, we shall focus upon the dimension of evaluation i.e. self-esteem.

B. "Self-Esteem" and Other Labels: Self-Esteem concepts appear under different names in psychological literature. Different terms have been used by different theorists to refer apparently to the same phenomenon (Wells and Maxwell, 1976). A sample of related names might include terms such as: self-respect, self-love, self-satisfaction, self-regard, self-acceptance (or rejection), self-confidence, self-evaluation, self-appraisal, self-worth, sense of adequacy or personal efficacy, ego or ego strength, sense of competence, self ideal congruence. All these terms stand for the basic process of psychological functioning which can be described as self-evaluation.

In current psychological literature self-esteem is the most popular term for self-evaluative behaviours. Therefore, in this study we will use the term 'self-esteem' as our general label for describing self-evaluative behaviour.

C. Self-Esteem: Self-Evaluation: It is believed that not only does a person have a certain idea about who he is, but he also has certain feelings about who he is. These self feelings result in self-evaluations and form the judgemental or affective aspect of a person's self-conception which is commonly known as self-esteem. Anything related to the person, it has been argued, is liable for such evaluations on the basis of criteria and standards set by the institutional systems to which a person belongs. It is for this reason that self-concept is sometimes equated with self-esteem either implicitly or explicitly (Taylor 1955; Webb, 1955; Fitts, 1965; and Burns, 1979, 1982). According to psychologists self-evaluations can be made in three different ways: (1) By comparing the self-image with the ideal self-image i.e. by comparing one self with a kind of person one would wish to be. William James' (1890) classic view of self-esteem expresses this, and this view has become a dominant theme in numerous approaches to psychotherapy

(Horney, 1950; Rogers, 1959); (2) by assuming that self-evaluation is determined by the individual's beliefs as to how other's evaluate him. This view of self-esteem was initially promoted by Cooley (1912) and Mead (1934); (3) by assuming that an individual evaluates himself as a relative success or relative failure in doing what his identity entails (Erikson, 1965), in accordance with his culturally learned roles and accepted standards. Hence, self-esteem is subjective self-evaluation, whether involving one's own assessment of performance or one's interpretation of others' assessment of oneself made by others, both in relation to self-appointed ideals and culturally learned standards.

D. Self-Esteem as Self-Attitudes: It is believed that self-esteem is expressed in self-attitudes (Burns, 1979, 1982; Coopersmith, 1967; Rosenberg, 1965; Cattle & Child, 1975; Stains, 1954; Rogers, 1951; Wells & Maxwell, 1976). Two major writers on the self-esteem have given definitions of this construct which supports the view that it can be regarded as evaluative self-attitudes. Rosenberg, in his pionerring study of self-esteem, defines the concept as an attitude:-

"By self-esteem we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily

maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval" (1965, p.5).

Similarly Coopersmith defines self-esteem as:-

"The evaluation that the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy" (1967, p.4-5).

As different people have different attitudes towards themselves and different levels of awareness of these attitudes, therefore, there are different levels of self esteem. Positive attitudes towards the self can thus be equated with positive self-evaluation, self-respect, self-acceptance and self-esteem; negative self-attitudes can similarly be equated with negative self-evaluation, self-hatred, inferiority, self-acceptance and negative self-esteem. Each of these terms carries connotations of the others and have been

used inter-changeably by several theorists. All these terms are evaluative beliefs about a person and can range along a positive and negative continuum (Wylie, 1965, 1979; Burns, 1979, 1982; Coopersmith, 1967).

E. Self-Esteem: as a Unitary Concept.

The simple attitudinal perspective describes self-esteem as both 'specific' and 'global', i.e. self-esteem may apply only to a single trait of a person (specific) or may apply to the overall evaluation of a person (global). For example, a student may evaluate himself on the basis of his ability to solve a statistical problem, or write an essay.

A student may also sum up his abilities in different areas of life in some way as to form an overall evaluation of his performance as a person. Thus, some psychologists have chosen to concentrate on the specific self-attitudes of an individual in any given point in time (Gergen, 1971), while others regard the collection of specific self-attitudes as important and have given self-esteem a more unified singular status. They

describe self-esteem as a kind of linear combination of individual, specific self estimates, each weighted by the value of the characteristic (how important it is to the person) and summed up in some psychological fashion (Wells & Maxwell, 1976; Sherwood, 1965). Many theorists believe that the construction of unity of self-esteem is important in the development of the individual as an intelligent, well-adjusted, socially effective person (Mead, 1934; Shibusaki, 1961; White, 1963; Miller, 1963). Several clinical theorists like Rogers (1950, 1959) and Fitts et al., (1971) believe the consistency and integration of a persons different identities or sub-selves is important for his self-esteem. The global self-esteem is regarded by Burns (1982) and McCandless (1961) as a "core" of the self. In James' words this represents the individual's "truest, strongest, deepest self" (Secord & Backman, 1964, p.580). Hence, for the purposes of this study we will regard self-esteem as a unitary concept and will concentrate on the formation of the global self-esteem of our subjects.

F. Importance of Self-Esteem in Determining

Behaviour: For the purpose of this study we focus on the evaluative aspect of the self i.e. self-esteem.

One of the reasons for focussing on self-esteem is the empirically demonstrated importance and the theoretical significance of self-esteem. The valuational dimension of the self is regarded as the most crucial for understanding human behaviour (Fitts et al., 1971). As expressed by Gergen:-

"The person's evaluations or esteem of himself plays a key role in determining his behaviour" (1971, p.34).

Self-esteem appears to have a three-fold role, maintaining consistency, determining how experiences are interpreted and providing a set of expectancies.

One reason why the self-esteem of an individual is an important determinant of his behaviour is expressed by the rationale of dissonance theory. According to this theory what an individual thinks about himself is a vital part of internal consistency (Lecky, 1954; Festinger, 1957). Therefore, the individual will act in ways which he thinks are consistent with how he sees himself. If he feels he cannot do a task, he is 'worthless', and 'stupid', then he is likely to act and behave in such a way as to appear as 'worthless' and 'stupid'.

A second reason why the self-esteem is important is because it determines how individuals interpret their experiences. Just as there is a strong tendency to act in ways which will show that one's behaviour and one's view of oneself are consistent, there is a strong tendency to interpret experiences in ways which are consistent with individuals' views. Self-esteem is like a filter, and each experience of success or failure that an individual has passes through this filter. Thus, the meaning attached to each new experience of success or failure is determined largely by the view the child has of himself.

Thirdly, self-esteem determines what individuals expect to happen. Their set of expectations determines their behaviour. Individuals who perceive themselves as being unlikeable expect people not to like them and then act either in ways consistent with this or interpret everything so that it fits with this expectancy. The way the self-esteem controls expectancies and behaviour leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy. Much of what a person chooses to do, and the way in which he does it, is presumed to be dependent upon his self-esteem.

G. Levels of Self-Esteem: There has been some disagreement between the theorists as to what level of self-esteem is best for the healthy adjustment (personal and social) of an individual. However, it is generally accepted that high levels of self-esteem are associated with 'good' adjustment (Rosenberg, 1965; Coopersmith, 1967; Ziller, 1969; Ziller et al., 1969; Burns, 1982). This approach argues for a positive linear relationship between self-esteem and adjustment. It also presumes that high self-esteem is generally preferred and is more socially and psychologically functional. This approach is taken in developmental theories; as well as in most of the experimental literature; in addition it is perceived as necessary for self-acceptance (i.e. you can't like other people if you don't like yourself).

H. Definition: Following Coopersmith, for the purpose of this study, we define self-esteem as the: "set of evaluations which the individual makes and usually maintains about himself: it expresses an attitude of approval and disapproval and shows the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant and worthy". According to this definition self-esteem is a personal judgement of worthiness that the child holds towards himself. It

is his self perception which he conveys to others by verbal reports and other expressive behaviour. There are certain aspects of this definition that need to be discussed.

Firstly, a child may judge and evaluate his different characteristics and capacities separately or he may sum all his characteristics and abilities together to form an overall evaluation. His overall appraisal of his characteristics and abilities would presumably weigh these areas according to their subjective importance, enabling him to arrive at a global level of self-esteem. It is the global level of self-esteem with which we are concerned in this study. This will permit more ready cross comparisons than could be made were the entire complex of dimensions of self-esteem considered. This study is specifically concerned with the global evaluative attitude which the individual holds towards himself. Several previous researchers have taken similar views. The most well known among them are McCandles (1961); Rosenberg (1965); Sherwood (1965) and Coopersmith (1967).

Secondly it should be noted that this definition

centers upon the relatively enduring estimates of global self-esteem rather than upon the transitory changes in evaluation. We are not interested in the momentary, situational and limited fluctuations in self-evaluation. The major concern of the present study is the general prevailing enduring estimates of global self-esteem reported by the child. This view has been taken by several researches before (Rosenberg 1965; Coopersmith 1967; Gordon 1982). They believe that enduring estimates of self-esteem form a fundamental frame of reference for the individual for adjusting to the different daily situations.

Thirdly, we would like to clarify the meaning of the term "self-evaluation". In the present study, this term refers to a subjective evaluative. A process by which the child examines his abilities, performances and characteristics according to his own personal standards and values. The personal standards and values of a child could be derived from subjectively interpreted feedback from significant others, from comparisons with objective standards and subjectively interpreted cultural group and individual standards and values.

### 3:3. Formulation of Self-Esteem.

We shall now examine the leading views of the theorists regarding the development of self-esteem among individuals. Psychologists emphasise various general conditions influencing development of self-esteem, which we take up for discussion in the following section.

#### A. The Symbolic Interactionist.

The symbolic interactionists assume that one's self-esteem is a continuous product of social interaction. This theory maintains that the individual's self-esteem is a reflection of his perception about how he appears to others. This idea has received widespread acceptance and appears in many leading texts on social and psychological behaviour (e.g. Raven & Rubin, 1976; D.J. Schneider, 1976; Secord & Backman, 1974).

Social philosophers and psychologists of the late 19th century such as James (1890) and Baldwin (1897) were forerunners of symbolic interactionalism in their emphasis on the self as a product and reflection of social life (Gorden & Glegen 1968; Ziller 1973).

i. Theory of Reflected Appraisals.

C.A. Cooley (1902), one of the early interactionists, developed the idea of the 'looking glass self'. He recognised that the social environment from which a person comes contributes mostly to how a person views himself. With this idea in mind, he developed a theory of the self that was concerned primarily with how the self grows as a consequence of interpersonal interactions. To put it in his own words:

"In a very large and interesting class of cases the social reference takes the form of a somewhat definite imagination of how one's self...appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self feeling one has is determined by the attitude towards this attributed to the other mind. A social self might be called the reflected or looking-glass self.

Each to each a looking glass  
Reflects the other that doth pass

The self that is most important is a reflection, largely, from the minds of others.....We live on, cheerful, self confident...until in some rude hour we learn that we do not stand as well as we thought we did, that the image of us is tarnished. Perhaps we do something, quite naturally, that we find the social order is set against, or perhaps it is the ordinary course of our life that is not so well regarded as we supposed. "At any rate, we find with a chill of terror that...our self-esteem, self-confidence, and hope, being chiefly founded upon the opinions of others, go down in a crash..."

(1902, p. 2-21).

Thus, Cooley argued that self is inseparable from social life and necessarily involves some reference to others. This process of social reference results in the looking glass self: "A self idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgement of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification" (Cooley, 1902, p.152). According to Cooley from early childhood our concepts of self develop from seeing how others respond to us. The face-to-face relationships within the family serve to produce feedback for the

child to evaluate and relate to his own person. Hence self-esteem is formed by a trial-and-error process by which values, attitudes, roles and identities are learned. In other words, Cooley believes that how parents perceive and treat their child would result in a favourable or unfavourable self-esteem of their child.

Mead (1934), the other major theorist of symbolic interactionism, amplified the view of the self as a product of social interaction. His contributions are an elaboration of James and Cooley's ideas.

As a sociologist Mead (1956) was concerned with the process by which the child becomes a compatible and integrated member of his social group. He was one of the first social psychologists to suggest that language was the connecting link between others and the self. The acquisition of language, he believed, played a vital role in the development of the self. He hypothesized that infants are born without a self and that the self concept arises as a result of social experience and communication. Mead, believed that children take on the attitudes towards themselves of others in their world, those on whom they depend and

who control them. Mead referred to the social group that gives individuals their unity of self and against whom they evaluate themselves as the "generalized other":

"The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly from the particular standpoints of other individuals of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs" (1934, p.138).

From Mead's formulations we can conclude that self-esteem is largely derived from the reflected appraisals of others. The measure of self-evaluation is a mirror image of the criteria employed by the important persons of our social world. As children we internalize these criteria, observe how we are regarded, and value ourselves accordingly. Mead believed that no one could escape the influence of his social group in his self-appraisal. No matter how isolated and independent a person may believe himself to be, he carried within himself the reflecting mirror of his social group. Mead's looking glass self is

reflective not only of significant others<sup>1</sup>, as Cooley suggested, but of a generalized other, that is, one's whole sociocultural environment.

Mead is often criticized for his behaviouristic approach towards the self. He makes the self subservient to the social process and gives the generalized other a dominating position (Meltzer, Petras and Reynolds (1975). He reduces the man to a 'functional behaviourist object' and sees him not as a participant and a causative agent in his experience, but merely as an observer of his own manipulation by the generalized other.

Another criticism of Mead is that his concept of 'generalised other' needs refinement (Rosenberg, 1981). He oversimplifies the concept of assuming single universal generalised other for the members of each society - rather than a variety of generalised others. Sherif (1953), Shibutani (1965) and Kuhn (1968)

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1. Denzin (1966) points out that it was Harry Stack Sullivan, not Mead, who coined the term "significant others". Many psychologists have attributed the expression to Mead partly because his terms "significant symbol", "particular others" and "generalised other" are so well known and partly because he clearly recognized the concept without using the term.

attempted to clarify Mead's idea about generalised others by introducing the concept of reference groups.

ii. Reference Group Theory:

Hyman (1942), Sherif & Sherif (1956), Shibutani (1961) and Kuhn (1964) introduced the concept of "reference groups". In doing so, they attempted to improve upon the idea of 'generalised others' of Mead. They saw "reference groups" as a collection of significant others, that is, a group with whom the individual identifies and who, therefore, have a significant impact on his self-esteem. A reference group's outlook is used by individuals as the frame of reference in their organization of perceptual fields. Sherif (1966) believed that, though individuals may not be necessarily aware of it, the reference group's standards and norms are internalised by the individual. This means that individuals come to judge themselves according to the standards of their reference groups.

All kinds of grouping, with great variations in size, composition, and structure, may become reference groups. Of great importance for most people are those groups in which they participate directly, that is, the membership groups. The membership groups are the ones

with whom the individual stands in a primary relationship, for example, the family.

Kelly (1952) suggests that a "reference group" is in a position to award recognition to an individual or to withhold it. According to Newcomb (1943), a reference group can be either positive or negative. An individual is motivated to be accepted in a positive group and doesn't want to be treated as a member of a negative group.

Thus, according to the reference group theory, the group with which the individual identifies and wishes to be a member of is the reference group. It is the reference group's judgement and evaluation which is important for the individual's self-esteem.

Rosenberg (1968, 1972) also suggested that individuals may refuse to accept society's evaluation of their ethnic group as part of their self image. He felt that subcultural norms or other characteristic aspects of experience are more important as determinants of self-esteem. He gave four arguments to support his viewpoint: first, he suggested that members of a lower-prestige group will often rank their

own group higher than others rank it; second, they may tend to react to the low esteem in which they are held as an expression of pathology of the evaluation rather than any inadequacy in themselves; third, people in low-prestige groups may compare themselves with others in that group over whom they have superiority; and finally, group members living in socially homogenous neighbourhoods are likely to confine their associations to their own group, so that their feelings of self-esteem may be based on relative prestige. Rosenberg maintained that self-esteem may be a matter of position within a reference group rather than the status of the reference group in relation to other groups.

iii. Social Evaluation Theory:

Following the logic of the theories of reflected appraisal and the reference group theory, we arrive at a dismaying picture of man. He appears as a passive agent mirroring the opinions of others. The social comparison theorist suggested another alternative for the formulation of self-esteem.

Leon Festinger (1954) in his article "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes" argued that people have a continuous need to establish the correctness of their

beliefs and attitudes. For this, they compare their own beliefs and attitudes about the world, as well as about themselves with those held by others in order to assess the validity of their own position. This reasoning has obvious implications for the development of self-esteem. This means that an individual will see himself as "wealthy", "intelligent", "religious", and "lovable" in comparison with others around him.

Social comparison forms the basis of the social evaluation theory described by Pettigrew (1967) as follows: "The basic tenet of social evaluation theory is that human beings learn about themselves by comparing themselves to others. A second tenet is that the process of social evaluation leads to positive, neutral, or negative self-ratings which are relative to the standards set by the individual employed for comparison". This clearly indicates that the self-esteem of individuals depends on the group they compare themselves with and also on the values that they compare themselves on. Explanations given in the area of intergroup behaviour seem to give new dimensions to the principle of social evaluation. Tajfel (1972) suggests that to achieve positive social identity intergroup comparisons are focussed on the

establishment of positive distinctiveness between one's own and others' groups. This indicates that an individual makes an attempt at making comparisons which result in positive self-esteem.

B. The Clinical Approach.

The clinical theorists do not discuss the development of self-esteem directly, but their discussions of the conditions that facilitate self-acceptance and diminish conflict among individuals do contribute to the understanding of this topic. They believe that all individuals develop a self-image of themselves which serves to guide and maintain their adjustment to the external world. Since this image develops out of interaction with the environment, it reflects the judgements, preferences, and shortcomings of the particular familiar and social setting.

i. The Neo-Freudians:

Harry Stack Sullivan, Karen Horney and Alfred Adler have also theorized about the development of self-esteem. Like the earlier symbolic interactionists they also emphasize the role of social interaction as a major source of an individual's self-

esteem.

Alfred Adler (1927) notes that individuals are as much a product of their culture as of their psychological drives. He proposes that feelings of inferiority are an inevitable occurrence of the childhood experiences of every individual. The comparison between relative strength and sizes that children invariably make leads them to conclude that they are, in fact, weak and incomplete. The result is a feeling of inferiority and insufficiency that forces and motivates the child to achieve greater size and competence. The most significant part of his theory is the emphasis laid on the encouragement and support of parents. He believed that parental support could help the child to overcome his weaknesses and turn them into strengths.

Karen Horney (1945, 1950) also emphasises the role of interpersonal process. She believes that feelings of helplessness and isolation are the result of disturbances in parent-child relationships. She emphasises the importance of parental love and support for the child's self-esteem. She felt that in an atmosphere of rejection of others, children are likely

to acquire an attitude of rejection towards themselves.

Sullivan's (1953) views about the development of self-esteem in individuals is closely related to the symbolic interactionist view on the subject. He developed what has been called an "interpersonal theory of personality". As Sullivan sees it, from the first day of life, the infant is immersed in a continual stream of interpersonal situations in which he is the recipient of a never-ending flow of "reflected-appraisals". It is through his assimilation of these reflected appraisals that the child comes to regard himself as worthy or unworthy and develops negative or positive attitudes towards himself.

Sullivan was the first to describe the empathy that exists between the infant and the mother as an important source of self-awareness for the infant. He believed that if the mothers provide guidance and care, children will have their tensions relieved and feel secure. The differentiation of the good-me, the me rewarded by a tender, good mother, the bad-me, the me punished by the anxiety-evoking mother; is learned by the child through reflected appraisals of the mother. Thus, the early mother-child interactions are important for the self-esteem of the child. As expressed by

Sullivan himself:-

"If these (self appraisals) were chiefly derogatory...then the self dynamism will itself be chiefly derogatory. It will....entertain disparaging and hostile appraisals of itself".

(1940, p.10.)

Sullivan also discusses the issue of how the individuals learn to cope with threats to his self-esteem. He maintains that the ability to minimize or avoid loss of self-esteem is important in maintaining a relatively high, acceptable level of esteem. Although Sullivan does not discuss how this ability develops he does suggest that early familiar experiences play an important role. Like Cooley (1902) he maintains that the significant others are an important course of the child's self-esteem. Denzin (1966, p.298) notes however that there is some doubt whether Sullivan intended his term "significant other" to refer to those responsible for the socialisation of the individual or to all those persons whom the individual holds in high esteem. Recent usage has tended to employ the later interpretation.

ii. Carl Rogers:

Rogers maintained that harsh, rejecting judgements prevent the child from accepting himself and therefore cause him suffering. Even though such judgement may be ignored or derived expression, they continue to have a subverting effect by producing underlying doubts of worthiness and competence, and hence lowering the child's self-esteem. This can be avoided if parents and significant others accept the views and values of the child, although they need not necessarily agree with him. Rogers' views are well expressed in the following passage:-

"He (the child) develops a total gestalt as to the way he is regarded by his mother and each new experience of love or rejection tends to alter the whole gestalt.

Consequently, each behavior on his mother's part such as a specific disapproval of a specific behavior tends to be experienced as disapproval in general".

(1959, p.225).

As a humanist, Rogers maintained that each

individual has a basic tendency to actualise, maintain, and enhance himself. This means that an individual is motivated to maintain his self-esteem. According to Rogers, the subjective interpretations of the individual have more significant influence on his self-esteem than the external environment. He sees an individual as a perceiver and interpreter of himself and as a determiner of his present and future behaviour.

iii. Erikson:

He used the concept of identity in his writings rather than self. He maintains that identity has a self aspect, which is conscious and an ego aspect which is unconscious. He demonstrated (1968) how culture works on identity, out of a biologically given basis, which is appropriate to the culture in question and manageable for the individual. Erikson indicates that identity comes from 'achievement that has meaning in the culture' (p.228). He maintains that identity arises from a gradual integration of all identifications, therefore, it is important for children to come into contact with adults with whom they identify. Erikson described eight stages of identity growth, and detailed the particular conflicts

which are characteristic of different stages and the qualities that emerge on resolving these conflicts.

Erikson defined identity as a "subjective sense of an invigorating sameness and continuity" (1968, p.19) yet he was somewhat reluctant to give a tight definition of identity which was not just the sum of roles assumed by the person but also included emerging configurations of identifications and capacities, a function of direct experience of self and the world, and perceptions of the reactions of others to self. It was psychosocial in that it also involves an individual's relationships with his cultural content.

The importance of group membership as a determinant of self or ego identity has been clearly presented by Erikson (1959):-

"The growing child must at every step derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experiences...is a successful variant of a group identity...ego identity gains real strength only from the whole hearted and consistent recognition of real

accomplishment, i.e. of achievement that has meaning in the culture" (p.147).

Thus, in other words it is important for the child to know about the culture or sub-culture of his group to which he belongs. This knowledge has important implications for self and self-esteem.

Shibutani (1965) maintains that "when a person places himself in a well-defined category, his behaviour is thereby circumscribed, but it becomes easier for him to identify himself as a particular kind of human being". Recent work done with minorities supports the arguments presented by Shibutani. It has been observed that the group with which the minority child identifies has serious consequences for his self-esteem (Porter, 1971; Powell, 1973; Nobles, 1973).

C. The Empirical Approach.

i. The Social Learning Theorist:

The social learning theorists i.e. Bandura and his associates (1963a; 1963b) believe that a child acquires most of his behavioural characteristics and attitudes

through the process of imitating various others in his environment. They call this process "modelling". The modelling theory states that attitudes towards the self develops in the same way as attitudes towards other subjects; i.e. through the incorporation of behaviours and attitudes of significant others in the social environment. Identification is the term usually associated with this process which Bandura considers as simply one type of imitation. A child who identifies with a parent, according to Bandura, is acting in a manner characteristic of all modelling behaviour: i.e. acquiring self-attributes through the perception and incorporation of the attributes of another.

Bandura, Ross & Ross (1961; 1963a; 1963b) demonstrated how effective nurturant and powerful models are used in imitative responses. They reported that children tended to copy the behaviour of adults who were rewarding or who were seen as powerful. They suggested learning depends not only on selective reinforcement but also imitation. Rewarding and powerful parents serve as models for their children.

According to Bandura the mechanisms which links modelling behaviour to self-esteem formation is self-reinforcement. Individuals generally adopt the

standards for self-reinforcement exhibited by exemplary models, they evaluate their own performances according to the standards (of their models) which they had internalised. In explaining his theory of self-esteem from social learning, Bandura defines the self in terms of the relative frequency of positive to negative self-reinforcements. Thus, negative self-esteem would be the result of negative self-reinforcements and positive self-esteem would be the result of positive self-reinforcements. This means that self-evaluation is necessary for making self-reinforcements.

The theories of symbolic interaction and social learning both emphasis the role of others in the formulation of self-esteem, the process through which others exert their influence is however, different in both these theories. The symbolic interactionists rely on evaluative responses of others i.e. feedback others give to the individual as to how he appears to them. The social learning theorists suggest that the individual simply imitates or copies the characteristics of the model. They emphasize the internalization of standards and attributes of the model.

Kagan (1964) added an effective dimension to the social learning theory by pointing at the appropriate sex-role standards in different cultures. The central guide for self-evaluation, according to Kagan, consists of the sex-role standards and the learned social behaviour appropriate for each sex. These sex-role standards are culturally approved for male and female. The child acquires them by imitating the same sex model, usually the parent. These models provide standards against which the child measures his behaviour.

ii. Self-Attribution.

Social psychologists have long been critical of behavioural analysis of social interaction. This was because they felt that there was something more to interpersonal perception than responding to the overt behaviour of other individuals. For them, 'reflected appraisals' were not the only criteria for self-evaluation. The self-theorist (Kelly, 1967; Bem, 1978) came forward with an alternative explanation for the development of self-esteem. They maintained that individuals infer their self-esteem from their own behaviour. In Bem's words:-

"Individuals come to 'know' their own attitudes, emotions, and other internal states partially by inferring them from observations of their own overt behaviour and/or the circumstances in which this behaviour occurs. Thus, to the extent that internal ones are weak, ambiguous, or interpretable, the individual is functionally in the same position to an outside observer who must rely upon those same external cues to infer the individuals inner states."  
(1978, p.222).

Bem's views are based on the radical perspective of B.F. Skinner (1973). He explains that inner states (such as hunger, anger, excitement, sympathy) ordinarily understood to be based on private internal stimuli may in reality reflect past training. To use Bem's example, a man who devours an enormous meal concludes that "I guess that I was hungrier than I thought", is drawing conclusions about his level of hunger not by consulting his inner experiences but by observing his own behaviour and its outcome. Furthermore, it is not just inner states but any aspect of the self that may be influenced by the individual's

observation of his or her own behaviour. As Bandura (1978) observes, people derive much of their knowledge (about themselves) from direct experience of the effects produced by their action. According to this principle, one important basis for assessing one's worth is to observe one's achievement. Thus, experiences of success and failure would be responsible for our self-evaluation. For example, a child who receives an excellent report from his teacher would feel worthy, similarly a child who gazes at his poor report card would feel unworthy. This means that individuals infer their self-esteem from their attributes which they themselves observe.

Recent researches have shown that individuals, independent of actual ability and achievements, are biased in explaining the causes of their performances (Rotter, 1966). Individuals used biased attribution patterns in order to maintain self-esteem. According to Rotter (1966) individuals differ in the extent to which they expect 'reinforcements' to occur, as a function of their own behaviour (internal control) or a function of luck or forces beyond their personal control (external control). This shows that the level of self-esteem of an individual influences the way he

interprets his experiences and to use Bem's expression 'labels' them. Experimental work done in this area suggest that individuals with high self-esteem ascribe failure to lack of effort, which in turn leads to an increase in performance (greater effort). By comparison individuals with low self-esteem ascribe failure to a lack of ability, which in turn leads to a decrease in performance (Weiner, 1980). Several experimental studies also suggest that attributions may often be biased by a tendency to defend or present a realitively positive self-image (Miller & Ross, 1975; Synder & Swann, 1978). This suggests that individuals are motivated to preserve their self-esteem.

D. Self-Esteem as Basic Motive.

Theorists who regard self-concept and self-esteem as a 'basic need' of the individual can be broadly divided into two groups: the Self Consistency and the Self Esteem theorist. They stress that self-concept and self-esteem includes not only cognitions and emotions but motives as well.

i. Self-Consistency theorist:

The advocates of this view believe that an individual's actions, attitudes, and his receptivity to

information from other people are strongly affected by a tendency to create and maintain a consistent cognitive state with respect to his evaluations of himself. This is called the self-consistency motive. The basic idea, initially advanced by Lecky (1945), is that people develop pictures of themselves which represent the basic axioms of their life theories. It is argued that individuals with a high self-esteem find positive evaluations from others consistent and negative evaluation inconsistent, while individuals with low self-esteem would find negative evaluations consistent, but positive evaluations inconsistent. Various reasons are given for this cognitive tendency including economy in the organization of one's perceptions (Heider, 1958), the reduction of dissonance (Festinger, 1954), predictability in relationships with others (Newcomb, 1961; Secord & Backman, 1965), or avoiding cognitions with conflicting implications for action (Jones & Gerard, 1967).

ii. Self-Esteem theorists:

These theorists imply that the individual needs to bear favourable attitudes towards himself. He is motivated by this need to enhance his self-evaluation

and to increase, maintain, or confirm his feelings of personal satisfaction, worth, and effectiveness. They argue that the more this need is frustrated the more strongly the individual will wish to have it satisfied (Maslow, 1956; Kaplan, 1975). Since low self-esteem individuals would be more hungry for and yet more frustrated in their needs for positive self-evaluations, they should respond more favourably to positive evaluations from others and respond in a more directed and hostile way to failure than would individuals high in self-esteem.

The self-esteem motive is said to be the normal outcome of the human infant's early dependency upon adult human beings for satisfaction of his basic biological needs. On the basis of this initial dependency the human being successively develops needs for the presence of other human beings, the expression of positive (and the avoidance of negative) attitudes toward himself by other human beings, and the experience of positive (and the avoidance of negative) self-attitudes.

#### 3:4. Overview.

The views of the important theorists discussed above have important implications for understanding the

development of self-esteem in children. These views lead us to conclude that the self-esteem of a child is a product of social interaction. There is no self-esteem at birth; only gradually in the course of maturation and interaction, does the self-esteem emerge. The theorists suggest certain general principles of self-concept formation: reflected appraisals, social comparison, self-attribution and identity salience. They also suggest that how these general principles of self-esteem formation operate within the social groups in which the individual resides is also important. The three most important social groups which constitute the social reality of the child are: the family; the school; and the community.

The theorists greatly emphasise the role of family and particularly the parents in the formulation of the child's self-esteem. The family is a primary unit influencing the child's development. It is virtually his only place of learning until school days. Within the family the child has his first experience of self and self-esteem. The parent-child interaction indicates to the child as to whether he is wanted or unwanted, worthy or unworthy. These experiences

convey to the child the opinion of his parents towards him. If he believes that they think well of him, then the child is likely to think well of himself. As parents are present most consistently in the important early years of the child, when he has physical, emotional and social dependence on them, they are in a unique position to influence the child's learning. Thus, parents are not only able to impart social standards, values and ideals to the child, but are also able to influence the child's knowledge about himself. These serve as important appraisers of the child's success or failure and also serve powerful models for their child. Thus, the early parent-child interactions, because of their primacy and persistence, are seen as a very important source for the formation of the self-esteem of the child.

The other most important social group which forms the social reality of the child is the school. The school's function is the transmission of knowledge to the child, in order to prepare him for the effective performance of adult social roles. (The term knowledge is used in a broad sense to include not only facts or objective truth, but also norms, values, attitudes, and orientations). Schools are the primary setting within which teachers, pupils and other personnel carry out

their assigned functions.

One aspect of the school system which bears very directly on self-esteem is that of evaluation. In the school the child experiences more systematic evaluations than he receives at home. The teacher's approval or disapproval, as well as the school reports, form an important part of the public, systematic and clear indications of an important aspect of the child's worth. These evaluations of his performance and adjustment at school result in experiences of success or failure and thus, contribute to his self-esteem.

The society as a whole and the child's reference group (age, sex and race) in particular plays an important role in the development of the child's self-esteem. Children come to learn about themselves by comparing themselves with others. This process of social-evaluation leads to positive, neutral or negative self-ratings relative to the standard employed for comparison. This means that the standard or the 'others' (reference group) used for comparison by the child are important in determining his self-esteem. This has special significance for the formation of the self-esteem of the minority child, as this suggests

that the standards of evaluation which the minority child uses has important consequences for his self-esteem. Some theorists maintain that children compare themselves with those with whom they identify. They are the ones with whom they are in actual association in sustained social relations. Thus, the standards and the values of the child's reference group i.e. the group he identifies with, is important for the formulation of his self-esteem.

Although the parental-behaviour, the school's evaluation and the society's values and standards all contribute to the development of the child's self-esteem, how they might influence his self-esteem depends on his perception of social-reality. It is the subjective perception of the child, the way in which he constructs the reality of his physical and interpersonal environment which is more important for the formulation of his self-esteem than the objective features of the environment. Thus, the child's perception and interpretation of his parents' behaviour, his perception of his performance at school and his subjective judgement of his reference group, all play an important role in the formulation of his self-esteem.

In the following chapter we will survey the research literature related to the parental-behaviour, school achievement and the ethnic status of the child.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### REVIEW OF RESEARCH LITERATURE

Introduction: In this chapter we will review the previous findings of the empirical studies dealing with: (1) the relationship between parental child-rearing behaviours and the self-esteem of the child; (2) the relationship between academic achievement and the self-esteem of the child and (3) the self-esteem of the ethnic minorities and the relationship between ethnic identity, preference and the self-esteem of the child.

#### 4:1. Parental Child-Rearing Behaviour and the Self-Esteem of the Child

Probably no relationship is more powerful than that which exists between parent and child. How a child ends up depends in large measure on how the child starts out, and the starting point is always with parents. Parents are the first and the most important significant others for the child (Haller & Woelfel, 1974). Parents serving as a model and as sources of reinforcements, are in a unique position to mould and

shape the child's ideas and feelings and the kind of person he is. The child's conception of himself is in part a product of the long, intense and intimate interaction with parents, so it seems reasonable to expect that parental child-rearing behaviour would play an important part in the development of the child's self-esteem.

The generally accepted premise in the psychological literature that the parents play an important role in the development of the child's self-esteem has been often examined and attempts have been made to identify specific parental behaviour which relate to the child's self-esteem. Studies investigating the relationship between parental child-rearing practices and the child's self-esteem have included subjects ranging from pre-school to high school. It is also observed that there are considerable variations in measurement procedures utilized by investigators. Regarding variations in measurement procedures, it has been observed that both qualitative (interview schedule etc.) and quantitative methods (questionnaires and rating scales etc.) have been used. It is also observed that perceived<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) As perceived by the child and reported by him.

parental behaviour as well as reported<sup>(2)</sup> parental behaviours have been considered by researchers while investigating the relationship between parental behaviour and the self-esteem of the child. Investigators also differ widely in the meaning they each apply to a particular term that they are attempting to study. In his survey of research literature on parent-child interaction Martin points out:

"A single construct is labelled differently by different authors and different constructs are identified as being the same by various investigators".

(1975, p.469).

In spite of these difficulties, we can draw broad conclusions with respect to the research findings on parental child-rearing behaviour and the child's self-esteem. In order to draw these conclusions the various methodologies used by the investigators are disregarded. The characteristics of the subjects are also ignored for the purpose of seeking any consistency in data across age-group, between the sexes or among

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(2) The behaviour that the parent reports to follow

socio-economic levels. The chief conclusion that has been reached here is that parent child-rearing styles is a key variable affecting the development of the self-esteem of the children. Research literature consistently points to certain parental behaviours which are influential in the development of the offspring's self-esteem - primarily to parental support, control protection and method of control. We will review the important research findings in relation to each of these parental variables separately.

A. Parental Support:

Most of the studies investigating the relationship between parental child-rearing behaviour and the self-esteem of the child indicate that parental support is one of the important parental variables which influence the self-esteem of the child.

The variables of parental support have been given a large number of labels in the research literature (nurturance; love; warmth; acceptance; affection; interest and support etc., - see Table 4:1) but the connotation and denotation attached to the different labels have been relatively similar. Parental support

is defined as:

"that behaviour of the parent toward a child that makes the child feel comfortable in the presence of the parent and confirms in the child's mind that he is basically accepted and approved as a person by the parent".

Thomas et al., (1974, p.11).

This definition is consistent with the connotations and denotations attached to wider number of symbols referring to such phenomena (Rollins & Thomas, 1975).

The most important factor identified by this definition is the 'acceptance' of the child by the parents, which was recorded by Stott (1939). He observed that when adolescents come from homes where there was acceptance and mutual confidence between parents and children, the child thought more positively about himself. Similarly Mistry (1960) found that emotional security with parents is essential for the development of positive self-concept. He concluded that where the spirit of the child's home was one of warmth, mutual respect and consideration the child developed a healthy self-concept of himself.

TABLE 4:1

Labels Frequently Used for Two Dimensions of Parental  
Behaviour.

CONTROL ATTEMPTS	SUPPORT
Authoritative	Acceptance
Authoritarian	Affection
Autonomy	Hostile
Coercion	Love
Control	Neglect
Demanding	Nurturance
Democratic	Rejection
Discipline	Support
Dominance	Warmth
Induction	
Permissive	
Power	
Power Assertion	
Pressure	
Protective	
Punishment	
Restrictive	
Strictness	

Adopted from Rollins, B.C. et. al., 1979.

Schwartz (1966) found that children who had high self-concept had mothers who reported affectionate warmth towards their children. Similarly Baumrind (1967) in a study of middle class pre-school children, concluded that parents of the most mature and self-assured boys and girls were notably loving and understanding.

In a well known study, Rosenberg (1966) investigated the conditions associated with high and low self-esteem in over 5,000 adolescent boys, drawn from schools in New York State. He found that it was the amount of parental attention and concern that was strongly associated with levels of self-esteem and not the broader social context as indexed by such variables as social class and ethnic group membership. He established that adolescent boys who have closer relationships with their fathers are higher in self-esteem than are those with more distant, impersonal relationships. Rosenberg found high self-esteem to be related to parental interest in the child and concluded that indifference of parents would have negative effects for the self-esteem of the child.

One of the best-known studies in this area is that of Coopersmith (1967) who attempted to study the antecedents of self-esteem. He investigated the parental attitudes and practices associated with self-esteem in 10-12 year-old middle class boys. A total of 85 boys were identified who consistently fell into one of the three self-esteem groups (high, medium and low) on self-esteem inventory and teacher behavioral ratings. Maternal interviews and questionnaires and son's questionnaires provided the data on parental socialisation practices. Coopersmith found that high self-esteem among boys was associated with parental warmth. Similarly Bachman (1970), while investigating the relationship between parental variables and the child's self-esteem in a national sample of tenth grade boys, found that 'good' family relations - characterised by such behaviours as affection between family members and fairness was positively associated with the self-esteem of the child.

The view that supportive parents are important for the high self-esteem of the child received further support from Sears (1970). Studying a group of 12 year-old boys and girls she found that high self-concept was associated with high parental warmth and

acceptance. Sears' results were similar to the earlier findings, that parental support is associated with high self-esteem, while coldness and rejection is associated with the opposite. Another interesting and important finding of Sears was that it made little or no difference for either boys or girls whether parental warmth and affection was exhibited by the mother or father or both. As long as the child experienced support of any one of his parents his self-esteem would be realistic.

i. Perceived Parental Support.

Some research studies examined the child-rearing practices of the parents from the child's perspective. The emphasis in these studies was on the child's perception of his parents' child-rearing behaviour and not on the parental attitude or professed practices of child rearing, or on retrospective reports about how the child was treated while growing up. The findings of these studies adds further evidence to the self-report measures (Coopersmith op. cit.) and the interview data studies (Sears op. cit.) by using another perspective.

Gecas (1972), in a study of male and female

adolescents, found that perceived parental support was important for the male and female child. Similarly Comstock (1973), while investigating the relationship between perceived parental behaviour and 14 year-old girls' self-esteem, found that perceived parental support was important for the self-esteem of the girls. Another study of importance is that of Graybill (1978). He investigated the relationship between perceived parental support and the self-esteem among 52 children over a wide age range (7-15 years). His findings were consistent with earlier findings, and he concluded that children with high self-esteem view their mothers as accepting and understanding. Similarly, Saavedra (1980) reports that Puerto Rican adolescents with high self-esteem view their parents as being highly supportive. A recent study conducted by Peterson, Southworth & Peters (1983) provided further evidence. They examined the relationship between children's perceptions of maternal child rearing behaviour and a measure of children's self-esteem within a low-income sample. The combined sample of 2,194 fifth and sixth grade children was surveyed. The Bronfenbrenner Parent Behavior Questionnaire was used to measure the children's perception of their mothers' loving behaviour. The children's self-esteem was measured by the Lipsitt Scale. They reported that the child's

perception of their mother's loving behaviour was positively related with the child's self-esteem. These results were consistent with previous research findings based on predominantly middle class samples.

ii. Cross Cultural Studies.

There are very few cross-cultural studies done in this area. One of the earliest cross-cultural studies available on this issue is that of Ziller et al., (1968). They investigated differences in family relations between Indian (Asian) and American children and the implications they have for the children's self-esteem. Ziller presumed that because of the supportive extended family system, Indian children in his sample would have higher self-esteem than the American sample. He used the topological Self Social Construct Test to measure the self-esteem of his sample, and found that the Indian sample had higher self-esteem and closer identification with parents and teachers than the American sample. The Indian sample also showed higher self-acceptance. These findings are important as they point to cultural differences in parental support and their implications for the child's self-esteem. The results, though extremely interesting, must be regarded with caution as the self-

esteem in this study was measured by the Topological Self Social Construct Test, which is valid only for cultures that read and order their qualities in a left to right sequence (Burns, 1979). Ziller overlooked the fact that the Indian child in his sample reads and orders his qualities in a right to left sequence and therefore his (Indian child's) self-esteem can not be properly assessed by this test<sup>(1)</sup>.

Thomas, Gecas, Weigert & Rooney (1974), in a comparative study of high school children from two different cultural backgrounds - American and Latin American - investigated the relationship between perceived parental support and the children's self-esteem, and found a positive relationship between parental support and the adolescent's self-esteem. However, they reported some sex differences as well as cultural and religious differences. The relationship between parental support and self-esteem was stronger for females in the American sample but, curiously, it was stronger for males in the two Latin samples. A religious difference was evident in the relative

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(1) It was for this reason that the Topological Self Social Construct Test was avoided as an instrument for measuring the child's self-esteem in this

influence of maternal and paternal support. Maternal support was more strongly related to self-esteem than paternal support in the Protestant sample. In contrast to this pattern, the opposite was observed for the Catholic sample. These findings again point to the importance of cultural background for the relationship between parental support and self-esteem.

Rohner's (1975) cross cultural survey results, which were based on a survey of several cultures, add further evidence to the relationship between parental acceptance and positive self-esteem of the child, as do the results of a comparative study (Rohner et al., 1980) of American and Mexican children. In another comparative study, Hahn, B.C. & Rohner (1980) examined the relationship between perceived parental acceptance and the Korean (immigrant) and American children's self-esteem. They, like previous researchers, found a positive relationship between perceived parental acceptance and self-esteem for both the Korean and the American child in their sample.

The results of cross-cultural studies indicate

that there is a positive relationship between parental support and the child's self-esteem. However, sex differences are observed in this relationship (Thomas et al., 1974).

iii. Sex Differences, Parental Support and Self-Esteem.

The sex-related differences in the relationship between parental support and self-esteem indicate that the impact that parental support can have on a child's self-esteem are influenced by the sex of the child as well as the parent. Studies focusing on sex differences in this relationship report inconsistent results. First, some studies conclude that parental support is more important for the self-esteem of boys, while others note that it is more vital for the self-esteem of the girls. Second, some research findings indicate that the behaviour of the same sex parent is more important for the child while others fail to observe this.

Dickstein & Posner (1978), in a small scale study using only 21 boys and 21 girls aged 8-11, explored the parent-child relationship and the influence it exerts on the child's self esteem. The quality of the child's relationship with his parents was based on criteria of

interest and involvement with the child, and was measured by a questionnaire designed for this study. Separate analysis for boys and girls revealed important sex differences. First, the data for the boys showed a strong relationship between self-esteem and parental behaviour, while for the girls the relationship between parental behaviour and self-esteem was not significant. Second, the relationship with same sex parent parent's behaviour was more important for both the boy's and girl's self-esteem (i.e. mother's behaviour for girl's self-esteem and father's behaviour for boy's self-esteem).

Similar findings were also reported earlier by Comstock (1973) for girls and Crase, Foss and Colbert (1981) for both boys and girls. These findings, however, were not consistent with the conclusions drawn by Sears (op. cit.) who concluded that it made little or no difference for the self-esteem of the child (boys and girls) whether parental support was exhibited by mother or father or both.

The greater importance of parental support for the son's self-esteem was confirmed by Growe (1980), and by Thomas et al., (1974) who earlier found that perceived

parental support was more important for the self-esteem of the Latin American boys than the girls. Fields (1981) found similar results while investigating the relationship between mother's support (affection and companionship) and the self-esteem of the black American child.

However, some studies report that parental support is more important for the self-esteem of the girls. Thomas et al., (1974) in his cross-cultural study found that perceived parental support was more important for the self-esteem of the American girls than the American boys in his sample. He also found that the perceived mother's support was more important for both the boys and girls in his Protestant sample than perceived father's support. On the contrary he found that perceived father's support was more important for the Catholic child's (both boys and girls) self-esteem than their perceived mother's support.

Elrod & Crase (1980) extended the investigation in this area by examining the relationship of reported behaviour of both parents to the self-esteem of children with sex of child as a variable. The subjects in their study were 49 boys and 45 girls enrolled in six nursery schools or day care centers and

their parents. A modified version of Woolner's Preschool Self-Concept Test (Woolner, 1966) was administered to the children. A parental behaviour inventory to assess the child focused behaviours of parents was completed by both parents of each child. The analysis of the resulting data revealed that (a) the mothers' behaviour correlated significantly with the daughters' self-esteem but not with the sons, (b) that the fathers' behaviour was not important for the sons' as well as daughters' self-esteem. This indicates that only the mothers' behaviour is important for the self-esteem of the girls while neither parents behaviour is important for the self-esteem in boys. These results are contradictory to the earlier findings (Sears op. cit.; Coopersmith op. cit. and Dickstein & Posner op. cit.). One might speculate that the same behaviour of mothers and fathers is perceived differently by sons and daughters and so is perceived as having different meanings. Perhaps these divergent perceptions are the results of early differential treatment of boys and girls by mothers and fathers? If that is so then we can speculate that sex related differences in the relationship between parental-perceived behaviour and the self-esteem of the child would be different for children with different cultural

backgrounds, for cultures differ in differential treatment of their male and female child.

Conclusion.

The results of the research literature concerning the consequences in children of parental support are quite consistent. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that parental support has a significant and positive relationship with the children's self-esteem. Conversely it has been documented again and again that parental indifference and lack of parental support would have debilitating effects on the child's self-esteem. However, there is disagreement between investigators regarding the impact that parental support can have on the self-esteem of the male compared to the female child. There is also a discrepancy in the results, as to whether the behaviour of both the mother and the father is equally important for the self-esteem of their offspring or whether the behaviour of the same sex parent or parent of the opposite sex is more important for the development of high self-esteem in the child (Sears, 1970; Rosenberg, 1965; Mussen et al., 1963; Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Elrod & Crase, 1980 and Growe, 1980). These variations in research findings among different studies may be due to

the difference in the cultural and sub-cultural backgrounds from which the samples for these studies were drawn. Parents from different cultural and sub-cultural backgrounds tend to vary in the differential treatment of their male and female child. Moreover the same amount of parental support may actually be perceived differently by the male and female child.

B. Parental Control and Self-Esteem.

The other most important variable of parent-child rearing behaviour known to influence the development of the child's self-esteem is parental control. Like support, control has been considered by nearly every researcher attempting to investigate the relationship between parental child-rearing behaviour and the self-esteem of the child.

The label "control" has been used extensively in the literature (see Table 4:1), but a careful checking of both conceptual and operational meanings of this variable indicates that it typically refers to the amount or degree of parental control. We define parental control as the potential that the parents have of compelling the child to do what they want. The core

effect of the control dimension is the communicative and informational content it has for the child with respect to the family and his social group's prescriptions about appropriate and inappropriate behaviour expected of him as a member of a group and the socio-cultural system (Thomas et al., 1974). Different cultural groups as well as parents within any culture are seen as varying in the amount of behavioural rules and regulations they place upon the child who is being socialised into the socio-cultural system.

Parental control must be differentiated from the method of control i.e. the specific disciplining method used by the parent for the socialisation of the child (Rollins et al., 1979 & Maccoby, 1980). Investigations in the area of parent-child interaction have shown that how parental control is most likely to effect the child also depends on what specific disciplinary techniques the parents use (Cartwright, 1959; French & Raven, 1959; Goode, 1972). This means that the manner in which the parents enforce their rules and demands is as important as the number of rules and regulations (i.e. control) imposed by them. This suggests that while examining the effects of parental control on the self-esteem of the child, we

need to consider both the amount of parental control as well as the method of control used by the parents. Researchers investigating the relationship between parental control and self-esteem have sometimes failed to distinguish between parental control and method of control. They have sometimes assumed that control and method of control can be considered as one variable and this at times has led to confusion.

If methodological differences are not taken into consideration, research studies relating to parental control and self-esteem of the child can be divided into two groups according to their findings (a) research studies that indicate a positive relationship between parental control and self-esteem; (b) other studies (see Table 4:2).

i. Studies Showing a Positive Relation Between Self-Esteem and Parental Control.

The best known study in this area is that of Coopersmith (op. cit.). He found that 12 year-old, middle class American boys, who are high in self-esteem, have parents who exercise a lot of control. His findings are based on four lines of evidence obtained from the mother. Two suggest that mothers of

high self-esteem boys espouse less permissive values. These mothers are more likely to agree with the statement "Children are actually happier under strict training", and they are more likely to indicate that they enforce rules and regulations carefully and consistently (measured by the number and extensiveness of parental regulations). Also, another further two lines of evidence indicate that these mothers actually have more control (although this does not necessarily imply that they exercise control more frequently). In general, Coopersmith concluded that permissiveness results in low self-esteem and that high self-esteem is associated with high parental control.

Coopersmith's findings were confirmed by the unpublished work of Samuels (1969) who, working with young children (5 years old) from middle and lower class homes, found that parental control is associated with high self-esteem. Similar results were found by Comstock (op. cit.) who examined the relationship between perceived parental control and self-esteem of 14 year-old American girls.

TABLE 4:2

Relationship of Parental Control and the Self-Esteem of the Child

Study	Sample Characteristics			Sex	Parental Control		
	Group	Age	No		Mother	Father	Parents
Comstock, 1973	USA	14	72	F	+	+	
Coopersmith, 1967	"	11	85	M	+		+
Cruse et al., 1981	"	10-11		M	0	0	
				F	0	0	
Fields, 1981	Black American	10-13	180	M	+		
	American		173	F	0	0	
Gecas, 1969, 1971	Latin American	16	620	{M	0	0	
	American			{			
Graybill, 1978	USA	7-15	52	{F	0	0	
				{M			
Grove, 1981	"	12	62	{F	0	0	
			61	M	0	0	
Mote, 1966	"	11	79	F	-		
			78	M	0		
Peterson et al., 1983	"	11-12	21.94	F	0		
Samuels, 1969	"	5	93	M+F	+		+
Thomas et al., 1974	Latin American	16	740	M	0		+1
	American						
	American		718	F	0	0	0

M = Male

F = Female

+ positive relationship with self-esteem  
 - negative " " " "  
 0 no " " " "

+1 only for the American Protestant sample.

Further evidence was provided in a recent study by Peterson, Southworth & Peters (1983), who examined this relationship in 5th and 6th grade American children from low income homes. They found that perceived maternal control is positively related with the self-esteem of the child.

ii. Other Studies.

Some research studies examining the relationship between parental control and self-esteem found negative or no relationship between the two variables while some researchers report sex-related differences and conclude that the relationship between parental control and self-esteem is influenced by the sex of the child as well as the parent.

Gecas (op. cit.) while examining this relationship observed that perceived parental control had no relationship with the self-esteem of the adolescent boys and girls in his sample. These results were supported by Graybill (1978) who found no relationship between perceived maternal control and 7-15 year-old children's self-esteem. Similar results were reported by Toto (1973); Crase et al., (1981) and Mote (1966).

Grove (1980) while examining the relationship between the mother's controlling behaviour and the child's self-esteem, reported sex differences. He found that there was no relationship between the mother's control and the son's self-esteem but there was a negative relationship between the mother's control and the daughter's self-esteem. These results indicate that the mother's control is perceived differently by the male and the female child, and can have adverse effects on the self-esteem of the female child.

Sex differences were also reported by Fields (1981) who examined the relationship between perceived mother's control (monitoring behaviour) and the self-esteem of 10-13 year-old black American children. He records a positive relationship between self-esteem and mother's control for the sons but no relationship between self-esteem and mother's control for the daughters.

Thomas et al., (1974) in a cross-cultural study of American and Latin American adolescents, found that there were sex differences. They found that there was no relationship between perceived parental control and self-esteem of the females (in both the groups) while

there was a positive relationship between father's control and the self-esteem of the child only among the Protestant sample. This is interesting as it again indicates that the child's cultural background is likely to influence his perception of his parental behaviour and the consequences it has for his self-evaluation.

Research studies investigating the relationship between parental control and the self-esteem of the child have given conflicting results. Some studies indicate that there is a positive relationship between parental control and the self-esteem of the child (Coopersmith, 1967; Comstock, 1973; Samuels, 1969 & Peterson, 1983), while other studies indicate that there is no relationship or a negative relationship between parental control and self-esteem (Gecas, 1971 & Thomas et al., 1974). It is interesting to observe that research findings which show a significant relationship between parental control and the child's self-esteem were carried out on the Anglo American samples, while studies which failed to find any significant relationship between the parental control and self-esteem used subjects other than the Anglo American children. This suggests that the cultural

background of the child plays a vital role in determining the effects of the parental control behaviour for the self-esteem of the child.

C. Parental Methods of Control.

Few reseachers have distinguished between parental control and parental methods of control while examining the relationship between parent's child rearing behaviour and self-esteem of the child. This at times has led to confusion (Rollins et al., 1979). Parental methods of control are defined: as behaviour of the parent towards the child with the intent of directing the behaviour of the child in a manner desirable to the parents. Most studies of parental discipline, dominance, restriction, or coercion have used connotations and denotations congruent with this definition (Rollins et al., 1979). Parental methods of control can be expressed in such behaviour as giving commands, directions, instructions, suggestions and punishments to the child as well as making requests, imposing rules and restrictions, and providing explanations for the rules and restrictions.

Parental methods of control can be divided into three main types: (i) power assertion, (ii) induction and (iii) love withdrawal (Hoffman, 1970; Hoffman &

Saltzstein, 1967 and Rollins et al., 1979).

(i) Power assertion is defined as behaviour of the parent which results in considerable external pressure on the child to behave according to the parents desires. It involves such parental behaviours as "physical punishment, deprivation of material objects or privilages, the direct application of force, or the threat of any of these" in situations where parents are attempting to influence their child's behaviour (Hoffman, 1970, p.286).

(ii) Induction: rather than apply external force, some parents attempt to get the child to behave as the parent desires by inducing internal forces in the child to behave as the parent desires. "Induction is defined as behaviour by a parent with the intent of obtaining voluntary compliance of parental desires by avoiding a direct conflict of wills with the child" (Rollin et al., 1979, p.322). It is seen as a sum of the frequencies of such parental behaviour in which the parent gives explanations or reasons for desired behaviour, often in the form of pointing out to the child consequences of the behaviour for self and for others. It may also involve praise, compromise and mediation.

(iii) Love-Withdrawal is defined as the behaviour of the parent indicating disapproval of the child's behaviour with the implication that love will not be restored until the child changes his behaviour. It includes such parental behaviour as ignoring or isolating the child as well as explicit indications of rejection, disappointment or coldness in response to something the child has done that displeases the parent (Aronfreed, 1969).

Studies examining the relationship between parental method of control and the self-esteem of the child are few. Coopersmith (1967), while examining the antecedents of the self-esteem of the 12 year-old male American child, divided methods of control into two categories - negative and positive. He defines them as follows:-

"Positive techniques consist of rewarding, praising and supporting the child in desired activities; negative techniques are reflected in physical punishment, isolation and withdrawal of love" (1967, p. 190-91). He found that there is a positive relationship between parental attitudes toward the use of positive techniques and their children's self-

esteem. Coopersmith concluded that harsh methods of control i.e. power assertion and withdrawal of love were associated with low self-esteem while positive techniques (induction) was associated with high self-esteem in the male child.

Consistent with Coopersmith's findings Sears (1970) found that for both the male and the female child use of induction by the parents is associated with high self-esteem in the child. This received further support from Graybill (1978); Grove (1980); Crase et al., (1980) and Peterson et al., (1983). They found that mothers of the high self-esteem group did not use drastic forms of punishment (i.e. love withdrawal). However, Watkins (1976) working with an Australian sample failed to find any relationship between parental method of control and the self-esteem of the child. Similarly, unpublished works of Mote (1966) and Samuels (1969) suggest that there is no relationship between parental method of control and the self-esteem of the child.

Taken together, research studies indicate that parental methods of control such as power - assertion and love withdrawal have adverse effects on the self-esteem of the child.

D. Parental Protection.

In attempting to clarify the relationship between self-esteem and parental child rearing behaviour, researchers have examined the protective behaviour of the parents. Protective behaviour of the parents is defined as the behaviour of the parent that shelters the child from events, experiences and goals that the parents believe to be overly demanding and dangerous for the child. It restricts the child's range and level of activities to those that the parent deems to be safe, realistic and appropriate. The underlying theme of restriction apparently represents a concern about the dangers to which the child is vulnerable. Protective parents are seen as encouraging dependence and discouraging independence (from parents) among their children. Some researchers have even referred to this variable as 'independency training' (Coopersmith, 1967; Fields, 1980).

Studies examining the relationship between parental protective behaviour and the self-esteem of the child have found sex related differences. Some researchers (Coopersmith, op. cit., Grove, 1980 and Field, 1980) found that parental protective behaviour

had adverse effects for the self-esteem of the male child while the same parental behaviour had a positive relationship with the self-esteem of the female child (Grove op. cit.; Fields op. cit.). The sex-related differences indicate that parental protective behaviour is differentially valued by the male and the female child. Perhaps this is because of the cultural attitude that boys should be more independent and self-reliant than girls. Moreover, it is more in accord with the cultural norm that girls need greater protection than boys. This indicates that the perception of and the relationship of parental protective behaviour with the self-esteem of the male and the female child is bound to be influenced by the cultural background of the child.

#### 4:2. Self-Esteem and Academic Achievement.

Besides the family, the school also plays an important role in the formation of the self-esteem of the child. Although the school may interact with the child's self-esteem in more than one way, for the purposes of this study we focus our attention on the school marks (academic achievement). The child's school marks are important, because they are one of the few public indicators of the child's performance.

The relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement is known to be reciprocal (Wiley, 1979). Some theorists believe that high academic performance (or achievement) would lead to greater self-esteem. Conversely, other theorists are of the view that high levels of self-esteem will contribute to better academic achievement. For example, the self-attributionists (Bandura, Bem, Kelly) believe that academic success could lead to differences in self attribution: by observing his good performance the child tends to view himself with respect and admiration. He, thus, draws conclusions about his own worth from the observation of his own behaviour. The social interactions (Mead, Cooley) claim that the variations in academic achievement would lead to variations in approval or disapproval from significant others, thereby resulting in variations in self-esteem. Conversely some theorists believe that self-esteem influences academic performance. For example, according to consistency theories (Lecky, 1945; Festinger, 1957) low self-esteem leads a person to act in such a way as to maintain congruence between self-esteem and objective behaviour, even if it means poor performance. Moreover, low self-esteem results in anxiety and depression which impair concentration or

lower the desire to put in the effort needed for achievement (Wylie, 1979). For example, as expressed by McCandlers:

"It can be predicted that poor self-concepts, implying as they so often do a lack of confidence in facing and mastering the environment, will accompany deficiency in one of the most vital of the child's areas of accomplishments - his performance in school  
(1967, p. 170).

Whatever the view taken, one arrives at the same conclusions: that there exists a positive relationship between self-esteem and academic-achievement.

The reviews of theorists were confirmed by Jersild (1952), Combs (1965) in America and Stains (1958) in Britain. Their research on classroom practices indicated the important relationship between self-esteem and academic performance. Since then several studies have been conducted on this issue. Most of these studies yield similar results (Purkey, 1970; Wylie, 1979 and Burns, 1982). For the purpose of this thesis only the findings of major studies bearing on our problem will be reviewed. These studies can be

divided into three groups: (A) Studies which examine the relationship between self-esteem and academic performance; (B) Studies examining the self-esteem differences between achieving and non-achieving pupils; (C) Studies which report sex linked differences in the relationship between self-esteem and academic-achievement.

A. Studies Examining Relationship Between Self-Esteem and Academic Achievement.

Several studies have been conducted which examine the relationship between self-esteem and the academic achievement of the child. In most of these studies various measures of global self-esteem were used. The academic achievement was determined by the child's grade point averages (GPA) or the evaluation of the teacher on reading ability on any other school subjects.

One of the such earlier studies was conducted by Coopersmith (1967). He reports an  $r = 0.30$ , significant at the 0.05 level, between ten to twelve year old white, middle class American boys' Self Esteem Inventory (SEI) scores and grade point average.

Similarly Williams and Cole (1968), in a study of 80 sixth graders found significant correlations ( $r = 0.33$ ) between Tennessee Self-Concept Scale measures and achievement in basic subjects and emotional adjustment. Gill & D'Oyley's (1970) large scale study of 1424 ninth-grade students in five Toronto high-schools confirmed the earlier results. He obtained significant correlation of 0.42 for boys and 0.35 for girls between an idiosyncratic perceived self scale and final average marks. Bachman (1970) supported earlier findings. He, in a large scale study of tenth grade boys in a public high-school in America, found a significant correlation of 0.23 between an idiosyncratic self-esteem score based on Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale and self-reported school grades. Similarly Rosenberg and Simmons (1972), in a large scale study of black and white American children in grades 3 through to 12 in public schools in America, found a strong association between marks in school and scores on their idiosyncratic self-esteem scale.

An analysis of Bachman & O'Malley (1977) based on a sample of about 1600 young men from the high-school class of 1969, showed that self-esteem is positively correlated with academic success. In a further study, the same two workers (O'Malley & Bachman, 1979)

questioned over 8,000 male and female students and found similar results. They also reported that educational accomplishments undergo a reduction in importance for self-esteem after leaving school. This suggests that academic achievement is important for the self-esteem of early teens. Work done in other societies, for example Australia, showed similar results. Ellerman (1980), studying Australian primary-school children, found that children doing poorly in school increasingly come to hold a more negative view of themselves.

In a recent study by Revicki (1982), a positive relationship between self-concept and achievement was reported for American school children. In another recent large-scale study, Chapman et al. (1984) in a sample of 800, 9 year-old children in New Zealand found that self-concept is closely associated with school achievement. These results further support the belief that there is a positive relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement.

Researchers investigating the relationship between reading ability and self-esteem scores also report significant correlations between the two variables.

For example Trowbridge (1972) investigated the relationship between Self-Esteem Inventory scores and the reading level scores for children within different socio-economic levels. She found a significant correlation ( $r = 0.33$ ) for the children from low socio-economic levels and significant correlation ( $r = 0.38$ ) for other children in her sample, thus showing that there is a significant relationship between reading ability and self-esteem scores. Further evidence was provided by Rosenthal (1973) who worked with dyslexic children. He reports the mean Self-Esteem Inventory score of dyslexics, 61.8, which differed significantly from that of controls, SEI mean scores of 75.5.

In an earlier study conducted by Wattenberg & Clifford (1964) in Britain, they showed that self-conception can affect reading ability at a very early age. In a sample of 128 kindergarten students, they found that measures of self-concept and ego-strength made at the beginning of kindergarten were more predictive of reading achievement thirty months later than were measures of intelligence. In other words the self-esteem of the kindergarten pupil was a more accurate indicator of his potential reading skills than his intelligence test scores. Similarly McMichael (1977) in a longitudinal enquiry into the relationship

between reading difficulties and the self-concepts of Scottish children found that measures of self-concept all closely related to levels of reading readiness. Several other studies also report a positive relationship between reading ability and self-esteem in children from grades one to 12 (Bodwin, 1956; Handerson & Long, 1965; Hebert, 1968; Sears, 1970; Greene & Zinkel, 1971; Katzenmeyer & Stenner, 1977; Bridge & Shipman, 1978). There are however a few studies which failed to report any significant relationship between self-evaluation and academic performance (Beebee, 1972; Williams, 1973). These studies are relatively few when compared with the overwhelming number of research findings which indicate a positive relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement (Wylie, 1979; Burns, 1982).

The work of some educational psychologists suggest that academic achievement though related to global self-esteem, is more closely related with self-concept of academic ability (Brookover et al., 1965; Jones & Grieneeks, 1970; Aderson & Johnson, 1971; Kifer, 1973; Mintz & Muller, 1977). There is also evidence that reported self-concept of ability is a better predictor of academic success than is the intelligence quotient

(Morse, 1963; Lamy, 1965; Caplin, 1966; Stenner & Katzenmeyer, 1976 and Chapman, 1984). Research in this general area suggests that realistic standards of excellence, elimination of excessive failure, the creation of conditions that maximise success, and intrinsic motivation all lead to a positive view of self and allow the pupil to profit from new learning experiences. This educational attainment in turn gives the pupil a sense of individual competence in his ability to reach those goals and gain those rewards valued by his reference group. Indeed, Wendland M.M, (1976) found that academic achievement had stronger effects on self-evaluation of competence than either family income or social status.

To sum up, the studies investigating the relationship between self-esteem and the academic achievement of the child generally show that there is a positive relationship between the two variables. However, the array of correlations linking self-esteem level and achievement while positive and significant tends to hover between the region of 0.20 and 0.50, a level which is not all that striking (Burns, 1982). Hence, one can conclude that though the relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement is not 'overwhelming', it is certainly too strong to be

disregarded and must be ranged alongside other usual explanations of parental support, interest etc., if one is to find out why some children have better self-attitudes than others.

B. Self-Esteem Differences Between Academically Achieving and Non-achieving Pupils.

One of the earlier investigators to relate self-esteem with academic achievement was Walsh (1956). In an attempt to discover the personality differences between the academically achieving and non-achieving pupils, she took a sample of middle-class bright boys (rated high on IQ test) of elementary school and divided them into two groups of high and low achievers.

Using boy dolls to assess their self-feelings, she found that low academic achievers consistently portrayed the boy doll as being restricted in actions, and they expressed more negative feelings about themselves than did high academic achievers.

Similarly, Shaw, Edson & Bell (1960) reported that intelligent (rated high on IQ test) academic-under achieving male high-school pupils had more negative self-concepts than equally intelligent but academically achieving pupils.

In an attempt to explore possible relationships between academic under-achievement and self-esteem, Fink (1962) studied a group of older students which comprised of twenty pairs of boys and twenty-four pairs of girls. They were matched for IQ (all in the 90 to 110 range) and each individual student was judged as an under-achiever or achiever depending on whether his marks fell above or below the class average. One achiever and one under-achiever made up each pair. The self-image of each pair was rated as adequate or inadequate by three separate psychologists, based on data from three personality tests. The combined ratings (averages) of the three psychologists showed significant differences between achievers and under-achievers, with achievers being rated as far more adequate in their self-esteem.

Another important investigation in this area was done by Combs (1964) who conducted a study with 16-year-old high-school boys to find out whether academically capable but non-achieving high-school boys tend to see themselves and their relationships with others in ways that differ from those students who make a happier and more successful adjustment to school. All the boys in his sample of 50 had IQs of 115 or higher. He found that under-achievers saw themselves

as less adequate and less acceptable to others. Combs concluded that under-achieving but capable high-school boys differ significantly from achievers in their perception of self, of others and in general and emotional efficiency.

In a study conducted in India, Mehta (1968) investigated the self-concept differences between high-school achievers and under-achievers. All subjects had a score above the 75th percentile on Jolata's Group Test of Mental Ability. Of these subjects, 100 were classified as under-achievers, and 192 as achievers on the basis of marks in the previous annual school examination in compulsory subjects. The self-concept was measured by an idiosyncratic<sup>(1)</sup> inventory. The under-achievers differed significantly from the achievers, being more characterized by inadequacy, instability, and withdrawal, and less by positive attitudes toward achievement and self-confidence.

Some researchers who attempted to find personality differences between 'good' and 'bad' readers at school found significant relationships between poor self-

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(1) This term is used by Wiley (1974, 1979) for tests developed by individual researchers.

esteem and reading disability. Zimmerman & Allegrand (1965), investigated the personality characteristics and attitudes towards achievement of two groups of fourth and fifth grade American children. Subjects in this study consisted of 71 'poor' readers and 82 'good' readers equated as nearly as possible for age, sex, ethnic background and intelligence. The results showed that, compared to the bad reader, the good reader was well adjusted, motivated and striving for success while the bad reader expressed feelings of discouragement, inadequacy and nervousness. These findings are consistent with the results drawn by other researchers in this area.

C. Sex-Differences in the Self-Esteem and Academic Achievement Relationship.

Some studies investigating the relationship between self-esteem and academic-achievement reported sex-linked differences. These sex linked differences however are not in a consistent direction i.e. some research findings indicate that academic achievement is more important for the self-esteem of the girls while others suggest that it is more vital for the self-esteem of boys.

In a study conducted by Primavera, Simon & Primavera (1974) a significant relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement was found for 11 year-old girls in seven academic achievement tests, but only in one test ( $r = 0.25$ ) for boys in the same class. The sex differences observed in this study cannot be accounted for by differences in levels of self-esteem, since self-esteem scores for girls and boys did not differ significantly from each other. These results were similar to the earlier findings of Cotler & Palmer (1970) who found significant correlations between self-regard and teachers' ratings of academic-achievement for girls in grades 4-6, but failed to find any significant correlation between teacher's rating and self-regard for boys in the same grades.

In contrast, Bledose (1964) found significant relationships between self-esteem and academic achievement for boys but not for girls. Similarly, studies examining self-esteem differences between achieving and non-achieving pupils failed to find any significant differences in the self-esteem of the female academic achievers and under-achievers. For example, Shaw & Alves (1963) looked for differences in self-concept between a group of achievers and under-

achievers. These two groups of 11-12 year-olds were equated with respect of IQs. Significant differences were observed between the self-concepts of the male achievers and under-achievers while no self-concept differences were observed between the female achievers and under-achievers. These results were confirmed by a study reported by Katz (1967, 1976). In experimental studies with black elementary school children, Katz (op. cit.) found that academically unsuccessful boys were more critical and less positive in overall self-evaluations than academically successful boys. There were, however, no differences observed among the high and low achieving girls. These sex differences suggest that academic failure is more central to a boy's self-evaluation than to a girl.

Some studies observed significant relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement for boys and girls in their samples, however, they reported that this relationship was stronger for boys than girls (Gill & D'Oyleys, 1970; and Ellerman, 1980). The results of these studies strongly indicate a need for re-evaluation of data in this area with reference to sex.

The inconsistent sex differences observed in the relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement are perhaps due to the different expectations for boys and girls in different societies, especially in terms of academic progress and ambition. The sex related differences could also be due to the different methods used by the researchers. Whatever the reason, contradictory sex related differences suggest that this relationship must be further investigated. We plan to examine the sex related differences in this relationship by investigating it in children coming from two different cultural backgrounds.

Taken together the results of the studies examining the relationship between self-esteem and academic-achievement indicate:-

- 1) that there is a significant difference in the self-esteem of the academically achieving and non-achieving pupils.
- 2) that there is a positive relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement.

- 3) that there are inconsistent findings with regards to the importance of academic-attainment for the self-esteem of boys and girls.

#### 4:3. Ethnic Status and Self-Esteem.

Apart from the family and school the social milieu to which the child belongs has important consequences for his self-esteem. In a multi-racial society children become conscious of different racial/ethnic groups at a very early age. While the messages about racial/ethnic groups that the majority and minority<sup>(1)</sup> child receives are the same, their implications are radically different. Whereas majority's children are encouraged by these messages to value and identify with their own ethnic group and indeed to deem it superior, minority children are confronted with an image of their group which derogatory. According to the principle of reflected appraisals, social comparison and self-attribution (as discussed in the previous chapter), the low status of ethnic minorities would result in low self-esteem

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(1) The crucial factor, of course, is status, not considerations of numerical majority or minority.

Social science literature of the 1920's-1940's, which dealt with the effects of minority status on feelings of personal insecurity (Stonequist, 1937; Lewin, 1948), linked minority status and low self-esteem. Notions of personal disorganisation and in-group rejection were developed in discussions of European immigrant populations in U.S.A. and were also applied to analysis of patterns of blacks (Dollard, 1937; Johnson, 1967). It was presumed that the minority child cannot learn what group he belongs to without being involved in the larger pattern of emotions, conflicts and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his reference group. This may lead to the rejection of his ethnic group. The dilemma of misidentification of the minority child and the rejection of his own group has been mainly documented by research with minority and majority children in America.

Beginning with Clark and Clark's (1939, 1940 and 1950) classic studies of racial awareness there has been continued interest and controversy concerning the self-esteem, ethnic identity and preference of majority and minority children in U.S.A. The first evidence that the low-status assigned by the white majority

intrudes on the black minority children's self-esteem came from Clark and Clark's (1939) and Herowitz (1939) classic experiments. It appeared that minority black children were unwilling to specifically identify themselves as black. When the experimenter asked the children to choose between black and white dolls in response to the question: "Give me the doll that looks like you", they found that a third of the children choose the white doll. This was not a perceptual mistake, as nearly all the children had labelled the black and white dolls correctly. Goodman found the same phenomenon, and suggested the following:-

"The relative inaccuracy of Negro identification reflects not simple ignorance of self, but unwillingness or psychological inability to identify with the brown doll because the child wants to look like the white doll" (1946, p.629).

Morland's (1958, 1962) studies showed very similar results and a majority of the black children he interviewed went as far as to say they would 'rather be' white than black. Such 'misidentification' and preference for the white doll was interpreted as racial

misidentification and rejection of ones own racial group and, by implication, low self-esteem. Over the years, numerous studies in the U.S.A. supporting this view have appeared, using dolls, pictures or puppets (Goodman, 1952; Brody, 1963; Landreth & Johnson, 1953). During the same period a great deal of work done with Jewish children (e.g. Chein & Hurwitz, 1950; Fishman, 1955; Harris & Waztson, 1946) while using a variety of different methods, generally confirmed the foregoing picture of minority children's attitudes.

Investigations in other cultural settings suggested that the apparent devaluation by some children of their own ethnic group was not peculiar to American black-white relationships but was more likely to be related to the social norms governing the relative position of groups in a particular society. Thsu Vaughan (1963; 1964a; 1964b), in a number of studies conducted in New Zealand, found that the Maori children were less likely to favour their own race than the Pakeha (white) children were to favour theirs. Greger & Mcpherson's (1966) replication of Clark's study in South Africa showed the pattern of identification and preference among black disadvantaged children similar to the black minority in the U.S.A. Werner & Evan's (1968) study of Mexican children showed

the familiar preference of white figures and substantial amount of outgroup identification.

The implication of research done before and during the 1950's and 1960's is clearly that children belonging to groups which are debased by society have problems of identifying with their own group. This view was summed up by Clark's assertion that:-

"As minority-group children learn the inferior status to which they are assigned and observe that they are usually segregated and isolated from the more privileged members of their society, they react with deep feelings of inferiority and with a sense of personal humiliation. Many of them become confused about their personal worth" (1963, p.63).

However, research findings in the late 1960's and 1970's contradicted the earlier view of misidentification, rejection of his own ethnic group and lowered self-esteem among children of minorities in America.

Greenwald & Oppenheim (1968) in their study of ethnic identification and preferences among black and white children added "mulatto" dolls and found considerably less identification with the out-group (i.e. whites) among black children than previous studies had found. Similarly Harba & Grant (1970) recorded a marked decline in misidentification and white preference in their black subjects, and this was generally interpreted as reflecting higher self-esteem. Other studies (Ward & Braum, 1972; Fox & Jordan, 1973; Bunton & Weissbach, 1974; Epstein et al., 1976; and Moore, 1976) suggested that black minority children prefer and identify with their own ethnic group. Similarly Crooks (1970) in Canada and Vaughan (1978) in New Zealand reported that minority children prefer and identify with their own race.

These findings led to the re-examining of earlier studies of ethnic identification and preference and some social scientists felt that the ethnic minorities preference for the majority and misidentification had not been convincingly demonstrated (Banks et al., 1973).

Studies which sought to measure the self-esteem of ethnic minorities in a more direct (i.e. using

standardized self-esteem measures) manner found comparable levels of self-esteem in the minority and majority children (Wylie, 1963; Gibby & Gabler, 1967; Yeatts, 1967; Rosenberg, 1965; Coleman, 1966; Wendland, 1968; Hodgkins & Stakenas, 1969; De Blaissie & Healy, 1970; and Zirkel & Moses, 1971) thus contradicting the earlier interpretive findings of low self-esteem among minorities.

Wendland's (1967) comparative study is of special interest to us. Her sample consisted of 685 eight-grade children (of both sexes and races i.e. black and white) living in both rural and urban areas of the U.S.A. Each subject was administered the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS), a scale designed to measure feelings of estrangement and a third scale which attempts to determine the degree of the respondent's cynicism towards his environment. In addition, each subject filled out a questionnaire to provide personal information about himself and his family.

The analysis of Wendland's data revealed that the mean self-esteem scores of the black minority children significantly exceeded that of the white majority group children. Also within both races, girls scored higher

than boys. Finally, children living in the country secured, on average, higher scores than children living in urban areas. In reflecting upon her findings, Wendland comments as follows:-

"..the results of this study suggest that conceptualization of the Negro found in the older literature may represent unfounded stereotypes and generalizations. It also seems likely, however, that the discrepancy reflects some recent basic changes in Negro status in the last decade, it is obvious that positive self-feelings have become more possible" (1967, p.108).

A further set of data that must be considered is that of Baughman & Dahlstrom (1968) who carried out a series of studies involving black (minority) and white (majority) adolescents in a number of southern communities and found evidence quite at variance with earlier conclusions.

"When we turn to the self-concept of these children, their interview statements about themselves are markedly

positive. This is particularly true for the Negro children, a fact that is at variance with the widely accepted belief that the self-esteem of the Negro is inevitably damaged, even at an early age...there was a tendency for more Negro than white children to say that they were very satisfied being the kind of person they were" (1968, p.462).

Another significant study for the purposes of this research is that of Rosenberg & Simmons (1971) who undertook to study self-esteem among a large representative sample (1,988) of black (minority) and white (majority) pupils in grades third through to twelfth. They found that blacks do not have lower self-esteem than whites; rather their self-esteem appears higher. They also compared the self-esteem of black children who were asked to rank blacks as just second, third, or fourth in relation to white Catholics, white Protestants, and Jews as most people in the American society would. The results indicated that there was no connection between self-esteem level and how the black children perceived society's evaluation of their group. They concluded that individuals may not

necessarily perceive themselves as worthless, in spite of an awareness of how others negatively evaluate them. Hence, the black child's perception of society's evaluation of his group and his own self-regard appear to be independent. On the basis of this evidence and their assessment of the evidence of some twelve other studies, Rosenberg & Simmons (op. cit.) concluded that the research data in general suggest that there are no demonstrable differences in self-esteem between the two groups. Research reviews on this subject by Silverstein & Karte (1975) Taylor (1976); Gordon (1982), Wylie (1979) and Porter & Washington (1979) also indicate that minorities do not have lower self-esteem. These results contradict the earlier research findings of low self-esteem minority children,

#### The Work done in the U.K.

The bulk of studies reviewed so far were mainly done in the U.S.A. There are many reasons why their findings may not be strictly comparable in the U.K. In the first place, there are differences in sheer numbers, geography, concentration, culture and perception of the society. Secondly, most minority groups (Asians, Italians, Poles and Jews) are descendents of immigrants. Most of them desire to

maintain their links with the country of origin and retain their own sub-culture. Thus the situation faced by the British minority groups is not identical to that in the United States.

Studies of ethnic-identity, preference and self-esteem in Britain have been somewhat sparse compared with those in the U.S.A. The work done in Britain has produced findings which have been both diverse and contradictory (Young & Bagley, 1979).

One of the first to study the ethnic identity and preference among children in Britain was Milner (1970) who, using Clark's method, investigated the ethnic identity and preference among 100 black, 100 Asian and 100 white English children aged between five and eight, attending infant and junior schools in Brixton and Southall in London. All the children were attending multi-racial schools. All of the white children chose the white doll in response to the question "which doll looks most like you?" but only 52% of the black children and 76% of the Asian children made the correct choice, choosing the black or brown doll respectively. A similar pattern emerged in the family identification tests - 35% of the black children

and 20% of the Asian children misidentified the black figures. All of the white children would "rather be" the white figure but so would 82% of the black children and 65% of Asians. Milner argues that because many ethnic minority children evaluate their group in negative terms, they deny that they are brown and black and want to identify with the white majority. Group evaluation and self evaluation are intimately linked. Milner suggests that this identification of oneself as white is a measure of poor self-esteem among his ethnic minority children.

Jahoda et al., (1972) reported similar results regarding 6-10 year-old ethnic minority children in Glasgow. The results showed negative self-evaluation and preference for the lighter doll. A comparative study conducted by Dove (1975) with 545 teenagers of various ethnic groups attending three London comprehensive schools, showed that West Indians experienced more confusion over their ethnic identity than the Asian and the Cypriot in her sample.

A study using a different methodology but reaching similar conclusions was carried out by Bagley & Coard (1975). Based on a sample of children in East London aged from 5 to 10, it revealed that 88% of the white

subjects did not want to change their skin colour, compared with 57% of the 42 black subjects. Sixty per cent of the black children wanted to change their skin colour, their hair colour or texture and their eye colours. They also observed that there is a tendency for children who have a poor knowledge of their ethnic culture to reject their ethnic identity.

Weinreich (1979) observed that ethnic minority adolescents have problems in identity formation. He also observed that there were clear differences between the problems faced by the adolescent of different ethnic minorities in Britain. However, in a more recent study Davey & Mullin (1980) found that children of ethnic minorities do not differ significantly from white children in the extent to which they identify with their own group. These results are in marked contrast with those from many earlier studies, where as much as a third to a half of the children of ethnic minorities have identified with the representation of a white child. The misidentifications found in the earlier studies have been interpreted as indications of low self-esteem among the children of ethnic minorities in Britain.

On the other hand some studies using direct measures of self-esteem have reported different results from the studies mentioned above. Lo uden (1981) used a self-esteem measure developed by Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) and studied 375 adolescents from various ethnic groups attending secondary schools in the West Midlands. He found that, overall, there were no significant differences in self-esteem between different ethnic groups. However, he observed that there were sex differences among the three ethnic groups in his sample. He found that West Indian girls had higher levels of self-esteem than Asian girls, who in turn had higher levels of self-esteem than English girls.

Another piece of evidence which needs to be looked at is the work of Bagley, Mallick & Verma (1979). In a comparative study of adolescents from various ethnic groups attending 39 secondary schools, they found that there was no difference between the West Indian girls' and the white girls' level of self-esteem as measured by them. They, however, found that the West Indian boys had significantly poorer self-esteem than the white (majority) boys. The results of higher self-esteem for West Indian females than the males runs counter to the trend in a number of other

studies of self-esteem in white English subjects, in which males have better self-esteem than females (Louden, 1981). Asian ethnic minority pupils of both sexes had self-esteem levels similar to English pupils. This difference between the different ethnic minorities had been reported earlier by other British researchers (Dove, 1975; Milner, 1973).

In a further study Bagley, Verma and Mallick (1982) combined the data from their earlier sample drawn from 39 schools with additional data from multi-racial middle and secondary schools in the London area. They administered the Coopersmith self-esteem scale, and compared three ethnic groups: White English; West Indian; and Asian (a miscellaneous group of pupils whose parents originate from the Punjab, Bujerat - sometimes via East Africa - Pakistan and Bangladesh). Although a number of differences emerged, the overall picture was one of similarity rather than differences. The mean scores on the self-esteem scale did not differ significantly between the three groups. These results suggest that the three ethnic groups have comparable levels of global self-esteem. These results, though similar to Louden's (op. cit.), were in sharp contrast to the 'interpretative' findings of earlier studies

(Milner, 1973; Dove, 1975; Jahoda et al., 1972).

We note that research carried out in Britain on the self-esteem of ethnic minorities has produced inconsistent results. On examination, the results of studies which infer the ethnic minorities' self-esteem from measures of racial evaluation (.e.g racial identity and preference) show that the ethnic minorities in Britain suggest from low self-esteem. On the other hand, studies based on standardised measures of global self-esteem (that is tapping the individual's general feelings of self-regard, not just vis-a-vis whites) reveal that the ethnic minorities have comparable levels of self-esteem with the white majority.

The discrepancy in results raised doubts about the tendency of inferring self-esteem from measures of racial evaluation. The assumption that a simple positive linear relationship exists between the two variables has not been sufficiently shown. Yet no attempt has been made to measure them simultaneously among the ethnic minorities of Britain, and to assess the true nature of the relationship between the two variables.

Most of the researchers have noted that the different ethnic minorities (West Indian, Asian) differ in their responses on racial evaluation as well as self-esteem measures (Milner, 1973; Dove, 1975; and Bagley, Mallick & Verma, 1979). They observe that these differences are due to their differing cultural backgrounds and practices, aspirations to integration and relationship to the host community. In the same way one would expect the different Asian minority groups (Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi) to vary according to their respective sub-cultures. But, surprisingly enough, in all of the above studies they have been grouped together as "Asians" and their cultural and religious differences have apparently been ignored.

We also note that most of the studies in Britain which have used standardised tests for measuring self-esteem (Zahran, 1966; Thompson, 1974 and Loudon, 1977) have been well conducted. Nevertheless, their results must be regarded with caution, as they have attempted to use American measures in British settings without establishing their validity, and sometimes even their reliability, in use with British populations.

To sum up, the review of research literature indicates that the interpretative findings of low self-esteem among children of ethnic minorities do not receive support from studies which have measured this phenomena directly. This raised doubts about the presumed relationship between racial evaluation and global self-esteem. The overall results indicate that the "obvious" fact of low self-esteem among minorities cannot be taken for granted and that ethnic minorities have been able to safeguard their self-regard and maintain their self-esteem inspite of racial discrimination and low status assigned to them by the majorities.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### OVERVIEW AND HYPOTHESIS

#### Introduction.

Prior to the discussion on the hypothesis of this study, it is appropriate to review briefly the theoretical points established in Chapter Three. It has been argued that the family, school and the ethnic group of the children all contribute to the development of their self-esteem. These three social institutions exert their influence on the children's self-esteem in more than one way. For the purpose of this study we plan to examine the influence of minority status; ethnic identification, preference; parental behaviour and academic achievement, on the Scottish and Pakistani immigrant childrens' self-esteem and see how the relationship between self-esteem and these factors varies with the sex and culture of the children. We would also like to find out which factor among these is the most important determinant of the self-esteem of the children. We are therefore dividing the hypopthesis accordingly into three main sections:-

1. Minority status, ethnic identification and preference.
2. Parental behaviour.
3. Academic achievement.

5:1. Minority Status, Ethnic Identification and Preference.

The review of research literature indicates that interpretative findings of low self-esteem among children of ethnic minorities based on measures of ethnic identification and preferences do not receive support from studies which have measured this phenomena directly (i.e. using measures of self-esteem and self-concept). This raised doubts about the presumed relationship between the individuals ethnic identification and preference and his level of self-esteem.

Implicit in the practice of inferring self-esteem from measures of racial evaluation (e.g. racial acceptance, racial identification and racial preference) is the premise that a simple, positive, linear relationship exists between the two variables. Yet, empirical validation of such an assumed relationship has not been shown by researchers. It

seems more logical to assume that evaluation of oneself along racial lines is a contributing component rather than the sole determinant of self-esteem. This component may be differentially weighted in its influence on self-esteem depending on the individuals. Persons equal in self-esteem may not be comparable in their racial evaluation and preferences. It is universally acknowledged that children's racial evaluation and preferences are influenced by several factors, foremost among these factors are their parents' attitudes and the children's exposure to and knowledge of different racial groups including their own.

Recent studies employing direct measures of self-esteem indicate that, irrespective of socio-economic status, ethnic minorities are as positive in self-esteem as the majority. It further suggests that people are able to construct their own social reality according to their frame of reference. Individuals have the ability to reject negative views of themselves. They may use and generate alternative value systems with which to judge themselves. Their self-esteem is likely to be a function of their family experiences. Thus, the self-esteem of the children of

ethnic minorities is more likely to depend on the socialisation practices and the general orientation of their ethnic group.

Using a multiple test design the present study attempts to discover whether the reaction to minority status found in the United States and elsewhere (see Chapter Four) would be present among the children of Pakistani origin in Scotland. Thus the present study will examine the following:

1. The differences between the level of self-esteem of the Pakistani minority and the indigenous children in Scotland.
2. The differences between the level of self-esteem of the boys and girls within the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups.
3. The relationship between the children ethnic identification and the self-esteem of the children.
4. The relationship between the childrens' ethnic preference and the self-esteem of the children.
5. To see within both the cultural groups what differences, if any, exist in the relationship between ethnic identity and preferences and the children's self-esteem.

## 5:2. Parental Behaviour and Self-esteem

The social learning theorist and the psychoanalytical theorist agree that the children's conception of themselves is in part a product of the long, intense and intimate interaction with parents, so it seems reasonable to expect that parental child-rearing behaviour would play an important part in the development of the children's self-esteem. The survey of research literature indicates that parent child-rearing behaviour of support, control, protection and methods of control all play an important role in determining the self-esteem of the children.

As discussed in the previous chapter the research findings seem to suggest that the consequences in children of mothers and fathers child-rearing behaviour of support are positive - i.e. there is a positive relationship between mothers'/fathers' support and the children's self-esteem and that parental indifference and lack of parental support has debilitating effects on the children's self-esteem. Similarly it has been observed that parental use of love oriented techniques of discipline i.e. inductive methods of control have a positive relationship with

self-esteem of the children. On the other hand it has been noted that parents' use of love-withdrawal has a negative relationship with the self-esteem of the children. However, there is disagreement between investigators regarding the impact that mothers' and fathers' support and method of induction has on the self-esteem of the male children compared to the female children. There is also discrepancy in the results as to whether the behaviour of the same sex parent or the parent of the opposite sex is more important for the development of the self-esteem of the children.

Parental control is also considered to be one of the most important variables of child-rearing behaviour which influences the development of the children's self-esteem. Researchers investigating the relationship between parental control and the self-esteem of the children have reported conflicting results. Some studies indicate that there is a positive relationship between parental control and the self-esteem of the children while other studies indicate that there is no relationship or a negative relationship between parental control and self-esteem. Similarly, researchers examining the relationship between parental protection and the self-esteem of the

children have reported contradictory results and so have the investigators who examined the relationship between parents use of power-assertion and the children's self-esteem.

To sum up, research literature have consistently shown that parental support and induction have a positive relationship with the children's self-esteem, while parental love withdrawal have a negative relationship with the children's self-esteem. Results regarding parental control, protection and power-assertion have been inconsistent.

In our view the inconsistent results of these studies are attributable to: firstly, some researchers inability to separate the different child-rearing behaviour of the parents. For example, their inability to separate the amount of mothers'/fathers' control from the method employed by mothers'/fathers' to discipline the children i.e. methods of control. In order to determine the significance of parental control and method of control for the self-esteem of the children, one must treat them as independent variables. This is exactly what we plan to do in this study.

Secondly, the relationship between parental child-rearing behaviour and the children's self-esteem is most likely to be influenced by the cultural background of the children, a factor not explicitly treated by researchers in this area. How the children regard their parents' control, protection etc. from the perspective of their own cultural norms and values is likely to influence the relationship a particular parental variable has with their self-esteem. Similarly, the amount or degree of parental behaviour experienced in different cultures may vary, and this in turn may influence the self-esteem of the children of various cultures differently.

We planned to investigate the antecedents of the self-esteem of the Pakistani immigrant children and the indigenous children in Scotland. In order to do this we need to examine the child-rearing behaviour within both the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups. It has been observed that the Pakistani immigrants in Britian, when compared with the indigenous population emphasise strict chaperonage of the children. The children are expected to obey their parents and there are strict codes of behaviour to be followed. Moreover, while the western cultures would encourage independence and self-assertiveness among children, the

Pakistani culture does not, especially in 10-11 year old children. It is amusingly noted by western observers that Asian ethnic minority children in the U.K. continue to rely on their parents for guidance even after they are married (Lobo, 1978). Western observers are often struck by the way in which the Pakistani parents are able to exercise supervision and control over their children. S. Saeed and J.I. Galbraith (1980), while exploring the reaction of a group of Pakistani children in the U.K. to their parents' extensive supervision and control, were surprised to find that generally these children accepted it. How the amount of parental control, and the protective behaviour of the parents is perceived by the children is likely to influence the relationship these variables have with their self-esteem.

In view of our discussion above and our survey of research literature done in the U.S.A. and elsewhere in the world we could presume that the relationship between the mothers' and the fathers' child-rearing behaviour of support and methods of induction of control and their boys' and girls' self-esteem will be positive for the Pakistani and the Scottish children. Similarly we could presume that the relationship

between the mothers' and the fathers' child-rearing behaviour of methods of love-withdrawal of control and their boys' and girls' self-esteem will be negative for the Pakistani and the Scottish children. However, these speculations remain assumptions until tested empirically. Thus we hypothesize that:

- I. The relationship between the mothers'/fathers' support and the self-esteem of the children is positive for the boys/girls of the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups.
  
- II. The relationship between the mothers'/fathers' use of methods of induction and the self-esteem of the children is positive for the boys/girls of the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups.
  
- III. The relationship between the mothers'/fathers' use of methods of love withdrawal and the self-esteem of the children is negative for the boys and girls of the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups.

In our survey of research literature (in the previous chapter) we observed that the results regarding the relationship between the mother's/ father's child rearing behaviour of control, protection

and power assertion methods of control and their child's self-esteem are inconsistent. It is also interesting to note that the relationship between the mother's and father's child-rearing behaviour of control protection and power assertion and the self-esteem of the child varied with the cultural background of the subjects used in different studies. We would like to find out what relationship would parental control, protection and power assertion have with the self-esteem of Pakistani and Scottish children.

Further research questions suggested by our survey of literature and requiring investigations are:-

- 1) To see within both the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups, what the differences are between mothers' and fathers' behaviour regarding support, control, protection and methods of control.
- 2) To ascertain the differences between the boys and the girls in the amount of support, control, protection and methods of control they receive from their mothers and fathers within both the cultural groups.

- 3) To see how the mothers'/fathers' behaviour of support, control, method of control differ between the Scottish and Pakistani groups.

### 5:3. Academic Achievement and Self-Esteem.

Taken together, research studies indicate that differences in academic performance are associated with differences in the self-esteem of the pupils. It has also been shown that there are significant differences in the self-esteem of achieving and non-achieving pupils. Children who perform well at school and obtain 'good' marks have higher levels of self-esteem than children who are not able to do well at school.

The positive relationship between the academic achievement and self-esteem of the child lead us to presume that a similar relationship between academic performance and self-esteem would exist for the children of both the cultural groups included in our sample. It also leads us to presume that the academic performance of the pupils in low self-esteem groups in our sample are likely to differ from the academic performance of the pupils in high self-esteem groups. These assumptions however remain speculation until examined empirically. Thus, hypothesis VI of this

study is that there is a positive relationship between the children's self-esteem and their academic performance in school.

It would be also interesting and worthwhile to examine what variations emerge when the children's sex and cultural group are considered in the analysis.

Finally we would like to find out which of the social determinants investigated by us is most influential in predicting the level of self-esteem of the Pakistani and Scottish children.

## CHAPTER SIX

### METHOD AND PROCEDURE

#### Introduction.

In this chapter we discuss the testing materials used and the preliminary considerations which led to their choice. We also discuss the nature and characteristics of our sample; the Pilot study, and the plan and administration of the study.

#### 6:1. Preliminary Considerations.

Before we discuss the individual scales and tests used for collection of data in this project, we would like to indicate some of the general considerations and precautions involved in developing our procedures.

##### A. Quantitative and Qualitative Measures.

It was decided in this project to utilize both quantitative and qualitative methods for the collection of data. This decision to combine questionnaires and personal interviews was guided by a conviction that such a combination would yield a wide range of

information relevant to the problem at hand. The questionnaire seemed an appropriate and efficient instrument for collecting information from a relatively large sample. Such a sample size seemed necessary if cross ethnic generalizations were to be made with some degree of confidence. Moreover, standardized questionnaires would enable us to measure the self-esteem as well as parental interaction with child, with confidence. At the same time the limitations of the questionnaire method had to be born in mind. It was thought that although the questionnaire would generate a considerable amount of quantitative data, the emerging picture might be relatively rigid. As on a questionnaire the responses were to be expressed through a fixed number of provided constructs, individual expression would be constrained. Moreover, one of the major concerns of the study was to document the varying patterns of parent-child interaction within the two cultures and this could only be possible by allowing the parent and the child to express themselves freely. Personal interviews it was anticipated would further elucidate data obtained from the questionnaires. It was also kept in mind that the majority of Pakistani mothers, due to lack of proper educational facilities in the country of their origin and the attitude towards female education (Siann &

Khalid, 1984), are not literate. Thus the only appropriate method to use with them would be that of personal interview.

B. Perceived and Reported Parental Behaviour.

Information on the child's experience and interaction with parents was obtained from both the mother and child. This gave different perspectives of the same events and thus provided some corroboration, if not validation, that events had occurred as described. The information from the child regarding parental behaviour gave us the perspective of the child and will be called perceived parental behaviour. The information obtained from the mother gave us the perspective of the parent and will be called the reported parental behaviour.

The information from the child came, firstly, through his responses to questionnaire items dealing with parental treatment and his home life, and secondly, through the intensive structured interviews, covering some of these same areas covered by the questionnaire but extending and defining them in much greater detail. The information obtained from the

mother came through detailed structured interviews, where probing was done whenever necessary.

C. Father's Involvement.

Information about the father's attitude and interaction with the child was obtained from both the mother and the child. It was not possible to have any direct contact with the father himself, partly because we lacked the necessary time and funds, and partly because it was difficult to arrange meetings with fathers. It should be noted, however, that the mother and the child agreed independently in their statements about the father's attitude and behaviour towards the child on most variables. In an attempt to establish the reliability of the subjects' responses in this project, a number of checks were employed. One check consisted of variously worded questions bearing on the same variable within a given interview or questionnaire. This enabled us to cross-check responses and determine whether they were consistently expressed despite variations in wording, content or procedure. Other checks included the comparison of responses that were tapped on standardized scales and interviews, and the comparison of responses obtained independently from the mother and child.

D. "Experimenter Effect".

Another aspect which merits discussion under this section is the fact that the researcher, too, is a part of the methodology. The potential bias introduced by the ethnic background of the researcher, is of particular relevance. On the one hand, it may be argued that if the researcher belongs to the ethnic group under investigation he/she may not be able to maintain the necessary distance and objectivity; on the other, a case could be made that a complete outsider would be most unlikely to achieve sufficient empathy with the subjects to fully appreciate the hidden subtle meanings of their culture. The view adopted here is that while some degree of distance is necessary, the second argument is equally if not more persuasive. A fairly intimate knowledge of the social milieu to which the subjects belong is essential if superficial interpretation of their responses are to be minimised.

Research literature available on 'experimenter effects' demonstrates that certain characteristics (e.g. age, sex, ethnic background etc.) of an investigator have systematic effects on the responses of the subjects (Rosenthal 1966; Sattler 1970; Rosenberg & Simmons 1972; Brah 1979; Jahoda 1972).

However, the findings are not always consistent with regard to the direction in which the responses may be influenced. This points to the complex nature of the interactional process, and seems to suggest that the "bias" due to the investigator/respondent effects is an inherent part of research and should not be seen as an artefact. Keeping this in view, we were prepared to conduct this study with confidence. We believed that the ethnic background of the investigator would not have any adverse effects on the response of the subjects.

#### 6:2. The Sample.

The methodology of the study involved administration of different tests as well as detailed interviews with the children, their mother and teachers. The best place therefore, to contact the subjects seemed to be the schools.

##### A. Recruiting the Sample.

The Strathclyde Department of Education was approached and permission was sought to carry out the study in schools with a reasonable population of

Pakistani pupils (See Appendix 7 & 8). Permission was granted provided the Heads of the respective schools raised no objection. The Heads of all the Primary Schools in the City of Glasgow with a high percentage of children with Pakistani background on their rolls were contacted. The nature, importance and objective of this project were explained to them and their co-operation solicited. The Heads of the following schools kindly agreed to support the project.

Pollokshields Primary.

Hillhead Primary.

Annette Street Primary.

Cuthbertson Primary.

After the approval of the Head teachers had been received parents of all the Scottish and Pakistani children between the ages of 10-11 (as enrolled in the school register) were sent a letter informing them about the study and requesting their authorization to have their youngster(s) interviewed by the investigator in their school and later to talk to the mother at home. (A copy of this letter is provided in Appendix 9).

Letters to the parents were handed out to the children by their respective class teachers. Precaution was taken to brief the teachers either individually or in small groups before they handed the letters to the individual child. At the briefing, it was explained to the teacher what this project was about, and it was attempted to communicate to them a sense of importance of this enterprise. It was reasoned that the children's co-operation or lack of it would depend to a great extent on the teachers' attitude when the letter was handed out.

Letters were sent to 368 Scottish and Pakistani parents. In the beginning the response was poor. Later, with the help of the teachers and personal contact with the parents, we were able to persuade 233 parents i.e. 63% to participate in the project (see TABLE 6:1).

From among those parents who had volunteered to participate a usable sample of 160 parents and their children was drawn. The distribution by sex and culture of the usable sample is given in Table 6:2. Keeping in view the objectives of the study and methodology, it was appropriate to restrict the usable sample to equal numbers of boys and girls from both the cultural groups as shown in Table 6:2.

TABLE 6:1

Distribution by Sex and Culture of the Children and their mothers who volunteered for the project

	Usable Sample		Non-Usable Sample		Grand Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Pakistani	43	44	4	3	94
Scottish	41	48	28	22	139
	84	92	32	25	233

TABLE 6:2

Distribution by Sex and Culture of the Randomly Selected Sample for the Project

	Male	Female	Total
Pakistani	40	40	80
Scottish	40	40	80
Total	80	80	160

B. Characteristics of the Sample

i. Size:

The size of the sample mainly depended on the volunteer participation of parents and their 10-11 year old children in this project. Letters were sent to 368 Scottish and Pakistani parents whose children were between 10-11 years of age and were studying in the four schools whose Head teachers had consented to help.

After much persuasion 233 parents i.e. 63% of the parents to whom the letters had been sent seeking their permission volunteered to participate in the project. Out of these volunteers a 'usable' sample was drawn. Table 6:1 shows the distribution by sex and culture of the 'usable' and the 'non-usable' sample of the parents and their children who volunteered to participate. The usable sample consisted of children who met the requirements of this study. The non-usable sample consisted of children who, due to some reason (broken homes, unemployed parents etc.) were not suitable for the project.

A major concern of the study was to see how the child's self-esteem varied by sex and culture. Keeping in view the objective of the study and the methodology it was decided to restrict the sample to equal numbers of subjects from both the cultures (i.e. Pakistani and Scottish). It was also important to include an equal number of male and female children from both the cultural groups in order to examine any sex differences in the relationship between different variables (i.e. parental, academic and ethnic) and the self-esteem of the child in both the cultural groups.

Thus it was decided to include equal numbers of male and female children representing both the cultural groups in this project. 40 male and 40 female children were randomly selected from the usable sample of both the cultural groups. The final sample of the study consisted of 160 subjects equally divided by sex and culture as shown in Table 6:2.

ii. Age:

It was decided to study 10-11 year old children. The decision to select this particular age group as opposed to a younger or older age group was guided by the following considerations.

- a. For the purpose of this project the 10-11 year old children seemed to be the most appropriate age group, as at this age parental values and control still remain major influences on the child's behaviour (Maccoby, 1980). It has also been observed that the parents are among the most significant others (Gecas 1972) and that the family and home form an important source of self-esteem (Livesley & Bromley 1973).
  
- b. This age period is one of relative stability in academic and social affairs and is marked by fewer stresses and demands than the ensuing period of adolescence (Erikson 1950). Moreover, by this age the child's view of himself has become relatively stable (Bloom 1964) and therefore considered to be a good age for assessing the self-esteem of the child (Coopersmith 1967; Maccoby, 1980).
  
- c: By this age the language of the children is sufficiently developed to facilitate them to express the attitude of others around them more effectively. They appear to have sufficient

experience and ability to think abstractly so that they can make general assessments of themselves as well as others.

d: By this age they have acquired a good knowledge about the social norms, values and standards of the group they belong to and can judge their own behaviour as well as others in the light of these group norms.

e: The children of this age are mature enough to understand that their own perspectives are not necessarily the only right or valid ones, that others are making judgements of their behaviour and motives and that they are being judged in the same terms that they judge others. In other words, they have reached the "self-reflective" age (Macobby 1980) and so are better equipped to make self-assessments.

: By this age the children's assumptions about locus of control over their life has become quite stable as pointed out by Crandall, Katkowsky & Crandall (1965). By the age of eight, the children are able to understand that they have power to do certain things and that the control of many other

activities rests with others. This knowledge is bound to be reflected in their self-esteem.

g: Children of this age group are sufficiently advanced in their academic activities to have an idea of their relative competence. They also have had sufficient exposure to competitive standards and their achievement or non-achievement in academic performance is probably reflected in their self-esteem. Moreover school conditions for this age group make it generally possible to obtain assessments from teachers who have observed the children over an extended time in a relatively constant environment. The teachers are better placed to appraise the child's customary assurances, reaction to stress and other behavioural manifestation of self-esteem.

iii. Socio-Economic Background:

Our sample was drawn from middle class families. We avoided inclusion of children of both the very rich and the unemployed parents. For example, none of the children included in our sample lived in council houses. However, it was impossible to completely match

By "intact families" we mean families where both the father and the mother were alive, married and living together. The decision to include children from only intact families was made in order to avoid the consequences that a broken family might have for the child's self-esteem. The loss of a parent through divorce, separation, desertion, or death hampers a child's adjustment (Maccoby 1980). Moreover we planned to include the child's relationship with both of his parents and his perception of both the parents interaction with him. Similarly, the interview schedule with the mother included several questions concerning the father of the child. It would have been extremely difficult for the child and the mother to answer the questions regarding the parent who was missing from home. Thus it is evident that in order to get a true picture of the parent-child interaction and its relationship with the self-esteem of the child we would have to avoid exceptions.

It will be appropriate to mention here that in the case of the Scottish sample it was extremely difficult to get the desired sample of 10-11 year old children. In the case of 34% of the Scottish sample it was pointed out by the Head teacher; the class teacher or

the socio-economic background of all the children. For example, the Pakistani sample consisted mostly of subjects coming from middle class families having their own businesses, and the Scottish sample mostly consisted of middle class professional parents. It is believed that this allowed us to select a fairly representative sample of middle class Scottish and Pakistani children.

iv. Other Characteristics.

It was further decided to focus the study only on normal children from "intact families".

By normal we mean those children who were not physically and emotionally handicapped in any way and had no indications of serious symptoms of stress or emotional disorder revealed in the class teacher's ratings, the Head teacher's general assessment, the school records or the screening interview. The decision to include only normal children was made in order to cut down the sources of variability in both the parental-interaction as well as the self-esteem of the child, and thereby to allow intensive investigation of the subjects involved.

it became evident while interviewing the child or the mother that the child no longer met the requirements of the "intact family". In the case of 4 Scottish subjects and one Pakistani subject it became apparent from the mother's interview, that the family no longer met the requirements of the intact family. (The interview was carried out as usual though the questions regarding the father were avoided). In such a case the regular procedure was carried out with the subjects but their responses were excluded from the final analysis.

### 6:3. Plan of the Study.

The plan of the study required the participation of (A) the child, (B) the mother, (C) the teacher. Accordingly data was collected from each one of them separately. We will now discuss in detail the questionnaires (tests and scales) and the interview schedules used with each one of them for the collection of the data.

#### A. Child's Participation.

The information from the child with regard to his self-esteem, perceived self, parental variables and

ethnic identity and preference was obtained from the child through his response on a number of scales.

(i) Measuring Self Esteem:

The self-esteem of the child was measured by the Piers-Harris Short Form Test and by the Semantic Differential Scale specially developed for this project.

Piers-Harris Short Form: Is a rating scale used for measuring the self-esteem of children between the ages 8-13. This scale was developed by Bagley et al. (1982) from Piers-Harris Scale (1964). The Piers-Harris Scale was built out of a pool of items derived from Jersild's (1952) collection of children's statements. The items were written as simple declarative statements. The final scale was reduced to 80, Yes - No items after several pilot studies. Bagley et al., (1982) further reduced these items to 39 and developed Piers-Harris Short Form (See Appendix 10). Examples of these items are "I am often sad"; "I am a happy person"; "I give up easily". It is a wide ranging scale covering physical appearance, social behaviour, academic status, depreciation,

dissatisfaction and contentment with self. The statements were equally divided between positive and negative forms and between high and low reflections of self-esteem. A high score (negative items reversed) indicated a more positive self-esteem, thus, there was an attempt to control the acquiescence response set. Reliability over both a two-month and a four-month period produced a test-retest coefficient of 0.77. Internal consistency for 8-11 year old groups ranged from 0.78 to 0.93. Correlations with intelligence are low but positive ( $r = 0.32$ ). This figure is comparable with the correlations reported by other well reputed measures of self-esteem (Wylie, 1979). With regard to validity, it has been reported that institutionalised female 'retardates' score significantly lower than normal persons of the same chronological age (Piers-Harris, 1964). The Piers-Harris scale correlates 0.68 with The Lipsitt's scale.

The Pier Harris Short Form was particularly suitable for use in this project, as it had been particularly developed for use with young school children in Britain by Bagley et al. (1982). A factorial study established the internal reliability of this scale with a British sample (children of English, Pakistani, Indians, West Indians, Cypriot Parents

residing in Britain), and the basis for a short 39 item version. Using a sample of British pupils attending multi-racial middle schools in West Yorkshire and Outer London, the scale was compared with other well reputed measures of self-esteem i.e. Coopersmith short form and adjective ratings scales (Wylie 1974). The results of the composition of the three scales as given by Bagley et al. (1982), show high correlation 0.71 (N = 310) between Piers-Harris Short Form Scale and Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. A correlation of 0.67 (N = 381) between Piers-Harris short form scale and adjective rating scale.

This indicates that this scale is suitable for measuring the self-esteem of British children from different ethnic background and thus, suitable for the subjects in this project.

The Piers-Harris Short Form was obtained from Professor Bagley through personal correspondence. The final analysis of this scale was conducted according to the instructions provided by Professor Bagley.

Semantic Differential Technique.

This is an extremely flexible technique rather than a particular scale. It was originally developed by Osgood et al. (1957) to measure the meaning systems of individuals, essentially connotative meaning. It has become a very economic method of assessing attitudes to a number of objects within the ambit of one instrument. Basically the method involves sets of polar adjectives, e.g. good-bad, happy-sad, clean-dirty listed down every page. Each page is headed with a stimulus word or phrase. The pairs of adjectives are listed as end points of a continuum divided into an uneven number, usually 5 or 7, or response gradations. Subjects are requested to consider the stimulus in terms of each of the scales and place a check-mark in one of the divisions on the continuum to indicate the relative applicability of the polar terms. Factor analysis has generally revealed three distinct orthogonal factors, viz. evaluation, potency and activity, of which the evaluation is the dominant one. This led Osgood (1957) to believe that attitudes are primary in human thinking is primary. Consequently, Osgood claimed that the semantic differential could be employed as an attitude measuring device, provided only scales loaded on the evaluative dimension were used.

Since it has been argued strongly in earlier chapters that the self-esteem is a set of attitudes to the self, this instrument appears to be the most appropriate to explore how the children saw themselves, and how they thought others saw them. The semantic differential technique has been widely used because of its convenience in administration and for the freedom it gives the researcher to select the concepts and scales to suit his specific purpose. The fact that it provides quantitative results has been an important attraction to many people in the academic field. Moreover, the simple procedure of participating in a semantic differential study makes it applicable to a wide range of subjects in regard to age, education and social and economic background. In general, people seem to like this method and Havinghurst et al. (1965) actually call it a game, while Warr & Knapper (1968) recommended the use of this technique in person perception.

The semantic differential has been frequently used in cross-cultural studies. To mention a few, Triandis & Osgood's (1958) study with Greek college students; Suci's (1960) research among American Indians; Tanaka & Osgood's (1965) comparative study on Japanese, Americans and Finns; Morsbach's (1967) study on social concepts among six sub-cultures in South Africa, and Hwang's (1973) comparative study of adolescents in Glasgow and Taipei.

With regard to research concerned with ethnic minorities in Britain, the semantic differential has been used by Hill (1970), Burns (1975), Loudon (1981) and Brah (1979).

#### Guidelines for Selecting Scales and Concepts.

It is true that there is no strict rule concerning the selection of concepts and scales for a semantic differential. But since, in this project the scales were to be used with 10-11 year old children from multi-racial schools in Glasgow, hence, it was important that all the verbal elements in the semantic differential must carry the same meaning for all the subjects, and also be in simple language, preferably in the vocabulary of 10-11 year olds. For this purpose

it was considered appropriate to construct the scales for the semantic differential from adjectives collected from 10-11 year old children from multi-racial primary schools in Glasgow. The assistance of class teachers of these children was sought. The children were asked by their respective class teachers to write down (a) a list of adjectives describing a girl/boy of their own age group whom they like; (b) a list of adjectives describing a girl/boy of their own age group whom they dislike.

From a pool of these negative and positive adjectives generated by the children, ten were selected to form the scales for the semantic differential used in the present project (see Appendix 11). The concepts measured in this project was: 'my self'.

The test-retest correlation for this concept on the semantic differential for a sample of children taken from the main sample is given in in Appendix 12. The two administrations of the semantic differential were spaced by 3 weeks. The correlation between the two administrations of the scale for both the cultural groups as well as sexes was significant.

(i) Measuring the Parental Variables.

Information regarding parental child-rearing behaviour viz., support, control, protection, methods of control was obtained from the child through Cornell Parent Behavior Description and structured interview.

Cornell Parent Behavior Description. The Cornell Parent Behavior Description was used in this project to measure the child's perception of his parental support, control and protection. This instrument is a later version of an instrument which the Cornell group had been developing for some time (Rodgers 1968). At least one investigator has called the earlier version the "Bronfenbrenner Parent Behavior Questionnaire" (Siegleman, 1965).

This questionnaire is further divided into sub-scales for support, control and protective behaviour. These sub-scales consist of items - statements concerning parental behaviour. The same statements are used for mother and father. The children are asked the degree to which the statements are true of how their parents behave towards them. The child selects one of five choices for each item; very often, fairly often, sometimes, hardly ever, never. Scores range

from 1 (very often) to 5 (never). In the version of the scale employed in this project scales measuring parental support, control and protective behaviour contain four items each. (See Appendix 13, 14).

Slightly different versions of the scale have been employed in cross-cultural investigations of child-rearing practices. Devereux, Bronfenbrenner & Suci (1969) used it in their study of child rearing in England and the United States; Rodgers (1971) used this instrument for comparing the changes in parental behaviour reported by children in West Germany and the United States. Thomas et al. (1974) made use of this instrument in their cross-cultural study of socialisation and the adolescent in America. This instrument has also been used in recent studies of parental behaviour and self-esteem of the child (Paterson et al. 1983; Gower 1980).

Other possible measures for parental behaviour were considered, most notably the PARI developed by Schaefer (1965) and associates. This instrument seemed less direct than the Cornell instrument in that the items used in the PARI were developed from use on adults (their view of the important areas in socialization of children) and then given to

adolescents as respondents. The emphasis in the PARI is on the children's reception of their parents intentions and thoughts, rather than a report of how the parent actually treated them. Another instrument considered was the Parent Image Differential developed by McGinn, Harbur & Ginsburgh (1965), which is a direct measure of the child's perception of how his parents treated him. But it uses the semantic differential format. We had decided to use the semantic differential as a measure of self-esteem, and therefore decided not to use the Parent Image Differential to avoid the possibility of relationships emerging because of similar measurement techniques. After considering a number of alternative measures, the decision was made to use the Cornell Parent Behavior Description.

The test-retest correlation coefficient for Cornell Parent Behavior Description with a sub-sample drawn from the main sample was significant. The two administrations of the questionnaire were spaced by four weeks. The correlations for both the cultural groups for mother and father were comparable to those reported by Rodgers (1968).

(iii) Interview Schedule for the Child.

In order to obtain further information from the child as well as confirm the child's reports on the different questionnaires, an interview schedule was prepared. This interview schedule was developed after extensive pre-testing. The functioning of a prototype interview schedule was tested and its feasibility carefully examined after several amendments and alterations had been made. The final interview schedule consisted of several questions divided into the following two sections.

1. Home background
2. Parental method of control

Home background: This section contained factual questions about the children and his/her family structure. These questions could be answered by short and simple responses. (See Appendix 15)

Parental methods of control.

Information about the parental methods of control (i.e. the specific disciplinary techniques used by the parents with the child) was obtained from the child

through structured interview schedule. (See Appendix 15).

Assessment of the mother's and father's method of control was made in the following manner. Each child was asked to imagine four concrete situations, one in which the child delayed complying with a mother's/father's request to do something, a second in which the child was careless and destroyed something of value, a third in which he talked back to the mother/father, a fourth situation in which the neighbour complained about his conduct. The child was given time to think and then mention the method which each parent used frequently in each of the four situations. The child's response was probed if necessary and then noted. These responses were later assigned independently by three experienced researchers into three main categories of method of control i.e. induction, love withdrawal, and power assertion. Clear definition of each of these three methods of control was provided for the individual coder. (See Appendix 16). The test retest correlations of a sample of the coding of the three coders according to these definitions was high. For each child the total score under each category i.e. induction, love withdrawal and

power assertion was calculated by taking the average score assigned by the three coders. This score was then converted to percentages, as the total score for each child varied.

(iv) Ethnic Identity and Preference.

Information about the child's ethnic identity and preference was obtained through a semi-projective test the 'Family Picture Test' specially developed for this project.

The semi-projective method of measuring ethnic identity and preference is considered to be one of the most popular and reliable method used in this area (Brand, Ruiz and Padilla 1974). Investigators in Britain employing this method have generally used dolls of varied skin and hair colour or photographs and line drawings of individuals from varied ethnicities (Milner 1973; Jahoda 1972; Davey and Mullen 1979). However, the standardisation of the material used by them has often been questioned (Bagley & Young, 1979; Stone 1981).

For the purpose of this project the Family Picture Test was prepared for measuring the ethnic identity and

preference of the child. This test was developed bearing in mind the requirements of the project as well as the age and exposure of the subjects in this project to the different ethnic groups in Scotland.

Professionally produced coloured drawings of families belonging to four different ethnic groups: European, Asian, African and Far Eastern were used. The artist while making these drawings was asked to draw these families in such a way that they represent each ethnic group in Britain. The family depicted in the drawing consisted of a father, mother and two children - a boy and a girl. The children in all the four pictures, representing the four different ethnic groups, were approximately of the same age as the subjects.

The age of the parents, the placement and the background of each family drawn in the four different pictures was kept the same. This was done in order to minimise the selection of irrelevant criterial cues.

In relation to the four drawings of different ethnic families the children were administered three groups of questions, involving aspects of the child;s

identity, preference and racial difference. These questions were similar to ones used by different investigators employing semi-projective techniques for measuring ethnic identity and preference among British children (Jahoda 1972, Milner, 1973; Davey & Mullen, 1979). The pictures along with the questions and scoring procedure are given in Appendix 17-21.

The test was pre-tested with a sample of 40 children drawn from a multi-racial school in Glasgow. All the children were able to distinguish between the European, Asian, African and Far Eastern families correctly. (Though some children took much longer than others). The two administrations of the test were spaced by 18 days. The correlations for both the cultural groups as well as the sexes was high.

B. Mother's Participation.

Interview: The interview schedule prepared for the collection of information from the mother, was the result of our conceptual analysis of those parental variables that appeared to be related to the self-esteem of the child, as well as the variables on which the two cultural groups appeared to be different. It was developed after extensive pre-testing of different

questions and schedule forms. This pre-testing enabled us to iron out and clarify ambiguities and difficulties of wording and administration.

The interview schedule for the mother contained questions pertaining to the following areas:

- (a) Social background and family
- (b) Mother's interaction with the child
- (c) Father's interaction with the child

The style and content of the questions varied with the topic. The early sections of the schedule contained several factual questions that could be answered by short and simple responses i.e. number of children, years of schooling etc. There were other questions that required more extended and considered answers i.e. the mother's response to child's disobedience, and the extent to which the husband participates in the rearing of the child. The questions did occasionally veer into attitudes and practices that could be regarded as personal and sensitive by the mother but there was little, if any, probing in these areas. If the investigator felt that the mother was not responding (for what ever the

reason) the question was rephrased and asked again. It was our intention and expectation that an interview of this sort, conducted with flexibility of sequence, could retain the good will of the mother and maximize the quality of the information obtained. Illustrative examples of the home atmosphere are given in Appendix 24.

One of the main purposes for collecting information from the mother was to check upon the information obtained from the child. Therefore, the topics covered by the interview with the mother were similar to the topics discussed with the child. Similarly, most of the questions asked of the mother were similar to the ones asked of the child.

C. Teacher's Participation.

The information about the child's general self-esteem as well as his academic performance, was obtained from the respective class teachers.

The class teacher was asked to fill in a questionnaire. This questionnaire was specially designed and was approved by the Head teachers of all the schools involved in the project. The head teachers, as well as the respective class teachers, were assured that any information received from them

would not be disclosed to the child or the parent. For the convenience of the class teachers, who in some cases had to report on more than 10 children, the questionnaire was designed like the school report forms which all the teachers in the schools involved were familiar with.

Through the questionnaire the teacher's evaluation of the child's performance in each major subject, as well as overall performance, was obtained. The teacher's evaluation of the child's ability to handle practical problems, his class participation, as well as social adjustment, was also obtained. (The Teacher's Assessment Form is given in Appendix 22).

In addition the teachers were requested to comment on the self-esteem of the child. Though some teachers hesitated in making this comment, in the end they all gave a remark regarding the general self-esteem of the child.

6:4.                   The Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out to test the feasibility of the project. The purpose of the pilot study was to examine the following:-

- (1) Try out the suggested method of sample collection i.e. through the schools by writing a letter to the parents requesting their participation.
- (2) To test the functioning of a prototype interview schedule prepared for the mother and the child.
- (3) Ascertain whether the wording of the various instruments selected and developed for the collection of data was understood by the subjects.
- (4) Obtain an estimate of the time required to complete the different instruments prepared for the child, his mother, and his teacher.

- (5) Determine the sequence of the administration of the different instruments.
  
- (6) Find out whether the school authorities would have any objections to the procedures followed by this research study.

The pilot study was conducted with a small sample in one of the four schools. The suggested method of sample collection seemed to work only in the case of Scottish families, when the school staff agreed to help and in the case of the Pakistani families, when the mosque and the weekend school authorities agreed to assist.

The interview schedule prepared for the child took 1 to 1- 1/2 hours to administer. Although all the children said that they found the interview questions interesting, they were unanimous in their view that it was too long. Moreover, it became obvious, during the administration of the interview schedule, that some of the questions as well as the instruments in the interview, needed to be spaced. Bearing this in mind it was obvious that the interview with the child in the

main study should be conducted in two sessions.

For the group session, the children were given verbal instructions on how to fill in each questionnaire. An illustrative example for each instrument was displayed on the blackboard. Further, children were encouraged to ask questions, especially points of clarification about the questionnaire as and when they arose. The children were able to answer all the questions on the different instruments administered to them in this session with much ease and there were no omissions. The children took about 20 mins to half an hour in completing all the instruments in this session.

The interview procedure with the mother functioned well, and this could only be bettered by having time to pre-arrange interview time with the mother on carefully organized basis. In the case of the Pakistani mothers it was clear from the interviews that even though a few claimed to speak in English, the facility in speaking was not sufficient to enable reliance to be placed on the claim. Thus, in order to avoid offence, and wasted interviews, it would be better to inform them before hand that the interview would be carried out in

their mother tongue. It was also made clear by several mothers that they did not wish to have their conversations taped. Hence, it was decided not to use tape-recorders. The average time taken by a mother to answer all the questions on the interview schedule was about 2 hours.

The order of presentation of instruments in the study was clarified. It was decided to present the instruments in the main study as follows:-

1. First interview session with the children.
2. Administration of the questionnaires to the children.
3. Second interview session with the child
4. Mother's interview
5. Teacher's evaluation

Fitting into the routine of the school was less difficult than anticipated. The Head teachers were willing to provide access to records and classrooms. The class teachers were willing to submit their academic evaluation of the child provided the evaluation forms were brief, with pre-arranged categories.

It appeared from the pilot study that the project as planned was feasible. Sampling within the defined population was practicable by the means suggested, and on the present evidence, a high rate of co-operation could be expected. The flexible method of obtaining information from the mother and the child by the means of semi-structured interviews would be economical as well as possible.

6:5.           Administration of the Study

A.   Procedure and Sequence with the Child.

The testing procedure with the child was divided into three sessions; 2 interview sessions and a group session. This was done, firstly, to reduce the duration of each session, and thus retain the interest of the child; secondly, to have spaced sessions for the administration of the Family Picture Test; and, thirdly, because it was easier for the school authorities to adjust shorter testing sessions in their teaching schedule.

In order to establish contact with the child on an individual basis it was decided to start the testing procedure with the child with the two interview

sessions. The child was seen individually in a quiet room in the school on two occasions, separated by some four to six days. An atmosphere of informality was aimed at, and in order to maintain interest and motivation a procedure was devised for the study as a whole, whereby the sessions were kept short (between 30 and 40 mins) and a child was asked a number of different activities in each session.

In the first session questions regarding the child's home background were asked and the Family Picture Test was administered to the child.

In the second interview session the child was asked questions about the parental variables i.e. methods of control. During these questions the semantic-differential scale was administered. The administration of these tests was spaced in order to avoid response set.

The third session was a group session of 15-20 mins. For this session the subjects in each school were divided into groups of not more than 20 children. The children were seated in one room and the Cornell Parental Behavior Test was administered.

Before the administration of this test the instructions for the test were read out to the children by the investigator, who remained in the room during the entire session to answer any questions. The instructions given by the investigator stressed the confidential manner in which the responses of the subjects would be treated. The subjects were able to follow the instructions and answer all the questions in the test. In light of the prior, relatively close relationship that the investigator had achieved with the subjects during the two interview sessions, it was easier to supervise the subjects so that they responded in a serious, sincere fashion during the entire group session.

Within schools all the procedures were carried out in English. The choice of English with Pakistani children was based on three considerations. First, it seemed that suggestions by the investigator to use their mother tongue may be interpreted by Pakistani children as a judgment on their ability to handle the English language. Second, the expression of views on their parents treatment in the presence of an adult (investigator) of their own ethnic group may have been inhibited if the mother tongue had been used. When

English is used as the mode of expression, the traditional role expectation concerning children and adults might be less circumscribed. Third, it was observed in the pilot study, that Pakistani children who were born in Britain, or those who came to Britain at a very young age, did not have sufficient command of their mother tongue to express themselves adequately. Though it is common knowledge that Pakistani children speak in their mother tongue at home, it is equally important to acknowledge that in view of the limited facilities available for formal teaching of mother tongue in schools as well as at home, most Pakistani children possess only a rudimentary and fragmented knowledge of their mother tongue. Hence the children while speaking in their mother tongue tend to use English words and phrases and the result is a strange mixture of both.

B. Mother's interview.

After the testing of the children was over, the mothers were interviewed individually in the privacy of their homes. The interview lasted between 1-1/2 and 2-1/2 hours with an average length of approximately 2 hours. During the interview the following points were

kept in mind: (a) the interviewer was careful not to mention that the interview with the mother was in any way connected with the information obtained from their children; (b) the interviewer made it clear that she was seeking information which the mother alone was most qualified to give.

The interviews with the Scottish mothers were conducted in English while the interviews with the Pakistani mothers were conducted in their 'vernacular' language. It may be worth pointing out here that, as many Pakistani mothers are unable to converse in English with ease, it was important that the investigator was familiar with their language. The investigator's knowledge of the Pakistani national and regional languages helped her to carry out interviews with Pakistani mothers with much ease.

The mother's interview responses were recorded by hand. It was observed during the pilot study that verbatim recording on a tape-recorder was regarded with greater suspicion than the scribbling of the interviewer. The notes taken during the interview were re-written in greater detail immediately upon return from the interview.

C. Teacher's Questionnaire.

The class teachers of all the children who had participated in the project were given the Teacher's Assessment Forms for the individual child with the name of the child written on it. The teachers were requested to fill these forms in within a two week period. The importance of the teacher's objective assessment was emphasized. The filled forms were later collected from the respective class teachers.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction: The results will be presented in the following sequence: (1) Self-esteem; (2) Parental child-rearing behaviour; (3) Academic achievement; (4) Ethnic Identification and Preference. For each of these main areas attention will be focussed in particular on how:

- (i) They relate to the self-esteem of the boys and girls within the two cultural groups.
  - (ii) They differ for the high and low self-esteem groups within the two cultures.
  - (iii) They differ significantly between and within the two cultural groups for boys and girls.
- (5) Finally we present the results for the level of significance of these areas for predicting the self-esteem of boys and girls within the two cultural groups.

It must be noted that low scores on the Pier Harris scale indicate high levels of variable measured,

hence for convenience all other measures used in this thesis were scored in the same manner i.e. low scores on all measures indicate high levels of the variable measured.

7:1. Self-Esteem.

The self-esteem of the subject was assessed by three measures:-

- (A) Pier Harris Short Form
- (B) Semantic Differential Scale
- (C) Teacher's Evaluation

A. Pier Harris Short Form: The scores on Pier Harris Short Form were analysed by Variance Analysis using the following variables: Sex and Culture. The results are recorded in Table 7:1. The means are displayed in Table 7:2. The results indicate that there was no significant main effect and no significant interaction, there were neither any significant differences between the average scores of boys and girls nor between the Pakistani<sup>(1)</sup> and Scottish<sup>(2)</sup> children.

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(1) The British born children of Pakistani origin in Scotland.

(2) The indiginous children in Scotland.

TABLE 7:1

Pier Harris Short Form

Analysis of variance: Self-Esteem by Sex and Culture

Sources of Variance		SS	Df	M.S.	F	Significance level
Culture	A	74.26	1	74.26	0.77	n.s.
Sex	B	2.26	1	2.26	0.02	n.s.
	A x B	6.01	1	6.01	0.06	n.s.
Error		15028.58	156	96.34		
Total		15111.10	159			

TABLE 7:2

Means, t-test Ratio and Level of Significance on Pier Harris Short Form.

Means					
	Total	Boys	Girls	t	p
Pakistani	15.10	15.03	15.17	0.07	n.s.
Scottish	16.46	16.77	16.15	0.27	n.s.
t	0.8	0.8	0.44		
p	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.		

In addition t-tests between the respective subdivisions of the main sample were carried out. The results (recorded in Table 7:2) confirmed the variance analysis findings: that on average no significant differences existed between the boys and girls and between the two cultural groups.

(B) Semantic Differential Scale: The same statistical methods used with Pier Harris Scale were repeated (see Table 7:3; 7:4). The results confirmed the earlier findings of the Pier Harris short form: that on average the boys and girls of both the cultural groups in our sample, have comparable levels of self-esteem.

The correlation between the Pier Harris Short Form and Semantic Differential Scale for the sub-groups in our sample i.e. the Pakistani boys; the Pakistani girls; the Scottish boys and the Scottish girls (see Table 7:5) indicates that the two scales generally measure similar aspects of self-esteem. Hence, for all further analysis only the self-esteem scores for the Pier Harris Short Form will be used.

(C) Teacher's Evaluation: This measure was designed to provide us with information on the children's behavioural self-esteem, so that we were able to select extreme groups of self-esteem. It was found that 100% of the subjects who received a high or low score (as defined in the following paragraph) on the standardised self-esteem measure were also placed as high and low by their respective class teachers.

D. Determining High and Low Self-Esteem Groups.

Children in the high and low self-esteem groups were selected for each cultural group by the following procedure. For each cultural group, boys/girls whose self-esteem scores lay one standard deviation above or below the average self-esteem score of their respective group were selected. For each cultural group 7 boys (16% of 40 comes approximately to 7) and 7 girls whose self-esteem scores were one standard deviation below<sup>(1)</sup> the mean scores were selected to form the high self-esteem groups. Similarly, 7 boys and 7 girls whose self-esteem scores were one standard deviation

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(1) The lower the score the higher the level of self-esteem

TABLE 7:3

Semantic Differential

Analysis of variance: Self-esteem by Sex and Culture.

Sources of Variation		S.S.	Df	M.S.	F	Significance of f
Culture	A	84.10	1	84.10	3.09	n.s.
Sex	B	62.50	1	62.50	2.29	n.s.
	A x B	0.10	1	0.10	0.00	n.s.
Error		4242.88	156	27.19		
Total		4389.58	159	27.61		

TABLE 7:4

Means, t-test Ratios and Level of Significance on Semantic Differential Scale.

	Means			t	p
	Total	Boys	Girls		
Pakistani	19.57	20.23	18.93	1.17	n.s.
Scottish	21.03	21.62	20.42	0.98	n.s.
t	1.11	1.76	1.41		
p	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.		

TABLE 7:5

Correlation Between Pier Harris Short Form and Semantic  
Differential Scale.

	Boys	Girls	Total
Pakistani	.84*	.80*	.79*
Scottish	.86*	.93*	.89*

\* = p<0.001

\*\* = p<0.01

\*\*\* = p<0.05

TABLE 7:6

Means: The High and Low Self-esteem Groups

	Pakistani		Scottish	
	High	Low	High	Low
Boys	4.29	31.43	3.43	35.14
Girls	4.29	31.71	3.71	32.29

above (2) the mean scores were selected to form the low self-esteem groups. The means for the respective extreme groups are displayed in table 7:6.

These extreme groups were formed in order to see whether they differ significantly on the variables examined by us.

## 7:2. Parental Variables

### Introduction.

We have analysed the data for mother's/fathers' support, control, protection and methods of control separately. For each of these parental behaviours we have assessed the following:-

- (i) The relationship between parental behaviour and the self-esteem of the child.
- (ii) The differences between high and low self-esteem groups.

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(2) The higher the score the lower the level of self-esteem

- (iii) The differences between (a) boys and girls; (b) mothers and fathers; (c) Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups.

A. Perceived and Reported Parental Variables.

The data for the parental child rearing behaviour of support; control; protection and methods of control were obtained from the child as well as the mother. The data obtained from the child measured the way the child sees his mother's and father's current behaviour towards him. The data obtained from the mother reflects the mother's view about her own and her husband's behaviour towards the child. In order to see if there were any discrepancies between the data obtained from the mother and child a correlation was carried out. The results are given in Table 7:7.

As shown in Table 7:7 there is a significant correlation between the perceived and reported mother's/father's child rearing behaviour. Hence for all further analysis the data obtained from the mother and the child will be considered together. However the correlation for some variables is much higher than

the others. Furthermore the correlation for reported mother's child rearing behaviour and the child's perceived mother's behaviour is generally higher than the father's.

B. Parental Support.

(i) Relationship with Self-Esteem

The results of the correlation between the mothers'/fathers' support and the self-esteem of the children are given in Table 7:8.

As shown in Table 7:8 the results for the Pakistani children indicate that there was a strong positive relationship ( $p < 0.001$ ) between the mothers'/fathers' support and the self-esteem of the boys and girls.

Similarly, the results for the Scottish group indicate that there was a positive relationship ( $p < 0.001$ ) between mother's/father's support and the self-esteem of their boys and girls.

TABLE 7:7

Correlation Between the Reported and the Perceived  
Mother's/Father's Behaviour.

	PAKISTANI		SCOTTISH	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Support	0.61*	0.46*	0.35*	0.40*
Control	0.52*	0.23***	0.22***	0.23***
Protection	0.49*	0.23***	0.33**	0.21***
Induction	0.93*	0.86*	0.99*	0.98*
Love-withdrawal	0.95*	0.73*	0.99*	0.97*
Power assertion	0.96*	0.91*	0.95*	0.95*

TABLE 7:8

Correlation Between the Mothers'/Fathers' Support and  
the Self-esteem of the Children.

	Mother		Father	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Pakistani	0.79*	0.84*	0.75*	0.58*
Scottish	0.59*	0.80*	0.74*	0.64*

The hypothesis I of this thesis that there is a positive relationship between mothers'/fathers' support and the self-esteem of the boys/girls of both the Pakistani and Scottish group is supported.

(ii) Differences Between the High and the Low Self-Esteem Groups.

The significant differences between the high and low self-esteem groups for mother's/father's support are given in Table 7:9.

As shown in the table the high self-esteem groups of boys and girls in both the Pakistani and the Scottish culture groups had mothers and fathers who were significantly more supportive towards their child than the mothers and fathers of the low self-esteem groups. These results further support the hypotheses I of this thesis that there is a positive relationship between mothers'/fathers' support and the self-esteem of the boys/girls of both the Pakistani and Scottish groups.

TABLE 7:9

Differences in the Mothers'/Fathers' Support:  
High and Low Self-Esteem Groups.

	PAKISTANI		SCOTTISH	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
	Means			
High	8.71	9.29	9.71	10.00
Boys				
Low	15.00	15.43	13.29	17.29
t	4.36	4.00	2.54	5.23
p	<0.001	<0.01	<0.05	<0.001
High	6.86	10.57	8.00	9.86
Girls				
Low	14.43	16.57	17.86	18.14
t	6.90	4.48	9.33	4.58
p	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001

TABLE 7:10

Differences in Mothers' and Fathers' Support for  
Boys and Girls.

	PAKISTANI				SCOTTISH			
	Mother		Father		Mother		Father	
	Means	t	p		Means	t	p	
Boys	10.85	11.70	2.26	<0.05	10.98	12.78	4.36	<0.001
Girls	10.78	13.45	6.26	<0.001	12.45	13.65	2.08	<0.05
t	0.10	2.22			1.86	0.94		
p	n.s.	<0.05			n.s.	n.s.		

(iii) Significant Differences.

(a) Differences Between the Boys and Girls

The differences between the boys and the girls within the Pakistani and the Scottish groups for the mother's and father's support are recorded in Table 7:10.

As shown in Table 7:10 the results for the Pakistani children indicate that the average Pakistani boy receives significantly more ( $p < 0.05$ ) of their father's support than the girl. No significant difference between the boys and the girls was observed for mothers' support. This indicates that the average Pakistani mothers were equally supportive towards their girls and boys.

Similarly the results for the Scottish children show that there are no significant differences between the boys and girls for mothers' and fathers' support. This indicates that the average Scottish mothers and fathers were equally supportive towards their girls and boys.

(b) Differences Between the Mothers and Fathers

The differences between the mothers' and the fathers' support for the boys/girls of the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups are also given in Table 7:10.

As shown in Table 7:10 there are significant differences between the mothers' and fathers' support for the boys/girls of both the cultural groups. The results show that the Pakistani, as well as Scottish, boys and girls received significantly more support from their mothers than their fathers. This indicates that in both the cultural groups mothers were more supportive towards their boys/girls than fathers.

(c) Differences Between the Pakistani and Scottish Groups

Differences between the Pakistani and the Scottish boys/girls for the mothers'/fathers' support are recorded in Table 7:11.

As shown in Table 7:11 there were no significant differences between the Pakistani and the Scottish groups except for the mothers' support for the girls. The results show that the Pakistani girls receive

significantly more ( $p < 0.05$ ) of their mothers' support than the Scottish girls.

C. Parental Control.

(i) The Relationship with Self-Esteem

The results of the correlation between the mothers'/fathers' control and the self-esteem of the child are recorded in Table 7:12.

As recorded in Table 7:12 the results for the Pakistani children show that there was a significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) positive relationship between the mothers'/fathers' control and the self-esteem of the boys and the girls.

The results for the Scottish children show: first, that there was a significant positive relationship ( $p < 0.01$ ) between the fathers' control and the self-esteem of the girls. These results are similar to the results found for the Pakistani girls. Second, contrary to the results reported for the Pakistani children it was found that there was no significant correlation between the mothers' control and the self-

TABLE 7:11

Differences in Mothers'/Father's Support for the  
Pakistani and the Scottish Boys/Girls.

		PAKISTANI	SCOTTISH		
		Means		t	p
Mother	Boys	10.85	10.98	0.18	n. s.
	Girls	10.78	12.45	2.01	0.05
Father	Boys	11.70	12.78	1.35	n. s.
	Girls	13.45	13.65	0.22	n. s.

TABLE 7:12

Correlation Between the Mothers'/Fathers' Control and  
the Self-esteem of the Children

	Mother		Father	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Pakistani	0.90*	0.77*	0.76*	0.79*
Scottish	0.21	0.23	0.23	0.42**

esteem of the boys and girls and similarly there was no significant correlation between the fathers' support and the self-esteem of the boys.

The results indicate that for the Pakistani group the mother's and the father's control is important for the self-esteem of the Pakistani boys and girls while for the Scottish group this was so only in the case of father's control for the girls.

iii. Differences Between the High and Low Self-Esteem Groups.

The differences between the high and low self-esteem groups for the mothers'/fathers' control are given in Table 7:13.

As shown in Table 7:13 the results for the Pakistani group indicate that the mothers and the fathers of the high self-esteem groups of boys and girls were significantly more controlling than the mothers and fathers of the boys and girls of the low self-esteem groups.

The results for the Scottish group show that the mothers and fathers of the high self-esteem group of

TABLE 7:13

Differences in Control: High and Low  
Self-Esteem Groups.

	PAKISTANI		SCOTTISH		
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	
	Means				
-----					
Boys	High	8.71	8.14	13.14	14.29
	Low	14.29	13.86	15.00	17.29
-----					
	t	7.55	6.20	1.49	1.67
-----					
	p	<0.001	<0.001	n. s.	n. s.
-----					
Girls	High	8.43	8.43	14.42	15.29
	Low	16.57	17.86	15.86	18.86
-----					
	t	12.64	8.12	0.88	2.65
-----					
	p	<0.001	<0.001	n. s.	<0.05
-----					

boys were not significantly more controlling than the mothers and fathers of the low self-esteem boys. In the case of high self-esteem girls only the mothers were not significantly more controlling than the mothers of the low self-esteem group, the fathers of the high self-esteem girls were significantly more controlling than the fathers of the low self-esteem group of girls. These results further support the conclusions drawn from the correlational results reported for the mothers'/fathers' control and the self-esteem of the Pakistani and Scottish boys and girls.

(iii) Significant Differences.

(a) Differences Between the Boys and Girls

Differences between the boys and the girls for the mothers'/fathers' control are recorded in Table 7:14.

As shown in Table 7:14 the results for the Pakistani group show that there are no significant differences in mothers'/fathers' control between the boys and girls.

TABLE 7:14

Differences in Mothers' and Fathers' Control  
for Boys and Girls.

	PAKISTANI				SCOTTISH			
	Mother Means	Father Means	t	p	Mother Means	Father Means	t	p
Boys	12.40	13.33	2.70	<0.01	14.20	14.85	1.57	n.s.
Girls	12.45	12.70	0.65	n.s.	14.73	15.75	2.40	<0.05
t	0.06	0.80			0.90	1.22		
p	n.s.	n.s.			n.s.	n.s.		

Similarly, the results for the Scottish group show that there are no significant differences in mothers'/fathers' control between the boys and girls. This indicates that the Pakistani and Scottish boys /girls experience similar amounts of control.

(b) Differences Between the Mothers Fathers

The differences between the mothers' and the fathers' control for the boys/girls of the Pakistani and Scottish groups are given in Table 7:14.

As shown in Table 7:14 the results for the Pakistani children show, first, that for the boys the fathers were significantly ( $p < 0.01$ ) less controlling than the mothers. Second, that for the girls there was no significant difference between the mothers' and fathers' control. This indicates that both mothers and fathers exercised similar amounts of control on their girls.

The results for the Scottish children, contrary to the results for the Pakistani children show - first, that for the boys there was no significant difference between the mothers' and the fathers' control. This

means that the mothers and fathers exercised similar amounts of control on their boys. Second, that for the girls the fathers exercised significantly ( $p < 0.05$ ) lesser amounts of control than the mothers.

(c) Differences Between the Pakistani and the Scottish Groups.

Differences between the Pakistani and the Scottish boys/girls for the mothers'/fathers' control are recorded in Table 7:15.

As shown in Table 6:15 there are significant differences between the Pakistani and Scottish groups for the mother's and the father's control for the boys and the girls. The Pakistani boys and girls mothers and fathers are significantly more controlling than the mothers and fathers of their counterparts in the Scottish group.

D. Parental Protection.

(i) he Relationship with Self-Esteem

The results of the correlation between the mothers'/fathers' protection and the self-esteem of the child are recorded in Table 7:16.

TABLE 7:15

Differences in Control: Pakistani and Scottish Groups.

	PAKISTANI Means	SCOTTISH	t	p
Boys	12.40	14.20	2.64	<0.01
Mother				
Girls	12.45	14.73	3.26	<0.01
Boys	13.33	14.85	2.30	<0.02
Father				
Girls	12.70	15.75	3.62	<0.001.

TABLE 7:16

Correlation Between the Mothers'/Fathers' Protection  
and the Self-esteem of the Children.

	Mother		Father	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Pakistani	0.84*	0.80*	0.69*	0.72*
Scottish	-0.06	0.64*	-0.48*	0.55*

As recorded in Table 7:16 the results for the Pakistani children show that there was a significant positive ( $p < 0.001$ ) relationship between the boys'/girls' level of self-esteem and the mothers'/fathers' protective behaviour.

The results for the Scottish girls, similarly show that there was a positive significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) relationship between the girls' level of self-esteem and their mothers'/fathers' protective behaviours. However, the results for the Scottish boys show that there was a significant negative ( $p < 0.001$ ) relationship between the boys' level of self-esteem and the fathers' protective behaviour, while on the other hand, there was no relationship between the mother's protective behaviour and the self-esteem of the Scottish boys.

ii. Differences Between the High and Low Self-Esteem Groups

protection.

The differences between the high and low self-esteem groups for the mothers'/fathers' protective behaviour are given in Table 7:17.

TABLE 7:17

Differences in Protection: High and Low  
Self-Esteem Groups.

		PAKISTANI		SCOTTISH	
		Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Boys	High	8.29	11.14	12.43	16.86
	Low	18.57	17.71	12.00	13.86
	t	11.94	7.27	0.81	3.45
	P	<0.001	<0.001	n. s.	<0.01
Girls	High	7.43	7.14	10.00	11.43
	Low	10.71	10.29	13.71	14.00
	t	5.47	5.39	4.97	2.32
	P	<0.001	<0.001	<0.01	<0.05

As shown in Table 7:17 the results for the Pakistani group indicate that the mothers and the fathers of the groups of the high self-esteem boys and girls are significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more protective than the mothers and fathers of the boys and girls of the low self-esteem groups. These results further support the correlational results which show that there is a positive relationship between the mothers' and fathers' protective behaviour and the self-esteem of the Pakistani boys and girls.

The results for the Scottish children show - first, that the group of the high self-esteem girls have mothers and fathers who are significantly more protective than the mothers and fathers of the group of the low self-esteem girls. These results are similar to the results reported for the Pakistani girls of the high self-esteem group, and further support the correlational results reported for the Scottish girls.

Second, the results for the high and the low self-esteem groups of Scottish boys show that there is no significant difference between the mothers protective behaviour. This means that the mothers of the high and the low self-esteem group of boys were similar in their protective behaviour. These results confirm the

earlier correlation results of no significant relationship between the mother's protection and the self-esteem of the Scottish boys.

Third, the results show that the high self-esteem group of boys have fathers who are significantly less ( $p < 0.01$ ) protective than the fathers of the low self-esteem group. These results confirm the earlier results of significant negative correlation between the father's protective behaviour and the self-esteem of the Scottish boys.

(iii) Significant Differences.

(a) Differences Between the Boys and Girls.

Results for the differences between the boys and the girls for the mothers'/fathers' protective behaviour are given in Table 7:18.

As shown in Table 7:18 the results for the Pakistani group show that the Pakistani mothers and fathers were significantly more ( $p < 0.001$ ) protective towards their girls than their boys.

The results for the Scottish group show that unlike the Pakistani mothers the Scottish mothers showed similar amounts of protective behaviour towards their boys and girls. However, like the Pakistani father the Scottish father also showed significantly more ( $p < 0.001$ ) protective towards their girls than their boys. Thus the results indicate that the Pakistani and Scottish fathers were more protective towards the girls than the boys, while only the Pakistani mothers were more protective towards the girls than the boys.

(b) Differences Between the Mothers and Fathers

The results for the differences between the mothers and the fathers protective behaviour for the boys/girls of the Pakistani and Scottish groups are displayed in Table 7:18.

As shown in Table 7:18 the results for the Pakistani group show that there were no significant differences between the mothers and fathers amount of protective behaviour for the girls and boys. This means that Pakistani mothers and fathers showed similar amounts of protective behaviour or were equally protective in their behaviour.

TABLE 7:18  
Differences in Mothers' and Fathers' Protection for  
Boys and Girls.

	PAKISTANI				SCOTTISH			
	Mother Means	Father Means	t	p	Mother Means	Father Means	t	p
Boys	11.03	11.03	0.35	n.s.	12.68	15.55	9.52	<0.001
Girls	8.70	8.98	1.60	n.s.	12.03	12.78	3.06	<0.01
t	5.57	4.49			1.63	6.64		
P	<0.001	<0.001			n.s.	<0.001		

TABLE 7:19  
Differences in Protection: Pakistani and  
Scottish Groups

	PAKISTANI Means	SCOTTISH Means	t	p
Boys	11.03	12.68	3.90	<0.001
Mother				
Girls	8.70	12.03	8.49	<0.001
Boys	11.03	15.55	9.03	<0.001
Father				
Girls	8.98	12.78	9.38	<0.001

The results for the Scottish mothers and fathers show that mothers were significantly more protective towards the girls and boys than the fathers.

(c) Differences Between the Pakistani and the Scottish Groups

The results are recorded in Table 7:19, and show that the Pakistani mothers and fathers were significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more protective towards their boys and girls than the Scottish mothers and fathers were towards their boys and girls. This indicates that Pakistani parents (mothers and fathers) were more protective towards their children than the Scottish parents.

E. Parental Methods of Control.

(i) Relationship with Self-Esteem

The results for the different methods of control are recorded in Table 7:20 and are discussed below.

Induction. The results show that there was significant high and positive correlation between the mothers' and the fathers' use of the method of

TABLE 7:20

Correlation Between the Mothers' and Fathers' Methods  
of Control and the Self-esteem of the Children.

	Pakistani		Scottish	
	Induct- ion	Love with- drawal	Power Assertion	Induct- ion
	Love with- drawal	Power Assertion	Love with- drawal	Power Assertion
Boys	0.89	-0.46	-0.10	0.89
Girls	0.80	-0.62	0.27	-0.68
Mother				
Boys	0.88	-0.77	0.02	0.91
Girls	0.62	-0.63	0.29	0.91
Father				
Boys				
Girls				

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induction and their boys' and girls' self-esteem. This positive relationship exists for both the cultural groups.

Love withdrawal. The results indicate that for both the cultural groups there was a significant negative correlation between the mothers' and the fathers' use of the methods of love withdrawal and their boys' and girls' self-esteem.

Power assertion. The results show that for the Pakistani group there is a weak (significant only at  $p < 0.05$ ) positive relationship between the girls' self-esteem and mothers' and fathers' use of methods of power assertion. For the Pakistani boys it was found that there was no significant relationship between the mothers' and the fathers' use of methods of power assertion and the boys' self-esteem.

The results for the Scottish group for the power assertion method of control show that the mothers' and the fathers' use of the power assertion method of control has a significant negative relationship with the self-esteem of the girls. Similarly the fathers' use of the power assertion method of control has a significant negative relationship with the self-esteem

of the boys. However, the results show that there was no relationship between the mothers' use of the power assertion method of control and the self-esteem of the Scottish boys.

The results of the present study suggest the following:-

1. In both the Pakistani and Scottish groups there is a significant positive relationship between the mothers'/fathers' use of the method of induction and their boys'/girls' self-esteem. Thus the hypothesis II of this study, that there is a positive relationship between the mothers'/fathers' use of the methods of induction and the self-esteem of the child for the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups is supported.

2. In both the Pakistani and Scottish groups there is a significant negative relationship between the mothers'/fathers' use of the methods of love withdrawal and their boys'/girls' self-esteem. Thus the hypothesis III of this study, that the relationship between the mothers'/fathers' use of the methods of love-withdrawal and the self-esteem of the child is

negative for the Pakistani and Scottish cultural groups is supported.

3. The power-assertion methods of control show that the relationship between mothers'/fathers' use of power and the child's self-esteem is different for the children of the Pakistani and Scottish groups. This indicates that the relationship between the self-esteem of the children and the mothers/fathers use of methods of power assertion was determined by the cultural background of the children.

(ii) Differences Between the High and Low Self-Esteem Groups

The results for differences between the high and the low self-esteem groups for the mothers' and the fathers' methods of control for the Pakistani group are given in Table 7:21.

The results for the Pakistani group for the different methods of control are given below.

Induction. As shown in the results the high self-esteem groups of Pakistani boys and girls had mothers and fathers who used the inductive method significantly

TABLE 7:21

Differences in Methods of Control: Pakistani High and Low  
Self-esteem Groups.

	High self- esteem	Low self- esteem	t	p
<b>Mother (Boys)</b>				
Induction	43.14	76.85	8.44	<0.001
Love With- drawal	182.00	146.57	4.89	<0.001
Power Assertion	162.86	164.57	0.19	n. s.
<b>(Girls)</b>				
Induction	43.43	76.00	6.11	<0.001
Love With- drawal	196.00	152.57	4.17	<0.01
Power Assertion	146.00	160.00	1.21	n. s.
<b>Father (Boys)</b>				
Induction	46.57	88.86	10.60	<0.001
Love With- drawal	193.43	154.29	4.85	<0.01
Power Assertion	148.00	144.86	0.43	n. s.
<b>(Girls)</b>				
Induction	41.71	60.29	3.00	<0.01
Love With- drawal	196.00	158.00	5.86	<0.001
Power Assertion	151.14	169.71	1.69	n. s.

more than the mothers and fathers of the low self-esteem groups. These results confirmed the earlier results of positive correlation between the inductive method of control and the self-esteem of the Pakistani boys and girls.

Love withdrawal. The results show that the mothers and fathers of the high self-esteem boys and the girls used the love withdrawal methods of control significantly less often than the mothers and fathers of the low self-esteem boys and girls. These results confirmed the earlier results of negative correlation between the love withdrawal method of control and the self-esteem of the child.

Power Assertion. As shown in the results there was no significant difference between the mothers/fathers of the high self-esteem groups and the mothers/fathers of low self-esteem groups in their use of methods and the fathers of the high and the low self-esteem groups used similar amounts of power assertion with their boys and girls. These results further explain the weak ( $p < 0.05$ ) correlation between the mothers/fathers use of power assertion and the self-esteem of the girls and the absences of any significant relationship between the

mothers/fathers use of power assertion and the self-esteem of the boys.

Differences between the high and the low self-esteem groups for the mothers' and the fathers' methods of control for the Scottish group are given in Table 7:22.

The results for the Scottish children for the different methods of control are the following:

Induction. The results show that the mothers and the fathers of the high self-esteem groups of boys and girls had used the inductive method of control significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more often than the mothers and the fathers of the low self-esteem groups. These results are similar to the results reported for the Pakistani group. These results also help us to understand the high positive correlation between the mothers and the fathers use of inductive methods of control and the self-esteem of their child, reported for the Scottish group.

Love withdrawal. The results show that the mothers and the fathers of the high self-esteem groups of boys/girls used the love withdrawal methods of control

significantly less often than the mothers and fathers of the low self-esteem boys and girls. These results are similar to the results reported for the Pakistani group. These results also explain the negative correlation between the mothers' and the fathers' use of love withdrawal methods of control and the self-esteem of their child.

Power Assertion. The results show that the mothers' and the fathers' of the high self-esteem group of Scottish girls use the methods of power assertion significantly less often than the mothers and the fathers of the low self-esteem group of Scottish girls. Similarly, the results show that the fathers of the high self-esteem group of boys use the methods of power assertion less often than the fathers of the low self-esteem boys. However, the mothers of the high and the low self-esteem group of boys did not differ significantly in their use of the methods of power assertion. These results help in understanding the weak correlation between mothers' use of the methods of power assertion and the Scottish boys self-esteem reported earlier.

(iii) Significant Differences.

(a) Differences Between the Boys and the Girls.

Results for the differences between the boys and the girls for the mothers and the fathers use of different methods of control i.e. induction, love withdrawal and power assertion are given in Table 7:23.

As shown in Table 7:23, the results for the Pakistani group show the following:

Firstly, the results show that there were no significant differences between the boys and the girls for the mothers use of different methods of control i.e. method of induction, love withdrawal and power assertion. This means that the Pakistani mothers used similar amounts of induction, love withdrawal and power assertion for controlling their male and female children.

Secondly, the results show that there were significant differences between the boys and the girls for the fathers use of the three different methods of control i.e. method of induction, love withdrawal and power assertion. The fathers used significantly more of method of love withdrawal and induction with the

TABLE 7:22  
Differences in Methods of Control: Scottish High  
and Low Self-Esteem Groups.

	High Self- Means	Low Self-	t	p
-----				
Mother (Boys)				
Induction	41.14	91.43	9.97	<0.001
Love With- drawal	183.14	127.43	5.43	<0.001
Power Assertion	163.71	169.14	0.77	n.s.
-----				
(Girls)				
Induction	43.14	95.14	21.50	<0.001
Love With- drawal	168.57	135.43	6.92	<0.001
Power Assertion	176.29	157.43	3.17	<0.01
-----				
Father (Boys)				
Induction	43.71	99.71	14.01	<0.001
Love With- drawal	187.43	150.29	8.34	<0.001
Power Assertion	156.86	138.00	3.75	<0.01
-----				
(Girls)				
Induction	40.57	72.00	8.69	<0.001
Love With- drawal	167.71	156.57	2.10	<0.05
Power Assertion	179.71	158.57	2.51	<0.05
-----				

TABLE 7:23

Differences in Methods of Control Boys and Girls.

	Mother		Father	
	Induct- ion	Love with- drawal	Induct- ion	Love with- drawal
Pakistani				
Boys	56.35	167.0	61.25	181.0
Girls	55.63	174.85	45.75	170.95
t	0.23	1.48	4.53	2.32
P	n.s.	n.s.	<0.001	<0.05
Scottish				
Boys	67.50	157.55	73.20	167.40
Girls	66.20	160.15	57.00	169.40
t	0.30	0.63	4.09	0.58
P	n.s.	n.s.	<0.001	n.s.
				Power assertion
				146.55
				171.45
				5.97
				<0.001
				147.80
				161.85
				4.96
				<0.001

girls than the boys, while they had used power assertion methods significantly more with the boys than the girls. This showed that the Pakistani fathers used significantly different amounts of induction, love withdrawal and power assertion for controlling their sons and daughters.

As shown in Table 7:23 the results for the Scottish group show the following:

Firstly, the results show that there were no significant differences between the boys and the girls for the mothers use of different methods of control i.e. method of induction, love withdrawal and power assertion. This means that the Scottish mothers used similar amounts of induction, love withdrawal and power assertion for controlling their boys and girls. These results are similar to the results found for the Pakistani mothers.

Secondly, the results show that there were significant differences between the boys and the girls for the fathers use of method of induction and power assertion. The Scottish fathers used induction significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more with the girls than the

boys, while they had used power assertion significantly more with the boys than the girls. These results were similar to the results reported for the Pakistani fathers. However, contrary to the results found for the Pakistani fathers there were no significant difference between the boys and the girls for the Scottish father use of methods of love withdrawal for controlling children.

(b) Differences Between the Mothers and Fathers.

The results for the differences between the mothers and the fathers methods of control i.e. induction, love withdrawal and power assertion for the boys/girls of the Pakistani and Scottish groups are recorded in Table 7:24.

As shown in Table 7:24 the results for the Pakistani group for the different methods of control i.e. induction, love withdrawal and power assertion show the following:

Firstly, the results for the Pakistani boys show that there were significant differences between the mothers and fathers for all the three methods of control. The mothers used the methods of induction and

TABLE 7:24

Differences in Methods of Control: Mothers and Fathers.

	Boys		Girls			
	Induct- ion	Love with- drawal	Induct- ion	Love with- drawal		
<b>Pakistani</b>						
Mother	56.35	167.0	163.39	55.63	174.85	157.68
Father	61.25	181.0	146.55	45.75	170.95	171.45
t	4.15	4.20	5.98	5.77	1.53	4.41
P	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	n.s.	<0.001
<b>Scottish</b>						
Mother	67.50	157.55	163.05	66.20	160.15	162.25
Father	73.20	167.40	147.80	57.00	169.40	161.85
t	5.29	4.86	6.67	5.95	3.89	0.21
P	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	n.s.

love withdrawal significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more often than the fathers while the fathers used power assertion significantly more ( $p < 0.001$ ) than the mothers for controlling the boys.

Secondly, the results for the Pakistani girls show that mothers used the methods of power assertion significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more than the fathers, while the fathers used the methods of induction significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more than the mothers. However, no significant difference between the mothers and fathers was observed for the love withdrawal method of control.

The results for the Scottish group show the following:

Firstly, the results for the Scottish boys showed that the mothers used the methods of induction and love withdrawal significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more than the fathers, while the fathers used the methods of power assertion significantly more than the mothers. These results were similar to the results found for the Pakistani group.

Secondly, the results for the Scottish girls showed

that the fathers used the methods of induction significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more than the mothers while the mothers used the methods of love withdrawal significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) more than the fathers.

C. Differences Between the Pakistani and Scottish Groups

The results for the significant differences between the Pakistani and the Scottish children for the mothers' and the fathers' use of induction, love withdrawal and power assertion methods of control are given in Table 7:25.

The results show the following:

Firstly, the results show that the Pakistani mothers and fathers use the method of induction significantly more than the Scottish mothers and fathers for disciplining their boys and girls.

Secondly, the results show that the Pakistani mothers used the methods of love withdrawal significantly less than the Scottish mothers for

TABLE 7:25

Differences in Method of Control: Pakistani  
and Scottish Children.

	PAKISTANI	SCOTTISH	t	p
-----				
Mother (Boys)				
Induction	56.35	67.50	2.77	<0.01
Love With- drawal	167.0	157.55	1.93	0.05
Power Assertion	163.9	163.05	0.03	n. s.
-----				
(Girls)				
Induction	55.63	66.50	2.99	<0.01
Love With- drawal	174.85	157.55	3.08	<0.01
Power Assertion	157.68	163.05	1.14	n. s.
-----				
Father (Boys)				
Induction	61.25	73.20	2.66	<0.01
Love With- drawal	181.0	167.40	3.62	<0.001
Power Assertion	146.55	147.80	0.46	n. s.
-----				
(Girls)				
Induction	45.75	57.00	4.18	<0.001
Love With- drawal	170.95	169.40	0.36	n. s.
Power Assertion	171.45	161.85	2.26	<0.05
-----				

controlling their boys and girls. Similarly, the Pakistani fathers used the methods of love withdrawal significantly less than the Scottish fathers for disciplining their boys. However, no significant difference was found between the Pakistani and Scottish fathers for the use of the method of love withdrawal for controlling their daughters, though the Pakistani fathers used the method of love withdrawal less often with their girls than the Scottish fathers, this difference was not significant.

### 7:3. Academic Achievement.

The information about the academic achievement (school performance) of the children was obtained from their class teacher. The class teachers evaluation of the childrens performance in the following four main areas - written English (WE), Reading (RE), number work (NW) and social studies (SS) - was obtained. As mentioned before the teachers had to rate the children's performance on a 6-point rating scale (see Appendix 22). The lower the rating assigned to a pupil the better the child performed in School.

TABLE 7:26

Correlation Between Self-esteem and the Teacher's  
Evaluation of the Childrens' Academic Performance.

Self-esteem groups	Academic Performance			
	Pakistani WE	RE	NW	SS
Boys	0.44**	0.44**	0.28***	0.43**
Girls	0.48*	0.26***	0.58*	0.42**
<hr/>				
Scottish				
Boys	0.47*	0.42**	0.58*	0.63*
Girls	0.56*	0.55*	0.47*	0.49*

TABLE 7:27

Differences in Academic Performance: Pakistani  
High and Low Self-Esteem Groups.

	Academic Performance	High Self- esteem group	Low Self- esteem group	t	P
Boys	WE	2.29	4.29	4.36	<0.001
	RE	2.00	3.86	3.65	<0.01
	NW	1.71	3.14	2.29	<0.05
	SS	2.14	3.71	2.91	<0.01
<hr/>					
Girls	WE	1.57	3.86	5.78	<0.001
	RE	2.00	2.86	1.69	n. s.
	NW	1.86	4.29	4.49	<0.001
	SS	2.00	3.86	4.04	<0.01

A. Relationship Between Self-Esteem and the Academic Performance of the Children.

The correlation results are given in Table 7:27. As shown in the results, for all the main groups, i.e. Pakistani boys/girls and Scottish boys/girls there was a significant positive relationship between the children's self-esteem and their academic performance in all the four areas i.e. written English, Reading, number work and social studies.

B. Significant Differences Between the High and Low Self-Esteem Groups

The means of the high and low self-esteem groups are recorded in Table 7:27 and 7:28, as well as the t - values and the significance levels. These are reported separately for the Pakistani and the Scottish children.

The results for the Pakistani children are given in Table 7:27. As shown in the results the Pakistani boys of high self-esteem group perform significantly better than the Pakistani boys of the low self-esteem group in all areas. Similarly it was found that the Pakistani girls of the high self-esteem group perform

TABLE 7:28

Differences in Academic Performance: Scottish  
High and Low Self-esteem Groups.

Academic Performance	High self-esteem group	Low self-esteem group	t	P
WE	1.86	4.00	4.21	<0.001
RE	1.71	3.00	3.06	<0.01
NW	2.00	4.43	4.60	<0.001
SS	1.71	3.57	3.09	<0.01
<hr/>				
WE	1.71	3.71	3.36	<0.01
RE	1.71	2.86	3.58	<0.01
NW	2.00	3.86	2.52	<0.05
SS	2.00	3.43	2.34	<0.05

significantly better than the girls of the low self-esteem group in all areas except in English reading for which no significant difference was found between the girls of the high and low self-esteem group.

The results for the Scottish children are noted in Table 7:28. As shown in the results the Scottish boys/girls of the high self-esteem groups perform significantly better in all the four areas than the boys/girls of the low self-esteem groups.

C. Significant Differences Between Boys and Girls.

The results for the Pakistani children are given in Table 7:29. As shown in the results there were no significant differences between the Pakistani boys and girls for any of the four areas of their academic performance. This means that the average Pakistani boys and girls were seen as being similar in their performance in school.

Similarly the results for the Scottish children show (see Table 7:29) that the average Scottish boys or girls do not differ significantly in their school performance.

TABLE 7:29

Differences in Academic Performance: Boys and Girls.

SCHOOL PERFORMANCE				
	WE	RE	NW	SS
-----				
Pakistani				
Boys	3.30	3.08	2.70	2.90
Girls	3.15	2.88	3.00	3.03
t	0.51	0.79	0.97	0.49
P	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
-----				
Scottish				
Boys	3.00	2.33	3.23	2.68
Girls	2.65	2.33	3.00	2.55
t	1.17	0.00	0.71	0.54
P	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
-----				

(ii) Differences Between the Pakistani and Scottish Groups.

The means, as well as the t-values and the significance levels of the Pakistani and Scottish children are given in Table 7:30. As shown in the table the Scottish boys and girls performed significantly better than the Pakistani boys and girls in English reading. However, in all the other three subjects i.e. written English, number work, and social studies the Pakistani girls and boys did not differ significantly from the Scottish boys and girls. This indicates that Pakistani and Scottish children's academic performance was similar except in the case of English reading.

7:4. Ethnic Identity and Preference.

The tests of ethnic identity and preference were administered to all the children individually.

A. Ethnic Identity.

98.75 per cent of the Pakistani children (boys and girls) and 97.5 per cent of the Scottish children (boys and girls) were able to identify with their own ethnic group, correctly on all four items of the test, therefore, no further analysis of the test of ethnic identification were carried out.

TABLE 7:30

Differences in Academic Performance: Pakistani  
and Scottish Groups.

Children	PAKISTANI	SCOTTISH	t	P	
Boys	WE	3.30	3.30	1.03	n. s.
	RE	3.08	2.33	2.97	0.01
	NW	2.70	3.23	1.81	n. s.
	SS	2.90	2.68	0.98	n. s.
Girls	WE	3.15	2.65	1.67	n. s.
	RE	2.88	2.33	2.58	0.01
	NW	3.00	3.00	0.00	n. s.
	SS	3.03	2.55	1.85	n. s.

B. Ethnic Preferences and Self-Esteem.

The correlational results for the relationship between ethnic preferences and the self-esteem of the child are given in Table 7:31 . The results show that there was no significant relationship between the child's ethnic preference and his self-esteem for the children of both the cultural groups.

C. Preferences for 'Own' and 'Other' Groups

The percentages for the ethnic preferences of the children are recorded in Table 7:32 and 7:33. These preferences were measured by the four items indicating different degrees of interaction on the Family Picture Test.

As shown in the tables, the children of the Pakistani and Scottish groups in our sample overwhelmingly preferred to belong to the family representing their own group. However, we note, that there was a considerable number of children in both the cultural groups (22 per cent of the Pakistani boys and 10 per cent of Pakistani girls, similarly 30 per cent of Scottish boys and 20 per cent of girls) who choose to have as 'best friends' children from other ethnic

groups. Similarly we observe that a considerable number of children in the Pakistani as well as Scottish sample preferred to visit families of other ethnic groups rather than their own. The preference for other groups is more strongly reflected in the children's preference within the school. It is evident from the percentages recorded in Table 7:33 that more than 40 per cent of the Pakistani as well as Scottish children preferred to sit next to children other than those belonging to their own ethnic groups.

The overall results indicate that for both the Pakistani and Scottish groups the preference for 'Other Group' was higher among boys than girls. Further more the preference for 'Other Group' was higher among the Scottish than the Pakistani group.  
Scottish girls)

#### 7:5. Determining the Most Important Variable for the Self-Esteem of the Children.

A stepwise (step-up) regression procedure (Stoodley, Lewis and Stainton, 1980) was used to determine the most important variable predicting self-esteem from among the parental child-rearing; academic achievement and ethnic identity and preference variables.

TABLE 7:31

Correlation Between Ethnic Preference and Self-Esteem

	BOYS	GIRLS
PAKISTANI	0.18	0.15
SCOTTISH	0.02	0.10

TABLE 7:32

Percentages: Preference for Own Ethnic Group.

	Pakistani		Scottish	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
"Sit next to"	58	52	56	58
"Visit"	62	88	52	66
"Best friend"	78	90	70	80
"Belong to"	100	100	100	95
Total	74.5	82.5	69.5	74.75

TABLE 7:33

Percentages: Preferences for Other Ethnic Groups.

	Pakistani		Scottish	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
"Sit next to"	42	48	44	42
"Visit"	38	12	48	34
"Best friend"	22	10	30	20
"Belong to"	0	0	0	5
Total	25.5	17.5	30.5	25.25

A step-up procedure commences by fitting a simple linear regression relationship between the dependent variable and the single explanatory variable which gives the best prediction; this is the variable which maximises the regression sum of squares. At each stage one extra variable<sup>(1)</sup> is added to the model, the variable to be added being selected so as to maximise the regression sum of squares at that stage. The procedure stops when all the explanatory variables have been included or when the addition of an extra variable will not significantly increase the regression sum of squares.

A. Pakistani Boys

The results of the step-up regression analysis for the self-esteem of the Pakistani boys are summarised in Table 7:34.

---

(1) The variable with the partial value of greatest magnitude is the next one to be included in the regression equation provided that its tolerance and F values satisfy criteria specified when initiating the analysis (Stoodley, Lewis and Stainton, 1980)).

- R Shows the multiple correlation of the particular independent variable, including all the independent variables selected previously by the multiple regression method.
- R<sup>2</sup> The squared multiple correlation of the particular independent variable.
- Variance The amount of variance that the particular variable contributes to the total explained variance when included into the multiple regression.
- F The F value for multiple R.
- P The level of significance.

(This applies to all the tables showing regression results).

As shown in Table 7:34 the results indicate that for the self-esteem of the Pakistani boys from among the parental child-rearing variables, academic achievement variable and ethnic identity and preference variables the following 13 predictors were significant:

TABLE 7:34

Summary Table of Step-wise Regression on the Pakistani Boys Self-esteem for  
the Parental, Academic and Ethnic Identity and Preference Variables.

Independent Variable	R	R <sup>2</sup>	Variance	F	P
Mother's Control	0.90	0.82	0.82	181.33	<0.01
Mother's Induction	0.93	0.87	0.05	135.00	<0.01
Father's Support	0.94	0.88	0.01	96.11	<0.01
Father's Induction	0.94	0.89	0.01	73.88	<0.01
Father's Power Assertion	0.95	0.90	0.01	60.30	<0.01
Father's Love Withdrawal	0.95	0.90	0.00	54.33	<0.01
Mother's Protection	0.96	0.92	0.02	47.22	<0.01
Mother's Power Assertion	0.96	0.92	0.00	41.49	<0.01
Mother's Support	0.96	0.92	0.00	37.45	<0.01
Social Studies	0.96	0.92	0.00	32.86	<0.01
Number Work	0.96	0.92	0.00	30.72	<0.01
Written English	0.96	0.92	0.00	27.36	<0.01
Mother's Love Withdrawal	0.96	0.92	0.00	24.39	<0.01

mother's control; mother's induction; father's support' father's induction' father's power assertion' father's love withdrawal' mother's protection; mother's power assertion; mother's support; social studies; number work; written English' mother's love withdrawal. The ethnic identity and preference variables were too insignificant to appear in the regression results.

The multiple R obtained when all the 13 predictors had been entered into the equation for self-esteem was 0.96 thus accounting for 92% of the variance. As shown in column 4, Table 7:34, the most significant predictor of self-esteem for the Pakistani boys was mother's control and accounted for 82% of the explained variance ( $F(1,39) = 181.33; p < 0.01$ ), indicating that from among the other variables entered in the regression this variable was the most important predictor.

Column 4 of Table 7:34 also shows that the next important predictor was mother's induction, and further explained 5% of variance and in conjunction with mother's control 87% of variance ( $F(2,38) = 135.00; P < 0.01$ ). The additional proportion of variance explained by the 11 parental child-rearing variables

TABLE 7:35

Summary Table of Step-wise Regression on Pakistani Girl's Self-Esteem for Parental, Academic, Ethnic Identity and Preference Variables.

Independent Variable	R	R <sup>2</sup>	Variance	F	P
Mother's Support	0.83	0.70	0.70	90.29	<0.01
Mother's Induction	0.91	0.83	0.13	93.32	<0.01
Father's Protection	0.92	0.85	0.02	70.20	<0.01
Mother's Control	0.92	0.86	0.01	55.95	<0.01
Father's Induction	0.93	0.87	0.01	48.48	<0.01
Mother's Protection	0.94	0.88	0.01	41.27	<0.01
English Reading	0.94	0.88	0.00	35.34	<0.01
Father's Love Withdrawal	0.94	0.88	0.00	30.93	<0.01
Written English	0.94	0.88	0.00	27.28	<0.01
Social Studies	0.95	0.90	0.00	24.27	<0.01
Father's Control	0.95	0.90	0.00	21.69	<0.01
Mother's Power Assertion	0.95	0.90	0.00	19.32	<0.01
Mother's Love Withdrawal	0.95	0.90	0.00	17.27	<0.01
Father's Power Assertion	0.95	0.90	0.00	15.54	<0.01
Number Work	0.95	0.90	0.00	13.97	<0.01

and the academic achievement variables included in the regression equation barely exceeds 5% and so are not as important as mother's control. This indicates that the most important determinant of the Pakistani boy's self-esteem from among the parental child-rearing behavior and academic achievement is the mother's control.

#### Pakistani Girls.

The results of the step-up regression analysis for the self-esteem of the Pakistani girls are summarised in Table 7:35. As shown in the table the results indicate that for the self-esteem of the Pakistani girl from among the parental child-rearing behaviors; academic achievement and ethnic identity and preference variables the following 15 predictors were significant: mother's support; mother's induction; father's protection; mother's control; father's induction; mother's protection; English reading; father's love withdrawal; written English; social studies; father's control; mother's power assertion; mother's love withdrawal; father's power assertion and number work. The ethnic identity and preference variables were too insignificant to appear in the regression results. (This was anticipated as there was no significant

relationship found between the self-esteem and the ethnic identity and preference of the child as reported earlier.)

The multiple R obtained when all the 15 predictors had been entered into the equation for self-esteem was 0.95 thus accounting for 90% of the variance. As shown in column 4, of Table 7:35, the most important predictor of the self-esteem for the Pakistani girls was mother's support and accounted for 70% of the explained variance ( $F(1,39) = 90.29$ ;  $P < 0.01$ ), indicating that among the other variables entered in the regression equation mother's support was the most important predictor.

Column 4 of Table 7:35 also shows that the next important predictor was mother's induction, and further explained 13% of variance and in conjunction with mother's support 83% of variance ( $F(2,38) = 93.32$ ;  $P < 0.01$ ). The additional proportion of variance explained by the 14 parental child-rearing variables and the academic-achievement variables included in the regression equation barely exceeds 7% and so are not as important as mother's support. Thus the most

important determinant of the Pakistani girls self-esteem from among the parental child-rearing behaviour and academic achievement is mother's support.

Scottish Boys.

The results of the step-up regression analysis for the self-esteem of the Scottish boys are summarised in Table 7:36. As shown in the Table the results indicate that for the self-esteem of the Scottish boys from among the parental child-rearing behavior, academic achievement and ethnic identity and preference variables the following 15 predictors were significant: father's induction; mother's love withdrawal' father's protection; father's support; social studies; father's control; mother's control; social studies; father's control; mother's control; mother's support' mother's power assertion; father's love withdrawal; written English; English Reading; mother's protection; father's power assertion; number work. The ethnic identity and preference variables were too insignificant to appear in the regression results.

The multiple R obtained when all the 15 predictors had been entered in the equation for self-esteem was

0.96 thus accounting for 92% of the variance. As shown in column 4, of Table 7:36, the most important predictor of self-esteem for the Scottish boy was Father's induction and accounted for 89% of the explained variance ( $F(1,39) = 179.88; P < 0.01$ ) indicating that among the other variables entered in the regression equation father's induction was the most important predictor.

Column 4 of Table 7:36 also shows that the next important predictor was mother's love withdrawal and further explained 3% of variance and in conjunction with father's induction 86% of variance ( $F(2,38) = 116.05; P < 0.01$ ). The additional proportion of variance explained by the rest of the 13 parental child-rearing variables and the academic achievement variables included in the regression equation barely exceeds 4% and so are not as important as father's induction. Thus the most important determinant of Scottish boy's self-esteem from among the aprental child-rearing behavior and academic achievement is father's induction.

TABLE 7:36

Summary Table of Step-wise Regression on Scottish Boys' Self-esteem  
for Parental Academic, Ethnic Identity and Preference Variables.

Independent Variable	R	R <sup>2</sup>	Variance	F	P
Father's Induction	0.90	0.83	0.83	179.88	<0.01
Mother's Love Withdrawal	0.92	0.86	0.03	116.05	<0.01
Father's Protection	0.93	0.88	0.01	89.97	<0.01
Father's Support	0.93	0.88	0.01	74.48	<0.01
Social Studies	0.95	0.89	0.01	63.31	<0.01
Father's Control	0.95	0.90	0.01	57.73	<0.01
Mother's Control	0.95	0.90	0.00	50.46	<0.01
Mother's Support	0.95	0.90	0.00	44.91	<0.01
Mother's Power Assertion	0.96	0.92	0.00	39.83	<0.01
Father's Love Withdrawal	0.96	0.92	0.00	35.13	<0.01
Written English	0.96	0.92	0.00	31.13	<0.01
English Reading	0.96	0.92	0.00	27.88	<0.01
Mother's Protection	0.96	0.92	0.00	24.81	<0.01
Father's Power Assertion	0.96	0.92	0.00	22.16	<0.01
Number Work	0.96	0.92	0.00	19.87	<0.01

Scottish Girls.

The result of the step-up regression analysis for the self-esteem of the Scottish girls are summarised in Table 7:37. As shown in the Table the results indicate that for the self-esteem of the Scottish girls from among the parental child-rearing behaviour; academic achievement and ethnic identity and preference variables the following 14 predictors were significant: mother's induction; father's induction; father's love withdrawal; father's protection; number work; Written English; English Reading; father's support; father's power assertion; mother's power assertion; mother's love withdrawal; father's control; mother's control; mother's support. The ethnic identity and preference variables were too insignificant to appear in the regression results.

The multiple R obtained when all the 14 predictors had been entered in the equation for self-esteem was 0.98, accounting for 85% of the variance. As shown in column 4, of Table 7:37, the most important predictor of the self-esteem for the Scottish girls was mother's induction and accounted for 89% of the explained

TABLE 7:37

Summary Table of Step-wise Regression on Scottish Girls' Self-esteem  
for Parental, Academic, Ethnic Identity and Preference Variables.

Independent Variable	R	R <sup>2</sup>	Variance	F	P
Mother's Induction	0.94	0.89	0.89	310.01	<0.01
Father's Induction	0.96	0.92	0.03	217.85	<0.01
Father's Love Withdrawal	0.97	0.93	0.01	166.29	<0.01
Father's Protection	0.97	0.94	0.01	137.71	<0.01
Number Work	0.97	0.94	0.00	118.48	<0.01
Written English	0.97	0.94	0.00	98.98	<0.01
English Reading	0.97	0.94	0.00	84.25	<0.01
Father's Support	0.97	0.94	0.00	72.81	<0.01
Father's Power Assertion	0.97	0.94	0.00	64.12	<0.01
Mother's Power Assertion	0.98	0.95	0.01	56.34	<0.01
Mother's Love Withdrawal	0.98	0.95	0.00	53.78	<0.01
Father's Control	0.98	0.96	0.00	47.65	<0.01
Mother's Control	0.98	0.96	0.00	42.46	<0.01
Mother's Support	0.98	0.95	0.00	37.97	<0.01

variance ( $F(2,38) = 310.01$   $P < 0.01$ ) indicating that among the other variables entered in the regression equation mother's induction was the most important predictor.

Column 4 of Table 7:37 also shows that the next important predictor was father's induction and further explained 3% of variance ( $F(2,38) = 217.85$ ;  $P < 0.01$ ). The additional proportion of variance explained by the rest of the 12 parental child-rearing variables and the academic achievement variables included in the regression equation barely exceeds 2% and so are not as important as mother's induction. Thus the most important determinant of Scottish girls' self-esteem from among the parental child-rearing behavior and academic achievement is mother's induction.

To sum up, the regression results indicate the following:-

1. The ethnic identity and preference variables were not significant enough to appear in the summary table of the step-up regression on the self-esteem for all sub-groups in our sample and are therefore not important for the self-esteem of the child.

2. The academic achievement variables are significant but not as important as the parental variables for the self-esteem of the child.
  
3. Parental variables for the self-esteem of the child, though the most important parental variable for the child's self-esteem, varied with the sex and cultural background of the child.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction.

In this concluding chapter the major findings of this investigation are discussed and their theoretical implications considered. The discussion is divided into seven main sections., We start our discussion of the results with (1) the minority status and the self-esteem of the children and then go on to discuss the results regarding (2) self-esteem and gender; (3) ethnic identity and preferences; (4) parental child-rearing behaviour; (5) academic achievement; (6) the most important determinant of self-esteem; (7) the main conclusions.

8:1. Minority Status and Self-Esteem.

A principal finding of this study is that the Pakistani minority children's level of self-esteem does not differ substantially from the level of self-esteem of the indigenous children.

These results are strikingly different from the results of some of the studies which suggested that the self-esteem of the minority children is lower than the self-esteem of the majority children (Vaughan, 1964; Proshansky & Newton, 1968; Milner, 1973 and Goodman, 1974). However, they are in accordance with the more recent studies of Loudon (1981), Bagley, Mallick and Verma, (1979) and Stone (1981).

The results of the present study, that there is no significant difference between the level of self-esteem of the minority and majority child are also striking in the light of the theoretical formulations of self-esteem discussed in Chapter Three. The principle of reflected appraisals, social comparisons and self-attribution suggest that direct experience of prejudice, low evaluation and other dissonant social factors have a negative effect on the self-esteem of the minorities. However, when we examine these theories in relation to our data we observe that the Pakistani minority child, at least at the primary level, is able to combat these negative social factors due to a number of social and psychological factors operating within the Pakistani community in Scotland, discussed below.

A. Insulation and Significant Others.

Pakistani minority in Glasgow resides in areas with high concentration of Asians (see Chapter Two), therefore, the Pakistani children,<sup>(1)</sup> in their daily social interaction, are mainly in direct contact with the members of their own community. In such a social context the Pakistani minority children have little direct exposure to the prejudiced members of the indigenous population. Thus, these children probably experience relatively little direct prejudice, simply because their immediate environment is largely composed of members of their own ethnic community. Furthermore, the most prejudiced members of the indigenous population are the ones with whom the Pakistani minority children are likely to have least contact. It is likely that these members of the indigenous population who are most apt to move out of a neighbourhood when immigrants move in, and will go to great efforts to place their children in all-white schools.

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(1) Children born in Britain of Pakistanis immigrant parents.

The fact that the Pakistani children live in areas with high concentration of ethnic minorities means that they usually attend schools with high concentrations of ethnic minority pupils. It has been suggested by Rosenberg & Simmons (1972) that adolescents of ethnic minorities in predominantly black schools (consonant context) are more likely to have comparable levels of self-esteem with the majority adolescent. This was also observed by Loudon (1978). It must be noted that all the Pakistani children who participated in the present study were from schools with high concentrations of ethnic minorities. In this environment the Pakistani children are less likely to be teased about their ethnic characteristics. Protected by such an environment, they have the support of other Asian children within the school, and are more likely to reject or laugh off the low status that any prejudiced teacher, pupil or text might assign to their ethnic group.

We also observed that the Pakistani minority children's social network i.e. peer group, friendship group etc. is most likely to consist of children from their own community. The results of ethnic preference of the Pakistani children also reflected this (see

Table 7:32). However, the preference for in-group, among Pakistani children is not because they are prejudiced against the out-group children, but is the consequence of certain social and cultural factors. The Pakistani childrens' social, educational and religious activities bring them in close contact with other Pakistani children. For example, their parents are more likely to visit other Pakistani families, and turn to Asian families when they need assistance in child minding etc. Furthermore, the Pakistani children are more likely to go to school with other Pakistani children and meet them regularly at weekend Urdu school, Mosque and other religious and social functions. Thus the Pakistani children basically lives and plays with children who share their social experiences, religion and cultural beliefs and values. The net effect is that the social world of the Pakistani minority children is one which is consonant with the perceptions, standards and interpretations they learn within their own home. Moreover the Pakistani childrens' significant others' (people whose judgements they value and trust) are more likely to be members of their own ethnic community. These significant others, no matter what they think about the children, are not going to devalue them for their ethnic background. So, at least at the primary school

level, the Pakistani minority children are less likely to be made aware of their own ethnic group's low rank in the total society. Thus it is clear that the lifestyle of the Pakistani community in Glasgow helps to protect their childrens' self-esteem.

B. Social Comparison.

Reference groups with whom an individual shares a set of norms, are considered to provide the standard or comparison point against which an individual can evaluate himself (Kelly, 1952; Rosenberg, 1972). This means that children would compare themselves with those children with whom they have sustained social interactions and share cultural and religious norms and standards. Our results about the ethnic identity and preference of the Pakistani minority and the indigenous Scottish children (see Table 7:32) support this view. The results clearly show that only a small proportion of Pakistani, as well as Scottish, children had sustained social interactions with the children of other ethnic groups. Thus, it is reasonable to think that a vast majority of Pakistani children compare themselves with other Asian children, more precisely, with the particular children with whom they interact.

Thus, despite their exposure to the mass media (as documented by Hartman & Husband, 1974) the Pakistani minority children, we suspect, are unlikely to make comparisons between themselves and their more privileged indigenous counterparts' living conditions, religious beliefs, values, standards and physical appearance while evaluating themselves.

It may be noted that the life of the average Pakistani children differs markedly from that of the average indigenous children. However, this difference does not produce meaningful gaps in the level of self-esteem of the two groups of children. This is because the Pakistani minority and the Scottish majority children use their own respective groups as standards while evaluating themselves. Thus the Pakistani minority and the indigenous children reach the same levels of self-esteem by different routes because of their different experiences, but in the end they are not to be distinguished because one has more self-esteem than the other.

C. Self Attribution.

According to the self-attribution principle one important basis for assessing one's own worth is to

observe one's achievements. But this is precisely why it is so important to recognise that some of the individual's statuses are ascribed, whereas others are achieved. The results of the present study indicate that the chief ascribed statuses such as ethnicity and gender are not related to the level of self-esteem of the children. However, achieved status, such as academic achievement, is related with self-esteem.

It is also believed (as discussed in Chapter Three) that the level of self-esteem of an individual is dependent on his aspiration and success. This means that if individuals succeed in those areas to which they aspire, then their self-esteem should not suffer. Moreover, as expressed by Coopersmith, "success and failure are not directly and immediately perceived but are filtered through and perceived in the light of personal goals and values" (p.37, 1967). The criteria of success for the Pakistani community in Glasgow may well be achievable sub-cultural norms and values rather than those of the indigenous population. Compared with other ethnic communities in Glasgow the Pakistani community has done relatively well (Islam, 1985). This factor, along with the others, helps in explaining why the Pakistani childrens' level of self-

esteem does not differ substantially from the indigenous children.

D. Positive Identity.

In Britain, the existence of prejudice against minorities - Jews, Asians, Blacks and Catholics - is a familiar fact of history. Groups have been hierarchically ranked with remarkable consistency over the decades (Bogardus, 1928; 1959; Hartley, 1948; Burns, 1975; Teplin, 1977; Bagley et al., 1979). Associated with this pattern of prejudice are a number of racial, ethnic and religious stereotypes, some favourable, but most of them demeaning. Racial insulation may protect the Pakistani minority children from direct expressions of prejudice, yet they must face the fact that there is considerable derogation of their ethnic group in the British society. The question is: how does the Pakistani minority child deal with prejudice and the stereotype image of his ethnic group?

It must be remembered that the need to preserve self-esteem is probably universal (Allport, 1955; Murphy, 1947 and Lecky, 1945). Researchers have found that different groups employ different defence

mechanisms for the preservation of their self-esteem (Lewin, 1948; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). We observe that the Pakistani minority community in Scotland is no exception. They preserve their self-esteem by encouraging positive intra-group attitudes which result in a strong, positive identity.

The Pakistanis in Scotland appear to have maintained a close, cohesive family structure with roles and responsibilities clearly defined. Thus the Pakistani minority children are securely located within a family which embodies long cultural traditions of language, diet, dress and religion. These are all the things which are highly valued and give the children a clear, positive sense of who they are - an identity - which is independent of the prejudices which may exist among some members of the indigenous society. It appears justified, therefore, to explain the present results in terms of self-assuredness (what Tajfel (1979) refers to as 'positive chauvinism') as the basis of positive identification, and strong faith in their own cultural traditions. What this implies is that an individual, secure in his own group, may find the other group's evaluation irrelevant. Hence, when exposed to prejudice he is likely to reject it as a reflection of the indigenous population's bigotry and thus,

irrelevant. However, it must be remembered that positive identity of the Pakistani minority children does not imply that they feel that their ethnic group is superior. It only implies that they do not think that their ethnic group is inferior.

E. Multi-Cultural Education.

It may be emphasised that the schools of all the children who participated in the present study were specially equipped to meet the needs of the ethnic minority children. These schools were more likely to have special language teachers and multi-cultural educational programmes. The teachers in these schools were more likely to participate in multi-cultural educational programmes for in-service teachers. The multi-cultural programmes encourage the teachers to give increased importance to the positive contributions of immigrant's home countries to world history and the contributions of minorities to life in Britain, and attempt to introduce activities overtly aimed at promoting pride in the ethnic background of the minority children. Such measures are all openly aimed at building up the ethnic minority pupils' self-esteem. Hence, these schools might have helped the Pakistani

minority children in maintaining their self-esteem.

In her book "The Education of the Black Child in Britain", Maureen Stone (1981) argues that multi-racial education projects do not enhance the black (West Indian) child's self-esteem, but actually interferes with the basic teachings of reading, writing and arithmetic. However, we found no such evidence for the Pakistani children. We found that not only was the self-esteem of the Pakistani children was similar to the indigenous children, but also that the academic performance of the average Pakistani child was similar to that of the indigenous child.

Such discussions clarify considerably the otherwise puzzling findings of the relationship of minority status to self-esteem. They do not, of course, necessarily apply identically to all minority groups, nor do they exhaust the reasons for the results of the present study. What they do make plain, however, is that even the most compelling theory and most self-evident conclusions i.e. low status in society, results in low levels of self-esteem or, conversely, high status in society would result in high levels of self-esteem, cannot be taken for granted. A number of erroneous theoretical conclusions, we

believe, may result from the social scientist's tendency to view the situation of the minority groups members from the perspective of the broader society rather than from the viewpoint of the minority groups themselves. This means that it is necessary to examine the specific sources of a group's self-esteem, before one assumes that the broad social and economic conditions which devalue them would determine their self-esteem.

In our view the literature on ethnic minorities (see Chapters Three & Four) has given undue emphasis to their subservient behaviour and roles (we frequently forget that countless numbers of indigenous population may act in a similar fashion). Too little attention has been given by the earlier researchers to the fact that the minorities may take pride in their competence and ability.

The findings of the present study indicate at the very least that previous researchers who reported poor levels of self-esteem for minorities may have over-estimated the extent to which ethnic minorities internalise the dominant majority's definition of them as "inferior human beings." Thus, the Pakistani

minority children in Scotland appear to have resources which enable them to maintain a level of self-esteem at least equal to that of the indigenous population.

8:2. Gender and Self-Esteem.

Another significant finding of this study was that boys and girls of both the cultural groups had similar levels of self-esteem. Previous research findings on this issue have been inconsistent. Some studies (Bush et al., 1977-1978) showed evidence of lower self-esteem among girls. On the other hand, findings by Maccoby & Jacklins (1974) and Wylie (1979) were similar to the results of the present study and their research review showed no consistent evidence of lower self-esteem among the girls compared to the boys. These results are particularly striking in the case of Pakistani girls and indicates that they by no means have low self-esteem, and are not 'down trodden' as is often supposed.

The view that women have low self-esteem rests on the premise that women are accorded lower social status in the societies of the world and that they internalise this widespread cultural assumption about their inferiority (Bardiwick, 1971; Freeman, 1970).

According to this view, both girls and boys are socialised to think of women as less competent, less able and less praiseworthy. Thus, girls come to see themselves as having lesser social prestige and so have lower self-esteem.

We have argued above that there is no definite link between the low status of a group within a society and the levels of self-esteem of its members. Similarly we argue that if girls or boys are accorded lower social status in a society, this would not mean that they would internalise the widespread cultural assumption about their inferiority and consequently would have low self-esteem. This is borne out by the results of this study, that there is no significant difference between the boys' and girls' level of self-esteem within both the cultural groups, and further supports the view that social prestige is not necessarily related to self-esteem.

In an attempt to explain why boys and girls (Pakistani and Scottish) have similar levels of self-esteem, certain observations are relevant.

Firstly, it has been observed, that in the course

of cognitive development children learn to classify the objects of the world (including people) into certain categories. As the self as an object of observation develops, children place themselves in the appropriate category as boys and girls, Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, etc., children or adults, and so on. These constitute fundamental components of self-definition. Children also learn that certain kinds of characteristics (looks, attitudes, traits) and behaviours are socially appropriate to members of these categories. Most parents want their children to acquire appropriate gender identities, and consequently subtle pressures are applied, like reinforcement of the 'right' behaviour and selective presentation of toys, clothing and hobbies etc. Moreover, young children want to be accepted by parents, siblings and peers, and therefore are motivated to live up to appropriate cultural standards (Kagan, 1964; Dickstein & Hardy, 1979). Self-esteem, therefore depends on a culturally prescribed definition of the self in terms of cultural standards. Thus, a child's feeling of worth will depend in part on the degree to which his/her personal definition matches the culturally defined standard. Therefore, we observe that boys and girls within any cultural group try to meet the culturally defined gender standards. As the culturally defined standards

for boys and girls are different so are the self-concept constituents. But having different self-concept constituents does not necessarily lead to different levels of self-esteem.

Secondly, self-esteem is dependent not only on achievement but on aspiration. This applies both to traits as well as status. For example it has been observed that the fact that girls in American culture are less likely than boys to stake themselves on competence and more on interpersonal success, does not reflect lower self-esteem on their part (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). If boys and girls succeed in those areas to which they aspire, then their self-esteem should not suffer.

Thirdly, it has been shown that most males and females, while evaluating themselves, make within-sex comparisons (Oppenheimer, 1970; Lyle & Ross, 1973; Ritzer, 1977; Rosenberg & Rosenberg, 1981). Most boys, then, may compare themselves with other boys, and similarly most girls compare themselves with other girls. Therefore, to the extent that within-sex comparisons are made the average feeling of success and achievement of boys and girls should be the same.

Finally, it must be emphasised that if men have higher status than women this does not mean that the primary school boys would have higher status than girls. Parents do not consciously make their boys or girls feel more or less worthy because of their gender. Similarly teachers do not assign status to a pupil because of his or her gender. This explains why the boys and girls of both the cultural groups in the present study have similar levels of self-esteem.

In short, the findings of the present study suggest that social identity elements such as ethnic status and gender, do not determine the level of self-esteem among children.

### 8:3. Ethnic Identification and Preference and Self-Esteem.

The other most important finding of this study was that there is no relationship between the ethnic preference and identification and the self-esteem of the Pakistani and the indigenous children. These results are extremely important as no other researcher in

Britain so far had explicitly investigated the relationship between the ethnic identification and preference of the immigrant and indigenous child and his level of self-esteem. Earlier studies conducted in Britain (Milner, 1973; Jahoda, 1972; Davey & Mullin, 1980) had presumed that there was a relationship between ethnic identification and preference and the self-esteem of the child. The present study provides evidence contrary to this assumption and indicates that children equal in self-esteem may neither be comparable in their ethnic preferences nor in their ability to identify with their ethnic group.

The premise that a simple linear relationship exists between the childrens' ethnic identification and preference, and their level of self-esteem needs to be regarded with caution. We do not find any significant link between the childrens' self-esteem and their ethnic identification and preference. Our study strongly indicates that the self-esteem of the children is not determined by ethnic preference and identification, but by several other factors (as will become apparent in our discussion below). Thus the outcome of this part of our study further diminishes the importance that had been attached to the phenomenon of self rejection among

the minority group children in Britain.

A. Ethnic Identification and Awareness.

Another important finding of the present study was that the frequency of misidentification among the Pakistani minority child in Scotland was as low as the indigenous child. We found that 98.5 per cent of the Pakistani children and 97.5 per cent of the Scottish children were able to identify with their ethnic group with much ease. The extremely low frequency (less than 1.5 per cent) of misidentification by the Pakistani child compares favourably with the incidence of misidentification (2.5 per cent) among indigenous children. Thus the present investigation tends to diminish the importance that has been attached to the phenomenon of misidentification among the minority group children in Britain (Milner, 1978).

Our results are in marked contrast with those from many earlier studies where as much as a third to a half of the children in the minority samples misidentified, and had identified with representation of a majority. For example, in Milner's (1973) study, 48 per cent of the West Indian and 24 per cent of the Asian (Pakistani and Indian) children had misidentified but not a single

indigenous child did so. Perhaps some variability in the results of the present study from the earlier studies can be interpreted in terms of instrumentation differences in design and test materials.

Milner's study (1973) which reported a high frequency of misidentification among Pakistani<sup>1</sup> children examined the ethnic identification of the child by presenting the 5-8 year old children in his sample with black and white dolls and asking them a number of questions about these dolls: which doll looks like you? which doll would you rather be? etc. He found that many Pakistani children said that they looked more like the white doll. Such misidentifications were interpreted as racial misidentification and self-rejection and, by implication, low self-esteem. There are several important factors overlooked by Milner which were of special relevance to Pakistani children in his sample.

1. That these children might be responding to these dolls in terms of literal skin colour rather than in terms of symbolic meanings.

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1. He used a sample of Pakistani and Indian children of immigrant parents in Britain together and referred to them as Asians.

2. In Pakistani culture lighter skin is considered to be beautiful. This has been the case since before the arrival of Europeans in the sub-continent of India and has been well documented in the 16th century art and literature of the country. This means that the Pakistani children might have been taught that lighter skin colour is beautiful and hence they were inclined to identify with the white doll.
3. Many Pakistani children do not have a very dark complexion, and children saying that they looked like the white doll, actually might have looked more like the white doll than the black.
4. It is also possible that due to the racial stereotyping in children's literature (Dixon, 1979) and on the television children in Milner's study responded in a negative way towards the black doll.
5. Milner's study was done in the late 1960's. At that time there were hardly any black dolls available in the market (they still are not available in Pakistan).  
Thus it is possible that many of the children in Milner's study had never actually seen or played with a black doll, and may have rejected the black doll due to unfamiliarity.

Thus, from the foregoing discussion we conclude that the 'Doll Test,' used by Milner was not valid for the Pakistani Sample.

There is a broad consensus among sociologists and social psychologists in Britain (Rex et al., 1967; Rose et al., 1969; Taylor, 1976; Ghuman, 1980; Ghuman & Gallop, 1981; Ballard, 1982; Fuller, 1983) that the Pakistanis in Britain, in contrast to other minorities, are more anxious to preserve the basic values of their culture of origin, its language and religion; in other words they wish to maintain their ethnic identity. Pressure from minority group leaders in Mosques, various ethnic cultural bodies and in such self-help groups as Saturday schools, encourages the child to develop a pride in his own culture, which is manifested in our self-identification results.

Thus, taking into account the results of the present study, as well as the recent research findings in Britain (Jahoda, 1973; Davey & Mullin, 1980), one could say that the present generation of Pakistani children in Scotland have no doubts about their ethnic identity. The results of ethnic identification along with the results of level of self-

esteem of the Pakistani children of this investigation tends to diminish the importance that has been attached to the phenomenon of 'self-alienation' among the Pakistani children in Britain.

B. 'Ethnic Preference'.

We also found that both the Pakistani and the Scottish children in our sample preferred their own sex and ethnic groups. The tendency to prefer ones own gender and ethnic group is generally observed among children. They prefer to interact with people who are familiar and we found that our sample was no exception.

The results of the present study are similar to the earlier findings (Davey & Mullin, 1980, 1982) that ethnicity and gender play a predominant role in the ethnic preferences of children in multi-racial schools. For both the Pakistani and Scottish children the modal response pattern of high frequency of self-identification and own group preference was prevalent in all the four items of the preference test and unlike a few earlier researcher (Milner, 1970; Jahoda, 1972) there was no marked preference among the minority children for the indigenous group. These results can be discussed in terms of the socio-psychological

factors influencing the Pakistani minority childrens' activities. As mentioned before the Pakistani childrens' world consists mainly of members of their own ethnic community. They are constantly interacting with the children of his own ethnic community and their friends are likely to be from among them. Volpe (1976) also makes this point and suggested that children develop friendships by doing things together. As the Pakistani and Scottish children generally interact with children of their own ethnic groups their preference for their own ethnic groups should come as no surprise. This however did not mean that there was no interaction between the Pakistani and the indigenous children.

We must keep in mind that although the frequencies for the in-group preferences was high, some of the children did opt for other ethnic groups on the preference test. This was more prevalent in school situation. For example, 45 per cent of the Scottish children preferred to sit next to a child from the other ethnic groups. This is extremely encouraging and indicated that at least within the school the children of all ethnic groups interacted with each other quite well. In the present case we can venture to support the view that Glasgow children of multi-

racial primary schools tend to be relatively tolerant towards different ethnic groups (Jahoda, 1972).

We also found that the percentage of in-group preferences was higher among the Pakistani minority children than the indigenous. These results were in contrast to the earlier studies conducted in Britain (Jahoda, 1972; Milner, 1973; Davey & Mullin, 1980, 1982) which reported that the frequency of in-group preferences for the minority child were lower than the frequencies of in-group preferences made by the indigenous child. The relatively high frequency of in-group preferences made by the Pakistani child (specially girls) of our sample requires explanation.

The relatively low preferences for the other ethnic groups observed among the Pakistani children may be attributed to, firstly, the traditional norms prevailing in the Pakistani community and regulating the interaction of their children. In Pakistani culture mutual aid and trust between the members of kin and community is extremely important. Children from an early age are socialised to find support and to share with other members of their community. Because of this it is customary for the children to prefer kin - usually cousins when selecting playmates. It is

unusual for the children to mix with children whose families are not intimately known to their parents and perhaps it was because of this tradition that our Pakistani sample preferred their own ethnic group.

Secondly, it is possible that the dress and dietary restrictions imposed by their culture (i.e. avoiding pork and eating halal) makes it much more convenient for the children to interact with the members of their community.

Thirdly, we observe that the Pakistani immigrant parents make conscious efforts to adopt strategies which would facilitate their children's acceptance of their own ethnic culture and ultimately into their own community. They encourage the children to attend religious and socio-cultural functions and spend much time exchanging visits with one another. Perhaps this social exposure results in the Pakistani minority children's greater preference for their own ethnic community.

Finally, it is possible that the minority status of Pakistani immigrant children in the U.K. makes them more cautious and selective in their preferences.

Perhaps their preferences for their own ethnic group relieves them from the anxiety of being rebuffed or rejected on the basis of their ethnic background.

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the childrens' ethnic status, identification and preference does not have as pervasive and significant effect upon their self-esteem as is generally assumed.

#### 8:4. Parental Child-Rearing Behaviour and Self-Esteem.

##### Introduction.

In this section we will attempt to interpret the results regarding the parental child-rearing behaviour which according to our conceptualization in the theoretical analysis (Chapter Three) and survey of research literature (Chapter Four) appeared to be most relevant to the formation of self-esteem. The results of the specific behaviours of the parents of our sample are discussed under four main headings: (i) support (ii) control (iii) protection and (iv) methods of control. Each of these will be discussed separately, and we will focus in each case upon the following:-

A. Our results for the relationship between each

parental behaviour and the self-esteem of the Pakistani and the Scottish boys and the girls.

- B. We will examine how the amount of each parental behaviour varies with the sex of the child and the parent, and will discuss the intergroup differences and similarities between the two cultural groups in our sample.

A. The Relationship with Self-Esteem

(i) Parental Support.

As suggested by hypothesis I of this study we found that there was a significant positive relationship between the maternal and paternal support and the self-esteem of the child (boys and girls) in both the Pakistani and Scottish sample.

As discussed in Chapter Three, there is a general agreement between several personality theorists that parental support has beneficial effects for the development of the healthy self-esteem of the child. The contention of these theorists is that an

individual's self-esteem is formed throughout the course of social interaction. As a result of interpersonal transaction the individual imagines what other people's appraisals are about him and this in turn influences his own evaluative assessment of himself. For children their self-esteem is a reflection of the way in which significant others (specially their parents) evaluate them or treat them. Parental support may be expressed verbally or physically. As long as the parents' behaviour conveys to their children that they are concerned about them and would be there to help when the children experience distress or failure, parents' behaviour would have an enhancing effect on the childrens' self-esteem.

Our results show that supportive parents of both the Pakistani and Scottish sample provide a decisive basis for the children to think well of themselves. During our interviews with the mothers we noted that the parents of the high self-esteem groups within the Pakistani and Scottish sample, though they expressed their disapproval about particular actions of their children made their children feel that their support to the children was unconditional. It is commonly observed that other people may value children for their appearance, performance, abilities or other qualities,

parents can express love and approval for their children even when they are limited in some ways. Parents can feel love for and express their support to the average child as well as to the child who is bright and handsome. The children feel that they do not have to qualify to earn their parents' support. This is one of the reasons why children who were denied their parents' support in our Scottish and Pakistani samples came to regard themselves as unworthy individuals and showed low self-esteem.

Our results showed that supportive parents in both the cultural groups indicate to their children that they are important. Supportive parents are more likely to approve of their childrens' efforts in doing whatever they strive to do and make them aware that they are there if they might need them. This gives their children assurance and makes them more confident of their success. Thus even after frustrating experiences these children continue their own efforts towards solutions to any task at hand (Heilburn et al., 1966). This is one of the reasons why children in our sample who had supportive parents not only had high self-esteem but were also found to perform well at school (see Section 4 of this Chapter).

Researchers using different methodologies and samples had also reported that there was a positive relationship between parental support and the self-esteem of the American child (Coopersmith, 1967; Growe, 1980). Researchers working in other areas had also noted that children of supportive parents were advanced in cognitive development; moral development and were more creative than the children of non-supportive parents. This indicates that the children who have supportive parents were more likely to be socially competent.

The significant positive relationship between the mother's and father's support and the self-esteem of boys and girls, found by us, provides further evidence about its importance for the children. Our results provide ample evidence that parental support is an important and essential determinant of the childrens' self-esteem. However, there are other parental/determinants of self-esteem too, which are discussed below.

(ii). Parental control.

Parents who are equally supportive of their children may differ in the amount of control they

exercise. The number of demands, rules and regulations imposed by the parents and the consistency with which these demands, rules and regulations are imposed may vary across different cultures and within cultures for different parents. We found that the amount of control exercised by the Pakistani parents was different from the Scottish parents and so was the relationship between the parental control and the self-esteem of the children.

In the case of the Pakistani sample we found that there was a significant positive relationship between parental (mothers' and fathers') control and the self-esteem of the children. These results were further confirmed by the significant differences observed between the high and the low self-esteem groups of Pakistani boys and girls. We found that the mothers and fathers of the high self-esteem groups of the boys and the girls were significantly more controlling than the mothers and fathers of the low self-esteem groups. The Scottish sample, on the other hand, presents a curious pattern. We found that except for the positive relationship between the Scottish father's control and the self-esteem of the girls there was no significant relationship between the parental control and the self-

esteem of the children. These results suggest that the relationship between parental control and the self-esteem of the children is influenced by the cultural background of the children. This means that in order to understand the relationship between parental control and the self-esteem of the children we need to examine our results in the light of the cultural background of our sample.

In the case of Pakistani children it is evident from our results that there is a positive relationship between the mothers' and the fathers' control and the self-esteem of the boys and girls. Why parental control has an enhancing effect for the self-esteem of the Pakistani boys and girls can be made clear by the following explanations.

Firstly, within Pakistani culture parental control symbolizes parental attention and parental control is generally condoned. Sustained parental attention is required to maintain control over children and the very posing and enforcement of control leads to greater interaction between the parents and the children. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Pakistani children are generally observed to accept their parents' supervision and control. For example, S. Saeed and

J.I. Galbraith (1980) while exploring the reaction of a group of Pakistani children in the U.K. to their parents' extensive supervision and control found that generally the Pakistani children accepted the control of their parents. If children accept their parents control as legitimate and do not resent it, it is unlikely to have a negative effect on their self-esteem. Thus parental control is perceived from the perspective of the childrens' cultural norms.

Secondly, within Pakistani culture, childrens' good behaviour is more openly encouraged and approved of not only by parents but also by the other members of the extended family and community. Similarly, inappropriate behaviour of the children is met with disapproval not only from parents but also from other members of the family and community. Children of controlling parents are more likely to conform to the appropriate behaviours of their society and exhibit appropriate behaviours. This suggests that the children of controlling parents are more likely to win the approval of their parents and community which has favourable effects on their self-esteem.

Thirdly, parental control helps the Pakistani

children to give structure to their environment. Part of this structuring are the standards that parents present to their children (values, beliefs and attitudes) and part of it is the rules governing the children's behaviour imposed by the parents. This helps the Pakistani children to overcome doubts and anxiety which they encounter because of their minority status in the U.K. Thus Pakistani immigrant parents who establish rules and enforce them provide their children with a clear view of how to interpret the world so as to maximize success and minimize anxiety. Moreover, it has been argued that controlling parents promote self-esteem and social competence by providing predictability (Coopersmith, 1967; Seligman, 1975). Consistently enforced and clear rules enable the children to relax as long as they heed these rules.

Finally, we note that Pakistani parents of high self-esteem groups are not only more controlling but also more supportive than the parents of low self-esteem groups. This means that parents of the high self-esteem groups who made more demands also provided more assistance and assurance to their children. Probably these parents also helped and encouraged their children in acquiring appropriate skills to enable the children to fulfil their parents' demands.

We also noted that Pakistani parents who were more controlling were also the ones who used inductive methods of control. This suggests that though the Pakistani parents in our sample were more controlling than the Scottish parents they were by no means rigid and inflexible in their attitude and did not lack compromise. The Pakistani parents were observed to evoke compliance in their children by using praise, mediation, compromise and reason. The avoidance of love withdrawal techniques and the use of love oriented positive techniques of induction for disciplining their children suggest that the Pakistani parents were able to exercise control in a more rewarding manner. This produces a sense of personal significance in the children and contributes to heightened feelings of self-esteem. Thus the foregoing discussion suggests that the influence of parental control on the children's self-esteem is determined by the other child rearing behaviour of the parents, in particular by their methods of control.

In the case of the Scottish sample we found that except for the significant positive relationship between the father's control and the self-esteem of the

Scottish girls, parental control did not have any statistical significance for the self-esteem of the Scottish child (see Table 7:12).

The explanation of this may be found in the methods of control used by the Scottish parents. We observed that the Scottish parents generally used love withdrawal methods and did not use inductive methods of control as often as the Pakistani parents did (see Table 7:25). We have argued that methods of control are important in determining the childrens' perception of their parent's control, and therefore, are important in determining the relationship between parental control and the self-esteem of the children. Thus one could argue that because the Scottish mothers and fathers (only in the case of boys) did not use inductive methods very often their control did not show any significant relationship with their childrens' self-esteem.

The other possible reason for this relationship could be due to the amount of control exercised by the Scottish parents. We found that the Scottish parents in our sample were not as controlling as the Pakistani parents in our sample (Table 7:15). Thus one could argue that the amount of control used by the Scottish

parents was not enough to have any significant effect on the childrens' self-esteem.

This raises the question of why the Scottish fathers' control had a significant positive relationship with the self-esteem of the girls. The father's behaviour has been observed to be more important to the female childrens' development in certain areas (Cox, 1970; Sieglerman, 1965; Sears, 1965; Kagan, 1964). Self-esteem might well be one such area. The other explanation is that the Scottish fathers use inductive methods of control significantly more with the female than with the male children (see Table 7:23). Because fathers exercise control through love oriented positive methods, their control has a positive relationship with the self-esteem of the girls.

(iii). Parental Protectiveness.

So far we have examined our results regarding parental support and control, now we turn to another important variable of child-rearing parental behaviour which is believed to have serious consequences for the self-esteem of the children, viz. parental protection. Our data regarding the maternal and paternal protective

behaviour and the self-esteem of the children revealed sex and cultural differences.

All parents are protective to a certain extent towards their children and take measures that will shelter the children from events, experiences and goals that they believe to be overly demanding or dangerous. The underlying theme of protection apparently represents a concern about dangers to which the children are vulnerable. As we shall see, the children's interpretation of this concern of their parents has important implications for the influence that the mother's and father's protectiveness would have for the self-esteem of the children.

According to our results for the Pakistani children in our sample the maternal and paternal protectiveness had significant positive relationship with the self-esteem of the children. Our data for the Pakistani sample further revealed that the mothers and the fathers of the high self-esteem group of boys and girls were significantly more protective towards their children than the parents of low self-esteem groups. This indicates that both for the boys as well as the girls paternal and maternal protectiveness are

associated with high self-esteem. The results regarding the Pakistani male children are novel and are contrary to the results reported for the American male child (Coopersmith, 1967; Growe, 1980). This raises the question of why parental protective behaviour was associated with the high self-esteem of the Pakistani boys in our sample.

An individual's independence is generally valued in Western cultures and as parental protective behaviour is believed to make the children dependent, parental protective behaviour is not considered to be appropriate. The Western tradition of fostering independence in children is in stark contrast with the Pakistani (or Asian) childrens' dependency on their parents. In Pakistani culture childrens' independence is relatively less valued, therefore it is unlikely that Pakistani children in the U.K. who grow up with predominantly Pakistani values and beliefs (as discussed in Section 8: 1 of this Chapter) would value themselves for being independent from their parents.

The foregoing discussion suggests that parental protectiveness is not viewed as overbearing and restrictive by the Pakistani boys and girls, and it more likely to be accepted as an indication of their parents

concern for them. Parental protectiveness involves parental commitment to maintain vigilance and to be aware of not only the whereabouts of the child but also of their acquaintances. During our interviews with mothers we observed that among the most anxious concerns of Pakistani parents was the selection of their child's friends. This concern reflects the belief that the 'wrong kind' of companions can have a deleterious influence upon the social, moral and intellectual development of the children. This concern reflects the parents general interest in their children and also the extent to which they stay in touch with the children's affairs. This means that the protectiveness of Pakistani parents results in increased involvement with the children. Rosenberg's (1965) study of American children revealed that similar behaviour of parents had favourable consequences for the child's self-esteem than a general lack of parental interest. Thus it is more likely that the Pakistani children in our sample view their parents protectiveness as their interest in them. In the same way it is more likely that the children feel that the parents protect them not because they are incompetent but because they are valued, and this is one of the reasons why parental protectiveness was associated with

the self-esteem of the Pakistani male and female children of our sample.

Pakistani parents are protective towards their children and are selective about their childrens' exposure to the outside world. However, being a minority in the U.K. makes them all the more cautious. They believe that they must protect their children from the harsh realities of the adult world and insulate them from harmful influences. Thus the protective stance of the Pakistani immigrant parents helps them in presenting a stable frame of reference to their children in an otherwise conflicting environment. Their protectiveness also saves their children from being continuously exposed to two different worlds with different values. Moreover, the presence, availability and close proximity of parents in times of stress can prove to be of immense value to the children. The children who are assured of their parents' help can disregard threatening stimuli without undue distress. This explains why parental protectiveness has favourable consequences for the self-esteem of our Pakistani sample.

It may be noted that though the Pakistani parents are protective they do provide ample opportunity for

the children to achieve success which they can call their own. During our interviews with the Pakistani mothers it became evident that the Pakistani children were allowed a lot of freedom and independence within home and within the areas which were considered to be safe for the children.

We now turn to the Scottish sample. The results for the Scottish sample indicate that there are sex-related differences in the relationship between the mothers' and the fathers' protectiveness and the self-esteem of the children. Like the Pakistani sample we found that maternal and paternal protectiveness had a positive relationship with the self-esteem of the girls. On the other hand, contrary to the results reported for the Pakistani boys, we found that paternal and maternal protectiveness had a negative relationship with the self-esteem of the Scottish boys. Similarly while examining the significant differences between the high and low self-esteem groups of Scottish children we noted that parents' (mothers' as well as fathers') protectiveness was associated with high self-esteem in girls, and to low self-esteem in boys.

The results for the Scottish sample are in accordance with the prevailing cultural norms that boys

should be more independent and self-reliant than girls. Scottish boys are supposed to be tough and independent and boys who are treated protectively are regarded as 'cissies'. Our results for the Scottish sample indicate that Scottish boys in our sample were conscious of these norms and boys whose parents were more protective were likely to believe that they lacked the self sufficiency expected of males in their culture, and consequently suffered from lower self-esteem.

(iv). Methods of Control.

We now examine our results regarding mother's and father's methods of control i.e. (a) methods of induction (b) methods of love withdrawal and (c) methods of power assertion and their impact on the Pakistani and Scottish children's self-esteem.

(a) Induction.

As suggested by Hypothesis II of this study we found that there was a significant positive relationship ( $P < 0.01$ ) between the parents' use of methods of induction and the self-esteem of both the

Pakistani and Scottish children of our sample. From our results it was also evident that parents of the Pakistani as well as Scottish children of high self-esteem groups used inductive methods of control significantly more than the parents of the low self-esteem groups (see Tables 7:21 & 7:22).

Our results regarding the relationship between inductive methods of control and the self-esteem of the children are clear and consistent for all the groups in our sample. This indicates that inductive methods of control have an enhancing effect on the childrens' self-esteem. The beneficial effects of parents use of induction appear to be independent from the amount or degree of control exercised by the parents. Though we found that Pakistani parents of our sample exercise greater control than the Scottish parents (see Table 7:15) the high correlation between parental use of induction and the self-esteem is apparent in the Pakistani as well as the Scottish sample.

Induction is a disciplinary technique which involves reasoning, compromise, mediation and praise. Parents who use this method attempt to give the child an understanding of the reasons behind the parents'

demands or restrictions or may appeal to the childrens' pride or desire to be grown up. Our interviews with the Pakistani and the Scottish mothers revealed that mothers who used induction often combined it with praise for appropriate behaviour of the children and thus, made their children feel like worthy individual.

We also observed that parents who used inductive methods of control often pointed out the possible consequences of the different types of behaviour to their children. This additional information provided by the parents about the consequences of their actions helps the children to adjust to the world and also enables them to deal with it with ease. Moreover because inductive methods of control involve reasoning, mediation and praise, parents who used this method were more likely to be more responsive towards their children. This explains why children of all the high self-esteem groups in our sample had parents who not only used inductive methods relatively more often than the parents of the low self-esteem groups but were also more supportive.

The parents of the high self-esteem groups in our sample conveyed to their children their concern for their welfare through the use of inductive methods of

discipline. The parents willingness to talk things over apparently made the children feel that their parents are fair in their actions and are not imposing restrictions unnecessarily. Parents' explanations assures the children that they will be treated with due consideration and respect. . This gives the child a sense of personal significance and leads them to expect respectful treatment from other people. All this contributes to the childrens' self-esteem.

(b). Love withdrawal.

As suggested by hypothesis III of this study we found that there was a negative relationship ( $P < 0.01$ ) between the parents' use of love withdrawal methods and the self-esteem of both the Pakistani and Scottish children of our sample. As expected, we found that the parents of the high self-esteem groups of children in our sample used significantly fewer methods of love withdrawal than the parents of low self-esteem groups. Our results clearly show that the use of love withdrawal methods have debilitating effects for the self-esteem of the children.

Love withdrawal is a non-physical attempt to discipline the child. Parents using this method

ignore or isolate the children and express lack of love for them. Our interviews with the Scottish and Pakistani mothers revealed that parents resort to this technique, sometimes even out of frustration. The Scottish mothers reported that love withdrawal methods more often resulted in a high level of compliance. The high level of compliance is insured by the threat that the children may lose the love of their parent. We found that the use of this method of control had serious consequences for the self-esteem of all the children in our sample. Our results indicate that the use of love withdrawal is more harmful than power assertion (see Table 7:20) and this is because this method holds within it the constant threat of abandonment.

Love withdrawal methods of control convey to the children the rejection of their parents. We observed in our interviews that parents who used this method to discipline their children were likely to avoid the children's company, stopped communicating with the children and isolated the children (usually banished them to their room). From all this the children may draw inferences not only with regard to their parents motives and intentions (e.g. my parents

do not love or care for me) but also with regard to themselves (e.g. if my parents behave toward me in this manner, maybe it is because I am stupid or no good). We also noted that parents who used love withdrawal methods usually refused to communicate with the children. In other words their child had no means of knowing whether the parents condemned them or their deed.

(c) Power Assertion.

The striking feature of our results regarding parental power assertion was that although the Pakistani and the Scottish parents exercised similar amounts of power assertion (see Table 7:25) the relationship between the parents' use of power assertion and the self-esteem of the child was generally different for the two (see Table 7:20). This indicates that the parental power assertion was perceived differently by the Scottish and the Pakistani children in our sample.

In the case of the Pakistani sample we found that the relationship between the parents' use of power assertion and the self-esteem of the male children was not statistically significant. The relationship

between parents' use of power assertion and the self-esteem of the girls was positive though not very strong (see Table 7:20). We also found that the parents of the high and the low self-esteem groups of Pakistani boys and girls used a similar number of power assertion methods for disciplining the children. This indicates that the positive relationship between parental power assertion and the self-esteem of the girls was quite weak as the boys and girls who differed from each other in their level of self-esteem had parents who exercised similar amounts of power assertion as a method of control (see Table 7:21). These results are novel, and raise the question why power assertion of the parents failed to have any adverse effects for the self-esteem of the Pakistani children.

Power assertion techniques of discipline include any form of physical punishment, yelling, shouting, forceful commands, and verbal threats. During our interviews with the Pakistani mothers and children we noted that Pakistani parents when they exercised power, were more likely to resort to shouting, forceful commands and verbal threats. They generally avoided exercising physical punishment in particular with the female children. This showed that the specific power assertion

techniques utilized by the Pakistani parents were not so severe. This could be one of the reasons why we found that while there was no significant relationship between parental power assertion and the self-esteem of the male child there was a weak positive relationship between the female childrens' self-esteem and the parents' use of power assertion methods of control.

Another explanation of this is that in Pakistani culture parent's power assertion is generally accepted. Not only children but even adults could be subjected to some form of parental power assertion. Thus the Pakistani children in our sample did not necessarily perceive their parents' power assertion as an unfair or unjust means of disciplining them, neither did they regard it as exceptional and it is more likely that they considered it to be normal. These results further emphasise the need to view the context of the larger cultural settings before assuming what impact a particular child-rearing behaviour would have for the self-esteem of the children.

In the case of the Scottish sample we found that the fathers' power assertion had an unfavourable effect on the self-esteem of the boys and girls. Similarly

the mothers' power assertion had negative significance for the girls' self-esteem but did not have any significance for the boys' self-esteem. This indicates that parents' use of power assertion was generally interpreted by the Scottish children in an unfavourable way, and produced anxiety and fear in the children which had serious consequences for the childrens' self-esteem. Why the mothers' assertion of power failed to have any significance for the Scottish boys was surprising, and we will attempt to explain these results in the context of other disciplinary techniques used by the Scottish parents with the boys.

Our interviews with the mothers and their children revealed that Scottish fathers used relatively more punitive methods of power assertion, e.g. physical punishment etc. with the boys, than the mothers. Compared with the fathers, the Scottish mothers exercised relatively milder forms of power-assertion i.e. verbal threats, shouting, yelling and forceful commands with the boys. Because of this the boys did not regard their mothers' behaviour as aggressive. Moreover the mothers' power assertion was taken more or less for granted as part of the role expectations of being a mother and did not have any significant effect on the Scottish male childrens' self-esteem.

B. Intergroup Similarities and Differences  
Between the Pakistani and Scottish Sample.

The goal of child rearing is to help children grow up to be socially acceptable and productive individuals in a given social system. It is possible that what is found to be an effective practice in one culture may not necessarily be so in another one. That is why we found that there were significant differences between the Pakistani and Scottish parents regarding the amount of different child rearing behaviour. However, there are also similarities between the two cultural groups. For each parental child-rearing behaviour we will examine and comment on the similarities and differences that exist between the Pakistani and Scottish groups in our sample.

(i) Parental Support.

(a) Intergroup similarities.

Our results showed that both the Pakistani and Scottish mothers were found to be significantly more supportive towards their children, i.e. sons and daughters than the fathers (see Table 7:10). This is

due to the fact that within both the Pakistani and Scottish cultures mothers are regarded as the main caretakers of the children and are also considered to be the more nurturant of the two parents. Children usually turn to their mother for support because mothers are more likely to be around and easy to communicate with. Moreover, mothers are generally more familiar with the childrens' problems and can help and assure the children more easily if the need arises.

(a) Intergroup differences.

Our results also indicate that the Scottish mothers and fathers showed equal amounts of support of the boys and girls. The general similarity of parental support for the boys and girls found for the Scottish group was in accord with the controversial conclusions of Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) that parents in Western cultures treat children of both sexes alike.

In the case of the Pakistani children we found that with regard to parental support, contrary to our expectations, the mothers did not differentiate between

their sons and daughters.(1) However, the Pakistani fathers were significantly more supportive towards their sons than their daughters and differentiated between their boys and girls in this respect. But this differentiation by the fathers seemed to have no negative effect on the Pakistani girls' self-esteem, as shown by the level of self-esteem of the Pakistani boys and girls.

The reason why Pakistani fathers were found to be more supportive towards their sons than daughters is due to the fact that unlike the mother, the Pakistani father spends more time with the male than the female child. Pakistani culture is role-oriented and traditional. Fathers are expected to withdraw from daughters and develop closer ties with their sons. Unlike the girls, the boys are generally encouraged to be with the father and are likely to accompany him on his visits to mosques, friends and bazaars.

Another notable finding with regard to parental support was that Pakistani mothers were found to be significantly more supportive towards their daughters

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(1) As shown by the test used in this study, there may have been differential treatment in areas we didn't explore.

than the Scottish mothers (see Table 7:11). One possible explanation for this is that the Pakistani girls are more carefully monitored by mothers and from an early age are expected to stay constantly in the company of their mothers. As Pakistanis usually have a larger family than the indigenous population, Pakistani girls are more likely to help their mothers with housework and assist the mother in attending to the needs of the younger siblings. Mothers usually delegate more authority to their daughters regarding household matters. This strengthens the close bond that exists between the Pakistani mothers and daughters.

(ii). Parental Control.

(a) Intergroup similarities.

We found that for both the Pakistani and Scottish sample mothers were more controlling than the fathers (see Table 7:14). This finding further supports the argument that as mothers are the main caretakers in both the Pakistani and Scottish cultures they are more likely to interact with the children and are therefore regarded as more controlling of the two parents.

(b) Intergroup differences.

We found that the Pakistani parents (mothers and fathers) are significantly more controlling than the Scottish parents (see Table 7:15). Scottish parents make relatively fewer demands and have fewer rules and regulations governing their childrens' behaviour than the Pakistani parents. The relatively more liberal philosophy of child-rearing of the Scottish parents makes them feel that they do not have the right to make demands and that restrictions imposed by parents will compromise the childrens' sense of wellbeing. Whatever the reasons, we found that Scottish parents make fewer demands and are less controlling than the Pakistani parents.

(iii). Parental Protection.

(a) Intergroup similarities.

Another interesting finding regarding parental protectiveness was that Pakistani as well as Scottish mothers and fathers were more protective towards the girls. These results are in accordance with the view in both the cultures that girls are more vulnerable than the boys and need more parental supervision. Our

results further indicate that there were sex related differences in the socialization of boys and girls in both the Pakistani and Scottish cultures. Girls were more subject to parental protection and their independent behaviour was more constrained. It is generally observed that within the Pakistani as well as Scottish cultures, parents are more concerned about the peer groups with whom their daughters interact. The whereabouts of the daughters and the times in which daughters can be absent from the home are more closely monitored by them.

(b) Intergroup differences.

In accordance with the general view we found that Pakistani parents were more protective towards their sons and daughters than the Scottish (see Table 7:19).

In most Asian societies parents tend to be more protective towards their children than the Western societies (at least Western societies in N. Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia etc.) and the tradition of fostering independence in children is not followed.\*

\* Doi (1973) observed that the Japanese parents encourage family or group dependency (Amae). Similarly we observed that the Pakistani parents encourage family dependency by being protective towards their children.

However, in the case of our Pakistani sample we need to mention that the protectiveness of the parents is a reflection not only of their culture of origin but also of their minority status in Britain.

Pakistani parents in our sample expressed the view that children who were left to themselves were more liable to be exploited. To them, greater latitude given to 10 and 11 year-old children expressed parental lack of concern and would result in distancing the children from the parent. The Pakistani mothers were critical about parents who were not vigilant and allowed their children to do things and take decisions without consulting them. They believed that children who were left to themselves experienced undue stress. They went on to say that being a minority in the U.K., they need to be more vigilant and must protect their children from being exposed to disparaging views (if there are any) about themselves and their ethnic background, until the children were strong and mature enough to tackle conflicting views without altering their own self-evaluation.

(iv). Parental Methods of Control.

(a) Intergroup similarities.

One interesting finding regarding parents' methods of control was that both for the Pakistani and Scottish samples we found that mothers were more apt to use inductive and love withdrawal methods of control for disciplining their sons and daughters than the fathers. On the other hand' fathers were found to have used power assertion significantly more than the mothers. There are several explanations for these results and we will examine each one of them separately.

- (1) Firstly, because Pakistani and Scottish mothers are more nurturant and supportive of the two parents (as discussed above) they are probably also more tolerant and do not resort to more punitive methods of control.
- (2) Secondly, Pakistani and Scottish mothers are the main caretakers of the children and thus more experienced of the two parents and therefore used the most effective methods of control e.g. induction and love withdrawal.

- (3) Thirdly, it became apparent from our interviews with the mothers and the children that mothers usually dealt with the minor 'misdemeanours' of the children themselves. Help in socializing the children was usually sought from the fathers only when there was serious misconduct. This explains why fathers usually resorted to relatively more punitive and harsh methods of control.
- (4) Finally, it has been observed that parents fall back on their own childhood experiences when they are rearing their own children. As parents traditionally use milder methods with girls and use more punitive methods with boys, it is probable that this is one of the reasons why mothers in our Pakistani as well as Scottish sample used milder methods for disciplining children, while fathers resort to more punitive measures for disciplining their sons and daughters.

This brings us to another important finding of our research. Our data also revealed that on average the mothers (Pakistani as well as Scottish) in our sample used similar amounts of induction, love withdrawal and power assertion with their male and female children (see

Table 7:23). This indicates that the mothers did not differentiate between their sons and daughters in disciplining them. These results confirm the earlier findings that there is little difference in the way boys and girls view their mothers, and in the mothers' report of behaviour towards their boys and girls (Cruse, 1981; Burger et al., 1973). On the other hand, we found that fathers (Pakistani as well as Scottish) differentiated between their sons and daughters. Fathers were more inclined to use induction with the girls and love withdrawal and power assertion with the boys. This indicates that fathers use gentler and less punitive methods of control with the girls and resort to more punitive methods when they are disciplining boys.

(b) Inter-group differences.

We also found that the Pakistani parents avoided love withdrawal methods and used them significantly less than the Scottish parents (see Table 7:25). These findings indicate that, on average, the Pakistani parents of our sample were relatively less punitive than the Scottish parents and were more likely to resort to love-oriented, positive techniques of discipline.

These findings are striking because we had also found that Pakistani parents were more controlling e.g. they exercised more control, and the number of demands, rules and regulations imposed by them were significantly more than the number of demands, rules and regulations imposed by the Scottish parents. This indicates that parents who are more controlling are not necessarily more punitive or harsh in their disciplining practices.

Our results also provide evidence on the socio-cultural determinants of disciplining techniques. The data for the Scottish parents indicate that the parents used love withdrawal methods more often. The Scottish mothers reported that they were more likely to banish the child to their room, withdraw their pocket-money or stop communicating with the children in an attempt to discipline them. They generally admitted that they usually resorted to this method of control because it yielded a high level of compliance. To sum up, we found that the Scottish parents used love withdrawal methods relatively more than the Pakistani parents, while the Pakistani parents exercised induction relatively more than the Scottish parents.

Regardless of ethnic background and gender, parental support and inductive methods of control had a positive relationship with the self-esteem of the children, while parental love withdrawal methods of control had a negative relationship with the self-esteem of the children. We also observed that the relationship between the self-esteem of the children and parental control, protection and power assertion varied with the sex and culture of the children.

8:5. Academic Achievement and Self-esteem.

So far we have identified the importance of ethnic and parental child-rearing factors for the self-esteem of the children. Now we turn to another important area of the child development which is known to be related with the self-esteem of the children i.e. their academic achievement.

Our results on academic achievement relate to (A) the relationship between self-esteem and the childrens' performances in the four major school subjects viz., reading, written English, number work, and social studies. (B) The academic achievement of the high and low self-esteem groups.

A. Relationship with Self-Esteem.

Our results show a number of interesting findings about the relationship between academic performance and the self-esteem of the Pakistani and the Scottish children in our sample.

We found that there was a positive relationship between the self-esteem of all the children in our sample and their performance in the four school subjects viz. written English, reading, number work, and social studies (see Table 7: 26). Our results are consistent with the earlier findings (Caplin, 1969; Purkey, 1970; Wylie, 1979 and Burns, 1982) of studies which had found significant positive relationship between the self-esteem and academic achievement of the child.

The relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement is known to be reciprocal. Some theorists (Bandura, 1965; Kelly, 1952) believe that good academic performance would lead to high self-esteem. Conversely, other theorists (Festinger, 1954; Lecky, 1945) believe that high levels of self-esteem will contribute to better academic performance. Whatever

the view taken, our results show a close relationship between the self-esteem and the academic performance of the children.

Developmental trends in the use of different attributions suggest that children frequently refer to 'good' and 'bad' behaviour as determinants of academic success and failure (Little, 1982). Similarly, our results indicate that childrens' success in school, irrespective of their ethnicity and gender, is associated with their self-esteem. Our results are contrary to the studies which reported sex linked differences (Cotler & Palmer, 1970; Katz, 1976) in the relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement, and support the view that there are no sex differences in the relationship between academic achievement and the self-esteem of the child.

B. Academic Achievement of High and Low Self-Esteem Groups.

We also found that, except for the Pakistani girls' performance in reading, both the Pakistani and Scottish children in high self-esteem groups performed significantly better than the children in the low self-

esteem groups in all the four school subjects (see Table 7:27 & 7:28). These results provide further evidence that good performance in school is associated with high self-esteem. The only exception was the Pakistani girls' performance in English reading, and we will explain why in this particular subject we failed to find any significant difference in performance of the Pakistani girls of high and low self-esteem groups.

This may be attributed to the fact that Pakistani children do not do well in English reading (Derrick, J. 1977). We found that English reading was the only subject in which the performance of the Pakistani child was not similar to the indigenous children (see Table 7:30). This could be one of the reasons why there was no significant difference in the reading performances of the Pakistani girls of high and low self-esteem groups. English is a second language for the Pakistani children which they learn mainly at school. Due to a lack of sufficient reinforcement of the English language outside school, these children are normally restricted in the 'natural' learning of English as a second language and this is reflected in their performance in English reading. Hence the Pakistani childrens' poor performance in English reading is not a reflection of lack of effort or motivation, as their

performance in other subjects was similar to the performance of the indigenous children (see Table 7:30). The overall performance of the Pakistani children assures them of their success in school and thus their poor performance in English reading fails to have any significant adverse effects for their self-esteem.

The finding that the overall performances of the Pakistani children in school was similar to the indigenous children, indicates that Pakistani boys and girls were as motivated as the indigenous children to do well in school. Our results are contrary to the earlier reports of Dickenson et al., (1975) that Pakistani pupils lag behind the indigenous pupils in their performance at school. However, our results are similar to the conclusions drawn by Morsbach (1985) about the academic performance of Pakistani children in schools in Scotland and the overall view expressed by the Swann Report (1985) about the Asian children's performance in British schools. Tomlinson (1983) observes that the Asian (Pakistani and Indian) pupils' performance in schools is improving with length of stay and length of schooling in Britain. This explains the difference between the early and the recent findings about Pakistani pupils' performance in schools.

Moreover, increasing socio-economic stability of Pakistani families, the support that Pakistani pupils receive at home and the structured teaching programmes introduced by the education authorities have all helped the British born Pakistani children to do increasingly well at school.

8:6. The Most Important Determinant of Self-Esteem.

So far we have discussed the results of the level of self-esteem of the children in our sample and have examined the importance of ethnic identification and preferences, parental child-rearing behaviours, and the academic achievement, for the self-esteem of these children. We have seen how some factors examined by us have a significant relationship with the self-esteem of the children while some fail to have any apparent relationship with the self-esteem of the children. We have also seen how the cultural background of the children determines the relationship which the different variables would have with the self-esteem of the children. Now we will examine our results regarding the most important variable (among the variables examined) for the self-esteem of the Pakistani boys and girls and Scottish boys and girls in our sample. For this purpose we turn to the results

of the step-up regression analysis.

Our results of step-up regression analysis show that among the ethnic identity and preference, variables, parental variables, and academic achievement variables, the most important determinants of self-esteem of the children are the parental variables. However, we found that the most important determinant among the parental variables for the various subgroups in our sample was different.

In the case of the Pakistani sample we found that for the girls, the mother's support was the most important variable for the self-esteem of the children (see Table 7:35). This means that, like in the Scottish sample, the behaviour of the same-sex parent is more important for the Pakistani girls' self-esteem than the behaviour of the opposite-sex parent.

Pakistani girls have fewer options of self-definition outside the family context than boys. The family plays a greater role in the affective quality of a Pakistani girls' self-esteem because it is a major source of approval for them, whereas Pakistani boys can seek approval through athletics and other social

activities. Therefore we see that the mother's support is of greater importance for the self-esteem of the Pakistani girls. Moreover girls are expected to adhere to the cultural values and are expected to play their mother's role on reaching maturity. It has been observed that acceptance of parental values occurs under levels of high emotional support from the same sex-parent, and this explains why the mother's support is of great importance for the self-esteem of the Pakistani girls. Another explanation is that support, as an expressive behaviour, is more closely associated with females in Pakistani families and therefore the mothers' support has greater implications for the self-esteem of the female children.

In the case of the Pakistani boys we found that the mothers' control was the most important variable for the self-esteem of the children (see Table 7:34). This indicates that it is not the child-rearing behaviour of the same-sex parent, but the child-rearing behaviour of the opposite-sex parent, i.e. the mother, which is of greater importance for the boy's self-esteem.

One possible reason for this is the close bond that exists in Pakistani families between the mother

and the children. Though the father plays an active part in the socialisation of the male children, the role of the mother is not undermined and she continues to be the sole caretaker of the children. The male children continues to turn to their mothers for emotional support as well as guidance and help. Moreover we noted that unlike Pakistani fathers, Pakistani mothers exercise control through inductive methods of control. Unlike punitive methods the parents using this method of control provides additional information about the consequences of the childrens' actions and helps the children to adjust to the outside world and also enables him to deal with it with ease. Thus we note that the Pakistani mothers' control has the most favourable influence on the self-esteem of the boys.

Another possible explanation is that the Pakistani mothers' vigilance of the boys' behaviour ensures conformity to minimum acceptable standards and thus helps in reducing the risks and anxiety which the Pakistani male children may experience because of their minority status. This explains why the mothers' control was of great importance for the self-esteem of the Pakistani boys in our sample.

In the case of the Scottish sample we found that the most important parental variable associated with the self-esteem of the children were the same-sex parent's use of inductive methods of control. Thus, for the Scottish boys' self-esteem we found that the fathers' use of inductive methods of control was the most important variable (see Table 7:36). Similarly, for the Scottish girl's self-esteem we found that the mothers' use of inductive methods of control was the most important variable from among the parents' child-rearing behaviour (see Table 7:37).

This indicates that the method used by the same-sex parent for disciplining the children plays a vital role in determining the self-esteem of the Scottish children. The use of inductive methods assures the children that their parents are not imposing restrictions unnecessarily, but are concerned about their welfare. This gives the children a sense of personal significance and leads them to expect respectful treatment from other people. Moreover, inductive methods of control promote self-reliance among children (Petersen, Lee and Ellis, 1982). As Scottish culture values independence among children we find that the parents' use of inductive methods of

control has the most beneficial effects for the self-esteem of the children.

Another explanation is that the parent who uses inductive methods of control usually praises the children's appropriate behaviour. Because positive reinforcement coming from the same-sex parent facilitates the development of the sex-appropriate behaviours, the use of inductive methods of control by the same-sex parent is of great value to the children. Hence we found that the mothers' use of induction is of great importance for the self-esteem of the Scottish girls and the fathers' use of induction is of great importance for the self-esteem of the Scottish boys.

Thus, the overall regression results indicate that the parental variable are the most important determinants for the self-esteem of the children in both the cultural groups. The academic variables do not appear to be as important for the self-esteem of the children as the parental behaviour. This can be attributed to the interaction between academic variables and parents behaviour. For example, the children who do well at school often win the approval and attention of their parents. The relationship between parental behaviour and academic performance of

the children has been often reported by researchers in this area (Rollins, B.C. and Thomas, D.L. 1979). It is thus assumed that this is why the academic variables though important in their own right, failed to appear as significant as the parental variables in our regression results.

#### 8:7. Conclusions.

The main conclusions of the study are the following:

1. The Pakistani minority children in Scotland appear to have resources which enable them to maintain a level of self-esteem equal to that of the indigenous children.
2. The social identity element of gender does not determine the level of self-esteem among children, and the male and the female children in both groups had similar levels of self-esteem.
3. The Pakistani minority children in Scotland did not suffer from the phenomenon of 'misidentification' and there was no significant relationship between

the self-esteem of the children and their ethnic identification and preference.

4. Though all the children of our Pakistani and Scottish sample preferred to be with their own ethnic group, they were, however, also willing to interact with other ethnic groups.
5. In both cultural groups we found that there was a positive relationship between the childrens' self-esteem and their parental support, and parental inductive methods of control. Parents who were supportive and who used positive love oriented methods for controlling their children were more likely to have children with high self-esteem.
6. In both cultural groups there was a negative relationship between parental love withdrawal methods of control and the self-esteem of the children. Parents who used love withdrawal methods of control were more likely to have children with low self-esteem.
7. The relationship between the self-esteem of the children and parental control, protection and power-assertion methods of control was determined by the

sex and culture of the children.

8. There was a positive relationship between the academic achievement and the self-esteem both for the Pakistani as well as the Scottish children.
9. Except for English Reading the academic performance of the Pakistani children was similar to that of the indigenous children.
10. The most important social determinant of self-esteem for the children was the parental child-rearing behavior. However, it was observed that the degree of significance for the different parental child-rearing behavior varied with the sex and culture of the children. For example, we found that the most important determinant of the Pakistani boys' self-esteem was mother's control; for the Pakistani girls it was mother's support; for the Scottish boys it was father's induction and for Scottish girls it was mother's induction.
11. There were several inter-group similarities between the Pakistani and Scottish groups' parental behaviour. For example, in both the cultural

groups we noted the following for the mothers:-

- (a) The mothers were more supportive, controlling and protective toward the children than the fathers.
- (b) The mothers used more inductive methods than the fathers for disciplining the children, while fathers used love withdrawal and punitive methods more often than the mothers for disciplining children.
- (c) Mothers when disciplining their sons and daughters did not differentiate between the two as often as fathers did.

We further observed that both the Pakistani and Scottish parents used the same amount of power assertion methods when disciplining children, and were more likely to use inductive methods of control more often with daughters than with sons.

12. We also noted that there were several intergroup differences between the Pakistani and Scottish parents child-rearing behavior. For example, we observed the following:-

- (a) The Pakistani mothers were more supportive towards their daughters than the Scottish mothers.
- (b) The Pakistani parents (mothers as well as fathers) were more controlling and protective than the Scottish parents.
- (c) The Pakistani parents used inductive methods of control significantly more often than the Scottish parents. On the other hand the Scottish parents used love withdrawal methods significantly more often than Pakistani parents.

To sum up, the results of this study indicate that the self-esteem of the children was influenced more by the effective response of their parents and other significant others, and less by their achievement in school or their status in the society. The degree to which childrens' self-esteem was influenced by the different parental child-rearing behavior depends on their specific cultural norms. As long as the children recognise their parents love and concern for

them, their self-esteem is high, and conversely, if they see their parents' behaviour as rejecting, their self-esteem suffers.

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A P P E N D I C E S

## APPENDIX 1

## GROWTH OF THE ETHNIC MINORITY SCHOOL POPULATION, 1966-84

	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	Total (Primary/ Secondary)	GRAND TOTAL
1966	n.a.	930	338	1268	n.a.
1967	n.a.	1104	449	1553	n.a.
1968	n.a.	1051	493	1544	n.a.
1969	n.a.	1241	558	1799	n.a.
1970	n.a.	1363	642	2005	n.a.
1971	n.a.	1592	730	2322	n.a.
1972	n.a.	1715	859	2574	n.a.
1973	n.a.	1939	938	2877	n.a.
1974	n.a.	2016	946	2962	n.a.
1975	n.a.	2288	1044	3332	n.a.
1976	n.a.	2432	1059	3491	n.a.
1977	n.a.	2547	1048	4595	n.a.
1978	n.a.	2534	1096	3630	n.a.
1979	n.a.	2573	1094	3667	n.a.
1980	n.a.	2446	1245	3691	n.a.
1981	n.a.	2479	1219	3698	n.a.
1982	655	2522	1304	3826	4481
1983	699	2594	1399	3993	4692
1984	705	2608	1508	4116	4821

Source: Department of Education, Glasgow Division.

## APPENDIX 2.

## LITERACY RATIO BY SEX, AGE AND RURAL/URBAN AREAS, 1972.

(Percentages)

Age group/sex		All areas	Urban areas	Rural areas
10 years & above	Total	21.7	41.5	14.3
	Male	30.2	49.9	22.6
	Female	11.6	30.9	4.7
10-14 years	Total	24.8	44.9	17.1
	Male	31.4	49.3	24.8
	Female	16.4	39.6	7.1
15-19 years	Total	32.6	54.6	22.5
	Male	42.0	61.5	33.9
	Female	20.3	46.6	8.7
20-24 years	Total	28.4	50.1	18.8
	Male	40.3	60.1	31.1
	Female	15.7	38.6	6.2
25-34 years	Total	22.7	42.2	15.1
	Male	33.6	53.3	25.4
	Female	10.7	28.8	4.2
35-44 years	Total	18.0	36.3	11.1
	Male	26.7	46.6	18.5
	Female	7.9	22.5	2.9
45-54 years	Total	14.7	31.7	9.0
	Male	21.9	41.7	14.5
	Female	5.6	16.8	2.2
55 years & above	Total	10.5	23.4	7.1
	Male	15.8	32.4	11.3
	Female	3.5	10.9	1.5

Source: Population Census of Pakistan, 1972.

Appendix 3

Children whose first language is not English

Statistical Summary; July, 1981

Non-Denominational Primary	Total no. of children originating from Pakistan	Total no of minority children
Anderston	61	133
Annette Street	115	162
Bellahouston	104	120
Cuthbertson	124	163
Garnetbank	46	114
Glendale	62	99
Hillhead	120	210
Pollokshields	278	315
Shawlands	56	71
Willowbank	113	255

Source: Strathclyde Regional Council, Department of Education

Appendix 4

PROVISION OF ESL SUPPORT IN NURSERY SCHOOLS; 1984

School	Number of Ethnic Minority Pupils	Number of ESL Teachers
Ashley Street	70	1
Cranstonhill	63	1
Govanhill	65	1
Kinning Park	54	1
Newark Drive	42	1
Renfrew Street	50	1
Woodside	57	1
56 Other schools	304	0

Source: Department of Education, Glasgow Division

Appendix 5

PROVISION OF ESL SUPPORT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS; 1984

School	Number of Ethnic Minority Pupils	Number of ESL Teachers
Anderston	98	1
Annette Street	157	1.6
Battlefield	59	0.6
Bellahouston	122	1
Cuthbertson	193	2
Garnetbank	90	2
Glendale	108	2
Hillhead	211	2.4
Langside	34	0.4
Lorne Street	71	0.4
Mount Florida	37	0.6
Pollokshields	381	3
Shawlands	80	1
Willowbank	235	2
89 Other schools	676	0

Source: Department of Education, Glasgow Division

Appendix 6

PROVISION OF ESL SUPPORT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS; 1984

School	Number of Ethnic Minority Pupils	Number of ESL Teachers
Bellahouston	415	2.5
Hillhead	155	1.5
King's Park	53	0.5
Queen's Park	103	1.5
Shawlands	277	2
Woodside	278	2
19 Other schools	205	0

Source: Department of Education, Glasgow Division

## Appendix 7

25th November, 1982

Miss Irene Stuart-Smith,  
 Adviser in Primary Education,  
 Education Offices,  
 121, Bath Street,  
 GLASGOW, G2.

Dear Miss Stuart-Smith,

In the past few years we have carried out several research projects on how immigrant children acquire English as a second language and the factors which help or hinder this process. We found, for example, that nursery school attendance and mothers' attitudes and behaviour seemed to have considerable impact on the English performance of the Primary School child. Those children who attended nursery schools, whose mothers took a marked interest in the child's performance and who possessed a good knowledge of the English language themselves, seemed to learn English faster. Thus we feel that one of the most important factors in the child's school performance is his home background.

In order to investigate this factor further we would like to study the relationship between the home background and the child's self-image. For this study we would like your advice and assistance and wondered whether we might be permitted to carry out this work in some of the Primary Schools in Glasgow. The project would involve interviewing immigrant parents and their ten-year-old children and a corresponding sample of Scottish parents and their children. We selected this age group as ten-year-olds are still considerably attached to their parents, have been to school for a sufficient length of time and have not yet encountered the possible problems of adolescence. The results of this study should shed some light on the relationship between 'home factors' and high/low self-concept in pre-adolescent children which might be helpful in the way these children are handled by teachers and parents alike.

Mrs. Ruhl Khalid, who will be carrying out this research, is fluent in Punjabi and Urdu and therefore is very well equipped to deal with this study.

We hope that you will be able to support our project and if you would like to discuss this matter further, Mrs. Khalid will be very happy to meet you at any time suitable to you.

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT M. FARR  
 Head of Department.

Dundas Vale Teachers' Centre  
6 New City Road  
Glasgow G4 9JR  
Tel 041-332 6762/5

 Strathclyde  
Department of  
Education  
Glasgow Division

Mr Farr  
Department of Psychology  
University of Glasgow  
Adam Smith Building  
GLASGOW  
G12 8RT

Your ref

Our ref ADV/PRE/IESS/GSS

Date 2 DECEMBER 1982

Dear Mr Farr

Thank you for your letter of the 25 November 1982 regarding the possibility of Mrs Khalid of your department carrying out a research programme on "the relationship between the home background and the child's self-image".

I have forwarded a copy of your letter to Mr Hogan, Education Officer who has the remit for care of the Ethnic Minority children in our schools. I will have to await clearance from Mr Hogan before I discuss this matter any further with you. I will contact you again as soon as I hear from Mr Hogan.

Yours sincerely



IRENE STUART-SMITH  
Primary Adviser

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

ADAM SMITH BUILDING

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY



GLASGOW, G12 8RT

Tel. 041-339 8855

January, 1983.

Dear

As part of a research project concerning child development, Mrs. Khalid wishes to talk to parents and children at primary schools in Glasgow. Since you are a parent of a child in Primary School, she would like very much to talk to you at your home regarding your attitudes and opinions on parent-child relations, and would also seek your permission to talk to your child in school.

Your name, of course, will not appear on your replies to questions, as we are only interested in gaining an overall view from several parents. We will be asking other parents in the school to co-operate with us also, as well as parents in other schools in Glasgow.

Please indicate your willingness to help with this project by signing the slip below and returning it to the class teacher. Mrs. Khalid will contact you in the near future regarding an appointment for the interview. Parents who wish to be interviewed in Punjabi or Urdu will be spoken to in the language they desire.

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Gisela Morsbach,  
Research Supervisor.

-----  
I am willing to help with the child development project.

Signature: .....

Name of child: .....

Appendix 10

Short Form of the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for use with  
U.K. Students, Male and Female.

Here are a set of statements. Some of them are true of you and so you will circle the yes. Some are not true of you and so you will circle the no. Answer every question even if some are hard to decide, but do not circle both yes and no. Remember, circle the yes if the statement is generally like you, or circle the no if the statement is generally not like you. There are no right or wrong answers. Only you can tell us how you feel about yourself, so we hope you will mark the way you really feel inside.

- |   |     |    |
|---|-----|----|
| 1. I am a happy person                              | yes | no |
| 2. I am unpopular                                   | yes | no |
| 3. I am well behaved in school                      | yes | no |
| 4. I am often sad                                   | yes | no |
| 5. It is usually my fault when something goes wrong | yes | no |
| 6. I cause trouble to my family                     | yes | no |
| 7. I have good ideas                                | yes | no |
| 8. I give up easily                                 | yes | no |
| 9. I do many bad things                             | yes | no |
| 10. I am good in school work                        | yes | no |
| 11. I behave badly at home                          | yes | no |
| 12. I am slow in finishing my school work           | yes | no |
| 13. I am an important member of my class            | yes | no |
| 14. I am nervous                                    | yes | no |
| 15. I can give a good report in front of my class   | yes | no |
| 16. In school I am a dreamer                        | yes | no |
| 17. My friends like my ideas                        | yes | no |

18.	I often get into trouble	yes	no
19.	I worry a lot	yes	no
20.	My parents expect too much of me.	yes	no
21.	I like being the way I am	yes	no
22.	I feel left out of things	yes	no
23.	I am often mean to other people	yes	no
24.	My classmates in school think I have good ideas	yes	no
25.	I am unhappy	yes	no
26.	I am dumb about most things	yes	no
27.	I am cheerful	yes	no
28.	I am good looking	yes	no
29.	I get into lots of fights	yes	no
30.	People pick on me	yes	no
31.	My family is disappointed in me	yes	no
32.	I have a pleasant face	yes	no
33.	When I try to make something, everything seems to go wrong	yes	no
34.	I am clumsy	yes	no
35.	I forget what I learn	yes	no
36.	I lose my temper easily	yes	no
37.	I am often afraid	yes	no
38.	I am always breaking or dropping things	yes	no
39.	I think bad thoughts	yes	no

-----

### Scoring Procedure

Items 1, 3, 7, 10, 13, 15, 17, 21, 24, 27, 28, 32 - score two if NO is circled and zero if YES is circled.

Items 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 - score two if YES is circled and zero if NO is circled.

Any item not completed score 1. Discard script if more than five items not completed.

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE

Name ..... Sex .....  
School ..... Date of Birth .....

Instructions

The purpose of this study is to measure the meanings which certain concepts have for you. This is done by having you judge them against a set of descriptive scales which consist of adjectives and their opposites. You are asked to make your judgements on the basis of what these things mean to you.

I will show you how to use the scale. For example, if you feel that the concept 'my friend' is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your check-mark as follows:

fair :\_x\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: unfair

OR

fair :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_x\_: unfair

If you feel that the concept 'my friend' is quite closely related to one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place you check mark as follows:

fair :\_\_\_: :\_x\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: unfair

fair :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_x\_: :\_\_\_: unfair

If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale equally associated with the concept 'my friend' then you should place your check-mark in the middle space, as follows:

fair :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_x\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: unfair

Important:

- (1) place your check-marks in the middle of the spaces not at the boundaries.
- (2) Be sure you check every scale, please do not omit any.
- (3) Do not put more than one check mark on a single scale.
- (4) Make a separate and independent judgement for each scale.
- (5) Work fairly quickly through the scales.
- (6) Do not worry or puzzle over individual scales. It is your first impressions, the immediate 'feelings' about 'the concept' that is wanted. On the other hand, do not be careless, for it is your true impression that is wanted.

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE

GOOD :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: BAD  
CHEERFUL :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: GLOOMY  
FRIENDLY :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: UNFRIENDLY  
CLEVER :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: STUPID  
POPULAR :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: UNPOPULAR  
LOVELY :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: UGLY  
NICE :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: HORRIBLE  
KIND :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: UNKIND  
CLEAN :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: DIRTY  
SLIM :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: :\_\_\_: FAT

Appendix 12

Test Re-Test Correlation for the Semantic  
Differential Scale .

Pakistani

.73\*

Scottish

.64\*

Cornell Parent Behaviour Inventory

NAME: .....

Here is a set of statements. Underline the response that applies to your mother.

- |     |  |            |              |            |             |       |
|-----|--|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------|
| 1.  | If I don't do what is expected of me she is very strict about it                                 | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 2.  | She keeps pushing me to do my best in whatever I do  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 3.  | She expects me to keep my things in good order   | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 4.  | She keeps after me to do well in school  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 5.  | If I have any kind of a problem I can depend on her  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 6.  | She says nice things about me  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 7.  | She teaches me things I want to learn  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 8.  | She makes me feel she is there if I need her   | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 9.  | She comes with me when I go some place for the first time to make sure that everything goes well | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 10. | She worries that I can't take care of myself   | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 11. | She won't let me roam around because something might happen to me                                | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 12. | She wants to know exactly where I am going when I go out   | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |

Cornell Parent Behaviour Inventory

NAME: .....

Here is a set of statements. Underline the response that applies to your father.

- |     |   |            |              |            |             |       |
|-----|---|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------|
| 1.  | If I don't do what is expected of me he is very strict about it                                 | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 2.  | He keeps pushing me to do my best in whatever I do  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 3.  | He expects me to keep my things in good order   | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 4.  | He keeps after me to do well in school  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 5.  | If I have any kind of a problem I can depend on him   | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 6.  | He says nice things about me  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 7.  | He teaches me things I want to learn  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 8.  | He makes me feel he is there if I need him  | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 9.  | He comes with me when I go some place for the first time to make sure that everything goes well | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 10. | He worries that I can't take care of myself   | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 11. | He won't let me roam around because something might happen to me                                | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |
| 12. | He wants to know exactly where I am going when I go out   | very often | fairly often | some-times | hardly ever | never |

Appendix 15

Name of the Child \_\_\_\_\_

School \_\_\_\_\_

Class \_\_\_\_\_

- 1) How many brothers and sisters do you have?
- 2) What does your father do for a living?
- 3) Where do you live?
- 4) Do you have a telephone?  
If so, what is your telephone number. \_\_\_\_\_

PARENTAL METHOD OF CONTROL

Mother

- 1) What would your mother do if you delayed in doing something she had asked you to do? For example - empty the bin, make your bed, tidy your room etc.
- 2) What would your mother do if you were careless and destroyed something of value? For example, broken a vase, broken a window etc.
- 3) What would your mother do if you talked back to her?

## Father

- 1) What would your father do if you delayed in doing somethin he had asked you to do?
- 2) What would your father do if you were careless and destroyed something of value?
- 3) What would your father do if you talked back to him?
- 4) What would your father do if the neighbours complained about your conduct.?

### DEFINITION OF METHODS OF CONTROL

(i) Power\_assertion is defined as behaviour of the parent which results in considerable external pressure on the child to behave according to the parents desires. It involves such parental behaviours as "physical punishment, deprivation of material objects or privileges, the direct application of force, or the threat of any of these" in situations where parents are attempting to influence their child's behaviour (Hoffman, 1970, p.286).

(ii) Induction: rather than apply external force, some parents attempt to get the child to behave as the parent desires by inducing internal forces in the child to behave as the parent desires. "Induction is defined as behaviour by a parent with the intent of obtaining voluntary compliance of parental desires by avoiding a direct conflict of wills with the child" (Rollin et al., 1979, p.322). It is seen as a sum of the frequencies of such parental behaviour in which the parent gives explanations or reasons for desired behaviour, often in the form of pointing out to the child consequences of the behaviour for self and for others. It may also involve praise, compromise and mediation.

(iii) Love-Withdrawal is defined as the behaviour of the parent indicating disapproval of the child's behaviour with the implication that love will not be restored until the child changes his behaviour. It includes such parental behaviour as ignoring or isolating the child as well as explicit indications of rejection, disappointment or coldness in response to something the child has done that displeases the parent (Aronfreed, 1969).

#### Scoring Procedure:

The responses of the child were assigned into 3 main categories of methods of control i.e. induction, love withdrawal, and power assertion. For each child the total score under each category was calculated by taking the average score assigned by the coders. This score was then converted to percentages, as the total score for each child varied.

## **FAMILY PICTURE TEST**

### Identity

1. Which child in the family drawings looks most like you?
2. Which lady and gentleman in the family drawings looks most like your mother and father?
3. Which boy/girl in the family drawings looks most like your brother/sister?
4. Which family in the drawings looks most like your family?

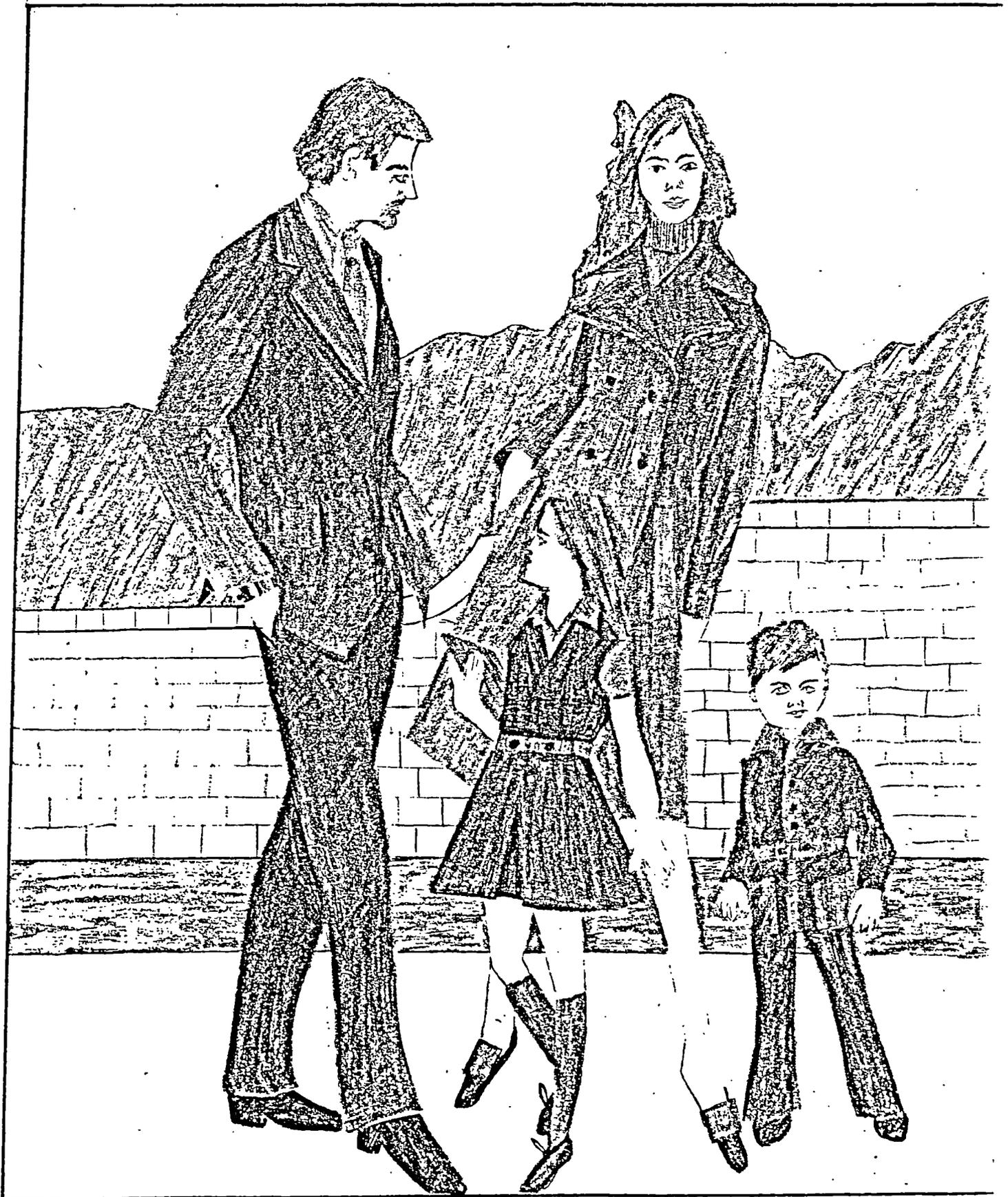
### Preference

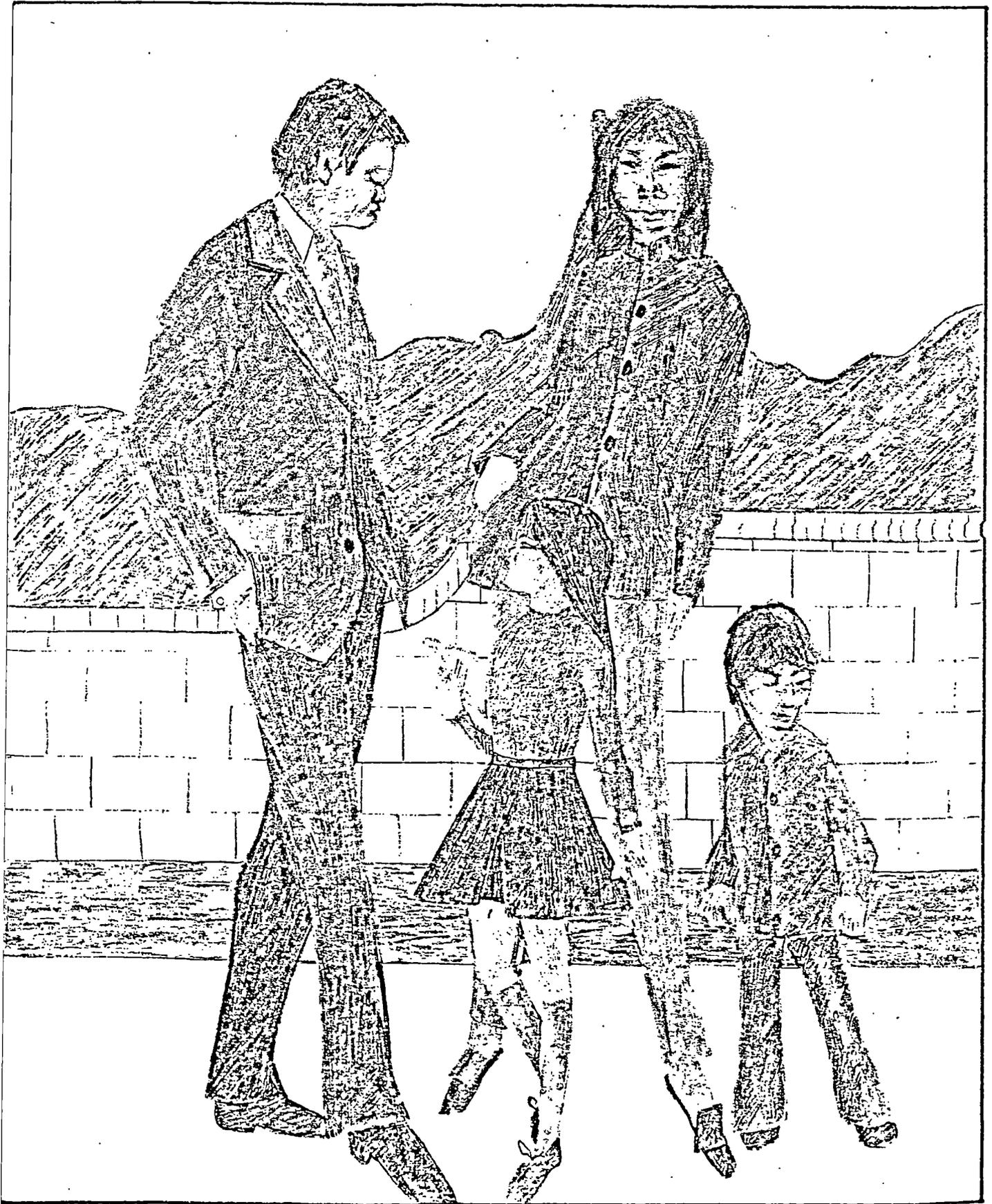
1. Which one of these families would you like to belong?
2. Which one of the children would you like to have as your best friend?
3. Which one of the children would you like to sit next to in class?
4. Which one of these families would you like to visit?

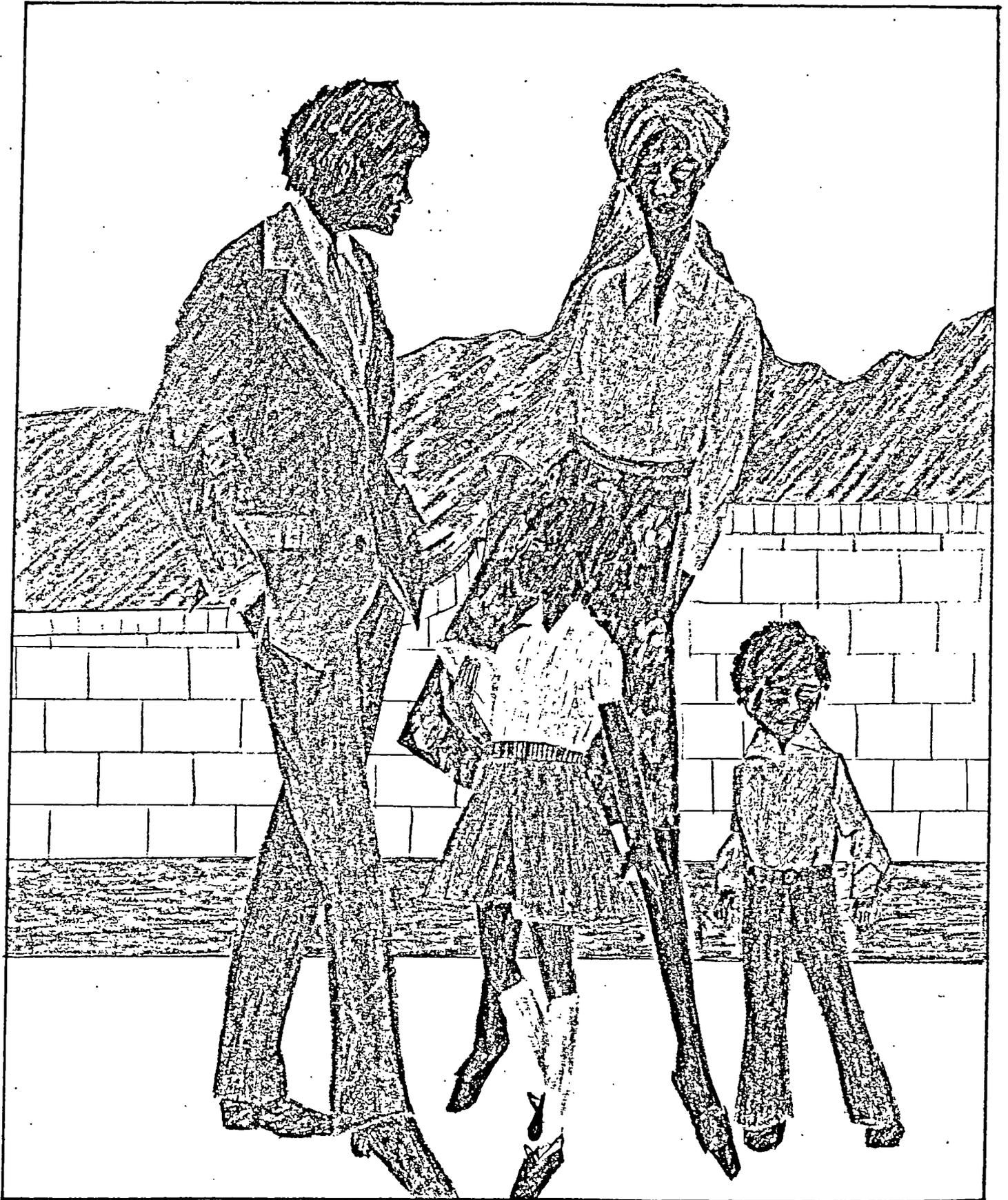
### Scoring Procedure

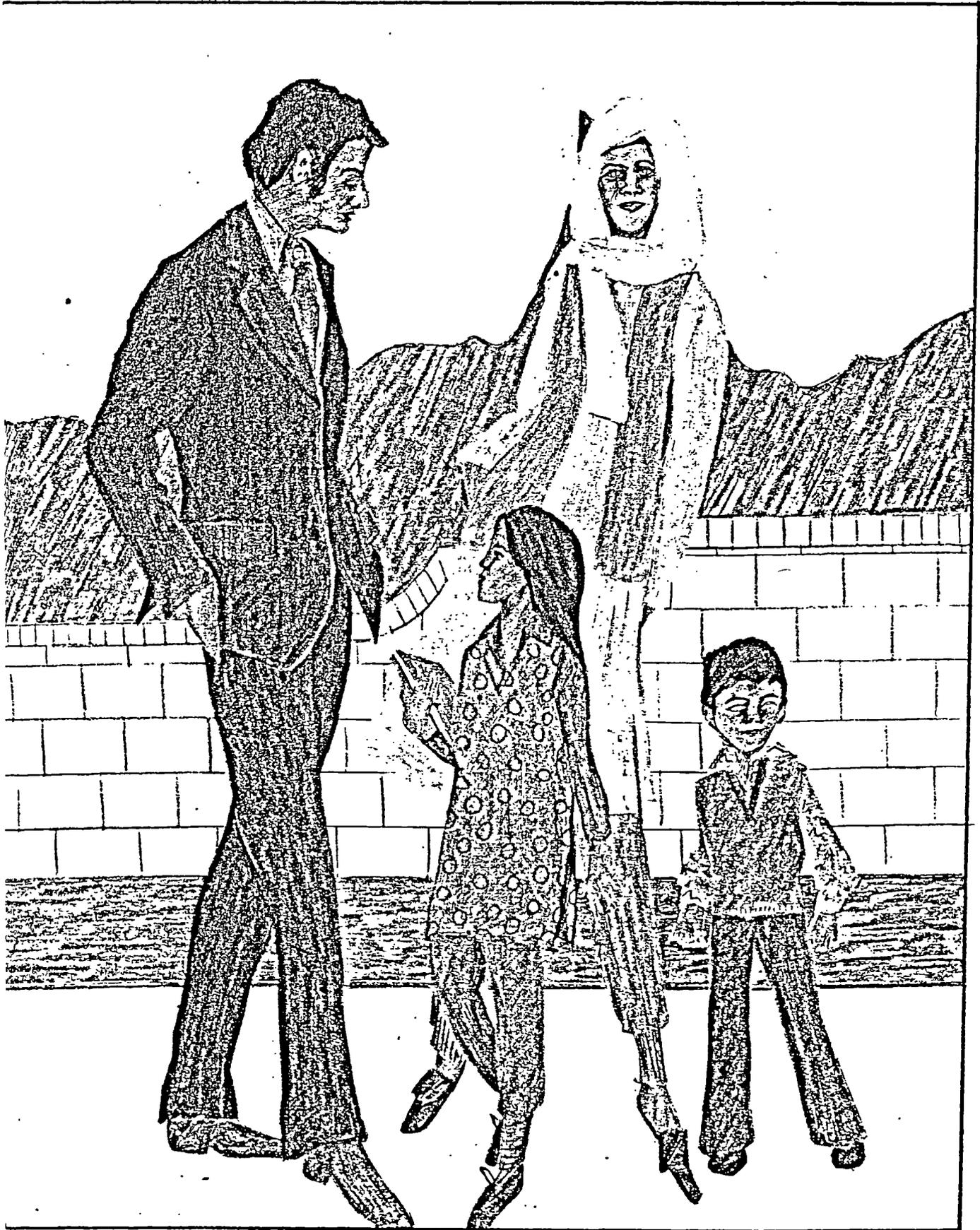
In scoring the responses of the tests, in-group choices were given a score of 1 while out-group choices were scored as 2. For any child, his score on a

particular section of the tests was the sum of these individual scores. Thus, in preference section, for example, the child could score from 4 to 8. Thus 4 represented four in-group choices; 5 represented three in-group choices and one out-group choice; 6 represented two in-group and two out-group choices; 7 represented one in-group and 3 out-group choices and 8 represented four out-group choices.









Child's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

A. (Excellent) above 80%      B. (Very Good) 79-70%      C. (Good) 69-60%      D. (Fair) 59-50%      E. (Poor) 49-40%      F. (Very Poor) below 40%

	A. (Excellent) above 80%	B. (Very Good) 79-70%	C. (Good) 69-60%	D. (Fair) 59-50%	E. (Poor) 49-40%	F. (Very Poor) below 40%
English: Written						
English: Reading						
Number Work						
Social Studies						

Self Esteem: \_\_\_\_\_

MOTHER'S INTERVIEW

Mother of \_\_\_\_\_

Father's Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

No. of Children \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's interaction with the child.

1. Do you accompany your child when he/she goes to someplace for the first time just to make sure that everything goes well?
2. Would you like to know exactly where your child was going when he/she went out?
3. Do you worry that your child will not be able to take care of him/her-self if unaccompanied by an adult?
4. Would you allow your child to play in the park by himself?
5. Do you teach your child to do things that he/she wants to learn?

6. How often do you praise your child?
7. Are you easily accessible to th child, when he needs help?
8. Do you take interest in all of your child's affairs?
9. If your child fails to do what you expect him/her to do are you strict about it?
10. Do you push your child to do his best in what ever he is doing?
11. Do you expect your child to keep his/her things in good order?
12. Do you push your child to do well in school - very often, fairly often, sometimes, hardly ever, never?

Father's interaction with the child.

13. Does your husband accompany the child or want you to accompany the child when ever the child goes to some place for the first time just to make sure

that everythin goes well?

14. Would your husband wish to know exactly where the child was going when the/she went out?
15. Does your husband worry that the child will not be able to take care of him/her-self if unaccompanied by an adult?
16. Would your husband allow the child to play in the park by himself?
17. Does your husband teach the child to do things that he/she wants to learn?
18. How often does your husband praise the child?
19. Is your husband easily accessible to the child, when the child needs his father's help?
20. Does your husband take interest in all of your child's affairs?
21. If your child fails to do what his father expects him/her to do, is the father strict about it?

22. Do the father pushes thchild to do his best in what ever he is doing?
23. Does the father expect the child to keep his/her things in good order?
24. Does the father push the child to do well in school?

#### Scoring Procedure

The responses were coded into 5 main categories i.e., very often, fairly often, sometimes, hardly ever, never. Scores range from 1 (very often) to 5 (never).

## METHODS OF CONTROL

### Mother

1. What would you do if the child delayed in doing something that you had asked him/her to do?
2. What would you do if the child was careless and destroyed something of value?
3. What would you do if the child talked back to you?
4. What would you do if the neighbours complained about your child's misconduct?

### Father

1. What would your husband do if the child delayed in doing something that he had asked the child to do?
2. What would be your husband's reaction if the child was careless and destroyed something of value?
3. What would your husband do if the child talked back to him?

4. What would be the reaction of your husband if the neighbours complained about your child's misconduct?

#### Scoring Procedure

The responses of the parent were assigned into 3 main categories of methods of control i.e., induction, love withdrawal, and power assertion. For each parent the total score under each category was calculated by taking the average score assigned by the coders. This score was then converted to percentages, as the total score for each parent.