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Using Bibliotherapy to Positively Impact The Emergent Racial Identity Of African-American Children

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USING BIBLIOTHERAPY TO POSITIVELY IMPACT THE
EMERGENT RACIAL IDENTITY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

BY

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ABSTRACT

USING BIBLIOTHERAPY TO POSITIVELY IMPACT THE EMERGENT RACIAL
IDENTITY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

This study explored the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group with African American children 5-7 years old. The purpose was to provide African American children with literature that reflects diverse cultural experiences with which they can relate. By enhancing the awareness of young African American children's knowledge of racial differences and similarities, and increasing their tolerance of diverse racial groups through the use of a bibliotherapy group, it was predicted that their emergent racial identity and self-concept would be positively impacted. There were three separate groups that met once a week for 10 weeks at the YWCA and a local elementary school in New Jersey. The groups were facilitated by graduate students who followed a standard guideline for each session. Each week the facilitators read a multicultural children's book and engaged them in arts and crafts, or other activity related to the story. The results of the study showed that the bibliotherapy intervention did not significantly impact the emerging racial identity and self-concept when compared to a control group. There are several possible explanations offered for this result, including the possible impact of other, more powerful socializing agents such as school, the media, and parents, varied interests in the stories, competing activities, and individual characteristics. The clinical relevance of these findings as well as directions for future research are discussed.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

African Americans constitute approximately 13.3 % (38.7 million) of the United States (U.S.) population, and this percentage is projected to increase to 15% (61.4 million) by 2050 (Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 2004-2005). In light of the growing rate of African Americans in the U.S., it is important to emphasize that pervasive racial stereotypes and disparaging treatment from those within and outside of the Black community, continue to be a large part of the African American/Black experience (Marshall, 1995). This disparaging treatment is evident in the high levels of “Black-on- Black” crime; of which proposed causal factors (e.g., systemic factors, a lack of cultural integrity) have been the subject of much debate (Cross, Jr., 2003; Ford, 2005). Poor treatment is also evident in the rise of police brutality against Blacks, such as the much publicized Abner Louima case in 1997, and unthinkable hate crimes, such as the 1998 dragging of James Byrd Jr., an African American man (Sue, 2003). Further, the images of African Americans throughout history until now have often been distorted and demeaning in both the media as well as the public education system (Allen, 1993). Orange and George (2000) assert that the media has become increasingly violent and exploitative, and is particularly damaging to large numbers of African American children as they are excessively exposed to negative images of Blacks. Comer and Poussaint (1992) point out that even schools with predominantly Black children have been largely ineffective in providing students with an accurate and authentic account of Black history and culture. Thus, adequate consideration must be given to the ways in which these derogatory and inaccurate messages impact the racial identity development of African Americans, particularly during the early years of life.

Conceptualizing Identity Development

The development of racial identity can be viewed within the larger context of identity development. Research shows that both racial and ethnic identity develop alongside general identity, which becomes evident in late childhood (Torres, Graves-Oliver, & Miesse, 2004). Erikson (1966) referred to the conscious aspects of *identity* as "...the experience of an increased unity of the physical and mental, moral and sexual selves, and of a oneness in the way one experiences oneself and the way others seem to experience us" (p. 150) Murray and Mandara (2002) consider identity and self-concept to be interchangeable and define it as "an organized system of schemas or particular beliefs about the self... that characterize the individual's behavior in salient social settings" (p. 74) Both conceptualizations suggest that identity is best thought of as a solidification of different components of the self. According to Derman-Sparks (1989), young children begin to "construct their identity and attitudes through... experience with their bodies, experience with their social environments, and their cognitive developmental stage" (p. 2). Consistent with this idea, Murray and Mandara (2002) indicate that identity development occurs as children see themselves through the eyes of important people in their lives, notably, family members, peers, teachers, and the media, and as they become increasingly aware of their attitudes and qualities. These reflected appraisals form children's personal identities and are referred to as a "primary reference point" (Bowles, 1993). As children begin to interact with those outside of their family circle, they develop a group identity, which includes appraisals from diverse groups of people, also known as a "wider reference point" (Bowles, 1993). Research further shows that by age two, children learn to apply gender labels and name colors; by age three, children become aware of gender and racial differences; and by age four or five, children have already begun to internalize gender role stereotypes, racial prejudice, and rejection of the

physically disabled (Derman-Sparks, 1989). The extent to which a child develops negative stereotypes about race, gender, and the physically disabled is largely dependent upon the messages they receive about these issues from their primary reference points and society at large (Beatty, 1997; Bowles, 1993).

Conceptualizing Black Racial Identity Development

According to Murray and Mandara (2002), one must understand the concept of race in order to have an optimal understanding of racial identity. Race is a social and political construction defined on the basis of physical criteria such as skin color, hair texture, and facial features (Murray & Mandara, 2002; Tatum, 1997). Historically, racial classification was used to stratify various ethnic groups on a continuum of inferior to superior in intelligence, physical strength, decency, and customs (Thompson & Carter, 1997). Although race and ethnicity are often used as synonyms, ethnicity more accurately refers to a person's socio-cultural heritage and includes, but is not limited to, country of origin, religion, and language (Tatum, 1997). For instance, an individual may identify with a particular culture such as Latino, but be perceived as Black by others due to his physical appearance. Several definitions of racial identity have been noted throughout the literature. For instance, Carter (2000) defines racial identity as "one's psychological response to one's race; it reflects the extent to which one identifies with a particular racial group and how that identification influences perceptions, emotions, and behaviors toward people from other groups" (p. 8); Murray and Mandara (2002) define racial identity as "the schema or mental representation of the racial aspect of the self, including perceived attributes and the feelings associated with them" (p. 74); and Helms (1990) refers to racial identity as "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular group" (p. 3). Additionally, Cross, Jr. (1985)

indicates that children's reference group orientation (e.g., racial attitudes, racial identity) refers to one's racial self-concept, and is distinguished from personal identity, which refers to general self-concept (e.g., self-concept, self-esteem).

The process of racial identity development occurs as children become increasingly aware of the "biological, psychological, historical, and socio-political dimensions of race in relation to himself," (Langley, 1995). Theories of racial identity development seek to explain the psychological changes that occur as "individuals struggle with the personal, social, and political implications of their membership in a racial group" (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997, p. 423). It is important to emphasize, however, that children's racial identity does not become solidified until adolescence. According to Erikson (1968), it is not until adolescence that individuals learn to integrate the identity from childhood with the new sense of self characterized by the physiological changes of puberty and the pressures to make career and educational decisions. Research shows that the racial or group identity developed in childhood does not necessarily predict racial identity in preadolescence or adolescence (Alejandro-Wright, 1985). Before adolescence, children's racial identity is best characterized as an emergent racial identity (Cross, Jr. & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). This is not to say, however, that the messages younger children receive about race are unimportant. Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith believe that these emergent racial identity patterns become prominent in late childhood and preadolescence. Research also indicates that children's racial attitudes are fluid and not as resistant to change before the age of seven (Beatty, 1997). Thus, educators, parents, and caregivers who exemplify racial tolerance in the presence of young children have an opportunity to positively impact their emergent racial attitudes.

Racial Socialization of African American Children

According to Thompson and Carter (1997), the socialization of race, along with gender, socioeconomic status, and culture impacts identity development. Racial socialization has been defined as “the process individuals experience in constructing appraisals of themselves and others as racial beings” (Thompson & Carter, 1997). The literature largely identifies parents as the mediators of this experience, as it is often the parents who interpret the messages that young children receive about themselves as racial beings (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Many African American parents have the challenge of raising Black children to develop a positive personal identity within the context of a racist society (Thomas & Speight, 1999). Notably, Black children who are fortunate to have Black family members to affirm a positive personal identity have a strong foundation for a positive group/racial identity (Bowles, 1993). Barnes (1980) asserts that the Black family and community often function as a “protective buffer” against racism. Similarly, Barbarin (1993) writes the following about the resilience of many African American children: “social support in the family, neighborhood, school, and churches are reported to act as buffering agents as they reduce emotional strain on parents and also help to decrease the presence of punitive, coercive, parenting behaviors.” Nevertheless, other researchers suggest that Black children, in particular, continue to be at risk for low reference group orientation (i.e., their level of identification with their racial group) due to their racial group’s low status position in this country (Cross, Jr., 1985; Marshall, 1995). Consequently, these researchers warn that the development of a low reference group orientation can interfere with Black children’s ability to combat the negative effects of racism on their personal identity (Cross, Jr., 1985). Essentially, one can conclude that African American children who are surrounded by a positive and affirming African American community (i.e., a strong

group identity) are less likely to develop a low reference group orientation than those who do not have such buffers. However, the research indicates that both Blacks and other children of color experience a higher incidence of poverty, unemployment, and poor health care than children in the dominant culture (Derman-Sparks, 1989). These conditions make it both more challenging and necessary for children to develop a strong group identity.

Moreover, other socializing agents and sources of racial information that have been largely identified throughout the literature are the media and schools (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Thomas & Speight, 1999). The media has a powerful influence on the behavior of children throughout the U.S. and teaches positive or negative messages about conflict-resolution, gender roles, dating, and sexual norms (Earles, Alexander, Johnson, Liverpool, & Mcghee, 2002). The media also sends potent messages about race which influence perceptions and feelings about one's own racial group and the racial group of others (Allen, 1993). Further, research indicates that children watch television more than any other activity when they are not sleeping and often watch without adult supervision (Bang & Reece, 2003); and African American children, in particular watch more television than White children (e.g., Murray & Mandara, 2002; Orange & George, 2000). This may be largely due to the fact that many impoverished Black families rely on television to "baby-sit" their children when they are unable to attend to them (Orange & George, 2000). Nevertheless, there continues to be little diversity in prime time programming with Whites accounting for 73% of the prime time population and people of color largely appearing as secondary characters or guest roles (Espejo & Glaubke, 2002). Studies have shown that children of color who watch large amounts of television are likely to have low self concepts and feel alienated due to the absence of positive portrayals of Blacks on television (Berry & Mitchell-Kerman, 1982, cited in Orange & George, 2000).

Murray & Mandara(2002) assert that another major socializing agent of African American children's identity is school. They emphasize that children spend the majority of their time in school and the educational system has largely been designed to maintain the sociopolitical-economic status. This is consistent with Cross, Jr.'s (2003) assertion that many Blacks in urban areas have been discouraged from succeeding academically. He attributes this lack of academic success to the history of "underfunding" among Black school districts, and the counterproductive ways such schools have handled overcrowding, such as the use of "double shifts" (i.e., an altered school schedule that required students to attend school for shorter periods of time or in shifts, to accommodate overcrowding in Black schools) in Chicago during the 1930's and '40s. Moreover, teachers have a special position in the school system as their beliefs and expectations about a child's cognitive capabilities or academic future can greatly impact a child's self-concept and group identity. Unfortunately, there are many children who have internalized racist beliefs about themselves and their group as a result of teachers' low expectations. Based on a review by McAllister & Irvine (2000), teachers must first acknowledge and understand their own biases and racist beliefs in order to be effective with diverse groups of students. This is important considering that the country's elementary, middle, and secondary schools are becoming increasingly multiracial (Carter, 2000). For instance, between 1986 and 2000, the proportion of nonwhite students in public elementary and secondary schools increased from 29.6% to 38.8% (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2002). Teachers have a responsibility to counteract the effects of racism on children's development by teaching them how to respond appropriately to differences (Derman-Sparks, 1989). Avoiding discussions about racial differences only creates an atmosphere of tension surrounding the topic and prevents discourse about race between racial groups (Thomas & Carter, 1997). Conversely, Derman-Sparks states that, "an anti-bias approach

teaches children to understand and comfortably interact with differences, to appreciate all people's similarities through the different ways they are human, and to recognize and confront ideas and behaviors that are biased." Similarly, Beaty (1997) asserts that an early childhood curriculum should help children develop a common bond with one another by recognizing similarities with children from different cultures and celebrating their differences (Beaty, 1997).

Identifying Indicators of Emergent Racial Identity

Helms & Cook (1999) assert that race is a powerful demographic identity that often dictates and maintains social norms, over and above other demographic identities. That is, the cultural, economic, and political privileges or lack thereof, a person experiences in this country is most often determined by a person's self- or other-identified racial makeup, as opposed to other identifying information (Derman-Spark, 1989). Helms & Cook (1999) write,

...If a person's ancestry is English, Jewish, or German and the person's perceived race is White, then the United States society's rules, privileges, and sanctions for White people usually pertain to the individual. However, if one's ancestry is English, Jewish or German and one is also perceived to be Black, then the person's Blackness rather than ethnicity more strongly determines the social conditions to which the person will be exposed. (p. 17)

In other words, it has historically been more common to make judgments about psychological and biological characteristics (e.g. intelligence) based on skin color or racial classification alone. Thus, when children become aware of racial differences in relation to their own racial group, many are being socialized to infer a host of characteristics largely based on race. Young children think concretely before they think abstractly (Murray & Mandara, 2002). Therefore, if they witness many Black children in special education programs, it must be because they are not smart; likewise, if they witness many Blacks in jail, it must be because they are

criminals. Similarly, if Whites are seen as presidents and leaders of our country, it must be because they are smart and knowledgeable (Murray & Mandara, 2002). Essentially, young children need support in sorting through their thoughts and feelings about race and racial group membership in order to prevent racism from harming their identity (Derman-Sparks, 1989). During the preschool years, these thoughts and feelings are frequently expressed through questions and comments about racial physical characteristics such as skin color and hair texture or other race-related questions. Such questions and comments alert educators and parents that children are becoming racially aware, and they must be prepared to provide accurate answers. However, this does not imply that children who do not ask questions or make comments are not becoming racially aware, as children begin to notice racial differences around age two (Derman-Sparks, 1989). Parents and educators must consider children's cognitive development as well as their questions and comments about race. Derman-Sparks (1989) lists several cognitive-developmental challenges that preschoolers face as they seek to gain a better understanding of race and its implication in this country. For instance, children become both aware of the variations in skin color and society's bias against darker skin during the preschool years, and are sensitive to others' attitudes toward skin color; they also want to know both how they get their skin and hair color, and whether it is changeable; and they are often confused upon the realization that the color-coded language used to label objects are different than color-coded language use to label skin color.

In addition to race-related questions and comments, and developmental challenges associated with race, there is research to support that children's drawings may also be interpreted as indicators of children's emergent racial identity. The literature suggests that children's drawings can be used to infer their cultural values, identity, and self-esteem (Cox, 1993; Payne, 1996).

Pfefer (1984) indicates that the Draw-a-Person test (Machover, 1949) is “a fair measure of the salience of race...and may reflect the personal characteristics of the individual” (p. 835) Some of the indicators that may have relevance in the United States include color of face, facial expressions, physical features, and social roles (Pfefer, 1984; Zaidi, 1978).

Children’s Multicultural Picture Books as a Socializing Agent

Using multicultural picture books to impact the messages children receive about themselves as racial beings is widely supported by the literature. Multicultural picture books fall under the rubric of multicultural literature, which is literature that “focuses on specific cultures by highlighting and celebrating their cultural and historical perspectives, traditions and heritage, language and dialects, and experiences and lifestyles,” (Diamond & Moore, 1995, p. 43). Children’s picture books send visual images to children that often convey messages about their worth, their capabilities, and their comparability with others (Cole & Valentine, 2000). Teachers and caregivers who expose children to multicultural picture books, provide children with the opportunity to enter the world of other children like themselves from different cultures (Beaty, 1997). The children have an opportunity to bond with the characters they see and live vicariously through their lives. Multicultural children’s picture books also send children visual messages about race and racism, and have the opportunity to empower them with the belief that they can make a positive change (Tatum, 1997). Further, children’s multicultural picture books are a desirable alternative to television because it facilitates multicultural literacy development. Diamond and Moore (1995) define multicultural literacy as “the process of linking the cultural experiences, histories, and languages that all children bring to school with language learning and academic learning that take place in the school,” (pg. 7). The literature indicates that children who watch television excessively often have little interest in studying, and it is the responsibility

of both educators and parents to engage children in positive academic activities, such as reading, that can provide them with positive, non-stereotypical cultural and racial images of themselves and other cultures (Orange & George, 2000). Fortunately, both parents and teachers, two major socializing agents, can use children's multicultural picture books to enhance both children's interest in reading and understanding of diverse cultures, including their own (Diamond & Moore, 1995; Wham, Barnhart & Cook, 1996).

Using Children's Multicultural Picture Books in Bibliotherapy

There are numerous definitions of bibliotherapy throughout the literature. A few include "... a family of techniques for structuring interaction between a facilitator and participant...based on the mutual sharing of literature" (Berry, 1978), "...using books as part of the treatment of emotionally and mentally disturbed people" (Jones, 2001), and "...the use of books to help people solve their problems" (Aiey, 1993). Cronje (1993) identifies three categories of bibliotherapy. They include institutional bibliotherapy, which is the use of didactic literature with individual or group institutionalized clients; clinical bibliotherapy is the use of fictional/imaginative literature with groups to alleviate emotional and behavioral problems; and developmental bibliotherapy is the use of fictional/imaginative or didactic literature with groups to promote normal development. Conversely, Coleman and Ganong (1988) identify two types of bibliotherapy— educational and clinical bibliotherapy. Both types seem to be similar in nature to Cronje's developmental and clinical bibliotherapy, respectively. Coleman and Gangong indicate that clinical bibliotherapy refers to the use of bibliotherapy within the context of counseling or therapy, with individuals who present serious emotional or behavioral problems. They define educational bibliotherapy as the use of bibliotherapy with individuals who present developmental or minor adjustment problems. Educational bibliotherapy is not necessarily conducted in a

clinical setting and is often used as a preventative technique. The literature suggests that educational or developmental bibliotherapy is useful with children who are progressing through normal stages of development (Rizza, 1997). For instance, reading a story about a child who is frightened about entering the first grade to a kindergartner may be helpful in alleviating some of his or her fears. Rizza (1997) emphasizes that clinical bibliotherapy is used by helping professionals, such as clinicians, and educational/developmental bibliotherapy can be used by anyone (e.g., teacher, parent) who has contact with a child experiencing emotional turmoil or conflict that has not yet developed into a life-altering problem. The literature emphasizes the practicality of educational/developmental bibliotherapy, as it can be used as a preventative technique or method to help children handle existing problems. It is important to note, however, that much of the literature does not distinguish between educational and clinical bibliotherapy, as the two types do not appear to be mutually exclusive techniques (Smith, 1989). For instance, a helping professional who incorporates educational/developmental bibliotherapy into their practice may also be perceived to be conducting clinical bibliotherapy as the technique is being used in a clinical setting.

Several studies have indicated that the practice of bibliotherapy can be effective with groups or individuals for a variety of purposes, including the following: (a) offering new information and insight, (b) generating discussion about relevant issues, (c) presenting alternative attitudes and values, (d) normalizing experiences, (e) demonstrating alternative problem-solving techniques, and (f) improving self-concept (Abudallah, 2002; Coleman & Ganong, 1988). All six purposes can be used to enhance children's ability to cope more effectively with their presenting issues or concerns. This usually occurs once a child experiences identification and projection; that is, they see similarities between self and the character(s) (Pardeck, 1990; Pardeck & Pardeck,

1998). Specifically, younger children can benefit from reading picture books that fulfill the six purposes listed above, primarily because their limited vocabulary, limited range of experiences, and short attention span often precludes them from generating more complex interpretations and resolutions on their own (Pardeck, 1990; Pardeck & Markward, 1995). Younger children are not likely to have a cathartic experience when reading, as they generally do not have the capacity to experience the emotional release that precedes insight into a problem as older children and adults do (Pardeck, 1990). However, the helping person can address signs of anger, joy, relief, and other emotional cues that may be evident (Pardeck, 1990). Such emotions may be more easily addressed and discussed when the helping person reads aloud. Reading aloud is comforting to children as hearing the helping person tell the story in a vivid and engaging manner suggests that he/she understands and sympathizes with characters like them (Pardeck & Markward, 1995); thus, reading aloud is an opportunity to develop a trusting relationship with the child (Pardeck & Markward, 1995). Additionally, follow-up activities such as arts and crafts should also be used with younger children to encourage reflection and dialogue (Rizza, 1997).

The illustrations in picture books further enhance the bibliotherapeutic process (i.e., identification, projection, emotionality, trust) as they offer a “window” into the lives of culturally and racially different or similar characters who have issues or concerns that are similar to their own (Cole & Valentine, 2000). Cianciolo (1972) writes, “Illustrations constitute a powerful and pervasive means of communicating a respect for the concept that minorities should not be permitted to lose their identities in anonymity. One should appreciate the challenge of being different” (p. 56).

Children of different cultures and racial backgrounds who see themselves and others represented in picture books that help them deal more effectively with developmental and other

issues are less likely to feel invisible and internalize negative stereotypes of themselves and others. The illustrations can spark discussions about race and demonstrate that race is an acceptable topic for discussion. Thomas & Carter (1997) write about the denial of race and emphasize that the refusal to discuss race and racial issues is powerful as it diminishes the role of race in maintaining notions of inferiority among people of color, and superiority among Whites. Thus, it is important for adults to send children the message that it is not only ok, but necessary to be honest about racism if change is to occur (Tatum, 1997; Aboud & Doyle 1996). For instance, picture books that depict characters with varied shades of skin color and racial categorization may give children the opportunity to express their ideas about skin color to a parent or helping person that can address their concerns. Follow-up activities may include drawing pictures of the characters or dramatizing a scene from the book and discussing it. Beaty (1997) emphasizes that picture books are a great way to engage children in follow-up activities as they enjoy mimicking the characters' behaviors and actions.

It goes without saying that the use of bibliotherapy as a tool to deal more effectively with childhood concerns has its limitations and challenges. Notably, Riordan (1991) asserts that there is little empirical support for the use of bibliotherapy. It appears that many practitioners do not feel there needs to be substantial scientific support for the use of bibliotherapy in order for it to be a useful tool (Riordan, 1991). Riordan believes that clarity regarding who, what, why, and under what conditions, can make bibliotherapy a more precise tool. Since Riordan's 1991 article, there have been a number of studies showing the effectiveness of bibliotherapy with children and adolescents, for example, Holman (1996) and Shechtman (1999); however, these studies tend to warn against generalization to other groups because they focus more on clinical process than empirical investigation. Further, bibliotherapy interventions conducted by a librarian or educator

in a group setting should have a different focus from bibliotherapy interventions conducted by a clinician with a child in therapy (Smith, 1989). That is, unlike bibliotherapy conducted in a clinical setting, librarians or educators conducting developmental bibliotherapy must ensure that the group members discuss issues, which are meaningful, but avoid overexposure of deep emotional issues that are best dealt with in therapy. The practice of bibliotherapy also becomes less effective if the helping professional has either a limited knowledge of developmental problems and/or an inadequate knowledge about appropriate literature (Abdullah, 2002). For instance, if the characters in the story are not credible, the effectiveness of bibliotherapy will be limited because the characters will not be relatable (Jackson, 2001). Bibliotherapy may also present risks if the child misinterprets the material and develops a host of unrealistic expectations (Rubin, 1978, cited in Pardeck & Pardeck, 1998). Thus, the helping person must monitor the bibliotherapeutic process closely.

Statement of the Problem

This research was aimed at examining whether the use of a developmental bibliotherapy group would impact the emergent racial identity of young African American children; that is, multicultural picture books used in a developmental bibliotherapy was expected to help young African American children (a) become more aware of racial differences and similarities and (b) become more aware of stereotypes and discriminatory behavior as advocated in Derman-Sparks' (1989) anti-bias curriculum, for the purposes of helping them demonstrate more positive attitudes towards their own racial group and emerging sense of self. While many African American children develop a positive self-image in spite of negative portrayals of their racial group (Barbarin, 1993), not all do. A number of factors have been linked to the healthy development of African American children, including self-efficacy, self-esteem, cognitive skills,

cultural and ethnic identification, and supportive relationships (Barbarin, 1993). However, the social context in which many African American children develop may not always promote these factors.

Specifically, the socio-racial messages relayed in children's books have historically done little to promote the healthy development of African American children. Cooper (1992) points out that in the early 1960s there were almost no picture books that featured African American children. As children's books reflect societal values and norms (Cole & Valentine, 2000), the elimination of African Americans from picture books during the 1960s suggested that African Americans were not valued. Conversely, there have been many books that depict Black children since the 1960s. However, finding quality multicultural picture books is more of a challenge, as not all picture books portray diverse cultures authentically; that is, not in a manner accepted by those who belong to the culture (Lewis, 1994; Weimin & Wenju, 1995). Fortunately, the literature provides numerous book lists that feature authentic picture books with African American children, and children from other cultures and backgrounds. Many of these books can be used in developmental bibliotherapy; however, as Riordian (1991) indicates, there is little research that demonstrates what a bibliotherapy group, particularly a developmental bibliotherapy group, actually looks like in practice with African American children. Specifically, little is known about the specific steps to follow and when it is least or most effective, or even possibly harmful.

Beaty's (1995) common bonds curriculum was helpful in designing a bibliotherapy group. She believes that if the similarities among children of all different cultures are recognized and established, it will allow each child to celebrate their differences without feeling strange or exotic. Similarly, Derman-Sparks (1989) speaks against a "tourist curriculum," which does not

encourage a focus on children's likenesses. She writes, "Tourist curriculum is both patronizing...and trivializing, dealing not with the real-life daily problems and experiences of different peoples...Children 'visit' non-White cultures and then 'go home' to the daily classroom which reflects only the dominant culture" (p.7). Even if there is little diversity among the children, an anti-bias or common bonds curriculum is still needed as children benefit from learning about other cultures, not just the dominant culture (Derman-Sparks, 1989). Although Derman-Sparks and Beaty are largely referring to an entire classroom curriculum, their perspective also seems applicable to reading groups as they both agree that multicultural picture books are valuable tools to promote tolerance and acceptance of diverse racial backgrounds and cultures. Therefore, this research focused on combining the application and process of bibliotherapy as noted in the literature with both the anti-bias (Derman-Sparks, 1989) and common bonds curriculum (Beaty, 1995) to construct a developmental bibliotherapy group with young African American children so as to lessen the negative impact that racism can have on their emerging identity.

Research Questions

Considering the statement of the problem, there are seven research questions that this study addressed:

1. Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group increase African American children's awareness of racial differences and similarities?
 - 1A. Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group increase African American children's tolerance of racial differences?
2. Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group reduce African American children's internalized racial stereotypes, which the

- literature suggests leads to discriminatory behavior?
- 2A. Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group reduce African American children's externalized racial stereotypes , which the literature suggests leads to discriminatory behavior?
3. Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group improve African American children's attitudes towards their own racial group?
- 3A. Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group improve African American children's emerging self-concept?
- 3B. Will there be a correlation between African American children's attitudes towards their own racial group and emerging self-concept?

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses followed from the research questions stated above:

H1 and H1A: The use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group will significantly increase African American children's awareness of racial differences and similarities (H1), and tolerance of racial differences (H1A), as evidenced by scores on an own-group attitudes scale developed by Corenblum and Annis (1993).

H2 and H2A: The use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group will significantly decrease African American children's internalization (H2) and externalization (H2A) of racial stereotypes, as evidenced by scores on the Racial Stereotyping Scale (Bigler & Liben, 1993).

H3 and H3A: The use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group will significantly improve African American children's attitudes towards their own group (H3) and emerging self-concept (H3A), as evidenced by scores on an own-group attitudes scale

developed by Corenblum and Annis (1993). The developmental bibliotherapy group will also improve African American children's attitudes towards their emerging self-concept as evidenced by the Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike, 1984). Additionally, specific indicators on the Draw-a-Person Measure (Machover, 1949; Pfefer, 1984) will be considered for future qualitative analyses if there are observed differences in drawings between the two groups. That is, it is likely that the drawings will reflect group differences regarding own-group attitudes and emerging self-concept as the research suggests.

H3B: There will be a correlation between African American children's attitudes towards their own group and emerging self-concept; that is, the scores on the own-group attitudes scale (Corenblum & Annis, 1993) and the Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike, 1984) should positively or negatively correlate.

Purpose of the Study

The literature emphasizes that years after slavery and the onset of the Civil Rights Movement, African American children from lower and higher socio-economic backgrounds still must struggle with racial discrimination (Murray & Mandara, 2002). The use of multicultural picture books in bibliotherapy provides an opportunity to address both developmental concerns and counter many of the negative African American images and degrading racial messages that African American children see throughout the media. This is an opportune time to expose children to multicultural literature considering that books for young readers are much more authentic and representative of the experiences of young readers and their families and friends than in the past (Beaty, 1997; Muse, 1997). Further, although the literature suggests that bibliotherapy is effective in a group setting (e.g., Cohen, 1989; Hynes & Hynes-Berry, 1986;

Schechtman, 1999), there are very few articles that validate its use, particularly with younger African American children. This study attempted to provide a group of African American children with a bibliotherapy experience that allows them to bond with children who are both similar to and different than themselves, for the purposes of cultivating positive attitudes towards their own and other racial groups (Beaty, 1997).

Significance

A quote from Candy Dawson Boyd reflects the importance of conducting this research, “ ‘As a child, I never read books that were about me. I had to search for characters who were a part of me. There was something inside that ached, an emptiness’ ” (Lewis, 1994, p. 276). Providing younger African American children with an opportunity to see characters like themselves reflected in books provides them with a sense of personal worth (Diamond and Moore, 1995). Further, as children’s picture books have become less stereotypical and more likely to include characters from more diverse cultures and racial backgrounds, the books used in the bibliotherapy group aspired to incorporate the characteristics Diamond and Moore (1995) consider to be essential. They are as follows: (a) the cultural world view of specific groups; (b) characters portrayed in a true-to-life manner; (c) settings consistent with the historical/contemporary time, place, or situation of specific cultures; (d) themes in line with the values, beliefs, and customs of specific cultures; (e) detailed and accurate informational literature; (f) the distinctive vocabulary, style, patterns, and rhythm of speech of specific cultures; (g) non-stereotypical illustrations, behaviors, and traits of the characters; and (h) the changing roles of women and men in specific cultures.

In essence, books have the power to socialize African American children and influence their socio-political attitudes in positive ways (Boyd, 1997). Educators, parents, therapists, and

anyone who has a vested interest in the mental health of African American children can use developmental bibliotherapy to address numerous developmental issues, while simultaneously invoking acceptance of cultural diversity (Beaty, 1997; Rizza, 1997).

Methodological Rationale

The impact of a bibliotherapy group on the emergent racial identity of African American children was assessed through the use of a multiple group, intervention design, with quantitative, pre- and post-test measures. There was also a pre- and posttest qualitative component to be used for further study, as the literature suggests that children's racial identity development is best understood through both quantitative and qualitative means (Connolly, 2001). More specifically, the multiple groups consisted of an experimental and a control group. The intervention for the experimental group was the developmental bibliotherapy group. The experimental group utilized multicultural picture books that were recommended in the literature. These books were the focus of each of the motifs for all sessions. Similar to a bibliotherapy group conducted by Shechtman (1999) in his treatment of childhood aggression, the intervention consisted of ten sessions; each motif derived from Beaty's (1997) Common Bonds curriculum for younger children. Further, the goals for each group (see curriculum plan) were derived from Derman-Sparks (1989) Anti-Bias Curriculum. Conversely, the control group was not given the intervention. The intended age ranges were 5-7, as the literature informs us that children's conception of race is pliable during this time (Beaty, 1997; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). However, some children turned eight years of age during the course of the study. The subjects in both the experimental and control groups were drawn from the same population. Two African Americans, one male and female, including myself, and one Caucasian female facilitated the reading groups. I, the primary researcher, taught the facilitators how to conduct the intervention by explaining how to

implement the standard curriculum plan and having them participate in a mock session. By providing each facilitator with the same specific instructions on how to facilitate the group, it was expected that researcher bias would be prevented. Moreover, the four pre- and post-test measures were designed to assess changes in awareness and tolerance of people with different skin colors, own-group racial attitudes, stereotyped attitudes, and global self-worth. The literature suggests that these conceptions are the groundwork for early racial identity development, and thus constitute an emergent racial identity (Derman-Sparks, 1989; Cross-Fhagen-Smith, 2001).

There are very few studies that have validated the use of developmental bibliotherapy groups with young children. Therefore, the identified motifs and goals of the bibliotherapy group were ones that were formulated from multicultural curriculums designed for an educational setting. The intervention incorporated both the practice of bibliotherapy and elements of a multicultural curriculum. This was considered to be most suitable, as it has been previously noted that (a) bibliotherapy is a useful way to help children cope with developmental issues, and (b) a multicultural curriculum promotes self and other-esteem; both were expected to impact the issues that young African American children face as their racial identity emerges. It was expected that this study would provide further support for using picture books in a bibliotherapy group with young children, as they can benefit from having a safe and enlightening place to resolve race-related issues, see themselves reflected in a positive manner, and improve their reading skills.

Delimitations

As the emergent racial identity of African American children is influenced by many different socio-cultural influences, it was noted that a bibliotherapy group is only one source of

information that may impact the racial identity development of such children. Unfortunately, it was beyond the scope of this study to account for all the ways children's emergent racial identity may develop throughout the course of the bibliotherapy group. Thus, it was expected that events other than the intervention may occur between the pre- and post-test that impact the experimental and control group differently or uniformly. Further, based on the premise that different racial groups experience the development of racial identity in different ways, the groups only consisted of African American children (Wijehesinghe & Jackson, 2001). African Americans, in particular, have a unique experience in this country—arriving here as slaves and fighting their way to freedom—thus, it was no small feat to limit the subjects to African Americans who must develop their racial identity within the socio-historical context of enslavement and oppression. Moreover, it is understood that the facilitators' ethnicity, gender, and individual difference affected the way the children responded to the intervention in unforeseeable ways. It is likely that the children responded to the facilitators in ways that reflect stereotypical racial and gender biases of which we are all capable (Sue, 2003). As this study only assessed the effects of the intervention on the children's emergent racial identity, it was hoped that changes in discriminatory attitudes and behaviors would take place despite the subjects' perceptions of the gender and ethnicity of the facilitators. However, as will be discussed further in the Results section, there were no significant changes in attitudes or behaviors. Nevertheless, these delimitations are all important areas to be addressed, and the results of this present study can be a meaningful foundation for future researchers who seek to address these delimitations.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

This chapter will follow the outline presented in the introduction and provide a more in-depth review of the literature on identity and Black racial identity development, racial socialization in African American children, indicators of emergent racial identity, multicultural picture books as a socializing agent, and multicultural picture books in bibliotherapy. Additionally, the chapter will end with a summary of the relevant literature. Extensive research has been conducted on identity development and Black racial identity development in particular, and has provided a strong basis for much of the writings on the racial socialization of African American children. This review will highlight the processes African American children experience as their racial identity emerges within the context of racial socialization for the purpose of providing support for the use of the proposed bibliotherapy group as a socializing agent.

Theories of Identity Development

According to Goodman (1964), the search for identity is evident around the age of three as children begin to ask the question, “Who am I?” This consciousness of self reflects the growth of the ego as an autonomous entity. The ego has been defined as the “mental structure of the personality that is responsible for negotiating between the internal needs of the individual and the outside world” (Goldstein, 1995, p. xi). Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, and Jean Piaget are among the leading influential theorists who postulated a conception of ego functioning and development that guides individuals’ capacity to adapt to their environment (Goldstein, 1995). Freud’s focus on unconscious drives and instincts in personality development became what is now known as classical psychoanalytic theory, and has been believed by many to be a cynical view of human

development (Goldstein, 1995). He understood the ego as the mediator between instinctual drives and the ego-ideal/external world, proposing that human behaviors are motivated by unconscious conflicts between the id and ego-ideal which develop in childhood. According to Freud's psychosexual stages of development (i.e., the oral, anal, phallic, and Oedipal stages), children are born with a set amount of sexual energy that conflict with societal standards. It is the improper resolution of these conflicts that becomes the source of anxiety, defenses, and neurotic symptoms in adulthood (Goldstein, 1995).

In contrast with Freud's emphasis on instinctual drives, Erikson emphasized the interaction between psychosocial factors and instinctual drives (Goldstein, 1995). He believed that one's identity is solidified through a continued understanding and acceptance of both the self and the society in which the self resides (Miller, 1993). He used the term ego identity to refer to the "awareness of the fact that there is a selfsameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods and that these methods are effective in safeguarding the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others" (Erikson, 1980, p. 22). According to Erikson, it is the ego identity that gives one a sense of a core self (Goldstein, 1995). Erikson (1980) further proposed that the ego identity develops as individuals successfully master eight developmental stages from birth to adulthood. A crisis occurs at each stage, as individuals learn to cope with drastic changes in intrapersonal and interpersonal perspectives. This change in perspectives is reflective of one's newly developed capacities, and psychological and physiological needs, which must be adapted to societal opportunities, expectations, and constraints (Goldstein, 1995). Individuals manage crises by choosing between the positive and negative resolutions of each developmental task. Erikson (1980) identified eight stages of ego identity development throughout the lifespan, four of which occur before adolescence.

The first four stages are relevant to understanding how Erikson conceptualized the development of the ego throughout childhood (Erikson, 1980). The first state is trust versus mistrust and occurs during infancy (birth to one year of age). The major task at this stage is to achieve a balance of trust and mistrust. The caretaker's role is to create a sense of trust by catering to the child's needs; in turn, the child learns to trust himself and he becomes familiar with his physical urges. At the second stage, the child must negotiate feelings of autonomy and shame and doubt, and occurs during toddler hood (two- to- three- years of age). The child is experiencing new possibilities through increasing psychological and physical independence as well as the shame and doubt that accompanies violation of law and order, lack of self-control, and independence. It is the culture, perpetuated through the parents, that gives meaning to the child's new abilities and largely dictates which events provide the child with a sense of autonomy or shame and doubt (Miller, 1993). The third stage is initiative versus guilt and is common during early childhood (four- to- five- years of age). At this stage, the child determines the kind of person he or she will be (usually, it is the parents or other ideal prototypes) and takes the initiative to make it happen by creating and implementing goals and competing with others. The child's initiative is commonly demonstrated through intrusiveness and aggression, but results in guilt when his conscience condemns immoral thoughts and/or behaviors. The fourth stage is industry versus inferiority and occurs during later childhood (age six to puberty). The child strives for a feeling of mastery and competency and experiences a sense of inadequacy and inferiority when these successful experiences do not come to fruition. Children at this stage become industrious, and it is not uncommon for them to associate learning with self-worth. According to Erikson, ego identity formation does not take place until adolescence, as

youngsters achieve a sense of self through a process of exploring and integrating different facets of their identity (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997).

Jean Piaget contributed to an understanding of ego development by focusing on cognition, a central feature in ego functioning (Goldstein, 1995). Piaget believed that the development of cognitive functions occur when infants interact with the world and successively accommodate to new challenges (Kagan, 1994). He writes:

From the beginning, due to the hereditary adaptations of the organism, intelligence finds itself entangled in a network of relations between the organism and the environment.... It is not at all an independent absolute, but is a relationship among others, between the organism and things. (Piaget, 1952, p. 19)

Piaget was a structuralist, as he believed that a set of mental operations underlie thought processes which are combined in different ways at different ages to form organized thought (Miller, 1993). More specifically, he believed that humans inherit skills that are evident at birth, including reflexes and the ability to assimilate (take in), accommodate (change), and organize information (Ginsburg & Opper, 1988; Piaget, 1952). Piaget described four major periods of cognitive development (Ginsburg & Opper, 1988). The periods are qualitatively different from one another and the child's cognitive abilities become increasingly more sophisticated with each period (Murray & Mandara, 2002). The first period is the sensori-motor stage (birth to two years). During this period, children organize physical action schemes such as sucking, grasping, and hitting as a way of understanding their world. There are a total of six substages (i.e., reflexive stage, primary circular reactions, secondary circular reactions, combinations of secondary schemes, tertiary circular reactions, and beginning of representation) during the sensori-motor period as children's thinking skills change dramatically during this time (Piaget, 1952; Owens,

2002). Essentially, as children enter the world, they are equipped with the abilities to initiate reflexive activities such as grasping, sucking, and gazing, and they learn to act in ways to bring about change in their environment. They eventually learn to think about performing activities without having to act it out, which leads to the pre-operational period (two to seven years). This period is characterized by the children's use of symbols that represent objects (e.g. ability to identify skin color). Children no longer need to make perceptual and motor adjustments to objects or events— they begin to use symbols and internalize images— yet their thinking is not yet organized and logical. During the concrete operational period (seven to 11 years), children develop the capacity to use logical structures that allow them to perform mental operations (e.g., conservation tasks), but only for concrete actions and objects. They are largely concerned with that which is tangible and real (e.g., racial categories). The last period, the formal operational period (11 years to adulthood), is characterized by a young person's ability to think systematically on an abstract level and internalize the abstraction (e.g., racial constancy). Overall, Piaget conceptualized the infant as one who enters the world equipped with the skills and abilities to face the challenges experienced during early development. Ginsburg and Opper (1988) sum up Piaget's view of cognitive development: "Piaget's view offers a strong contrast to this conception of the newborn as a predominately helpless and inactive creature, for he characterizes the newborn as active and as an initiator of behavior" (p. 27).

In essence, Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, and Jean Piaget have shaped our understanding of the psychological development of human nature across the lifespan (Kagan, 1994). Their theories of identity development have paved the way for more contemporary perspectives, such as attachment theories, and theories informed by advances in modern cognitive science (e.g., perception and memory) (Kagan, 1994). Notably, John Bowlby has made important

contributions to our understanding of the ego (Goldstein, 1995). His attachment model has its roots in Erikson's theory of development, as he emphasizes the importance of the attachment between caregiver and child (Kagan, 1994). Bowlby discounts the belief that a child is a tabula rasa at birth, and consistent with Piaget, asserts that infants are born with behavioral systems (e.g., crying, sucking, and clinging) which set the stage for the development of attachment. While Bowlby does not explicate the process of a fully developed identity, the specific patterns of attachment detected in childhood (e.g., securely attached, anxiously attached) suggest that children develop a healthy ego or sense of self when they are able to use their mother figure as a secure base from which to explore the world.

Bowlby provides four phases that characterize the way attachment behavior develops in infants (Bowlby, 1999). Phase one is Orientation and Signal with Limited Discrimination of Figure and lasts from approximately birth to 8 through 12 weeks of age. During this phase, infants generally behave in friendly ways towards people, and their ability to discriminate one person from another is dependent upon olfactory and auditory stimuli. The second phase is Orientation and Signals Directed Towards One (or More) Discriminated Figure(s), and is present until about six months of age. During this phase, infants continue to behave in characteristic ways towards others, but there is a marked difference in their behavior towards their mother or attachment figure. The third phase is Maintenance of Proximity to a Discriminated Figure by Means of Locomotion as Well as Signal and occurs between six and seventh months of age. It is during this phase that infants become increasingly discriminatory in the way they behave towards others. Infants will be cautious with strangers and are likely to withdraw from them. They will respond to departing and returning mother figures, and will use her as a base from which to explore the world. Infants' attachment to their mother figure becomes evident during

this time and is mediated through a goal-corrected process, characteristic of the fourth phase, known as the Formation of a Goal-Corrected Partnership. This phase is observed during age three, and is characterized by young children's ability to maintain proximity to an attachment figure through goal-corrected systems. As a child observes his or her mother figure's behavior, he or she begins to infer the mother figure's set-goals and plan of action. As the child gains insight into her motives and feelings, and his or her behavior becomes increasingly more flexible, the basis for a partnership between mother figure and child is formed. Essentially, the particular pattern of attachment between mother figure and child is vital to healthy psychological development, as acceptance or rejection by the mother figure greatly affects one's sense of self (Bowlby, 1999; Kagan, 1994).

Furthermore, Kagan (1994) offers a conceptualization of infant development informed by cognitive theories, attachment theories, and research on temperamental style. For the purposes of highlighting Piaget's influence on more recent theories of cognition, this review will only focus on Kagan's (1999) perspective on cognitive development. Kagan (1994) asserts that children acquire knowledge by relating new experiences to what they already know. He identifies schema, a concept first introduced by Piaget, as a form of knowledge that represents an experience that bears close resemblance to an original event. Kagan (1999) writes, "Schemata permit recognition of the past, an ability that exists in fragile form during the first days of life" (p. 35). He emphasizes that the ability to relate an experience to relevant schemata is vital to maturation in the infant's first year. Kagan's (1999) focus is slightly different from Piaget who focused on the child's ability to manipulate the external environment. Piaget suggested that infants' ability to act on the environment is critical to the development of knowledge. Conversely, Kagan (1999) places more focus on the psychological representations of past and present and believes that the

maturation of memory is critical to the development of knowledge. For instance, an eight-month-old's ability to find a toy hidden under a cloth is interpreted by Piaget to mean that the child has achieved object permanence, and no longer holds the belief that the object disappears when it is no longer in sight. Kagan (1999) writes, "I believe the eight-month-old's ability to find a hidden toy is due to a capacity to remember its location and to use the retrieved knowledge to initiate the act of reaching (p. 49). According to Kagan (1999), the infant's seemingly newfound ability to reach under the cloth began developing long before any evidence of intentionality. Further, both Piaget and Kagan assert that the presence of intentionality is a major development in the first year (Kagan, 1994). However, Piaget believed that a child's ability to act intentionally emerges through the repetition of actions, whereas Kagan believes that "intentionality is inserted late into the first year as a result of the maturation of parts of the brain" (Kagan, 1994, p. 50).

In essence, the theories mentioned above have laid the groundwork for our understanding of racial identity development. In particular, much of Erikson's studies were conducted on non-Western cultures; thus, it appears as if he attempted to create a model of identity that can be applied to most, if not all ethnic and racial groups (Cote, 2002; Miller, 1993). He gives a voice to the way typical young children experience identity development during the first four stages (Erikson, 1980). That is, throughout the first, second, third, and fourth stages, respectively, he asserts that children hold the following convictions: "I am what I am given"; 'I am what I will'; 'I am what I can imagine I will be'; and 'I am what I learn.'" As suggested by Bowlby's (1999) theory of attachment, this emerging sense of identity is heavily reliant upon the child's social environment and the messages conveyed by others (Comer & Poussaint, 1992). Goodman (1964) acknowledges the importance of social environment and writes:

The baby has no real sense of himself, and the idea of 'me' has been a gradual growth, a result of living with people (as such), of living with people who observe a certain 'style' of life, and of living with unique and individualized people (p. 37).

Moreover, Erikson (1980) identified the fourth stage, industry versus inferiority, as critical to a child's "social worth" (p.93). During this time, children begin to do things with others and develop a "sense of division of labor and of equality of opportunity" (p. 93). Thus, if a Black child begins to feel that it is the color of his skin rather than his desire to learn which dictates his worth, his minority status can exacerbate the task of integrating his identity upon adolescence. According to Comer and Poussaint (1992), it is the core sense of self or "primary identity" (p. 16) upon which one's attitudes and behaviors towards race, or racial identity, is built. Therefore, a child's core sense of self must be nurtured through love and guidance, in spite of the experience of racism in order for a positive racial identity to emerge (Comer & Poussaint, 1992).

Furthermore, Piaget's model of cognitive development has been used to understand the development of racial attitudes. Branch and Newcombe (1988) conducted a review on the relation between cognitive development and racial attitudes. The literature suggested that children's expression of racial attitudes is dependent upon their cognitive level. For instance, children who are able to perform better on conservation tasks have a more highly developed social cognition (e.g., accurate racial classification of others or racial constancy), than children who do not perform so well. Thus, their racial attitudes are reflective of their higher cognitive level. Murray and Mandara (2002) remind us of the importance of social context when considering cognition. They state, "cognitive readiness determines when children are capable of developing racial and/or ethnic identity, the social context determines the identity they acquire" (p.76).

Moreover, Kagan's (1994) focus on the maturation of the brain and enhanced memory speaks to the process of developing a racial identity, although not explicitly. The idea that behaviors which appear at one point in development have been forming long before they appear is critical. As one considers that the development of ego identity occurs before adolescence, similarly, one's racial identity does not just appear in adolescence, but rather it is being formed long before. There are numerous theories and perspectives concerning racial identity development that are explicit about the ways in which social context and cognition shape racial identity development. Several of them are discussed below.

Theories of Black Racial Identity Development

Racial identity models attempt to explain the intrapsychic and interpersonal reactions to racial oppression, and describe the different ways individuals at differing levels of racial identity overcome internalized racism (Helms & Cook, 1999). Many models or perspectives on racial identity development have been based upon the theory of Nigrescence, which means "the process of becoming Black" (Cross, Jr., 1978, p. 13). The Cross Model, also known as "the Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience" (p. 16), has been among the most influential models of psychological nigrescence. The model describes five stages that Black adults were likely to experience during the sociopolitical movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s as they sought to achieve a more authentic sense of self (Cross, Jr., 1978). The first stage is pre-encounter, and is characterized by a dependency on White society for definition and approval. The person is dominated by Euro-American standards and must change his frame of reference if he is to have a Black liberation experience. The second stage, encounter, is characterized by a challenging experience with White society that discredits the person's old worldview. The person now begins to perceive the world as a member of a targeted group, and has made a decision to assume a

Black identity. As the individual transitions to the third stage, immersion-emersion, he becomes absorbed in the Black experience and rejects Euro-American culture. Cross, Jr. (1978) indicates that the person glorifies Black culture and presents a “Blacker-than-thou” (p.17) attitude. This person takes on a very sensational identity as he has “just discovered” (p. 17) his Blackness. The fourth state, internalization, is marked by less extreme attitudes towards Blacks and Whites as the person recognizes that both groups of people have strengths and weaknesses. This person has become more secure in his own racial identity, and no longer has a need to espouse racist attitudes. The fifth and last stage, internalization-commitment, is characterized by a person who has internalized his new identity, but also values a commitment to social justice and challenges the status quo.

It is important to emphasize that the Cross Model focuses on how Blacks acquire a new Black identity; thus, the assumption is that these individuals are already operating from a solidified non-Black adult identity (Cross, Jr. & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). Many of the racial identity models that have been based upon the Cross Model also assume a fully formed identity. For instance, Helm’s models of racial identity expand upon the Cross Model to include the racial identity development of other racial groups (e.g., people of color, Whites) (Helms & Cook, 1999; McAllister & Irvine, 2000; Thompson & Carter, 1997; Constantine, 2002). According to Helms’ model, racial identity development is a process whereby individuals of differing racial groups experience the psychological consequences associated with belonging to a particular socio-racial group (Hardiman, 2001; Helms & Cook, 1999; Linh & James, 2001). Individuals must overcome the internalized racism that is characteristic of their socio-racial group in order to achieve a self-validating racial group identity (Helms & Cook, 1999). Helms (Helms & Cook, 1999) further indicates that the need to overcome internalized racism exists because society “differentially

rewards or punishes members of societally ascribed racial groups according to their racial classification” (p. 84). In contrast to the Cross Model, Helms (Helms & Cook, 1999) has re-conceptualized her stages of racial identity, referring to them as ego statuses. The term ego status emphasizes that the process of racial identity development is not a static one, but rather, it is a dynamic evolutionary process that can be altered. For instance, a Black person who is operating from the pre-encounter status may value any part of the self that is perceived to be White. As this person matures to more sophisticated statuses, the schemata (i.e., behavioral expressions which reflect themes in a person’s socio-racial environment) which characterized the pre-encounter status, does not disappear, but rather, it becomes recessive and may be used to respond to racial stimuli when reinforced by the environment; yet the dominant status will be most frequently used to interpret the racial stimuli. More specifically, the racial identity ego statuses are an expression of a person’s racial identity, and reveal the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes that affect both one’s interpretation of and ability to manage racial stimuli (Linh & James, 2001). Additionally, Helms (Helms & Cook, 1999) further expands upon Cross, Jr.’s model by including the integrative awareness status, which is more sophisticated than Internalization. Integrative awareness reflects an individual’s capacity to value and integrate one’s own collective identities, including those characteristics that are associated with diverse cultural and socio-racial groups in ways that enhance and uplift oneself. The individual also conceptualizes other socio-racial groups in complex ways that promote healthy interpersonal and intrapersonal functioning.

Beverly Tatum (1997) draws upon both Cross, Jr. and Helms’ model of racial identity development to conceptualize children’s developing racial identity. Specifically, she indicates that both Black and White children socialized in a European culture begin to value the dominant

culture, including the role models, lifestyles, and images of beauty. However, if Black children are being raised by racially conscious parents who provide them with positive cultural messages about being Black, Tatum (1997) believes it will lessen the impact of the dominant culture and promote healthy racial identity development. She indicates that children tend to be in the pre-encounter stage as “the personal and social significance of one’s racial group membership has not yet been realized, and racial identity is not yet under examination” (p. 55). She asserts that Black children are likely to enter the encounter stage at seventh or eighth grade when society reflects the child’s blackness to him in ways that highlight racism and threaten his sense of well-being; and the Immersion-Emersion stage becomes evident during high school, as youngsters begin to engage in self-exploration (Tatum 1997). Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001) view Tatum’s extrapolation of the Nigrescence model to children as slightly problematic. Specifically, they indicate that Tatum has attempted to explain how Black children achieve a Black identity using an adult racial identity model. That is, the Nigrescence model describes how an adult with a fully formed identity accepts and internalized his Blackness. If a child’s identity development is not yet solidified, then the criteria for reaching the first stage of Nigrescence can not be met (Cross, Jr. & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). In essence, a developmental view of racial identity is most suitable for understanding how children experience the development of racial identity. Theorists who hold a developmental view of racial identity consider it to be a life-long process that, according to Thompson and Carter (1997), involves “changes or shifts in world views, the byproduct of a series of experiences, self-reflections, and moral decision making” (p. 2) which bring the individual closer to an integrated identity. Thompson and Carter (1997) view the development of identity as a whole, from an “interactional perspective” (p, 2). That is, they assume both that the development of different aspects of the self do not take place in isolation

from one another and occur within the context of one's ongoing interaction with the environment (Thompson & Carter, 1997). They strive to better understand the role of racial identity development, in particular as an important component of identity which significantly impacts the psyche and functioning of both individuals and groups (Thompson & Carter, 1997; Belgrave, Brome, & Hampton, 2000).

In an attempt to better understand the development of Black racial identity, researchers have examined many different constructs, including children's racial attitudes, racial preferences, and racial identification, through quantitative means. The assumption seems to be that these dimensions are a window into the developing psychological representations of Black children's racial self, i.e., racial identity. In many studies, emergent racial identity is inferred from racial attitudes (e.g., Corenblum & Annis, 1993; Thomas, 2000; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Aboud (1984) defines racial attitudes as "a predisposition to respond in a favorable or unfavorable manner toward people from different ethnic groups" (p.59). Both Cross, Jr. and Helms have measured racial identity in adults by assessing racial attitudes which are assumed to reflect the process individuals experience as they accept race as a positive aspect of their identity and the identity of others (Helms, 1984). Many early studies explored racial attitudes among Black children by using forced-choice techniques, and did not necessarily clarify distinctions between racial attitudes and other racial constructs, such as preference and identification; nor did they always make a distinction between racial attitudes and attitudes towards the self as a whole. For instance, Horowitz (1939) was among the first to examine racial awareness and identification in young children. She assessed 24 racially mixed male and female preschoolers, ages 2-5. She used the forced-choice technique by presenting subjects with two pictures, one of a Black child, the other White, and asked the subjects to identify the child that looked like them. The subjects

were also presented with 10 photographs, one of which was a picture of the subject; and the subjects were asked to identify their self-portrait. Results revealed that racial awareness was evident by their verbalizations, and Black boys self-identified themselves incorrectly more often than White boys, overall. Horowitz (1939) also noted that White boys made negative remarks about the Black boys. Similar to early studies, Horowitz (1939) inferred attitudes towards self as a whole from racial awareness and identification. She concluded that awareness of one's own skin color is critical to feelings of difference and lays the foundation for attitudes towards racial groups. She also demonstrated that children under the age of five are cognizant of racial differences. However it not quite clear if the children understood the social implications of skin color (Branch & Newcombe, 1988).

Clark and Clark's (1947) well-known "doll test" study was designed to examine racial identification and preference in Black children. They assessed 253 Black children, ages 3-7, from both northern and southern schools. Subjects were presented with four dolls (two brown with black hair and two white with blonde hair) and asked to choose one of the dolls after each of eight requests. The requests pulled for racial preferences, knowledge of racial differences, and self-identification. Results revealed that most of the children had both knowledge of racial differences and a preference for the white doll at every age level. Subjects' racial self-identification was largely determined upon whether they were light, medium, or dark skinned, whereby most of the darker skinned children self-identified the dark doll. Overall, Clark and Clark (1947) concluded that preference for the white doll demonstrated a negative attitude towards the brown doll, particularly since 59% indicated that the brown doll "looks bad" and only 17% stated that the white doll "looks bad."

More contemporary researchers have criticized the assumptions made by researchers in these earlier studies as they assumed that the children's preference for the white doll or picture correlated with dislike of themselves and their dark skin. Critics suggest that the racial preferences may have been a reflection of internalized standards of beauty and/or the scarce number of black dolls, rather than negative attitudes towards the self or Blacks (Branch & Newcombe, 1988; Cross, Jr., 1985; Akbra, Chambers, & Sanders Thompson, 2001). Research has suggested that one can not make an assumption about the relation between racial attitudes and other constructs, such as racial preference, racial identification and self-esteem without understanding children's cognitive level and socialization experiences (Branch & Newcombe, 1988; Connolly, 2001). Notably, children's racial attitudes are context-specific and qualitative studies demonstrate that race may or may not be salient for them depending on the social context (Connolly, 2001). Further, knowledge of children's racial attitudes may provide information about the level of reference group orientation (i.e., high or low), but says little about their emerging personal identity (Cross, Jr. 1985; Crabtree, 2002). At most, it offers valuable information regarding their cultural stance and growing political views. Based on Cross' (1985) review of the literature from 1939-1977, he concluded that Black children's emerging personal identity has generally been high, but their reference group orientation has often been low—although it seems to have risen since the beginning of the Black Movement in 1968. He also suggests that a low reference group orientation signifies a negative, emerging racial or Black identity and interferes with children's ability to cope with racism. Developmental models of racial identity provide a more in-depth account of how racism can negatively impact children's racial identity.

Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001) propose the Cross and Fhagen-Smith Model of Black Identity Development. They describe six sectors of Black social identity development across the lifespan as race is both a social and political construction. Their model incorporates Erikson's identity exploration with Cross, Jr.'s stages of Nigrescence. The literature indicates that the development of Black social identity intersects with other socialization factors such as social class, culture, gender, and maturational factors to inform identity (Murray & Mandara, 2002; Thompson & Carter, 1997). Similarly, Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001) implicate socialization, maturation, and ecological dynamics as integral components that shape identity. The first sector is *Infancy and Childhood in Early Black Identity Development*, which highlights the ecological factors that influence Black children and their families. For instance, Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith indicate that the child is molded by parental influences, family interactions, family traditions, and SES. Furthermore, the child's worldview and sense of self will be increasingly shaped by the dynamics and characteristics of his school, church, and the community at the micro level and national politics and social policies at the macro level. However, children's emergent racial identity patterns are not stable during this time. In fact, their racial attitudes may be more positive or negative during this time, depending on the racial attitudes of parents, teachers, and other significant persons in their lives (Beatty, 1997).

The second sector is *Preadolescence*. Parental socialization combined with the child's experiences and interactions outside the home are crucial during this period as they begin to express characteristics of an emergent identity. The child's developing racial identity lacks consistency, integration, and flexibility, yet parents can impact the racial and cultural socialization in various ways. Children with low race salience are raised in homes that do not stress race and Black culture. Their Blackness will likely be a simple demographic fact, rather

than a major component of their identity. Alternatively, they are likely to form an identity around a talent or area of expertise such as music, sports, or sciences as the emphasis is on individuality rather than group identity. Children with high race salience are raised in homes that value race and Black culture. In turn, their Blackness is likely to be an integral part of their self-concept and can be demonstrated in three ways. A child with high race salience may have an Afrocentric or Black Nationalist frame of reference such that his Blackness is central to his self-concept; a bicultural frame of reference whereby both his Americanness and Blackness are equally salient; or a multicultural frame of reference such that race is one of several components integral to his self-concept. Children may also begin to show signs of internalized racism, that is, they may exhibit early signs of a damaged self-concept which partly reflect the belief system of their parents and/or significant others. Expressions of internalized racism include miseducation, colorism, lookism, and self and racial group hatred. Miseducation can be a result of inaccurate textbooks, the media, and historical distortions. Colorism and lookism may occur when a child learns to place positive or negative value on one's skin and physical attributes. For instance, the emergence of colorism and lookism can occur when the child is exposed to the glamorization of European physical features by both society and family members. Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001) further emphasize that the preadolescent does not yet have the cognitive capacity for self-reflection characteristic of adult identity, as the self-concept and identity structures are still emerging, and continues to be largely shaped by parents and other significant individuals. The emergent identity during preadolescence may be marked by confusion, negativity, and alienation.

Sector three is Adolescence and is embedded within the context of Erikson's fifth psychosocial stage, the Identity and Repudiation versus Identity Diffusion stage of adolescence. That is, adolescents must integrate the emergent racial identity from childhood with a new sense

of self. Specifically, the emergent identity issues which developed in preadolescence are brought into adolescence. Those children who demonstrated signs of high race salience, low race salience, or internalized racism connect their preadolescent identity structures with the dynamics of adolescence. However, Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001) emphasize that Black adolescents may alter the focus of their preadolescent identities and leave adolescence with a completely different self-concept. For instance, a child raised in a low salience home may have an influential Black teacher who exposes him to Black culture and subsequently, the adolescent may develop a strong race-oriented self-concept. Conversely, a Black racially oriented adolescent may be attacked by other Blacks because he is “too White” and doubt his beliefs about race, subsequently joining a Republican based youth group that introduces him to a conservative ideology.

Generally, however, children with high race salience seek to explore their Black identity and enter a period of moratorium where they strive to re-define their self-concept. They fervently examine their emergent racial identity as they question, accept, or reject ideas about race and Black culture. Essentially, the adolescent is moving from an emergent racial identity shaped by significant others to an authenticated self-concept based on one’s own ideas and beliefs– also known as the achieved identity status. The emergent moratorium, and achieved identity statuses are likened to the pre-encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization stages of Nigrescence. Similar to Black adults, Black youth can also experience the process of “becoming Black” as early as adolescence. An important distinction is the focus of change. With the Nigrescence model, the person enters the cycle with a fully formed adult identity that requires the individual to form a racially oriented identity. Many children already enter moratorium with an emergent

racial identity and search for an authenticated self concept by questioning whether or not they should adopt ideas about race and Black culture passed down by parents and others.

Further, children who enter adolescence with a low race salient emergent identity will also enter moratorium, yet rather than forming a race-centered self-concept, they will focus on the nonrace issues (e.g., class orientation, sexual orientation, spirituality-religions) that are integral to their developing self-concept. Thus, the moratorium phase may be characterized by an adolescent's struggle to clarify his religious or spiritual beliefs. Children who enter adolescence with emergent negative identities due to internalized racism patterns are likely to leave adolescence with a low self-worth or self-hatred that is embedded within their self-concept. This is similar to Erikson's (1966) concept of negative identity as described below:

The individual belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority, which is aware of the dominant cultural ideals but prevented from emulating them, is apt to fuse the negative images held up to him by the dominant majority with his own negative identity. (pg. 155)

As the moratorium phase sets the stage for adolescents to reflect and become increasingly aware of their negativity, one can presume that their achieved self-concept will be built upon this negativity if exposure to cultural and historical racial distortions is not corrected.

Sector four is early adulthood, and the three Black identity types (low race salience, high race salient, and internalized racism) are evident during this period. These three identity types can be found in most young Black adults and inform their reference group orientations. Those with high race salience identities construct a reference group orientation around race and Black culture. These individuals can be Black Nationalists, Afrocentrists, Biculturalists, and Multiculturalists, and are considered to be what Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001) term "existentially Black," (p. 258) as their worldview is largely influenced by racial issues. Black

young adults with a strong Black identity are not in need of a Nigrescence conversion as demonstrated by Cross and Helms, since they have entered young adulthood with a racially-oriented sense of self. If an individual skips moratorium and enters young adulthood without examining his racial and cultural beliefs, a Nigrescence experience (e.g., taking an African American studies course that requires self-examination) may take the place of the skipped moratorium cycle. Young adults with a low race salience have formed an identity that is not racially focused and in turn, construct a reference group orientation that affords minimal to no significance to race. Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith emphasize that these individuals can lead happy and fulfilling lives without attributing significance to race, but are prime targets for Nigrescence. That is, when these individuals are confronted with a racial incident, they cannot find an explanation from their non-racially oriented worldview, and in turn may go through Nigrescence altering their frame of reference. Young adults with internalized racism emerge from adolescence with a reference group orientation that is damaging to their self-concept, as they connect their self-hatred with their Blackness. While this internalized racism can be corrected through Nigrescence, there are many individuals who remain self-hating throughout their lives.

Sector five and six are Adult Nigrescence and Nigrescence Recycling. Adult Nigrescence is the process of Nigrescence conversion described by Cross, Jr. (1978). Individuals at pre-encounter may have low race salience or internalized racism patterns; the encounter stage interrupts these pre-encounter identities; the immersion-emersion stage marks the struggle from the pre-encounter to the new orientation; internalization occurs if the person has achieved and internalizes a new perspective; and internalization-commitment evolves when the person is committed to struggling for long-term change. Nigrescence Recycling describes a process

whereby an individual continues to refine his Black identity throughout his adult life. It is possible for individuals with a salient Black identity to go through different phases of the Nigrescence stages as a result of a positive or negative racial experience that challenges the current Black identity. The outcome of this challenge will result in new insight which is added to the pre-existing Black identity, thus resulting in a modified identity. Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001) emphasize that individuals with high race salience can not return to pre-encounter, as Nigrescence Recycling only occurs with a person who is operating with a Black-focused identity that becomes enhanced. Thus, instead of pre-encounter, individuals will begin the Recycling stages with a foundational Black identity that characterizes one's racial frame of reference before the Black identity is enhanced or modified.

In essence, Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001) have proposed a lifespan model of Black identity development that recognizes the varied ecological dynamics into which Black children are born, the effects that these human ecologies can have on preadolescent identity, and the interplay between Erikson's process of identity exploration and ecologies during the construction of self-image in adolescence. Unlike earlier racial identity models, the lifespan approach to understanding racial identity development allows for a conceptualization of how emerging racial identity patterns can impact adult racial identity. Consistent with Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001), Branch and Newcombe (1988) emphasize that children's emotional and cognitive development, and the role parental attitudes have in shaping the social cognition of children must be considered when assessing the development of racial attitudes among children. Further, the attitudes children hold towards their racial group shape their racial identity (Thomas & Speight, 1999).

Moreover, measuring children's emerging racial attitudes through the use of assessments that measure preference and identification through forced-choice techniques only have shown to be insufficient, given the complex relation between racial attitudes, preferences, identification, and identity during childhood. For instance, as these constructs are fluid and context-specific during childhood, children's racial attitudes do not necessarily predict behavior; racial preference may contradict racial attitudes; and racial identification, as informed by cognitive development, does not always reflect racial attitudes or preference for racial groups (Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975; Connolly, 2001; Branche & Newcombe, 1988). Thus, one must consider additional means of assessing emerging racial identity such as free response activities or other qualitative measures. Connolly (2001) writes, "...quantitative studies can adopt a more exploratory approach with the aim of identifying the particular influences that a variable or combination of variables have on children's racial attitudes and behavior" (pg. 231). As quantitative studies provide information about the relation between racial variables, little is known about why the relationship exists. Thus, understanding both the specific social circumstances of children and their social cognition can offer insight into such explanations. That is, one must consider the unique African American experience in the United States and the ecological dynamics into which Black children are born in order to understand the socialization process of Black children.

Perspectives on the Racial Socialization of African American Children

Socialization has been defined as "the preparation of newcomers for life in their social, economic, physical, and extraphysical surroundings, i.e., their group in society" (Johnson, 1981). Most notably, the family is considered a primary agent of socialization since they are often the first social environment an individual experiences, and it has a significant impact on a child's

ability to function effectively (Marshall, 1995; Davey, Fish, Askew & Robila, 2003). African American parents, in particular, have the responsibility of preparing children who are physically and emotionally healthy to live in a racist society where black skin or African features are devalued (Peters, 2002; Thomas and Speight, 1999). Peters (2002) refers to this as racial socialization, and it is an arduous task considering that many African American parents are themselves suffering from the negative impact of racial discrimination. Essentially, they must act as a buffer for their children as they interact with the same discriminatory social structure (Marshall, 1995). Hughes and Johnson (2001) conducted a synthesis of the literature and concluded that most ethnic minority parents provide some form of racial socialization (e.g., discussions about race) for their children. Many studies show that parents who emphasize race and culture have children with higher self-esteem and more favorable attitudes towards their race. Moreover, there are differences in racial socialization based upon parents' background, attitudes, beliefs, and life experiences. Thomas (2000) found that parents' racial identity attitudes were correlated with their child-rearing styles. That is, parents with a more integrated racial identity were more likely to adapt child-rearing styles that reflect Afrocentric values, e.g., cleanliness, family ties, independence, obedience, and religion. According to Thomas and Speight (1999), parents' with preencounter, encounter, and immersion attitudes do not stress the importance of racial socialization, whereas parents with internalization attitudes value racial socialization and are likely to have children with a positive racial identity. Further, some studies have shown that parents are likely to convey racial socialization messages they had received during their childhood (Hughes and Chen, 1997). Thus, the messages are likely to be passed down from one generation to the next.

In an attempt to better understand the racial socialization practices of Black parents and the impact it has on their children, Peters (2002) conducted a two-year qualitative/observational study, which involved 30 Black, 12-month -old children and their parents. Parent-child behaviors were observed and parent interviews were conducted to obtain information regarding parents' interpretation of their children's behavior. The interview questions were divided into two sets—one set of questions focused on the more generalized challenges of parenting a toddler; the second were specific to race and focused on the child-rearing goals Black parents set for their Black children. Peter (2002) offers a number of examples of how events experienced by the Black families she studied are a function of race and subsequently effect their children in obvious ways. For instance, she describes a sick mother who is unable to take time off of her job because her employer is racist and unsympathetic towards Blacks. Consequently, the mother's health problem worsens and her child whimpers for her attention. However, Peter (2002) emphasizes that most of the incidents the parents described were not as obvious and many of the parents felt discriminated against in more subtle ways. Essentially, the parents believed that the experience with racism created additional stress for them and their children. One of the ways the parents seem to relieve this stress is to talk to their children about race, although most parents did not believe that their children understood racial differences. All of the parents reportedly experienced racial discrimination but reported that most of their preschoolers had not experienced it yet. However, they felt the need to prepare their children to cope with the stress of racism, particularly, since they felt that their own parents did not do a good job of preparing them. Based on the results of the study, Peter (2002) concluded that acts of racism function as an intervening variable in the racial socialization of Black children; that is socio-racial experiences influences parents' perception of reality and parents' perception of their socio-racial reality affect

their parenting. The exploration of other socialization factors that intersect with race, such as social class, gender, and maturational factors, as proposed by Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith (2001), may have been helpful in further understanding the impact of Black parents' racial socialization practices on their children.

Similarly Marshall (1995) explored the ethnic socialization of African American parents by assessing parents' child-rearing practices. Ethnic and racial socialization are often presented as interchangeable terms, but ethnic socialization seems to refer more to the cultural experiences of racial or ethnic group membership (Marshall, 1995; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Thus, the cultural experiences of African American parents were thought to be reflected in the child-rearing practices. Subjects included middle-income African American mothers and their nine and ten year-old children who attended predominately White public schools. Among the measures used were a parents' ethnic socialization questionnaire designed to assess their socialization strategies, a revised version of the Parham and Helms' (1985) Racial Identity Scale developed for children, and children's report of ethnic socialization. Results showed that most parents emphasized "humanistic" values, such as equality, over ethnic values. Marshall (1995) speculates that the parents may be preoccupied with other issues such as violence and low quality education. However, issues of violence and quality education are pressing in low-income areas where many Black children are raised and would not likely be excluded from discussions of ethnicity and race (Christian & Barbarin, 2001); thus, as Marshall (1995) suggests, parents may be avoiding dealing with sensitive race-related issues, or they just may not know how to do so effectively. Further, the ethnic and racial make-up of the settings in which these children and their parents spend most of their time should also be considered. If these children are in a

predominately White school, then perhaps many of their families reside in predominately White towns where as a whole, racial or ethnic socialization may not be reinforced.

Moreover, Marshall (1995) indicated that children whose parents addressed issues of race in their parenting practices had children who were further along in their racial identity development. This suggests that ethnic socialization may positively impact the development of racial identity. It may be helpful to also know how these parents differed from the other parents in the study in regards to experience with racial discrimination and discussions of race and ethnicity with their own parents. According to Comer and Poussaint (1992), parents should ensure that their children learn about Black history and culture, and teach strategies to deal with racism in order to help them develop a positive sense of self in the face of racism.

Essentially, the racial identity attitudes and upbringing of African American parents largely informs their decision to address race with their children or not. Those who do address issues of race are likely to have children with high race salience. Those that choose not to discuss race often think that broaching such issues with their children will harm them in some way; thus, they do not prepare them to cope with the harmful effects of racism (Murray & Mandara, 2002). Most of the literature focuses on the messages African American parents convey to their children, however, the children may also provide some form of racial socialization to their parents. Hughes and Johnson (2001) offer a more transactional model of racial socialization by exploring how parents' racial socialization both shapes and are shaped by children's racial experiences. The subjects included 94 African American parent-child dyads. The children were from an elementary and middle school in a middle-class suburban district. The measures included, but were not limited to, a parents' racial socialization scale, parents' discrimination experiences scale, parents' ethnic identity scale, children's identity exploration scale, parents' reports of their

children's unfair treatment, and children's report of their unfair treatment. Results suggested that both children's ethnic identity exploration and parents' beliefs regarding children's unfair treatment by adults impacted parents' ethnic socialization of their children. Based on the study, it appears that as parents' socialize their children regarding acts of racial discrimination, children are also socializing their parents' in a similar manner, thus impacting the children's socialization experiences in complex ways. However, since the results were based on correlational analyses, an understanding that there is some relationship between children's ethnic identity exploration, parent's ideas about discrimination, and children's ethnic socialization experiences is only the beginning to further understanding the dynamics that create the ethnic socialization of children.

Furthermore, according to Murray and Mandara (2002), the next major socializing agent of African American children's identity is school. They emphasize that children spend the majority of their time in school and the curriculum, practices, and educational policies of the school system have largely been designed to perpetuate racism and oppression of minority groups. Specifically, teachers have a unique position in the school system, as their beliefs and expectations about a child's cognitive capabilities or academic future can impact a child's self-concept and group identity. Thus, teachers have an opportunity, as well as a responsibility, to counter the damaging effects of racism and discrimination by helping children to develop tolerance and positive attitudes towards people of different racial backgrounds (Derman-Sparks, 1989). As previously mentioned, the literature suggests that teachers must first acknowledge and challenge their own racism and biases in order to be effective with diverse students (McAllister & Irvine, 2000). This is important considering that children from non-White racial/ethnic groups comprise approximately 70% of the nation's largest school districts and 86% of new teachers are White (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2002; Carter, 2000). In implementing an

effective approach to working with multiculturalism in education, Diamond and Moore (1995) emphasize that “teachers must study their own students, learning about the cultural backgrounds and language experiences within their homes and communities” (p. 1). The extent to which teachers will be able to do this may depend on how much they value multiculturalism and their attitudes towards people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds (Corenblum, Annis, & Tanaka, 1997). The literature suggests incorporating racial identity theory as a framework for understanding the variation in teachers’ psychological identification with race, and how that identification affects their interactions in a school environment (Carter, 2000; McAllister & Irvine, 2000).

According to the literature, racial identity statuses of teachers (i.e., that statuses proposed by Helms) influence their teaching approaches, curriculum, and the classroom environment (Carter, 2000; Hollins, 1999). Specifically, the literature shows that teachers who deny the importance of race and culture are likely to be in the very early stages of racial identity development. Teachers at these levels of racial identity statuses do not recognize racial and cultural differences and are likely to attribute school failure to the lack of ability or effort to the students; thus, they attempt to resolve the situation by reducing the workload. Essentially, these teachers feel the need to be in control at all times. Teachers who recognize race and culture as societal influence are likely to have higher racial identity statuses. These teachers appreciate cultural diversity but tend to approach lessons without considering race or culture. That is, they acknowledge cultural differences, however, it does not alter their thinking about educating and learning. They continue to perceive each child as an individual and do not consciously refer to his or her cultural background for reference. While their curriculum reflects cultural differences, they tend to be unaware of how their own culture affects their teaching approach. These teachers

are fairly relaxed in the classroom as they believe in providing children with direction rather than exerting control. Teachers who accept and embrace race and culture tend to have the highest levels of racial identity development. These teachers accept their own race and culture as important aspects of their identity and promote multicultural education as a way to foster students' learning and competence. They believe that children are a product of their cultural upbringing and will alter the curriculum to facilitate children's development. These teachers also attempt to identify the cultural patterns that shape the way students learn.

Further, one can consider the impact of the educational system on teaching approaches, as decisions made at the administration or government level can also effect how teachers approach culture in both different and similar ways. According to Cross, Jr. (2003), "...the underfunding of urban Black school districts... would be commonplace from the late 1930s to the present. Such containment policies had the power to neutralize any level of achievement motivation Blacks might continue to hold" (p. 76). Nevertheless, these findings have important implications for educators as racial identity models can provide insight into their readiness to learn about other cultures and inform the development of appropriate learning opportunities (McAllister & Irvine, 2000).

Tatum (1997) conducted a study that assessed 84 White classroom teachers involved in a 45-hour anti-racist professional development program. Results showed that the development program was productive in advancing teachers' racial identity development. Although it is not clear if the program had lasting, impactful effects, few would argue that it is essential for teachers to have higher levels of racial identity development if they are to construct the common bonds or anti-bias curriculum recommended by Beaty (1997) and Derman-Sparks (1989), respectively. According to Derman-Sparks, an anti-bias curriculum should address cultural

diversity, including differences in racial backgrounds, gender, and physical abilities; consider children's developmental level as their identity and attitudes emerge; and address the impact of discrimination and stereotypes on their developing identity and attitudes. Further, Beaty's common bonds approach focuses on themes that all children have in common (e.g., self-esteem, family, music and dance), while incorporating activities that promote cultural diversity. She considers book-bonding to be a central way for children to bond with children from diverse cultures. Moreover, it is imperative for teachers to be prepared for the controversy that may ensue as they begin incorporating cultural diversity into the curriculum (Derman-Sparks, 1989). That is, they must be prepared to explain the importance of such a curriculum to parents, administrators, and others. Therefore, it is critical for teachers' to examine perceptions of their own racial identity and feelings towards other racial/ethnic groups in order to be able to promote healthy identity and attitudes among children through these types of curriculums (Hollins, 1999).

In addition to family and school, the literature also identifies the media as a major form of racial socialization. As previously mentioned, research shows that children watch television more than any other activity when they are not sleeping and often watch without adult supervision (Bang & Reece, 2003); hence, the media greatly impacts the behaviors of children in the U.S, teaching messages, through both print and electronic media, about conflict-resolution, gender roles, dating, and sexual norms, among other social behaviors (Allen, 1993; Earles, Alexander, Johnson, Liverpool, & Mcghee, 2002; Funk, Baldacci, Pasold & Baumgardner, 2004). These messages influence perceptions and feelings about one's own racial group and the racial group of others (Allen, 1993). According to cultivation theory, frequent exposure to an image can result in faulty beliefs regarding the image (Gerbner, 1980). Children are barraged with images from television, as it is a very accessible and pervasive form of media (Earles, Alexander,

Johnson, et. al. 2002). According to the research, children watch more television during prime time hours than other times of the day, and African Americans on a whole watch more prime time television than other groups (Nielsen, Media Research, 2000). However, as aforementioned, there continues to be little diversity in prime time programming, with Whites accounting for 73% of the prime time population, and people of color largely appearing as secondary characters or guest roles (Espejo & Glaubke, 2002). Studies have shown that children of color who watch large amounts of television are likely to have low self-concepts and feel alienated (Espejo & Glaubke, 2002). For example, Orange and George (2000) elaborate on the negative impact that television has had on African American children. They emphasize that the media has become increasingly violent and exploitative, and is particularly harmful to the self-concept of many African American children who are excessively exposed to negative images of Blacks. Orange and George (2000) further assert that television, film, and video game producers, advertisers, parents, and institutions which support televised violence are sacrificing African American children, as studies show they watch more television than White children. This may be largely due to the fact that many low SES Black families use television as a babysitter when they are not able to attend to their children (Orange & George, 2000). Consequently, these children may become addicted to television, avoiding the real world and entering into a catatonic-like existence (Orange & George, 2000).

Furthermore, Bang and Reece (2003) examined 813 commercials to assess the portrayals of ethnic groups in mainstream television. They found that although Caucasians continue to be the most highly represented group (99%), Blacks appeared in a relatively large number of commercials (50.9%). However, minority ethnic groups were rarely shown without a Caucasian model, and Caucasians were most frequently shown as the single ethnic group. This may prevent

children of color from learning about interaction within their group or may lead Caucasian children to believe that other ethnic groups behave like them (Bang & Reece, 2003). The researchers also found that stereotyping of ethnic minorities continues to be common. For instance, Blacks were more often featured in food commercials, and less often featured in toy commercials. This may suggest that Blacks cannot sell all types of products. Moreover, Blacks were less likely to be found in home settings, and Caucasian adults were represented among children much more than ethnic minority adults. This may suggest that ethnic minority children are much more likely to be unsupervised. It is important to note that these results do not imply that the ethnic representation in commercials causes low self-worth among Black children. One must consider other socialization agents and individual differences; however, these distorted portrayals have a large impact on children as consumers, and can significantly impact their sense of value in the world (Bang & Reece, 2003).

A study conducted in the early 90s (i.e., Berry and Asamen, 1993) explored the impact of Black-oriented media on the African American belief system, using data from the 1980 National Survey of Black Americans. The African American belief system refers to five cognitive structures which include Black autonomy (i.e., the cultural and racial identity of African Americans), positive stereotypes about African Americans, negative stereotypes about African Americans, closeness to Black masses (i.e., the emotional bonds to the racial group), and closeness to Black elites (i.e., the extent to which African Americans identify with political leaders). The researchers found that the media influenced Blacks' interpretation of reality. Black-oriented television had positively correlated with positive stereotypical beliefs, Black autonomy, and closeness to the masses; and negatively correlated with closeness to Black elites. That is, the more exposure to Black-oriented television, the more the endorsement of positive stereotypes

about African Americans, Black autonomy, and closeness to the masses, and the less the endorsement of closeness to Black elites. Furthermore, Black print media negatively correlated with negative stereotypes about African Americans. That is, the more exposure to Black print media, the less negative stereotypical beliefs about African Americans. Berry and Asamen (1993) further propose that a revised model be tested with children that takes into account the Black socialization environment and non-Black oriented media. It is also critical for one to consider the content of the messages African American children receive (Ward, 2004).

According to Ward (2004), the impact of the media on the self-concept of African American children is tempered by specific contents of the media, including the genre, the constellation or programming which she refers to as the media diet, and the strength of the connection to the characters. Specifically, Ward (2004) examined the impact of media use on African American adolescents' conceptions of self. Some of Ward's (2004) concerns include the heavy consumption of media by African American children, the tendency of Black children to favor the media more than White children, and Blacks under representation on the screen and over representation in the viewing audience. She made three hypotheses as follows: (a) the media may not impact total self-esteem, but rather influence more specific aspects of self, such as racial self-esteem or appearance self-esteem, (b) the impact of the media use on self-esteem will vary depending on mainstream or minority exposure, and (c) the media's influence on self-esteem will vary as some individuals are able to counteract negative influences through other forms of support (e.g., religion). Ward (2004) used two types of media measures— one assessed viewing amounts, and the other assessed the subjects' identification with popular television characters. The other assessments included a measure of self-esteem and a measure which assessed feelings about being Black. The results supported Ward's (2004) hypotheses; most notably, the nature

and strength of the association between subjects' conceptions of self and media use depend on the individuals' resources and the content of the messages or images. Strong identification with Black male characters correlated with high total self-esteem, and a strong identification with White characters correlated with low total self-esteem. This suggests the importance of frame of reference when considering the impact of media use on self-concept, and is consistent with reports that in-group comparisons can function as a buffer against negative racial stereotypes. Furthermore, sport programming and music videos negatively correlated with all dimensions of self-concept, including racial self-esteem. This suggests the significance of these genres in the lives of young Blacks, and may reveal feelings of inadequacy when comparisons to sports figures are made. Overall, Ward (2004) provides a clearer understanding of the relationship between media use and self-conceptions among Black adolescents. Based on her findings, one can conclude that individual resources (e.g., religion) and media content also correlate with younger children's conception of self. While Ward's (2004) study helped us to understand the relation between the media, a form of racial socialization, and adolescents' self-concept, it is just as critical to understand how Black children conceptualize the messages they are receiving about race in their sociocultural environments. Understanding how Black children conceptualize race offers insight into their emergent racial identity. According to the literature, knowledge of children's developmental challenges, typical race-related questions and comments, and drawings offer a window into the racial experiences of children as they integrate race into their self-conceptions. These indicators are discussed below.

Indicators of Emergent Racial Identity: Theories and Perspectives

Goodman (1964) indicates that preschoolers observe features of people, things, and behaviors, and make classifications based on these observations. They are learning to like and

dislike, others' likes and dislikes. The developmental challenges children experience as they are observing and classifying are often reflected in their race-related comments and questions. Parents, caregivers, and teachers should not take these race-related comments and questions lightly as they are the seeds of preschool children's emergent racial identity. It is in preschool that children begin to distinguish themselves and others in terms of physical characteristics, e.g., "I have brown skin" (Murray & Mandara, 2002). Consistent with Piaget's cognitive developmental stages, there is an emphasis on concrete, rather than symbolic qualities. For instance, an African American preschool child who says he has brown skin does not automatically equate his skin color to a socially prescribed racial or ethnic categorization. Preschoolers are learning to identify colors at the same time they are beginning to figure out racial categorizations, and tend to be confused upon the realization that the color-coded language used to refer to objects are different than the color-coded language used to refer to people (Tatum, 1997). Their confusion around skin color and racial groupings may also lead them to wonder how two people of different skin colors can belong to the same racial group. Furthermore, preschoolers' awareness in the variations of skin color, hair, and eyes may leave them wondering where they fit in and/or whether or not these characteristics are changeable (Derman-Spark, 1989). Many children of color express dissatisfaction with their hair and skin color as a result of the impact of racism on their attitudes towards their physical characteristics. As it is important to encourage children to ask questions and express what they think and feel, it is also important for teachers, caregivers, or other supervising adults to provide a response that is both accurate and developmentally appropriate (Derman-Sparks, 1989).

Through the use of both qualitative and quantitative measures, Myers (2000) examined the racial and ethnic perceptions and attitudes of 12 five year-old kindergarteners in one

predominately Euro-American school and one African American school. Children completed the Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure II (PRAM II), Series A, and Color Meaning Test II (CMT II), Series A. These quantitative measures were compared to the observed behaviors and linguistic responses of the children. Results showed the emergence of five themes, all offering a glimpse into the developmental capacities of preschool children. The themes included racial awareness, conception of self, social orientation, racial preferences, and social interactions. Specifically, Myers (2000) reported that most of the children expressed a sophisticated awareness of race and ethnicity. She indicates that the children were able to classify and label people according to racial and ethnic groups without the development of classification and conservation skills regarding inanimate objects. Meyers (2000) also noted that the children's self-perceptions were consistent with children at the preoperational stage. That is, they described themselves in terms of physical characteristics. For some of the African American children, skin color was an integral part of the developing self-concept, and notably, all the African American children were insistent on distinguishing themselves as brown versus black. Author and psychologist, Beverly Tatum (1997) remembers feeling the same way as a child. She recalls being referred to as black by her classmates, and insisting she was tan. She now questions if she had already begun to internalize the negative images associated with Blackness in our culture. She also recalled a White father who took pride in telling her that his daughter was colorblind because she didn't acknowledge that one of her friends was Black. Tatum (1997) speculates that his daughter was taught that it is impolite to mention someone's race. Consequently, such denial of race creates an atmosphere of tension surrounding the topic and prevents discourse about race between racial groups (Thomas & Carter, 1997).

Further, Myers' (2000) results showed that the children's socialization had a significant impact on their feelings and conceptions of other racial group members. Most of the children's conceptualization of race, skin color, and other racial/ethnic groups were based upon their observations, parental comments, teacher and curriculum, and the media. Consistent with Piaget's notion of the preoperational, egocentric child, most of the children preferred to be who they were and did not desire to change their skin color; yet, when required to express preferences, most of the children preferred the doll with the Euro-American features. Myers (2000) concluded that the participants' preference for a Euro-American standard of beauty is related to racial and ethnic stimuli, not self-loathing. It also reflects the template of beauty that is pervasive throughout the media. However, one can further speculate that preference for the Euro-American doll, regardless of the reason, is unhealthy, as it lays a foundation for negative perceptions of self that could be associated with race. Additionally, the children were more likely to socialize with those that belonged to their ethnic/racial group, particularly if they felt threatened by the perceived social power of the dominant racial group. This suggests a sense of cohesiveness with those in their racial group, and is inconsistent with theories of within racial group hatred (Ford, 2005).

Children's drawings may also be used as an indicator of emergent racial identity, as the literature suggests that "much may be learned about children's personalities, perceptions, values, and attitudes from all of their drawings" (Klepsch & Logie, 1982, p. 12). There are some researchers who believe that the analysis of children's drawings have no validity and others who have shown support for its usefulness (Payne, 1996). Hammer (1997) asserts that using drawings in a battery of tests are a good way to make children feel more comfortable and can be a way of establishing rapport. He has also noticed that many of the children's drawings seem to function

as a type of “symbolic speech” (p. 136) and the emphasis of different elements within a drawing is indicative of what is important to the child, how it makes the child feel, and how the child responds to it. Goodnow (1977) provides several reasons why researchers should study children’s drawings. Notably, she believes that visual images can communicate a great deal of information, and is indicative of children’s developmental level and skill. She also emphasizes that children’s drawings are natural, everyday behaviors in which they engage and therefore, can provide more meaningful information than special tasks performed by children in a non-generalizable, laboratory setting. Additionally, Goodnow suggests that studying children’s drawings may provide information regarding how children translate their perceptual world into the action of drawing. According to Barrett (1983), drawing tasks impose certain demands on a child that requires the use of emergent graphic skills, and they must simultaneously monitor the cues within the drawing situation. As children begin to draw, their degree of freedom lessens and the task demands become more complex. Thus, it is these cues and task demands that guide the action of children’s drawings.

Klepsch and Logie (1982) identify several projective uses of children’s human figure drawings. They include a measure of personality, a measure of group values, a measure of attitudes, and a measure of self in relation to others. According to Klepsch and Logie (1982), children’s self drawings can be a useful measure of personality as it reveals how children perceive themselves. By examining children’s drawings of other people, one can get a sense of their group values and attitudes towards specific people, as children tend to draw individuals they admire or see frequently. Further, when children draw groups of people, they often project how they see themselves in relation to others, including family, friends, or classmates. Several studies have supported using children’s drawings for these purposes. For example, Payne (1996),

examined the family drawings of 502 Barbadian children, ages 7-11 in their normal classroom environment. As a group, the children were instructed to draw pictures of their families on white paper. They were asked to draw the people they wanted in the picture first, before drawing additional features such as a house and car. They were also instructed to label each person in the picture (e.g., “mother” and “father”). According to Payne, the drawings revealed many indicators of “positive family functioning” (p. 576), including pleasant facial expressions, positive slogans on clothing, persons that were touching, and similarities between parents and their children. Conversely, indicators of poor family functioning included missing body parts, facial features, or aggressive body language; however these indicators were so few that no interpretation was made. Further, Payne did not examine the drawings on an individual level as making definitive statements about individuals is discouraged; rather, he examined the drawings on a group level as a way to track group trends. The drawings supported the idea that societal values can impact children’s illustrations of their immediate and wider social context. For instance, many of the Barbadian children live in non-nuclear households, but depicted nuclear families which Payne suggests may be the influence of North American television programs. It could also reflect their experiences with selected family members or nuclear families, irrespective of the images they see on television.

More than twenty years ago, Spiga, Mindingall, Long-Hall, and Blackwell (1986) examined the differences between self- and others’ ratings on children’s human figure drawings. They hypothesized that children’s beliefs regarding how others view them may be more distinguishable than how they view themselves during the early years as their self-concept is beginning to evolve; thus, it is likely that there is a relationship between children’s conception of how others view them and their self drawings. The researchers examined 37 five-and six- year-

old Black girls and boys from Head Start programs. The children were given the Brown IDS Self-Concept Referents Test (Shipman & Gilbert, 1972), which requires the examiner to first take a photograph of each child, then ask how the child in the picture both feels about him- or herself and how his or her teacher feels about him or her. The children were also administered the Draw-a -Person test as a group, and four Head Start teachers were asked to rate the children's behavior with the Behavior Observation Scale (Williams & Stewart, 1966). Although the researchers in the study did not clarify the indicators of emotional difficulties or health, results showed that children who described themselves more favorably than they believed their teacher would, were likely to draw human figures in ways that reflected emotional difficulties. The researchers suspect that the children's favorable self-description may be a need to present them in a positive light. Further, the children who suspected that their teacher did not regard them highly and actually received low behavior ratings from teachers, also drew human figures in ways that reflected emotional difficulties. It was suggested that young children's perception of how others view them affected their self-concepts as reflected in their self-drawings. Based on these conclusions, it appears that the emotional difficulties reflected self-concept in some way; however, with no mention of the indicators, it is difficult to know how self-concept was reflected in the drawings, and whether these indicators are still relevant today.

Nevertheless, as children's drawings can provide valuable information about the impact of socialization and their sense of value among others, it is not a stretch to suggest that their emergent racial identity can also be reflected in their drawings, as it has been noted that socialization, including significant others, heavily impact children's developing racial identity. For instance, an earlier study (Schofield, 1978) used the human figure drawings test to get a measure of racial identity among Black and White children. Indicators such as color of skin, and

hair were examined. Results showed that White children were more likely to draw figures that were clearly White, and Black children were more likely to draw figures that either did not give a clear indication of race or were clearly White. Previously mentioned studies have shown that such results do not necessarily imply Black children's rejection of their racial identity, but rather it is likely a reflection of societal standards of beauty and preferences. Such information can be helpful to parents and caregivers who can use it to begin healthy and appropriate discussion about race. However, it is important to have standard administration procedures and an awareness of specific features, in order to know how to interpret children's drawings most appropriately. Klepsch and Logie's (1982) writings on using human figure drawings with children provide in-depth instructions on how to administer a human figure drawing test as a measure of personality, self in relation to others, group values, and attitudes. For instance, in order to measure group values, the examiner should simply say, "I'd like you to draw a picture of a whole person" (p. 18). The specific features to attend to include facial characteristics and hairstyle, type of clothing, or racial color, to name a few. Children who value their race will tend to draw themselves with facial features and hairstyles that are characteristic of their racial group; modern clothing may suggest a tendency to favor the present over the past; or racial color may be depicted among children who highly regard it. In essence, children include features in their drawings they find important and exclude those that they do not, thus the elements that are included can provide valuable information about their feelings towards self and others (Hammer, 1997).

Children's Multicultural Picture Books as a Socializing Agent: Theories and Perspectives

Using children's literature, particularly multicultural picture books, as a way to provide them with a positive socialization experience is supported by the literature (Cunard, 1996;

Howard, 1991; Mosely, 1997; Walker, 1992). Miller (1993) emphasizes that children's literature can reflect the actual concerns of young children, and provide them with a variety of problem-solving techniques (Tussing & Valentine, 2001; Tu, 1999; Yauman, 1991; White, 1989; Gartside & Sternberg, 1999). Chall, Radwin, French, and Hall (1979) indicate that children's books influence how children perceive themselves. Finazzo (1997) emphasizes that children's multicultural literature can make children feel good about themselves. She writes, "Children's books that are multicultural best explain who children are, why they are here or there, and how they deal with life situations and the environments" (p. 13). Finazzo further refers to children's multicultural literature as "mirror and window images" (p. 4), a term adapted from Cox and Galda (1990) which suggests that these multicultural books are like mirror images for minority children who have an opportunity to see themselves and their experiences reflected back to them; they are also window images for children in the mainstream who can benefit from learning about diverse groups of people. Finazzo further discusses the advantages of exposing children to multicultural literature, stating that it allows children to have a more realistic view of the diversity within our culture, promotes a feeling of pride as a member of a group, and teaches about the differences and similarities of diverse groups of people, to name a few. Furthermore, exposure to children's multicultural literature can also foster child development in a number of areas, including language, cognitive, social-emotional, and artistic development (Finazzo, 1997; Henderson, 1991). For instance, young children can learn many different language sounds and increase their vocabulary through culturally rich children's books, and they are also beginning to understand classification, seriation, and other concepts. In addition, they often enjoy multicultural literature that allows them to exercise higher level cognitive processes, such as stories that involve animals and objects with human characteristics; and as their social-emotional

selves are developing, culturally diverse books allow them to read about the conflicts they experience as they go through Erikson's psychosocial stages. As children read about the lives and experiences of other children in similar and different situations, they are challenged to imagine and think critically and creatively, thus enhancing their artistic development.

Consistent with Finazzo (1997), several studies have shown support for the use of children's multicultural literature. Wham, Barnhart, and Cook (1996) examined the change in the attitudes of kindergarteners, second- and fourth- graders towards multicultural diversity upon exposure to multicultural literature. The researchers wanted to determine whether reading multicultural storybooks both at home and in the classroom would enhance children's awareness of individuals from other cultures and lifestyles and promote positive attitudes towards those people. Participants included 128 elementary school children, mostly Caucasians from middle-class families. There were two groups at each grade level, one identified as the Storybook Reading Group and the other as the control group. The group ran for a seven month period and was integrated into the classroom experience. The researchers provided multicultural books on diverse topics that both parents and teachers in the Storybook Reading Group could read with the children. They were both fiction and non-fiction books, and the children were given the freedom to take home several a week during the seven month period. Parents were instructed to read aloud to their children and were informed of the benefits of interacting with their children through storybook reading. They were also instructed to discuss the book with their children and encourage them to ask questions, as it would enhance the children's understanding. Further, parents and children were also instructed to keep a daily log of each session, documenting the number of pages read and their feelings about the book's content. Likewise, teachers in the Storybook Reading Group incorporated daily storybook reading into their classroom routines.

The books were chosen specifically for the study. Teachers who were part of the control group were instructed to continue with their regular daily routines. Additionally, pre- and post- tests that assessed attitudes towards multi-culturally diverse people, including individuals from other countries, those with different skin color, or the physically impaired were administered to the children.

Results showed that the Storybook Reading Group did in fact impact children's attitudes towards diversity in positive ways, and surprisingly children in the control group actually expressed a decline in positive attitudes towards diversity. It appears that the lack of exposure to a diversity reading program may actually decrease children's attitudes towards diversity. Therefore, the researchers concluded that multicultural literature can have a very powerful impact on children's awareness and understanding of diverse groups. The parents' and children's willingness to participate was a key factor in obtaining significant results, and one can speculate that it may not have worked as well with families who experience significant stressors on a day-to-day basis. Some knowledge of the socio-demographics (e.g., marital status, income, education) of the subjects may have been helpful in determining subjects' experience with stress.

Furthermore, if multicultural literature is to have a powerful impact on children, particularly African American children, the books used must promote a positive self-concept and attitude towards diverse groups. Edmonds (1986) says it best:

Because many psychologists believe that young children perceive racial differences and form racial attitudes at an early age, it seems particularly important to evaluate picture books to see if they are likely to help young children see more than 'fragments' of minority characters. (p. 30)

Essentially, preschool children are beginning to form racial attitudes and a racial identity during this time and are influenced by the racial images to which they are exposed (Edmonds, 1986). Parents, peers, and television may expose children to racial images, but so do picture books, and the illustrations provide an opportunity to show diverse racial groups in an authentic and positive manner (Edmonds, 1986; Mo & Shen, 1995). Edmonds (1986) conducted a content analysis of picture books for young children published between 1928-1974 and between 1980-1984, to see whether there were any changes in content between 1980-1984. The books were taken from the Children's Book Center of the University of Chicago, a center known to receive books from mainstream publishers. The criteria for the books were as follows: they must be picture books, fiction, published in English, depict human characters only, and contain only one story. Altogether, 1,000 books met these criteria, with 952 books published from 1928-1974.

Results showed that 57% of the books included major characters that were White, 27% included a mix of races but still largely dominated by White characters, 7% were Black, 5% were Asian, 2% were Native American, and 2% were Hispanic. Edmonds (1986) then compared the treatment of the characters within each racial group, focusing on theme, setting, literary style, plot, character development, and value judgments. Edmonds grouped the value judgments into positive indicators, such as friendly and loving, and negative indicators, such as stupid and dirty. The White characters were depicted more positively and portrayed as more desirable than other racial groups. Out of all the minority groups, Blacks were represented the most and depicted in more diverse ways. Nevertheless, a relatively few number (i.e. 65 out of 952) of books depicted Black culture and African Americans were secondary or unnamed characters in books with White characters. Other minorities were depicted in a poorer light, with Asians often portrayed in inauthentic ways and Native Americans portrayed as noble savages. Essentially, Edmonds writes,

“minorities are not portrayed with the same variety, humor, dignity, and skill depicted in the white racial majority” (p. 35). Chall, Radwin, French, and Hall (1979) studied the representation of Black children in children’s literature from 1973-1975 based on 58 publishers that were part of the Children’s Book Council. Similarly, a total of 4,775 books published during 1973-1975 were analyzed, and results showed that Black characters in children’s books had stronger roles than in 1965. However, the quantity and quality of Black characters were still lacking, relying largely on stereotypes to represent the Black experience.

Edmonds (1986) further reported that there was a decrease in the number of books published about ethnic minority groups from 1980-1984. For instance, between 1970-1974, there were 50 books published about Blacks that met the criteria for the analysis, versus 23 books published between 1980-1984. Folktales seemed to be a common way to include minority characters, and Black characters were more likely to be presented in varied ways that are not stereotypical. Nevertheless, there were books that continued to portray Black characters as ignorant and silly. Further, non-Black minority characters continue to be depicted in stereotypical ways. Overall, Edmonds concludes that as the number of books published about minority groups were fewer between 1980-1984, than between 1970-1974, any changes made in the depiction of minority characters is likely to have little impact on children. Thus, young minority children have had less of an opportunity to see themselves represented in picture books during this time. Chall, Radwin, French, and Hall (1979) believed that this could be prevented as writers from minority groups are encouraged to write children’s books that reflect their own experiences.

Harris (1990) examined African American children’s literature from 1890-1990, and emphasizes that after the 1970s there has been an increase in children’s literature that more

authentically reflects the African American social and cultural experience. However, she estimates that the number of books published about African Americans has been approximately 200 a year and has rarely exceeded this amount. Further, many African American children do not have access to these books and some teachers are hesitant to use them because they fear that the books may only depict stereotypical Black situations that may embarrass African American children or be uninteresting to White children (Harris, 1990). However, based on articles published throughout the 90s, there seems to be more of an optimism about the quality and quantity of books published for African Americans and other minority children. For instance, according to Cooper (1992), there were almost no picture books depicting Black children in 1962 and thirty years later, there were many stories that feature Black children and their experiences. She makes the books accessible by recommending 31 books that feature African American children, and includes the price, age group, and publisher. Similarly, Steiner (1998) asserts the importance of using multicultural literature to dialogue about identity issues that are experienced by children of all cultures and racial backgrounds. He lists a number of books that focus on the issues that children experience as they are developing an identity within the context of family, school, and the nation. As Steiner (1998) asserts that all children have a need to belong, he too believes that children must see themselves reflected in the literature “to affirm their existence and importance” (p. 26).

Lewis (1994) also noted that there has been an increase in multicultural children’s literature, but asserts that it takes practice to be able to choose a “good” (p. 38) multicultural children’s book. She quotes various authors and artists who speak on the importance of multicultural literature, with the intention of providing the reader with additional insight to help in the selection of appropriate multicultural children’s books. For instance, bookstore owner,

Clara Villarosa states, “When a teacher—who the [African American] child looks to as an authority figure – chooses books that don’t include African Americans, it’s like telling them they’re not worthy” (p. 39). Author Laurence Yep states, “Good multicultural books expand horizons. If you visit another culture or even read about it, you look at your own culture with new eyes.” Additionally, author Eloise Greenfield states, “Study the illustrations, as well as the text, in books. They should reflect the way children, their families, and their neighborhoods really look” (p. 40). Yokota (1993) attempts to establish more specific criteria for teachers selecting appropriate multicultural children’s books, emphasizing that “cultural accuracy” (p. 159) is the most important. This means that “the issues are represented in ways that reflect the values and beliefs of the culture” (p. 159) and without cultural accuracy, a multicultural children’s book cannot be deemed appropriate. A book that is culturally accurate should have culturally rich details, authentically represent characters’ thoughts, feelings, and communication with others, and treat issues with sensitivity (Yokota, 1993). Mo and Shen (1997) assert that such indicators of cultural accuracy are vague and do not offer clarity on how to detect authenticity. They believe that a distinction should be made between authenticity and cultural accuracy. That is, authenticity refers to “...values, facts, and attitudes which members of the culture as a whole would consider ‘worthy of acceptance and belief’” (p. 4). That is, aspects (e.g., values, attitudes) of a culture may be depicted accurately or realistically, but may not necessarily be authentic because members within the culture may disagree with the aspects of the culture that are depicted in the story (Mo & Shen, 1997). Those authors who are able to portray aspects of cultures that most members of the culture find acceptable have authentically portrayed that part of the culture. Mo and Shen (1997) further emphasize that it is important for illustrators of multicultural picture books to be knowledgeable about all aspects of the culture they are

depicting in order to establish “cultural credibility” (p. 12). Cole and Valentine (2000) warn against (a) illustrations that depict children of different racial background with similar features with the exception of skin tone, (b) depict minority children with stereotypical facial features, or (c) depict minority characters in submissive roles. They emphasize that it creates and perpetuates a racial and ethnic bias in children’s literature, whereby the dominant racial and ethnic group is the standard of beauty and success.

Using Children’s Multicultural Picture Books in Bibliotherapy: Theories and Perspectives

The practice of bibliotherapy can be dated back to the first libraries in Greece. One ancient Greek library bore the inscription, “The Healing Place of the Soul” which reflected a belief in the therapeutic nature of literature (Cronje, 1993). The term *bibliotherapy* was first coined in 1916 by Samuel Crothers to describe the practice of prescribing books in the treatment of illnesses (Jones, 2001). As numerous definitions and types of bibliotherapy have been noted since that time, Hynes and Hynes-Berry (1986) assert that the term is slightly problematic as it does not immediately convey an impression of the word’s meaning as other therapies do, such as art or dance therapy. Technically, *biblio-* is derived from the words books or literature, and *therapy-* means to serve for the purpose of healing (Hynes & Hynes-Berry, 1986). Thus, similar to other definitions noted, Hynes and Hynes-Berry simply describe bibliotherapy as “the use of literature to promote mental health” (p. 10). They further elaborate on the different schools of thought that have developed from research on bibliotherapy. For instance, one school of thought that believes the healing process, which occurs through bibliotherapy, is rooted in the actual reading. This is known as reading bibliotherapy and the term suggests that the reading itself can move an individual towards emotional growth. Shrode’s (1949) research supported the use of reading bibliotherapy as she suggested that the reader’s response to the content of the book is the

critical interaction. Thus, it is not uncommon to find librarians, teacher, or counselors who recommend the “right” book to those who they believe will benefit. Together, the reader and the book are the primary tools needed to facilitate change. Conversely, interactive bibliotherapy is a school of thought that suggests the dialogue about the book between the reader and facilitator is key to the therapeutic healing (Hynes & Hynes-Berry, 1986). Thus, not only is the reader’s response to the book important, but the communication between the facilitator and reader can add additional insight. Hynes and Hynes-Berry (1986) write:

in interactive bibliotherapy, a trained facilitator uses guided discussions to help the clinical or developmental participant(s) integrate both feelings and cognitive responses to a selected work of literature, which may be printed text, some form of audiovisual material, or creative writing by the participant. (p. 17)

Moreover, Hynes and Hynes-Berry (1986) list a number of assumptions that follow from their understanding of interactive bibliotherapy. A few of these assumptions are as follows: effective bibliotherapy can improve the self-esteem of the participants and help them to internalize appropriate social values; bibliotherapy is a strength-based therapy, whereby the literature is the essential tool designed to reinforce the strengths of the participants; the facilitator must demonstrate good listening skills in order to choose appropriate materials that meet the needs of the participants, accurately interpret and empathize with participants’ responses to the books, and facilitate a greater understanding of the self; and bibliotherapy can be used with one participant or take place in a group. Notably, Cohen (1989) suggested a theoretical framework that can be applied to bibliotherapy with groups. She suggests bridging Shrodes’ (1949) concept of what she terms “reading bibliotherapy” with the therapeutic factors detailed in Yalom’s research on group therapy. Shrodes is considered to be one of the leading pioneers in

bibliotherapy research. She suggested that the healing elements of bibliotherapy include identification, catharsis, and insight upon reading. Notably, these elements are among those listed by Yalom as the therapeutic factors experienced during group therapy. According to Cohen, Schrodes' identification process also includes Yalom's process of cohesiveness, universality, transference and altruism. Likewise, Shrodes' reference to insight includes Yalom's installation of hope, socialization, imparting of information, interpersonal learning, imitative behavior, and existential factors. Cohen writes:

Readers may have symbolic or imaginary relationships with literary characters.

Bibliotherapy then becomes a group process phenomenon regardless of actual group participation. The bibliotherapist guides the reader through the experience, much as a facilitator does in a traditional group therapy situation (p. 81).

Studies have shown that using bibliotherapy with an interactive component can be effective with groups. For instance, Green (1988) assessed the impact of bibliotherapy on the self-concept of Mexican-American children, ages ten and eleven. Participants were from a school in south Texas. The experimental group consisted of nine boys and 13 girls, in one fifth-grade classroom; and the control group consisted of 14 boys and eight girls, in another fifth-grade classroom. All students in the study read on or above grade level. Students in the experimental group attended 135 bibliotherapy sessions that were each 45 minutes long over a period of 27 consecutive school weeks. The sessions were facilitated by teachers. During the 27 weeks, students in the experimental group viewed a film series on the topic of bibliotherapy, listened to twelve books read aloud by teacher, independently read books chosen by the teacher, and participated in group discussion about the books. Additionally, teachers in the experimental group encouraged students to discuss the social and emotional issues they were experiencing,

and handed out reading awards for reading and participating in the discussions. The pre- and post-test measures included the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (PHSCS); the Sociometric Test, which assesses the relationship between students; the Student Rating Scale, which measures students' perception of their behavior at home, school, and with their peers; and the Teacher Rating Scale, which asks teachers to rate their students behaviors. Results showed that bibliotherapy was effective in raising students' self-concept. Specifically, students' feelings about themselves were more positive; they perceived themselves as more popular with their peers, their feelings about their physical appearance improved, and overall feelings of happiness improved. It is also possible that factors other than reading books contributed to these results, such as new or improved interpersonal relations within the group. The researchers recommend that future research look at the effects of bibliotherapy on other age groups, including kindergarten children and senior citizens.

Several other studies have shown that bibliotherapy, including culturally focused bibliotherapy, can be effective with different groups and individuals. Schectman (1999) conducted group affective bibliotherapy in an attempt to reduce childhood aggression among 10 eight-year-old boys. The term affective bibliotherapy refers to a focused experience that is enhanced through identification with the characters and the cathartic experience. Results showed that the literature seemed to play a critical role in facilitating change, as aggression decreased and constructive behavior increased. The results cannot be generalized to other populations because results were based on clinical process rather than empirical evidence. However, the idea that literature has the potential to impact change is useful for future studies.

Holman (1996) used a bibliotherapeutic intervention to validate his ethnic identity of a Puerto Rican adolescent. The bibliotherapy intervention consisted of a single-session trial,

whereby the therapist used a Nuyoricana poem depicting the pride felt among fellow Puerto Ricans. Results showed that the adolescent had a strong, positive reaction to the poem. It seemed to empower him to move forward in his life. However, it is not known if his positive feelings were generalized to other situations. Nevertheless, the results show some support for the therapeutic effects of culturally relevant literature. Costantino, Malgady, and Rogler (1986) used folktales, also known as cuento therapy, to reduce trait anxiety and aggression, and to enhance social judgment among Puerto Rican children in kindergarten through third grade who had been identified as having behavioral difficulties at school and home. Subjects included high-risk children and their mothers. Four or five dyads were assigned to either the cuento therapy, traditional therapy, or no therapy, and the sessions were 90-minutes, once a week for 20 weeks. Results showed that the cuento therapy reduced children's trait anxiety compared to those who did not receive the intervention. Children receiving the intervention also demonstrated an increase in social judgment as evidenced by increases in WISC-R Comprehension subtest scores. Essentially, the use of cultural literature in bibliotherapy with children is consistent with the idea that they can benefit from seeing people like themselves reflected in stories. These children may also benefit from reading about children in other cultures who experience similar issues as suggested by Beaty (1997).

Conversely, there is literature that challenges the effectiveness of bibliotherapy. Riordan and Wilson (1989) conducted a review of the literature on bibliotherapy and found results to be inconsistent. That is, while some studies showed that bibliotherapy effected a change in attitude, a change in behavior, and a change in self-concept, other studies showed no changes in these areas. For instance, out of four studies, only one supported the effectiveness of bibliotherapy in changing attitudes. This study showed that using a training manual to teach assertiveness was

effective in changing attitudes (Mishou, 1985, cited in Riordan & Wilson, 1989). Conversely, bibliotherapy was found to be ineffective in changing attitudes towards the elderly and handicapped, and changing the attitudes of teenage truants in other studies (Zeleznick, 1985; Beardsley; 1982; Miller, 1982, cited in Riordan & Wilson, 1989). Further, a number of studies have supported the use of bibliotherapy in prompting behavioral change and improving self-concept, while other studies have found that bibliotherapy has no effect on behavior or self-concept. For instance, several studies (Pezzot-Pearce, LeBow, & Pearce, 1982, cited in Riordan & Wilson, 1989) found support for using bibliotherapy to control weight, while another study (Galliford, 1982, cited in Riordan & Wilson, 1989) did not support the use of bibliotherapy as an effective weight loss tool. Similarly, the use of bibliotherapy was effective in enhancing self-concept when integrated into group discussions, but ineffective when used with behavior-disordered children. Overall, Riordan and Wilson (1989) believe that it is difficult to make a general statement about the effectiveness of bibliotherapy, as the research on when and how it should be used in treatment are not consistent. Additionally, Riordan (1991) states that, “the sharing of resources, or who is using what and why, and under what conditions, can add precision to the use of bibliotherapy” (p. 306). Riordan (1991) criticizes the work of John Pardeck, who has written extensively on using bibliotherapy, particularly with children, stating that Pardeck has added clarity to the application of bibliotherapy, but seemed to overlook the empirical evidence needed to support the application and effectiveness of bibliotherapy.

Nevertheless, Pardeck and Markward (1995) consider bibliotherapy to be an innovative approach to helping children. Similarly, Ouzts (1991) believes that although research on bibliotherapy has not always produced significantly positive results, teachers who are willing to find ways to enhance children’s attitudes, self-worth, and character should give bibliotherapy a

try. Pardeck and Pardeck (1989) assert that bibliotherapy is not just for the treatment of clinical issues, but can be used by both professionals and non-professionals to help children cope with adjustments difficulties that accompany developmental changes and growth. Jalongo (1983) writes about using bibliotherapy to promote socio-emotional growth among children and asserts that there must be planning and preparation involved. Specifically, she states that the facilitator must consider what he or she wants to accomplish, whether there will be one participant or a group, and the synchrony between the personality development of the child and the characters. Essentially, it appears that more current literature supporting the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of bibliotherapy is needed in order to clarify the conditions and guidelines that can make bibliotherapy, particularly with children, more effective.

Some researchers have attempted to elaborate on the application and process of bibliotherapy with children, most notably John T. and Jean A. Pardeck. They assert that the first critical step is to choose an appropriate book that closely mirrors the problems that the child is experiencing (Pardeck & Pardeck, 1998). The child must see similarities between the self and the character; this is known as identification and projection and provides that child an opportunity to witness another perspective on a similar problem. The helping professional must assist the child in making connections between the child's own presenting concerns and the dilemmas presented in the story. With younger children, picture books facilitate the process of identification and projection as the illustrations create interest and communicate strong visual messages about themselves and others (Cole and Valentine, 2000; Pardeck, 1995; Pardeck & Markward, 1995). The helping professional must also consider the child's age, the child's reading level, and the book's form of publication, e.g., large type, paper back, talking books, pictures (Rizza, 1993; Pardeck, 1992). Fiction often allows children to empathize with characters that may experience a

situation similar to their own and non-fiction or self-help books often provide children with concrete suggestions or advice on a particular situation (Coleman & Gangong, 1988). Moreover, Pardeck (1990) indicates that the practice of bibliotherapy with older children is different than with younger children. When using bibliotherapy with older children, they may experience an emotional release, verbally or non-verbally, known as catharsis. At this point, the helping professional assists the child in understanding how the character in the book resolves a problem and possibly recognize solutions to solving his or her own problems. However, as younger children are not able to experience the emotional release that precedes insight into a problem, the helping professional must take a different approach and consider the younger child's smaller vocabulary, limited range of experiences, and shorter attention span. As previously mentioned, the helping professional should read aloud, as the child is more likely to be drawn to the story when it is communicated through the understanding of the story-teller (Arbuthnot & Sutherland, 1972). Reading aloud is an excellent opportunity for developing a trusting relationship between a younger child and the helping professional, as it promotes communication between child and story-teller (Pardeck & Pareck, 1998). The child's responses when reading aloud should be observed for signs of anger, joy, envy, relief, and other emotions. These cues are critical to the therapeutic process, and should be discussed within the context of the trusting relationship that develops between story-teller and child (Pardeck, 1990). Additionally, it is critical to use follow-up activities (e.g., collages representing different characters) that facilitate the process of bibliotherapy by allowing the child to reflect on his or her interpretation of the story and possibly make lessons learned from the story more impactful (Jackson, 2001). Although the literature on the application and process of bibliotherapy is sparse, the information available can be considered a starting point for empirical studies.

According to Hynes and Hynes-Berry (1986), the goals for bibliotherapy with adolescents and children are distinct from the goals of more traditional reading groups, in that the ultimate purpose should be to improve children's ability to cope with critical issues such as "self-identity, independence, and self-worth" (p. 15). African American children, in particular, can definitely benefit from such a purpose as the literature has suggested that racial identity is an important component of identity. The literature proposes using varied approaches, other than bibliotherapy, to promote racial identities in both younger and older children. Most notably school counselors, educators, psychologists, parents, and social workers can all implement effective interventions that facilitate the emergence of a healthy racial identity. For instance, Benedetto and Olisky (2001) emphasize that interventions which promote awareness, communication, and exposure to issues of race and racial identity will be beneficial for older biracial children who may experience conflict about espousing one aspect of their heritage over another. Such interventions may include cultural diversity lessons, creative writing assignments that allow students to record thoughts and feelings, the development of a mentoring program, and career days that offer students the opportunity to speak with racially diverse role models (Benedetto & Olisky, 2001). Ford and Harris (1997) propose peer and support group counseling which can offer an outlet for Black children to share their experiences. Further, Orange and George (2000) encourage parents to limit children's television viewing and encourage children to develop hobbies that allow them to expand their creativity and/or increase other activities, such as day trips with family. However, while there are some parents who may not be able to facilitate a group counseling session, or an educator who may not be able to monitor their students' television viewing, all who have a responsibility and vested interest in the healthy identity development of a child can use books to assist them in developing a clearer understanding of

themselves and their social environment. According to Ford (2000), "...books can be used to increase students' motivation and engagement, to increase students' achievement, and to improve their sense of self" (p. 1). Bibliotherapy can enhance this self-understanding by allowing young African American children the opportunity to read books that have positive, self-affirming illustrations and storylines (Ford, 2000).

Summary of Theories and Perspectives

The primary purpose of the bibliotherapy group was to positively impact the emergent racial identity of young children, and a number of studies have attempted to understand racial identity development within the context of an emerging identity. Early studies explored racial attitudes under the premise that racial attitudes shape racial identity (Thomas & Speight, 1999). However, these studies did not necessarily make distinctions between racial preference, racial identification and attitudes towards the self; nor did they focus on children's cognitive level and socialization experiences (Horowitz, 1939; Clark & Clark, 1947). We now understand that the relationship between these variables is more complex, as racial attitudes may not always be reflected in racial preference and identification (Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975; Branche & Newcombe, 1988; Conolly, 2001). Most notably, a preference for another racial group may, in fact reflect the ideals of the dominant group rather than a dislike of one's own group or self (Myer, 2000). However, one could also propose that a child's preference for another racial group over one's own may signal some emerging negative attitudes towards one's racial group (Tatum, 1997).

Many recent studies have focused on the racial socialization of African American children, as it is understood that socialization shapes children's racial identity. Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001) proposed a lifespan model of Black identity development which occurs

within the context of varied ecological dynamics. However, not all studies considered the diverse range of socialization experiences which may intersect with children's racial socialization. For instance, Peters (2002) explored the racial socialization experiences of Black parents, but did not consider how other socialization factors impact this dynamic. Marshall (1995) concluded that middle-class Black parents' emphasized humanistic over ethnic values because they may have been preoccupied with other issues such as violence and poor academic learning. However, it is possible that these issues may be rooted in the parents' own negative socialization experiences (e.g., social class, gender) that they have associated with their culture. Further, Hughes and Johnson (2001) attempted to understand how children's socialization experiences are created. They concluded that there is a relationship between children's identity exploration, parents' belief of unfair treatment towards their children, and children's racial socialization experiences. Although they were unable to determine cause and effect relationships, they proposed a transactional model of racial socialization; thus, acknowledging the complex array of factors that create the experience of racial socialization among children.

The literature also emphasized that both school and the media have a significant impact on the racial socialization of Black children. Hollins (1999) emphasized that teachers' should understand their racial identity status in order to work more effectively with students from diverse backgrounds and Tatum (1997) showed that an anti-racist program was successful in advancing teachers' racial identity status— although it is not clear if their change in attitude was long-lasting. Additionally, one could add that the government and school administration should also be aware of how the school environment impacts children from diverse cultures, as these governing bodies often have the power to make impactful decisions in the lives of children. Further, Ward's (2004) study supported a relationship between the media and aspects of

children's self-concept but did not explain how children conceptualize messages about race— this is better explored in studies that focus on children's cognitive development and self-expressions (e.g., Goodman, 1964, Tatum, 1997, Murray & Mandara, 2002).

Some studies have supported using children's drawings to understand the impact of their socialization experiences on their self-concept and attitudes. After examining the drawings of Barbadian children, Payne (1996) concluded that children's drawings reflect their internalization of societal values. For instance, he noted that many of the children depicted nuclear families although they resided in non-nuclear families and speculated that it may be the influence of North American television. While this may be true in some cases, one must also consider the range of socialization experiences that children have such as family and school. Spiga, Mindingall, Long-Hall, and Blackwell (1986) noted that children's self-concept can be detected in their drawings, and used specific indicators to reflect self-concept, however, these indicators were not clarified.

Multicultural picture books are one form of media that has been highly regarded in the literature. Conversely, the use of multicultural picture books within the context of bibliotherapy has not been as widely studied. However, there is some support for using literature for the purposes of helping others. Sheckman (1999) used bibliotherapy to address aggression among a group of eight-year-old boys and results showed some success in reducing aggression. However, these findings are based on observation of clinical process rather than empirical evidence and cannot be generalized to other populations. Holman (1996) showed support for the use of bibliotherapy with multicultural literature, however, the findings were only based upon one session and one client. Constantino, Malgady, and Rogler (1986) used a very culturally specific intervention, known as cuento therapy (i.e., the use of folktales) with parent-child dyads to

address anxiety and aggression in Puerto Rican children. Although the children were not exposed to diverse cultures through the literature, they were able to see themselves reflected in the literature which, as previously mentioned, can positively impact children's self-concept.

Moreover, while there is some support for the use of bibliotherapy as a meaningful tool to address children's developmental issues and concerns, information on the application and process of bibliotherapy is lacking. Pardeck and Pardeck (1998) seem to be among the more prolific writers on the success of bibliotherapy, however, empirical evidence is sparse. This study attempted to study the effects of a multicultural bibliotherapy group with African American children using a more empirical approach.

CHAPTER III

Design and Methodology

This chapter provides a description of the research design, a restatement of the hypothesis to be tested, and definition of terms. It also offers a description of the subjects, data collection procedures, instruments, and curriculum plan, as well as the statistical analyses to be used for each hypothesis.

Research Design

This study employed a multiple group, intervention design, with quantitative pre- and post-test measures that examined whether the use of multicultural picture books in a bibliotherapy group with younger African American children would increase awareness of racial differences, and similarities, and tolerance of diverse racial groups. It also examined whether the bibliotherapy group would reduce stereotyping and discriminatory behavior, particularly towards their own racial group (Derman-Sparks, 1989). It was expected that fulfillment of these goals would reflect a positive emergent racial identity as evidenced by positive attitudes towards their own racial group and emerging self-concept (Derman-Sparks, 1989). In order to help children increase their awareness of racial differences and similarities, and tolerance of racial differences, Derman-Sparks (1989) assert that the following objectives should be accomplished by teachers or other adults in the care of children:

(a) Encourage children to ask about their own and others' physical characteristics, (b) Provide children with accurate, developmentally appropriate information, (c) Enable children to feel pride, but not superiority, about their racial identity, (d) Enable children to develop ease with and respect for physical differences, and (e) Help children become aware of our shared physical characteristics- what makes us all human beings (p.31).

Further, in order to help children learn to resist stereotyping and discriminatory behavior, teacher or other adults in the care of children should:

(a) Help children change discomfort and inappropriate responses to differences into respectful, comfortable interactions, (b) Expand... [children's] developing concept of fairness and feelings of empathy for each other, (c) Foster children's critical thinking about stereotyping , and (d) Enable children to gain the tools and self-confidence to stand up for themselves and others against biased ideas and discriminatory behavior (p. 31).

The facilitators attempted to accomplish these goals and objectives by using multicultural pictures books in a bibliotherapy group with younger African American children. Each facilitator followed the curriculum plan listed below as well as a more standard set of instructions (Appendix 1) to ensure that the intervention was delivered uniformly and with little room for researcher bias. The curriculum was adapted from two curriculums which focus on developing multicultural awareness and anti-bias attitudes in children (Derman-Sparks, 1989; Beaty, 1997; Finazzo, 1997). The facilitators received training on how to deliver the intervention through a thorough review of the curriculum plan and participation in a mock session. The mock session involved the co-facilitation of one of the groups with several children. The children were friends of the facilitators and received permission from the parents to participate. The facilitators co-lead a group using the standard curriculum plan, and had the opportunity to express concerns or ask questions during a feedback session. The facilitators also met regularly to discuss and process the events of each group, and to receive appropriate feedback. Many of the concerns expressed during the processing of the groups revolved around behaviors and/or methodological issues such as cancellations or low attendance. Facilitators were encouraged to follow the curriculum plan as intended with willing participants. Additionally, all the facilitators were counseling

psychology graduate students and have previous experience providing group and or individual therapy.

Restatement of Hypothesis

The hypotheses are derived from the goals and objectives listed in Chapter I and are restated here for emphasis. They are as follows: The use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group will significantly increase African American children's awareness of racial differences and similarities (H1), and tolerance of racial differences (H1A); the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group will significantly decrease African American children's internalization (H2) and externalization (H2A) of racial stereotypes; and the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group will significantly improve African American children's attitudes towards their own group (H3) and emerging self-concept (H3A). Additionally, there will be a correlation between African American children's attitudes towards their own group and emerging self-concept (H3B).

Definition of Terms

For a clearer understanding of the design and methodology used, it is imperative to clarify several terms pertinent to the study. They are as follows:

1. As Hynes' and Hynes-Berry's (1986) definition of bibliotherapy incorporates a description of how it is used, their definition will be adapted to define bibliotherapy in this study; thus, *bibliotherapy* is defined as an interactive process whereby a facilitator uses discussions to help children integrate their feelings and cognitive reactions to multicultural picture books. Specifically, the intervention will consist of a developmental bibliotherapy group, i.e., a group which discusses and processes developmental milestones.

2. The *bibliotherapy facilitator* is a helping person who uses multicultural picture books to help African American children (from kindergarten through first grade) process developmental milestones within the context of positive socio-racial messages (Pardeck & Pardeck, 1989; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). Further, the bibliotherapy facilitator should have several abilities, including the ability to understand the needs and interests of the participants, the ability to facilitate dialogue, the ability to listen and communicate in an effective manner, and the ability to use additional resources to facilitate insight (Cornett & Cornett, 1980).
3. The definition of *multicultural picture books* is adapted from Diamond and Moore (1995) and is defined as illustrative literature that "...heightens understanding, respect, and affirmation of differences...and is rich in factual information about cultures" (p. 12, 13). It should also be noted that many of multicultural books chosen for the study depicted African American characters as a way to give the subjects an opportunity to see themselves reflected back in a positive light.
4. *Racial awareness* is defined by Murray and Mandara (2002) as "a knowledge of the differences in racial categorization" (p. 77) and is evident when children can "recognize, identify, and make distinctions among racial categories" (p. 77).
5. The term *emergent racial identity* is inspired by a number of articles on racial identity development (Cross, 1985; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Murray & Mandara, 2002) and is defined as children's evolving conception of race, their membership in a particular socio-racial group (i.e., "societally defined racial categories," Helm & Cook, 1999), and the social and political consequences of being a racial group member. According to Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001), "children's interests, attitudes, feelings, hobbies, academic

orientations, musical and artistic leanings, language patterns, and personality traits...” (p. 250) are embedded within their racial group experience; thus, their emergent racial identity is reflected in these varied expressions of self.

6. *Racial group* is defined as a group which shares phenotypic characteristics such as skin color and hair texture (Murray & Mandara, 2002).
7. *Racial socialization* is defined by Murray and Mandara (2002) as “the process by which the family shapes attitudes and beliefs about race and explains how the child fits within this context” (p. 83); and as the literature also suggests, school and the media also shape such attitudes and beliefs.
8. Derman-Sparks (1989) defines stereotype as “an oversimplified generalization about a particular group, race, or sex which usually carries derogatory implication “ (p. 3). She further states that “societal stereotyping and bias influence children’s self-concept and attitudes toward others” (p. 1). Thus, for the purposes of this study, *externalizing stereotypes* refers to stereotypes one has towards other racial groups; and *internalizing stereotypes* refers to stereotypes ones has towards one’s own racial group.

Methodology

Subjects

The participants were 48 African American boys and girls in kindergarten through second grade. They were recruited from the YWCA’s after school program and a public elementary school, both located in the same town in New Jersey. Subjects were recruited and randomly assigned to the experimental and control groups. There were incentives for participating in the study. The sample was controlled for ethnic background (African American, not African Diaspora), mixed race, cognitive delays, and learning disabilities. This information was obtained

by requiring parents to fill out a Recruitment Checklist; and five subjects were excluded from the study because they did not meet these criteria. According to the Recruitment Checklist, 47% of the subjects' parents identified as single with an annual income of less than \$30,000, 20% identified as single with an annual income of \$30-60,000, 12% identified as having a 2-parent home with an annual income of less than \$30,000, 14% of parents identified as having a 2-parent home with an annual income of \$30,000-60,000, and 7% of parents identified as having a 2-parent home with an income above \$ 60,000. Thus, a large portion of the parents were either single parents and/or making less than \$30,000 per year.

Additionally, all the subjects assented to participate in the study and were made aware that they can refuse to answer any questions and can withdraw from the study at any time. Confidentiality measures included identifying all participants by a number code and keeping test data in a secure location of which only the primary investigator had access.

Procedure

The study was conducted at both the YWCA and a public elementary school in New Jersey during the fall 2006-2007 school year. Both settings consisted largely of African American students, and the towns in which these setting were located also had a predominant African American population. The facilitators included myself, the primary researcher, and two research assistants. I, the primary researcher, was cognizant of the opportunity to unfairly impact the results due to my knowledge of the hypothesis; therefore, as previously mentioned, the standard instructions for implementing the curriculum plan was designed to ensure that each facilitator conducted the group in a uniform manner.

Moreover, the facilitators were originally expected to conduct the study at the YWCA only. However, as it was challenging to find an adequate number of parents to sign consent for

their child/children to participate in one location, it was necessary to expand the study to two separate locations. Altogether, the recruitment phase spanned from October 2006- February 2007, and the researchers began administering the pre-tests during this time. As groups with seven or eight members are an ideal size(Vinogradov & Yalom (1989); three groups with eight children each were randomly assigned to participate in the bibliotherapy sessions. Two groups were held at the YWCA and one group was held at the public elementary school. Each facilitator was assigned to one group; the facilitators included an African American male psychology graduate student, a European American female psychology graduate student, and myself, an African American female psychology graduate student. The control group was not assigned to a bibliotherapy group and continued with their daily routine. The pre-test questionnaires were completed by all three facilitators on or about the last week of February 2007, and it took several months to administer to all the subjects. There were several subjects who were initially given consent to participate in the group, but left the YWCA before being administered the pre-test questionnaires. These subjects were not included in the total sample. The groups ran for 10 sessions, with each group meeting weekly starting the beginning of March 2007 and ending the last week in May 2007. The groups ran a few weeks longer than expected due to unexpected cancellations at both the YWCA and the public elementary school. After the groups were completed, post-test questionnaires were administered by all three facilitators from the middle of May 2007 to the middle of June 2007.

Pre- and Post-test Measures

The Racial Stereotyping Scale. The Racial Stereotyping Scale (Bigler & Liben, 1993) is designed to assess stereotyped attitudes towards African Americans and European Americans. This scale is one of several variations that have been used for children from 4-years to 12-years

old. The scale consists of 24 PRAM II traits (Williams & Best, 1975). Subjects are asked to respond to 12 negative traits and 12 positive traits. For instance, "Think of ____ people. Who can be ____?" The response option consists of "ALL," "MOST," "SOME," "FEW," or "NONE." Subjects were asked practice questions (e.g., How many kids in your class have dark brown hair? How many kids in your class have three eyes?) to ensure that they understood how to respond. Intuitively, one would assume that the younger children, i.e., the five-year-olds, may have had difficulty understanding how to respond to the questions. However, while many of the children were able to respond to the questions, there were some children who were both younger or older that required more assistance in understanding the task. This seems to reflect the range in development, either cognitive or emotional, that can not only vary across ages but among children of the same age. Further, in order to provide a more concrete representation of the task, paper clips were used to represent the response options, such that the largest pile of paper clips represented "ALL," the second largest represented "MOST," and so forth. Essentially, subjects were assessed to determine if they responded in a stereotypic manner. The scale consists of four subscales including African American Positive Traits, African American Negative Traits, European American Positive Traits, and European American Negative Traits. The range of scores was 0-4, 4 indicating more positive or more negative views. The split-half reliability was .97 and the coefficient alpha was .87 (Bigler & Liben, 1993).

Own-group Attitudes Measure. A measure of own-group attitudes was designed by Corenblum and Annis (1993) to assess the development of racial identity in children from kindergarten through second grade. This measure was adapted to fit this study with Dr. Corenblum's approval. In Corenblum and Annis (1993) study, White and Native Indian children were shown drawings of Black, White and Native Indian children of each sex, and asked

questions altogether about racial recognition (e.g., “Point to the child who is a White girl.”), racial identity (e.g., “Point to the one who looks most like you.”), racial preference (e.g., “Point to the one who is friendly.”), and social distance (e.g., “Point to the one you would like to eat lunch with.”). These are the four subscales that make-up this 29-item scale, however, questions about Native Indian children were excluded from this study. The Racial Recognition subscale is scored with either 1= accurate identification, or 0= inaccurate identification, the racial identity subscale ranges from -3 to +3, +3 indicating a stronger racial identification, the racial preference subscale ranges from -5 to +5, +5 indicating a preference for own group, and the social distance subscale ranges from -9 to +9, +9 indicating a desire to close to own group. This study assessed African American children’s knowledge of racial differences and similarities, tolerance of racial differences, and own-group attitudes toward White and Black children. The alpha coefficient for the scale is .77.

The Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children.

The Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike, 1984) is a 24 pictorial measure designed to assess young children’s (i.e., kindergarten through second grade) reported self-concept. The subscales include cognitive competence, physical competence, peer acceptance, and maternal acceptance. Each subscale has six items. The items are presented to the child in an alternative format and must choose which one closely resembles him or her. For example, “This girl can tie her shoes” versus, “This girl cannot tie her shoe laces by herself.” Each item is scored along a scale ranging from higher perceived competence or acceptance (4) to lower perceived competence or acceptance (1). The reliability of the subscales range from .50 to .85, and the reliability of the all 24 items is .85 (Harter & Pike, 1984).

The Draw-a-Person Measure. The Draw-a-Person measure (Pfeffer, 1984; Machover, 1949) is used to assess group values and was included in the study for the purposes of future qualitative analyses. According to Klepsch and Logie (1982), "...children tend to draw the kind of individual they most admire or respect" (p. 12-13); thus, the extent to which they value a particular racial group can be indicated in their drawings. The instructions for obtaining human figure drawings that measure group values are as follows: Draw a picture of a whole person. It can be any kind of person you'd like (Klepsch & Logie, 1982). Crayons were not provided to the children due to time constraints and may have been a disadvantage that could be addressed in a future study. Further, some examples of specific indicators assessed included facial and hairstyle characteristics, physical features, and social roles as they give can give clues to own group attitudes (Klepsch & Logie, 1982; Zaidi, 1979). A study by Pfeffer (1984) yielded interrater reliability estimates of .77-.76. Based on the research, it was predicted that positive self-characteristics depicted in the drawings of subjects in the comparison group would be statistically different when compared to the bibliotherapy group. Any observed differences between the two groups were to be considered and qualitatively analyzed in a future study.

Additionally, none of the measures had time limitations regarding the administration of pre- and post-tests; thus, it can be assumed that the time period between the administration of the pre-and post-tests was an adequate length of time for attitudinal change to occur.

Curriculum Plan

This section provides a description of the intervention that was used by each facilitator. The standard instructions, which are presented as an appendix, are a complementary addition to the curriculum plan. The details of the curriculum plan are as follows:

Session 1 Topic: Alike and Different

Session Goal: Introducing the common bonds curriculum by celebrating the bonds children have with other children like themselves in similar and different cultures.

- I. Introduce Group: Make sure that all the children have been administered the pre-test surveys by the researcher and research assistants. The researcher and research assistants will fill out the pre-test surveys with the children.
- II. Create Rules: Consequences/choices
- III. Go over upcoming themes: Let them know that each week we will read a book and do an activity.
- IV. Readiness/motivation: Ask children if they have anything in common with each other, teacher, or significant adults. The facilitator should talk about what he/she has in common with others.
- V. Read Story: *Bein' with You This Way* (Nikola-Lisa, 1994), a story that celebrates children's similarities and differences through rap-style verses.
- VI. Discussion: Elicit children's reactions to the story, e.g., what differences and similarities did they notice?
- VII. Activity: Children will make a book "We All Look Special." The facilitator will take a color photo of each child and ask the child to describe him- or herself, including skin color, hair and eyes. The facilitator should write down the descriptions, and present the book to the children, with a focus on similarities and differences.
- VIII. Homework: Have each child draw pictures of family members for next time. Emphasize that they do not have to be great at drawing. Just encourage them to do their best. Let them know that we will be talking about how we are alike and different from our family members. A notice

will go home to parents informing them of the homework. Also inform the YWCA workers or teachers that they are to have family drawings for the next session so that the children may have an opportunity to draw during free time if they do not do it at home.

IX. Goodbyes: Tell each and every child goodbye and let them know that the group will plan to meet again next week.

Session 2 Topic: Self-esteem

Session Goal: enhancing children's self-esteem by promoting self- and other acceptance.

I. Check-in: Have the children show the family drawings they created over the week.

Emphasize that there are many different types of families, e.g., in terms of make-up, race/ethnicity. Also emphasize that some kids are born into families, others are chosen. Further point out that we may have similarities with our family, but we never look or behave exactly like they do.

II. Readiness/motivation: Bring a mirror to class and have each child name something positive about them self. If they are having difficulty, help them come up with one.

III. Read Story: *Palm Trees* (Cote, 1993), a story about an African American girl who learns to appreciate her physical characteristics.

IV. Discussion: Elicit children's reactions to the story, e.g., how did the main character feel about her hair? How did she respond when her friend commented on her hair?

V. Activity: The children will create their face and hair with various arts and crafts. Have them discuss what they have made. Also have them tell each other about their own hairstyle, and point out how everyone has hair and the function it serves.

VI. Homework: Have them bring in a photo of themselves next time. Make sure they pick a photo of themselves that they like the most. If they do not have a photo of themselves, have them

cut a picture from a magazine of someone they feels looks like them (they can also draw a picture of themselves.) A notice will be sent home to parents informing them of the homework assignment. Also inform the YWCA workers or teachers so that a picture can be taken, cut from a magazine or drawn during free-time if the children do not have one at home.

VII. Goodbyes: Tell each and every child goodbye and let them know that the group will plan to meet again the following week.

Session 3 Topic: Empathy- Getting Along with Others

Session Goal: Enhancing children's ability to get along with all sorts of people through the development of empathy.

I. Check-in: Have children show the photo (or drawing/ magazine cut out) of themselves. Have them share what they like about the picture, then have them share how they feel in the picture (if it is a magazine picture, ask them how they would feel in the picture).

II. Readiness/motivation: emphasize that they may feel differently at different times. Talk about different types of emotions. Have the children act out emotions and identify each others' feelings. Point out that other children may have feelings that are just like their own.

III. Read Story: *Daniel's Dog* (Bogart, 1990), a story about an African American boy who must cope with feeling neglected after the birth of his baby sister.

IV. Discussion: Elicit children's reactions to the story, e.g., how did Daniel feel about his sister? How did the Ghost dog help him?

V. Activity: Have the children make an animal helper puppet with arts and crafts. Ask them how they imagine the animal helper will help them. For instance, can the animal helper help them get along better with others?

- VI. Homework: Instruct the children to think of a real-life conflict they would like the animal helper to help them with. A notice will go home to parents informing them of the homework. Also inform the YWCA workers or teachers of the homework so they can remind them to do it for the next session.
- VII. Goodbyes: Tell each child goodbye and let them know that the group will plan to meet again the following week.

Session 4 Topic: Relating to Family

Session Goal: Promoting good family relations by demonstrating that there are other multicultural families like their own with whom they can identify.

- I. Check-in: Ask children if they experienced any conflict they would like their animal helper to help them with. If they did not, have them think of one.
- II. Readiness/motivation: As some children may have mentioned home or their family, have each say who they look up to in their family- who is their role model. Emphasize that we will be reading a book about a child who also looks up to someone in her family.
- III. Read Story: *Jamaica Tag-Along* (Havill, 1989), a story about a young African American girl who wants to play basketball with her older brother, but is perceived by him as a nuisance. She finds herself in her “brother’s shoes” when another little boy wants to help her build a sand castle.
- IV. Discussion: Elicit children’s reactions to the story, e.g., how did Jamaica feel when her brother wouldn’t let her play basketball with him? How do you think the little boy felt when Jamaica didn’t want him to help her make a sand castle?
- V. Activity: Have the group make a tag-along story that they can reenact. For instance, how do they respond when they are told not to tag along? Do they prevent younger family members

from playing with them? How do they imagine those younger children feel? What else can hurt children's feelings? Facilitator should record responses and have the children role-play the big kid and the little kid.

VI. Homework: Instruct each child to look out for situations where they want to tag along or are prevented from tagging along. A notice will go home to parents informing them of the homework. Also notify the YWCA workers or teachers of the homework, so they can remind them to do it for the next session.

VII. Goodbyes: Tell each child goodbye and let them know that the group will plan to meet again the following week.

Session 5 Topic: Physical Expression

Session Goal: Promoting physical expression among children; demonstrating that children of all cultures and racial backgrounds seek physical accomplishments.

I. Check-in and distribute name tags: Ask the children to report on situations where they wanted to tag along or were prevented from tagging along. Elicit reactions from the group. If they did not, have them think of one.

II. Readiness/motivation: Introduce topic on physical expression during discussion on tagging along by rolling a large ball to each child as they report on their tag along experience. Let them know that we will be reading about physical activities, emphasizing that children everywhere experience the challenges and successes as they engage in diverse physical activities such as walking, climbing, running, hopping, and riding.

III. Read Story: *Father and Son* (Lauture, 1992), a story about an African American boy who spends time with his father and mimics the activities his father engages in.

IV. Discussion: Elicit children's reactions to the story, e.g., what are some of the activities the main character engaged in? How did he learn these activities?

V. Activity: Help the children make a parallel obstacle course based on the *Father and Son* story; two sets of children will go through the obstacle course.

VI. Homework: Encourage the children to go through the obstacle course over the course of the week. A notice will go home to parents informing them of the homework. Also inform the YWCA workers or teachers that it is available to the children over the week.

VII. Goodbyes: Tell each child goodbye and let them know that the group will meet again next week.

Session 6 Topic: Languages

Session Goal: Exposing children to other languages, and helping them learn to respect and get along with children from different language backgrounds.

I. Check-in: Ask the children to report on the physical activities they engaged in over the week. Did they go through the obstacle course? What activities did they like the most?

II. Readiness/motivation: Introduce topic on speaking other languages. Ask them what languages, other than English have they heard about.

III. Read Story: *Abuela* (Dorros, 1991), a story about a Hispanic-American girl who imagines she's rising in the air with her grandmother. As she passes different landmarks, she integrates both Spanish and English words.

IV. Discussion: Elicit children's reaction to the story, e.g., what language did the main character speak? How did she learn the language?

V. Activity: Have children fly around the room like Rosalba in *Abuela* and help them say a word in Spanish. Have them make a booklet of the words they learned.

VI. Homework: Instruct the children to learn at least one word in another language. A notice will be sent to parents about the homework. Also notify the YWCA workers or teachers about the assignment so they can remind them to do it over the week.

VII. Goodbyes: Tell each child goodbye and let them know that the group will meet again next week. Remind them that there are four groups left, and process any concerns or feelings they may have.

Session 7 Topic: Food

Session Goal: Celebrating culturally diverse foods, while recognizing the common bonds of eating.

I. Check-in: Ask the children to report on the new word they learned over the week. If they haven't learned any new words, help them remember some of the words they learned last week.

II. Readiness/motivation: Let the children know we will be discussing different types of foods. Ask the children to state their favorite food and say why it is their favorite.

III. Read Story: *This is the Way we Eat our Lunch* (Baer, 1995), a story about children from around the world who eat lunch that is characteristic of their culture.

IV. Activity: Have the children participate in making a recipe from the story. In order to save time, the facilitator should prepare the same recipe before hand, so the children can see how their meal looks and tastes when it is fully prepared.

V. Discussion: Elicit reactions to the story, e.g., what types of food were depicted in the story? What country are the foods from? Did any of the foods seem tasty?

VI. Homework: Hand out recipes from the book, and challenge the children to make one of the recipes over the week with the help of their parent/caregiver. A notice will be sent home note

to parents about the homework. Also notify the YWCA workers or teachers of the assignment so they can remind them to do it over the week.

VII. Goodbyes: Tell each child goodbye and let them know that we will meet next week. Remind them that there are three sessions left and process any concerns or feelings they may have.

Session 8 Topic: Art Awareness

Session Goal: Encouraging children to appreciate artistic expression and exercise their artistic abilities by demonstrating that multicultural children like themselves have experiences with creating art.

I. Check-in: Ask children if they have had an opportunity to make a recipe. Have them report on their experiences. If no one made the recipe, ask them to tell the group what they would have made if they could and why.

II. Readiness/motivation: Give each child a portion of play-do, and instruct each of them to make something with it- encourage them to use their imagination. Ask them to report on what they made. Emphasize that their play-do creation is a form of art, and that they each have the creative ability to make art. Let them know that we will be reading about a girl who uses her imagination to create her own world.

III. Read Story: *Tar Beach* (Ringgold, 1991), a story about an African American girl in the 1930' who uses her imagination to create her own world while having a picnic on the roof of her family's Harlem apartment.

IV. Discussion: Elicit reactions to the story, e.g., where was the main character? What did she imagine?

V. Activity: Have the children create an imaginary world with the use of water paints and canvas paper.

VI. Homework: Leave the canvas paper and water paints at the YWCA over the week and encourage the children to make at least one painting over the week. A notice will go home to parents about the homework. Also notify the YWCA workers or teachers of the homework so they can remind them to do it.

VII. Goodbyes: Tell each child goodbye and let them know that we will meet next week. Remind that there are two sessions left.

Session 9 Topic: Music

Session Goal: Introducing children to music and movement experiences that children everywhere can enjoy and share.

I. Check-in: Ask the children if they made any art work over the week; if so, have them talk about what they made; if not, have them talk about what they would like to make and why.

II. Readiness/motivation: Hand out a microphone to the children and sing the Hokey Pokey with them, a song that incorporates both singing and dance.

III. Read Story: *Baby-O* (Carlstrom, 1992), a story about three generations of a Caribbean family who sing songs as they ride to the market.

IV. Discussion: Elicit reactions to the story, what kind of folk song was sung in the story? What instruments did they play?

V. Activity: Have the children make tone drums from oatmeal boxes. Then have the children choose characters from the story (e.g., baby, mama, brother, pappy), and have them practice the sound each character makes in the book. They can use their homemade instruments as well as other instruments the facilitator brings.

VI. Homework: Leave a disc of cultural songs (e.g., Ella Jenkins' Multicultural Children's Songs) that the children can listen to over the week. Encourage them to learn at least one song, and sing it to the next group. A notice will be sent to parents about the homework. Also inform the YWCA workers of the homework so they can remind the children to do it.

VII. Goodbyes: Tell each child goodbye and let them know that we will have our last session next week. Process feelings around terminating the group (e.g., what did they like most about the group? What is one thing they wished happened during the group? What will they remember most about the group? What will they miss about the group?).

Session 10 Topic: Caring About the Earth

Session Goal: Demonstrating that multicultural children like themselves use their senses to explore their natural world; promoting a common bond between children everywhere as they all learn to care about the earth.

I. Check-in: Ask the children if they learned any new songs over the week; if so, have them sing the song for the group; if not, have the group sing along with one of the songs they remember from last week.

II. Readiness/motivation: Pick a toy or other familiar object from around the room, and have the children close their eyes and figure out the name of the object. Then instruct them to open their eyes to see how close their guess was to the actual object. Point out that they had to use their senses and emphasize the five senses, i.e., seeing, hearing, touching, smelling and tasting. Let them know that we will be reading about a boy who uses his senses to explore his environment.

- III. Read Story: *Where does the Trail Lead?* (Albert, B., 1991), a story about an African American boy who's curiosity leads him down a trail where he explores the natural surroundings of an island.
- IV. Discussion: Elicit reactions to the story, e.g., what did the main character want to see? What did he find?
- V. Activity: Take the children out on their very own trail hike around the building or on the playground; ask the children what they think they will see on the hike; give them a sack to collect twigs, leaves, etc. (facilitator must monitor what the children place in their sack); they can then make a collage of their collections.
- VI. Group Wrap-up and Goodbyes: Remind children that this is the last session before saying goodbyes; re-cap the books read and the activities the children participated in, by asking children what they remember about the group; remind them that they will be asked to complete several more surveys; pass out specialized name tags and give them a list of the books read, as they may want to check them out at the library or have their parent purchase them.

Additionally, the facilitators were required to fill out progress notes for each child, after each session. An outline of the progress note sheet adapted from Hynes and Hynes-Berry (1986) are listed below. Its purpose is to allow the facilitators to document behavioral observations during the intervention which are specific to the response characteristics of the participants. This is significant as the literature indicates that the reader must identify with the characters in order to have impact (Pardeck, 1990).

Responses to Bibliotherapy:

A. Character of Response

Identified with character(s)

Show personal feelings and/or insight

General response regarding context

Unrelated regarding context, but appears to be genuine

Very general response

No relation to topic

A1. Include additional comments here about child; notably a brief explanation of the descriptors checked off for each section.

The control group did not receive the intervention and continued with their daily scheduled activities. They were, however, administered the pre- and post-test along with the experimental group. Essentially, what distinguished the subjects in the control group from the experimental group is the absence of a multicultural reading group that offered them the opportunity to see themselves positively reflected in a form of media.

Statistical Analysis

Essentially, two groups, the experimental and control group were compared for changes in emerging racial identity and self-concept over time. In order to incorporate pre-test scores, t-tests were conducted with difference scores (post minus pre test) as the dependent variable. The statistical analysis used for question 1 (i.e., Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group increase African American children's awareness of racial differences and similarities?) was a t-test. That is, the effects of the experimental bibliotherapy group (IV) on African American children's awareness of racial differences and similarities (DV)

were compared to African American children's awareness of racial differences and similarities within the comparison group. The statistical analysis used for question 1A (i.e., Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group increase African American children's tolerance of racial differences?) was a t-test. That is, the effects of the experimental bibliotherapy group (IV) on children's tolerance of racial differences (DV) were compared to the comparison group on children's tolerance of racial differences. Overall, it was hypothesized that a developmental bibliotherapy group that uses multicultural picture books will increase African American children's awareness (H1) of racial differences and similarities and tolerance (H2) of racial differences.

The statistical analysis that was used for question 2 (i.e., Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group reduce African American children's internalization of racial stereotypes, which the literature suggests leads to discriminatory behavior?) was a t-test. That is, the effects of the experimental bibliotherapy group (IV) on African American children's internalized racial stereotypes (DV) were compared to the African American children's internalized racial stereotypes within the comparison group. The statistical analysis that was used for question 2A (i.e., Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group reduce African American children's externalization of racial stereotypes, which the literature suggests leads to discriminatory behavior?) was a t-test. That is the effects of the experimental bibliotherapy group (IV) on African American children's externalized racial stereotypes (DV) were compared to African American children's externalized racial stereotypes within the comparison group. Overall, it was hypothesized that a developmental bibliotherapy group which uses multicultural picture books would significantly

decrease African American children's internalization (H2) and externalization (H2A) of stereotypes.

The statistical analysis that was used for question 3 (i.e., Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group improve African American children's attitudes towards their own racial group?) was a t-test. That is, the effects of the experimental bibliotherapy group (IV) on African American children's own-group attitudes (DV) were compared to the effects of the comparison bibliotherapy group on African American children's own-group attitudes. The statistical analysis that was used for question 3A (i.e., Will the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group improve African American children's emerging self-concept?) was a t-test. That is, the effects of the experimental bibliotherapy group (IV) on the emerging self-concept of African American children (DV) were compared to African American children's own-group attitudes within the comparison group. Further, the statistical analysis used for 3B (Will there be a positive correlation between African American children's attitudes towards their own racial group and emerging self-concept?) was a correlation. That is, in both the experimental bibliotherapy group and the comparison group, the relation between own group attitudes and emerging self-concept was analyzed. It was hypothesized that a developmental bibliotherapy group which uses multicultural picture books would improve African American children's attitudes towards their own group and emerging self-concept. It was expected that own-group attitudes and emerging self-concept would correlate as the literature suggests that own-group attitudes can impact emerging self-concept.

In order to determine the appropriate sample size for this study and achieve meaningful outcomes, two power analyses were conducted. This study's power used the computer program GPOWER (Faul & Erdfelder, E., 1992) and employed Cohen's (1988) criteria for effect size.

The first six hypotheses, comparing the effects of the experimental and control groups among African- American children were tested using a t-test for means. A post-hoc analysis was conducted and revealed that with a sample size of 42, the analysis would have .8 power to detect a large effect of .8, with alpha .05. With a medium effect size of .50, the sample size must be 102 to have .8 power with an alpha of .05.

The last hypothesis comparing own-group attitudes and emerging self-concept among African American children is tested using a correlational analysis. A post-hoc analysis was revealed that with a sample size of 42, the analysis would have 1.0 power to detect a large effect of .8, with alpha .05. With a medium effect size of .50 and a sample size of 42, it would have .9789 power to detect it with an alpha of .05.

Additionally, all tests of significance to be discussed were analyzed under the assumption that the error variance is equal across all groups, as indicated by the Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances ($p > .05$).

CHAPTER IV

Results

This chapter provides descriptive statistics for the sample, results of the hypothesis tests for scores on the Own-group Attitudes Scale (Corenblum & Annis, 1993), Racial Stereotyping Scale (Bigler & Liben, 1993), and Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike, 1984). It also provides an assessment of identified indicators on the Draw-A-Person Measure (Machover, 1949; Pfeffer, 1984) and a detailed progress of the groups. The 48 subjects from both the YWCA and a public elementary school were analyzed together, as the post hoc analysis revealed that there is 90% (1-Beta= .9) of finding a true effect with this number.

Descriptive Statistics

Prior to analysis, subscales within the Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike, 1984), the Racial Stereotyping Scale (Bigler & Liben, 1993), and the Own-group Attitudes Measure (Corenblum & Annis 1993) were examined for accuracy of data entry, missing values, and the nature of the distribution. There were no values out of range; however, there were seven missing values. Among the pre-test responses, there was one missing value on the positive African American traits subscale, and two missing values on the negative African American traits subscale. Among the post-test responses, there were two missing values on the Positive African American Traits subscale, and two missing values on the Negative African American Traits subscale. The missing data was a function of administration error, and thus no t-tests were conducted to determine if it is related to any of the variables. Mean substitution was used to replace the missing data as discussed in Tabachnick & Fidell (2001).

Univariate outliers were detected for 25 cases among pre- and post- test variables; however, there were no multivariate outliers. Twenty-five cases is more than half of the subjects in the study, and the cases were assumed to be similar to other cases in the study based on demographics; that is, the outliers were not different from the other cases based on SES, age, grade, or racial make-up. Therefore, the univariate outliers were retained without alteration.

The variables were assessed for normality and the only variable that was significantly skewed (>1) was the pre-test Negative European American Traits subscale ($1.125 > 1$). A simple scatter plot was run to evaluate the nature of the relationship with a normally distributed variable (pre-test African American positive traits subscale), and the variables were found to have a near linear relationship, as most of the distribution clustered in the middle of the scatter plot.

Demographics

As summarized in Table 1, 48 of the subjects, 56.3% ($n = 27$) were boys and 43.8% ($n = 21$) were girls. The subjects in kindergarten accounted for 45.8% ($n = 22$) of the total, those in first grade accounted for 31.3% ($n=15$), and those in second grade made up 22.9% ($n = 11$). The mean age of the subjects was 6.0 during both the pre- and post-test, with five being the minimum age and eight being the maximum age. Although the desired age range for the subjects was 5-7, some of the subjects turned 8-years-old during the course of the study. As part of the demographics questionnaire, subjects were asked about their television viewing and reading frequency during the pre- and post-test administration. As mentioned in Chapter III, the terms “a lot,” “sometimes,” and “almost never” are defined subjectively and reflect the subjects’ own perception of their television usage and reading frequency. Such perceptions were thought to offer some insight into the children’s subjective experience with reading and television. The pre-

Table 1. Sample Demographic Characteristics Aggregated by Groups ($N = 48$)

Demographic	Total Sample ($n = 48$)	Experimental ($n = 24$)	Control ($n = 24$)
Gender			
Male	27 (56.3)	12 (50.0)	15 (62.5)
Female	21 (43.8)	12 (50.0)	9 (37.5)
Age			
5	7 (14.6)	4 (16.7)	3 (12.5)
6	19 (39.6)	10 (41.7)	9 (37.5)
7	15 (31.3)	6 (25.0)	9 (37.5)
8	7 (14.6)	4 (16.7)	3(12.5)
Grade			
Kindergarten	23 (47.9)	11(45.8)	11 (45.8)
First	14 (29.2)	7 (29.2)	8 (33.3)
Second	11 (22.9)	6 (25.0)	5 (20.8)
Do you watch TV? (pre-test)			
Almost never	5 (10.4)	3 (12.5)	2 (8.3)
Sometimes	18 (37.5)	8 (33.3)	10 (41.7)
A lot	24 (50.0)	13 (54.2)	11 (45.8)
No	1 (2.1)	0	1 (4.2)
Do you watch TV? (post-test)			
Almost never	8 (16.7)	5 (20.8)	3 (12.5)

Table 1. Sample Demographic Characteristics Aggregated by Groups ($N = 48$)

Sometimes	10 (20.8)	6 (25.0)	4 (16.7)
A lot	26 (54.2)	12 (50.0)	14 (58.3)
No	4 (8.3)	1 (4.2)	3 (12.5)
Do you read? (pre-test)			
Almost never	7 (14.6)	6 (25.0)	1 (4.2)
Sometimes	22 (45.8)	11 (45.8)	11 (45.8)
A lot	12 (25.0)	5 (20.8)	7 (29.2)
No	7 (14.6)	2 (8.3)	5 (20.8)
Do you read? (post-test)			
Almost never	9 (18.8)	3 (12.5)	6 (25.0)
Sometimes	13 (27.1)	7 (29.2)	6 (25.0)
A lot	20 (41.7)	12 (50.0)	8 (33.3)
No	6 (12.5)	2 (8.3)	4 (16.7)

Notes. Values are frequency (%).

test query of television viewing among subjects in the control group revealed that 4.2% (1) reported “no,” they do not watch television, 8.3% (2) of subjects indicated they “almost never” watched television, 41.7% (10) indicated they watched television “sometimes,” and 45.8% (11) of subjects indicated they watched television “a lot.” The pre-test query of television viewing among subjects in the experimental group revealed that 0% of subjects reported “no” they do not watch television, 12.5% (3) reported that they almost never watch television, 33.3% (8) reported that they watch television “sometimes”, and 54.2% reported that they watch television a lot. The pre-test query of reading frequency among subjects in the control group revealed that 20.8% (5) of subjects reported “no,” they do not read, 4.2% (1) of subjects reported reading “almost never,” 45.8% (11) reported reading “sometimes,” and 29.2% (7) reported reading “a lot.” The pre-test query of reading frequency among subjects in the experimental group revealed that 8.3% (2) reported “no” they do not read, 25.0% (6) reported that they read “almost never,” 45.8% (11) reported that they read “sometimes,” and 20.8% (5) reported that they read a lot. Thus, close to half (45.8%) of the subjects in the control group reported watching television “a lot” and close to half (45.8%) reported reading “a lot.” Over half of (54.2%) of subjects in the experimental group reported watching television a lot, and close to half (45.8%) reported reading “sometimes.”

Further, the post-test query of television viewing among the subjects in the control group revealed that 12.5% (3) of subjects reported “no” they do not watch television, 12.5% (3) reported that they “almost never” watch television, 16.7% (4) reported that they watch television “sometimes,” and 58.3% (14) reported that they watch television “a lot.” The post-test query of television viewing among the subjects in the experimental group revealed that 4.2% (1) reported “no,” they do not watch television, 20.8% (5) reported that they “almost never” watch television, 25.0% (6) reported that they watch television “sometimes,” and 50.0% (12) reported that they

watch television “a lot.” Thus, in the control group, more than half (58.3%) of the subjects reported watching television “a lot,” and in the experimental group close half (50.0%) reported watching television “a lot.” The post-test query of reading frequency in the control group revealed that 16.7% (4) of subjects reported “no,” they do not read, 25.0% (6) reported that they “almost never” read, 25.0% (5) reported that they read sometimes, and 33.3% (8) reported that they read a lot. In the experimental group, 8.3% (2) of subjects reported “no,” they do not read, 12.5% (3) reported that they “almost never” read, 29.2% (7) reported that they read “sometimes,” and 50.00% (12) reported reading “a lot.” Thus, more than half (58.3%) of the subjects in the control group reported watching television “a lot,” and half reported reading either “almost never” or “sometimes.” Among the subjects in the experimental group, half reported watching television “a lot” and half reported reading “a lot.” The analyses may be able to rule out whether more subjects in the experimental group (close to 30.0% more) perceived themselves as reading “a lot” during the post-test as compared to the pre-test because of their participation in the bibliotherapy group.

Measures

The subjects’ mean pre-test responses on the Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike, 1984) showed that scores on the cognitive and physical competence, and peer and maternal acceptance subscales for both the experimental and control groups, all fell between 3 and 4, with 4 indicating the highest level of perceived competence and acceptance. The mean post-test responses showed that scores on the cognitive and physical competence, and peer acceptance subscales also fell between 3 and 4 in both the control and experimental group, but perceived maternal acceptance was slightly lower, i.e., between 2 and 3, in both groups. Table 2 provides a summary of the mean scores.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for the Variables in the Pre- and Post-test (N= 48)

Scale	<u>Pre-test</u>								<u>Post-test</u>							
	<u>Exp Grp</u>				<u>Ctrl Grp</u>				<u>Exp Grp</u>				<u>Control Grp</u>			
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>
Cognitive																
Competence	3.40	.56	2.16	4.00	3.35	.52	2.33	4.00	3.60	.52	2.00	4.83	3.62	.38	2.50	4.00
Physical																
Competence	3.33	.62	2.16	4.00	3.55	.40	2.50	4.00	3.47	.59	2.16	4.00	2.93	.65	2.16	4.00
Maternal																
Acceptance	3.08	.64	2.00	4.00	3.06	.65	1.66	4.00	2.89	.64	1.83	3.83	2.90	.64	1.66	4.00
Peer																
Acceptance	3.26	.67	1.50	4.00	3.29	.70	1.33	4.00	3.34	.57	2.16	4.00	3.41	.45	2.66	4.00
+AA traits	2.47	.80	1.41	4.00	2.06	1.09	.25	4.00	2.45	.80	.83	4.00	2.39	1.17	.00	4.00
-AA traits	.91	.76	.00	3.16	1.04	.62	.00	2.41	1.36	.84	.00	3.41	1.31	1.18	.00	4.00
+ EA traits	2.31	.97	.58	4.00	2.08	.98	.33	3.83	2.49	.68	1.25	3.80	2.37	.95	.66	4.00
-EA traits	1.22	.92	.00	4.00	1.06	.72	.00	2.58	1.60	.87	.00	3.16	1.85	1.05	.00	4.00
Racial																
Recognition	3.87	.44	2.00	4.00	3.75	.53	2.00	4.00	3.95	.20	3.00	4.00	3.91	.40	2.00	4.00

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for the Variables in the Pre-test and Post-test

Scale	<u>Pre-test</u>								<u>Post-test</u>							
	<u>Exp Grp</u>				<u>Ctrl Grp</u>				<u>Exp Grp</u>				<u>Ctrl Grp</u>			
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>
Racial Identity	-.25	3.39	-6.00	6.00	.20	3.68	-6.00	6.00	1.2	3.71	-6.00	6.00	.41	3.76	-6.00	6.00
Racial Preference	-.70	3.19	-5.00	5.00	-.37	2.81	-5.00	5.00	-.62	3.38	-5.00	5.00	.33	3.18	-5.00	5.00
Social Distance	-3.7	5.34	-9.00	9.00	-1.79	4.63	-8.00	8.00	-3.0	4.65	-9.00	4.00	-1.2	5.84	-9.00	9.00

The mean pre-test responses on the Racial Stereotyping Scale (Bigler & Liben, 1993) (see Table 2) show that the subjects in the control group seemed to perceive African Americans as having more positive traits ($M = 2.06, SD = 1.09$) than negative traits ($M = 1.04, SD = .62$), with a range of 0-4, 4 indicating more positive views or more negative views of African Americans. The subjects in the experimental group responded in a similar manner, reporting seemingly more positive traits ($M = 2.47, SD = .80$) for African Americans than negative traits ($M = .91, SD = .76$). With regards to European Americans, subjects in both the control and experimental group also seemed to perceive this racial group as having more positive (control $M = 2.08, SD = .98$; experimental $M = 2.31, SD = .97$) than negative traits (control $M = 1.06, SD = .72$; experimental $M = 1.22, SD = .92$) – again, with a range of 0-4. Furthermore, the subjects in the control group seemed to view European Americans as having more positive traits than their own racial group, i.e., African American, as indicated by a negative rather than a positive number ($M = -.01, SD = .83$) on the Positive Traits subscale. The control group subjects also seemed to view their own racial group as having more negative traits than European Americans as indicated by a by a positive number ($M = .01, SD = -.30$) on the Negative Traits subscale. The subjects in the experimental group seemingly viewed their own racial group as having more positive traits as indicated by a positive number ($M = .16, SD = .65$) on the Positive Traits subscale, and European Americans as having seemingly more negative traits as indicated by a negative number ($M = -.30, SD = .99$) on the Negative Traits subscale.

The mean post-test responses on the Racial Stereotyping Scale (Bigler & Liben, 1993) (see Table 2) show that subjects in both the control group and experimental group seemed to perceive African Americans as having more positive traits (control $M = 2.39, SD = 1.17$ and experimental $M = 2.45, SD = .80$, respectively), than negative traits (control $M = 1.31, SD = 1.18$

and experimental $M = 1.36$, $SD = .84$, respectively). The mean post-test responses also showed that subjects in both the control and experimental group seem to perceive European Americans as having more positive traits (control $M = 2.37$, $SD = .95$ and experimental $M = 2.49$, $SD = .68$, respectively) than negative traits (control $M = 1.85$, $SD = 1.05$) and experimental $M = 1.60$, $SD = .87$, respectively). The subjects in the control group seemed to view their own racial group as having more positive traits than European Americans as indicated by a positive number ($M = .01$, $SD = 1.6$); and European Americans as having seemingly more negative traits than their own racial group as indicated by a negative number ($M = -.54$, $SD = 1.19$). However, subjects in the experimental group seemed to view European Americans as having more positive traits than their own racial group, as evidenced by a negative number ($M = -.06$, $SD = .68$). They also seemed to view European Americans as having more negative traits than their own racial group, as evidenced by a negative number ($M = -.39$, $SD = 1.12$).

The mean pre-test responses on the Own-group Attitudes Scale (Corenblum & Anis, 1993) (see Table 2) show that ability to correctly identify the racial groups of African Americans and Whites was close to accurate for both the control and experimental groups (control $M = 3.75$, $SD = .53$; experimental $M = 3.87$, $SD = .44$) with 4 being the most accurate. The mean post-test responses were similar for both the control ($M = 3.91$, $SD = .40$) and experimental ($M = 3.95$, $SD = .20$) group, and likewise, suggest that the subjects' ability to correctly recognize racial groups is close to accurate. The subjects' mean pre-test responses on the racial identity items for the control group ($M = .20$, $SD = 3.68$) and the experimental group ($M = -.25$, $SD = 3.39$) was seemingly less than the mean post-test responses for both groups (control $M = .41$, $SD = 3.76$; experimental $M = 1.20$, $SD = 3.71$). This suggests that the subjects post-test responses showed a stronger racial identification than the pre-test racial identity responses for both groups, with

scores ranging from -3 to 3, 3 being the strongest. The pre-test mean score responses on the racial preference items for the control group ($M = -.37, SD = 2.81$) suggested that these subjects have a preference for the White racial group, with the range being -5 (preference for other race) to 5 (preference for own race). The subjects' responses in the experimental group also suggested a preference for the White racial group ($M = -.70, SD = 3.19$). The mean post-test responses were similar for subjects in the experimental group ($M = -.62, SD = 3.38$), but subjects in the control group seemed to show a slightly higher preference toward their own racial group ($M = .33, SD = 3.18$). The mean pre-test responses on the social distance items suggested that subjects in the control and experimental group desired more contact with Whites (control $M = -1.79, SD = 4.63$; experimental $M = -3.7, SD = 5.34$), with scores ranging from -9 (desires more contact with Whites) to 9 (desires more contact with own group). The mean post-test scores seemed to show a similar response for both the control ($M = -1.2, SD = 5.84$) and experimental ($M = -3.0, SD = 4.65$) groups, and likewise the responses suggest more desired contact with Whites.

Based on the visual inspection of the data, most of the subjects' responses do not differ between groups, and between the pre- and post-test. However, these numbers have been computed before the main analysis and thus no definite conclusions can be made.

Tests of Hypothesis

The discussion of hypothesis tests will be divided into the following subsections: Bibliotherapy Group and Racial Differences and Similarities, Bibliotherapy Group and tolerance of Racial Differences, Bibliotherapy Group and Internalization of Racial Stereotypes, Bibliotherapy Group and Externalization of Racial Stereotypes, Bibliotherapy Group and Own-

Group Attitudes, Bibliotherapy Group and Emerging Self-Concept, and Correlation Between Own-group Attitudes and Self-Concept.

Bibliotherapy Group and Racial Differences and Similarities

Based on the theoretical prediction that multicultural picture books used in bibliotherapy will help young African American children learn about racial differences and similarities, Hypothesis 1 stated that participation in the bibliotherapy group will significantly increase subjects' knowledge of racial differences and similarities as evidenced by scores on the Racial Recognition subscale of the Own-Group Attitudes Measure (Corenblum & Annis, 1993). This was tested by creating difference scores (post minus pre-test) as the dependent variable, and comparing the non-bibliotherapy group participants (control group) with the bibliotherapy group participants (experimental group), using an independent-samples t-test. The test was not significant $t(46) = -.586, p = .561$, and an examination of the pre-test ($M = 3.81, SD = .49$) and post-test ($M = 3.93, SD = .31$) shows that most of the subjects had the ability to correctly identify racial groups prior to the bibliotherapy group. It is important to note that the Racial Recognition subtest only measured one aspect of racial differences and similarities (i.e., skin color), and the implications of this will be discussed in Chapter V.

Bibliotherapy Group and Tolerance of Racial Differences

Based on the theoretical prediction that multicultural picture books used in a bibliotherapy group promotes tolerance and acceptance of diverse racial backgrounds and cultures, Hypothesis 1A predicts that the bibliotherapy group will increase subjects' tolerance of racial differences as evidenced by scores on the Racial Preference and Social Distance subscales of the Own-Group Attitudes Measure (Corenblum & Annis, 1997). This was tested by creating difference scores (post minus pre-test) as the dependent variable for both subscales, and

comparing the control group with the experimental group using an independent-samples t-test. Neither the mean comparison for the Racial Preference difference scores, $t(46) = -.575, p = .568$, nor the mean comparison for the Social Distance difference scores, $t(46) = .174, p = .862$ were significant. The progress of the group and the subjects' level of participation are relevant in light of these results, and will be discussed later in the chapter as well as in Chapter V.

Bibliotherapy Group and Internalization of Racial Stereotypes

According to Orange and George (2000), multicultural picture books can offer children non-stereotypical cultural and racial images of themselves and other cultures; thus, Hypothesis 2 predicted that the use of multicultural picture books in bibliotherapy will decrease African American children's internalization of racial stereotypes (i.e., racial stereotypes one holds about one's own racial group) as evidenced by scores on the Racial Stereotyping Scale (Bigler & Liben, 1993). This was tested by creating difference scores (post minus pre-test) for the African American Positive Traits subscale and the African American Negative Traits subscale, and treating them as dependent variables. Neither the mean comparison for the African American Positive Traits difference scores, $t(46) = -.909, p = .368$, nor the mean comparison for African American Negative Traits difference scores, $t(46) = .584, p = .562$, were significant. This indicates that the bibliotherapy group did not significantly impact the racial stereotypes group members had about their own racial group. Both the experimental group and the control groups seemed to have moderately positive views (i.e., the endorsement of positive traits) about African Americans during the pre-test (experimental group $M = 2.47, SD = .80$ and control group $M = 2.06, SD = 1.09$) and this changed little during the post test (experimental group $M = 2.45, SD = .80$ and control group $M = 2.39, SD = 1.17$). The same is noted for African American negative traits (i.e., the endorsement of negative traits); that is, both the experimental and control groups

seemed to have some negative views about African Americans during the pre-test (experimental group

$M = .91, SD = .76$; control group $M = 1.04, SD = .62$) and there was little change during the post-test (experimental group $M = 1.36, SD = .84$; control group $M = 1.31, SD = 1.18$).

Bibliotherapy Group and Externalization of Racial Stereotypes

Similar to Hypothesis 2, Hypothesis 2A predicted that the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group will decrease African American children's externalization of racial stereotypes (i.e., racial stereotypes one hold's about other racial groups) as evidenced by scores on the Racial Stereotyping Scale (Bigler & Liben, 1993). This was tested by creating difference scores (post minus pre-test) for the European American Positive Traits subscale and the European American Negative Traits subscale. Neither the mean comparison for the European American Positive Traits differences scores, $t(46) = -.385, p = .702$, nor the mean comparison for the European American Negative Traits difference scores, $t(46) = -1.19, p = .240$, were significant. This indicates that the bibliotherapy group did not significantly impact the racial stereotypes group members held about European Americans. Both the experimental and control groups held moderately positive views (i.e., endorsed positive traits) about European Americans (experimental group $M = 2.31, SD = .97$ and control group $M = 2.08, SD = .98$ with 4) during the pre-test, and there little change during the post-test (experimental group $M = 2.49, SD = .68$; control group $M = 2.37, SD = .95$). The experimental and control groups held some negative views (i.e., endorsed negative traits) about European Americans (experimental group $M = 1.22, SD = .92$; control group $M = 1.06, SD = .72$) during the pre-test, and again there was little change during the post-test (experimental group $M = 1.60, SD = .87$; control group $M = 1.85, SD = 1.05$).

Additionally, in order to determine if subjects' perceive their race as having more positive qualities than the European American racial group, the African American Positive traits subscale was subtracted from the European Americans Positive Traits subscale. Similarly, in order to determine if subjects' perceive their race as having more negative qualities than the European American group, the African-American Negative Traits subscale was subtracted from the European Negative Traits subscale. Difference scores (post minus pre-test) were created for both the positive and negative traits as the dependent variable, and the control and experimental group were compared along these variables using an independent-samples t-test. Neither the mean comparison for the Positive Traits difference score was significant, $t(46) = -.668, p = .507$, nor was the mean comparison for the Negative Traits difference score, $t(46) = .108, p = .284$. This indicates that the bibliotherapy group did not have a significant impact on subjects' own group racial stereotypes as compared to the racial stereotypes of European Americans. During the pre-test, responses showed that the control group viewed European Americans as having more positive traits ($M = -.01, SD = .83$); and during the post-test, the mean number changed slightly ($M = .01, SD = 1.63$) towards more positive views towards their own race. The reverse occurred for the experimental group, as pre-test responses showed more positive views towards own race ($M = .16, SD = .65$), and post-test responses showed more positive views of European Americans ($M = -.06, SD = .68$). The control group's pre-tests responses for the Negative Traits subscale showed more negative views of than their own racial group ($M = .01, SD = .60$) as compared to European Americans, and the experimental group showed more negative views of European Americans ($M = -.30, SD = .99$). Conversely, both groups' post-test responses showed more negative views of European Americans (control $M = -.54, SD = 1.19$; experimental $M = -$

.39, $SD = 1.12$). The bibliotherapy group's limited impact on the subjects' externalization and internalization of racial stereotypes will be discussed later in Chapter V.

Bibliotherapy Group and Own-Group Attitudes

Based on the theory that children of different cultures and racial background who see themselves represented in picture books are more likely to develop positive attitudes towards their racial group, Hypothesis 3 stated that multicultural books in a bibliotherapy group will significantly improve subjects' attitudes toward their own racial group as evidenced by scores on the Racial Identity subscale of the Own-Group Attitudes Measure (Corenblum & Annis, 1993). This was tested by creating difference scores (post minus pre-test) as the dependent variable for the Racial Identity subscale, and comparing the control group with the experimental group using an independent-samples t-test. This test was not significant, $t(46) = 1.14$, $p = .26$, and indicates that the bibliotherapy group did not significantly impact the group members' racial self-identification as compared to those subjects who were not in the group. Although the subjects in the experimental group showed more increase in mean scores between the pre- test ($M = -.25$, $SD = 3.39$) and post-test ($M = 1.20$, $SD = 3.17$) as compared to the control groups' mean pre-test ($M = .20$, $SD = 3.6$) and post-test ($M = .41$, $SD = 3.76$), the difference in mean group scores is not large enough to be attributed to the bibliotherapy group.

Bibliotherapy Group and Emerging Self-Concept

According to Cole and Valentine (2000), picture books convey message to children about their worth, their capabilities, and their comparability with others; thus, Hypothesis 3A stated that the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group will significantly improve subjects' emerging self-concept at evidence by scores on the Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike,

1984). This was tested by creating difference scores (post minus pre-test) as the dependent variable for the four subscales (Peer Acceptance, Maternal Acceptance, Physical Competence, and Cognitive Competence), and comparing the control group with the experimental group using an independent-samples t-test. The t-test was not significant for any of the variables (Cognitive Competence difference score: $t(46) = -.48, p = .62$; Physical Competence difference score: $t(46) = .91, p = .36$; Peer Acceptance difference score: $t(46) = -.17, p = .85$; and Maternal Acceptance difference score: $t(46) = -.15, p = .879$.) and indicates that the bibliotherapy group did not significantly impact subjects' emerging self-concept as defined by perceived competence and acceptance. As pre- and post-test mean scores remained similar for both groups (between 3-4, with 4 indicating high perceived competence and acceptance) with the exception of Maternal Acceptance (mean scores dropped from ranges 3-4 to a range of 2-3 among both groups), a paired-sample t-test was conducted to determine if the drop in Maternal Acceptance subscale scores was significantly different from the pre-test Maternal Acceptance total subscale score. Results were not significant in the control group, $t(23) = 1.127, p = .271$, or the experimental group, $t(23) = 1.491, p = .150$. Further, the mean scores on the perceived physical and cognitive competence, and peer acceptance were high on the high end of the scale before and after the group, and suggest that most of the subjects' emerging self-concept is high. The implications of this finding for this particular population and age group will be discussed in Chapter V.

Correlation Between Own-Group Attitudes and Self-Concept

Based on the idea that one's emerging racial group identity impacts emerging personal identity (Cross, 1985), Hypothesis 3B predicts that there will be a correlation between subjects' attitudes towards their own racial group, as evidenced by scores on the Racial Identity subscale

Table 3. *Intercorrelations Among Own Group Attitudes and Self-Concept (N = 48)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Pre Phys Comp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.01	-.10	-.18	-.26	-.15	-.05	-.00	-.20
2. Pre Cog Comp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.13	-.05	.08	-.37	-.14	-.20	-.10	-.20
3. Pre Mat Acc	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.30	-.03	-.30	-.16	-.26	-.34	-.20	-.28
4. Pre Peer Acc	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.14	-.11	-.09	-.23	-.00	-.17	.01	-.16
5. Post Phys Comp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.07	.16	-.00	-.14	.04	.00	.08	-.17
6. Post Cog Comp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.11	.02	.05	-.07	.14	-.33	-.02	-.09
7. Post Mat Acc	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.15	-.08	-.16	-.10	-.02	-.18	.05	-.18
8. Post Peer Acc	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.09	-.17	-.31	-.04	-.03	-.15	.12	-.04
9. Pre Rac Ident	-.01	-.13	-.30	-.14	.07	.11	-.15	-.09	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10. Pre Rac Pref	-.10	-.05	-.03	-.11	.16	.02	-.08	-.17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11. Pre Soc Dist	-.18	.08	-.30	-.09	-.006	.05	-.16	-.31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12. Pre Rac Recog	-.26	-.37	-.16	-.23	-.14	-.07	-.10	-.04	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13. Post Rac Ident	-.15	-.14	-.26	-.009	.04	.14	-.02	-.03	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14. Post Rac Pref	-.05	-.20	-.34	-.17	.002	-.33	-.18	-.15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15. Post Soc Dist	-.005	-.10	-.20	.01	.08	-.02	.05	.12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16. Post Rac Recog	-.20	-.20	-.28	-.16	-.17	-.09	-.18	-.47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note: No significant results

of the Own-Group Attitudes Measure (Corenblum & Annis, 1993), and self-concept, as evidenced by scores on the Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike, 1984). Correlation coefficients were computed for pre- and post-test scores on the Racial Identity, Racial Preference, Racial Recognition, and Social Distance Subscales, and the Physical and Cognitive Competence, and Maternal and Peer Acceptance subscales. The Bonferroni approach was used to control for Type 1 error across 16 correlations, and a p value of less than .003 ($.05 / 16 = .003$) was required for significance. As observed in Table 3, the results of the correlational analysis indicated that none of the 16 correlations were statistically significant. Thus, in this sample there was no significant relationship between perceived competence and acceptance, and own racial group attitudes. Possible reasons for this will be discussed in Chapter V.

Identified Indicators on the Draw-A-Person Measure

According to the literature, children's drawings can be used to infer cultural values, identity, and self-esteem (Cox, 1993; Payne, 1996; Tharinger & Stark, 1990); thus, Hypothesis 3 and 3A also stated that specific indicators on the Draw-A-Person measure may reflect group differences in own-group attitudes and emerging self-concept, that may be attributed to the bibliotherapy group. A study conducted by Zaidi (1979) used several indicators including dress, physical features, work or activity, facial expression, and social roles to assess the values of Nigerian children's drawings. A few of those indicators were considered relevant to this study, including physical features, facial expression, and social roles. Specifically, Zaidi (1979) notes that physical features indicate an awareness of one's own identity; facial expressions reflect attitude towards one's life; and social roles reflect persons they value or admire. Although no

definite conclusions can be drawn by an analysis of the drawings, these three indicators may provide useful information regarding attitudes towards the self that can be qualitatively analyzed in a future study.

Therefore, subjects' pre- and post-test drawings (24 in both the experimental and control groups) were coded for physical features, as identified by hair, shape of nose, and overall facial composition, facial features as identified by smiling or not smiling, and social roles as identified by self, family member, friend, teacher, or other. Due to administration time constraints, social role was not consistently assessed during the post-test, and thus no pre- and post-test comparison can be made with that indicator. With regards to pre-test indicators, $n = 4$, 16.7% of the person drawings in the control group appeared to be depictions of own racial group members as compared to $n = 5$, 20.8% in the experimental group; $n = 3$, 12.5% of the person drawings were of another racial group as compared to $n = 2$, 8.3% of drawings in the experimental group; and 70.8% of the person drawings in both groups were not identifiable as any particular racial group. An examination of facial expression showed that $n = 16$, 66.7% of persons were drawn with a smile in the control group as compared to $n = 19$, 79.2% in the experimental group, and $n = 8$, 33.3% were drawn without a smile as compared to $n = 5$, 20.8% in the experimental group. An analysis of the social roles showed that $n = 4$, 16.7% of person drawings in the control group depicted family members as compared to $n = 5$, 20.8% in the experimental group; $n = 6$, 25% of the person drawings in the control group were friends as compared to $n = 2$, 8.3% in the experimental group; $n = 8$, 33.3% of drawings were of other as compared to $n = 4$, 16.7% in the experimental group; $n = 0$, 0% of the person drawings in the control group were teachers as compared to $n = 1$, 4.2% in the control group; and $n = 3$, 12.5% of person drawings in the control group were of the self as compared to $n = 4$, 16.7% in the experimental group.

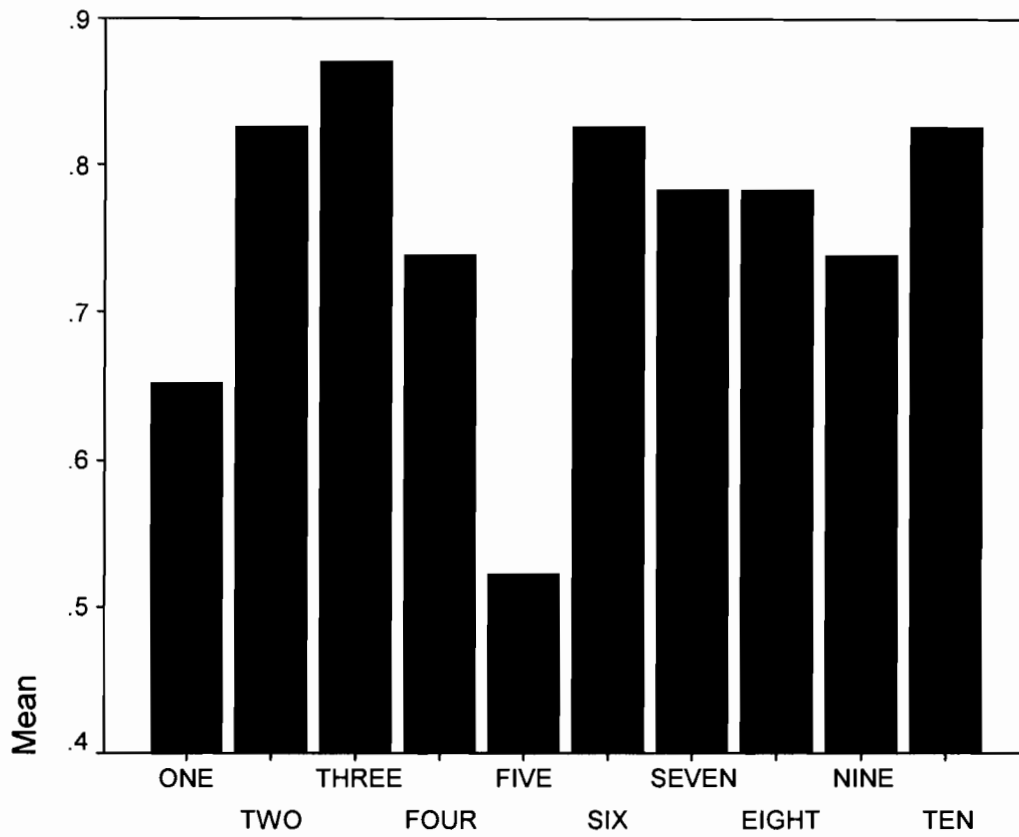
The post-test results showed that $n = 8$, 33.3% of the person drawings in the control group were own racial group members as compared to $n = 4$, 16.7% in the experimental group; $n = 1$, 4.2% of the person drawings in the control group were of another racial group as compared to $n = 7$, 29.2% in the experimental group; and $n = 15$, 62.5% of person drawings in the control group were an unidentifiable racial group as compared to $n = 13$, 54.2% in the experimental group. An examination of facial expression showed that $n = 19$, 79.2% of persons in the control group were drawn with a smile as compared to $n = 16$, 66.7% in the experimental group; and $n = 5$, 20.8% of drawings in the control group were drawn without a smile as compared to $n = 8$, 33.3% in the control group. Thus, it appears that the differences between the groups are unremarkable, and in fact are counterintuitive when considering that the drawings of the bibliotherapy groups' members should reflect more positive own-group attitudes and emerging self-concept when compared to those who did not receive the group.

Progress of Groups

All three groups followed the same curriculum plan detailed in Chapter III. The two groups held at the YWCA were conducted on the same day during the after school program; and the group held at the elementary school was conducted during school hours. This section will provide information regarding absences, character of response, and commentaries.

Absences

As observed in Graph 1, there were a number of absences during each session for all groups. In one group at the YWCA, three group members were absent only once, one group member was absent twice, two group members were absent three times, one group member was absent four times, and one group member never showed for any of the sessions. In the other

Graph 1. *Mean Frequency of Attendance for Each Session*

group at the YWCA, one group member showed for every session, two group members were absent for two sessions, two group members were absent for three sessions, and three group members were absent for four sessions. In the group held at the elementary school, one group member showed for all sessions, three group members missed one session, two group members missed two sessions, and two group members missed three sessions. Additionally, there were a number of group members that arrived late or left early at times due to other scheduled activities or miscellaneous circumstances. For instance, in one of the YWCA groups, a group member was late because the bus dropped him off late. In the elementary school group, two members left before the follow-up activities during a session to go on a class trip, and another member was late for two sessions due to arriving to school late. There was also at least one occasion when the group leaders rushed through a session to accommodate scheduled class trips or girl scouts; and one occasion when the YWCA groups had to be rescheduled because the staff took the children on an outing.

Character of Response

The quality and level of participation in the group varied with each group and group member. Each group members' response to the group was documented using progress notes adapted from Hynes and Hynes-Berry (1986). The areas assessed included identification with character, personal feelings/insight, general response regarding context, unrelated regarding context, but appears genuine, very general response, and no relation to topic. As the literature suggests that children must see similarities between themselves (i.e., identification and projection) and the characters to benefit from bibliotherapy (Pardeck, 1990), it was expected that the multicultural characters would encourage such a process. With regards to the books, the descriptive statistics on all three groups for every session indicates that 32.6% of subjects

identified with the characters, 54.1% showed personal feeling or insight, 70.2% offered a general response regarding the context, 19.3% offered an unrelated but genuine response, 24.3% offered a very general response, and 11% offered a response unrelated to the topic. This indicates that the most frequent response was a general one regarding the context of the book. Therefore, most subjects were able to make comments about the books but did not commonly express feelings of identification with the characters. However, subjects did frequently show personal feelings or insight in regards to the story (54.1% had a “yes” response), which may reflect shared experiences with the characters.

Qualitative Analysis: Commentaries

Each group leader was instructed to include additional commentaries as part of the progress notes. The overall content of those notes will be discussed for each topic and each group, labeled one, two, and three.

The topic of session one was *Alike and Different* and group members were encouraged to acknowledge differences and similarities in physical characteristics (i.e., among the story characters, between the story characters and children, and between the children and themselves) in an attempt to demonstrate that people are all alike, yet different in a number of ways. In group one, all the members reportedly enjoyed the story as evidenced by smiling and commenting on the similarities between themselves and the characters. In group two, most of the members were described as hesitant and needed encouragement to participate. In group three, most of the members were reportedly interested in the story as evidenced by asking questions, and others were described as uninterested and inattentive.

The topic of session two was *Self-esteem*, and group leaders were instructed to emphasize the importance of having the confidence to stand up for oneself and others despite biased and

discriminatory behaviors (e.g., teasing, name-calling). In group one, the group members talked about the similarities and differences they share with family members in varying degrees. Some members were able to say what characteristics they liked about themselves (e.g., hair, eyes) and other struggled with it. There were also some members that required redirection. In group two, subjects were described as quiet or easily distracted, but were able to comment on the story and participate in the arts and crafts activity. One member was told by another that her nose was “big,” and the group leader used the incident to emphasize the importance of self-esteem. In group three, most members were described as being interested in the story and were able to express how they were different or similar to the characters; however, one member was described as being detached from the group.

The topic of session three was *Empathy* and the goal was to enhance the group members’ ability to get along with all sorts of people through the development of empathy. In group one, some members expressed how they related to the characters, and most participated in the arts and crafts activities. One member was easily distracted and required redirection. In group two, most of the members were able to answer questions asked about the story, but some were hesitant to express their own experiences. One member was eager to leave the group because he wanted to watch a movie instead. In group three, many of the members were described as active and participated in the arts and crafts activity. There were some who were inattentive and desired to be involved in another activity such as swimming.

The topic of session four was *Relating to Family* and the goal was to promote good family relations by exposing children to multicultural families with which they can identify. In group one, the members were expressive and involved in the role-play activity. One member attempted to do her homework, but was redirected. In group two, some members were described

as verbose and others quiet, but all answered the questions asked. Some members required consistent redirection but all participated in the role-play activity. In group three, there were some members that participated in the role-play activity and answered questions, and others that were more detached from the group. One group member spent the time arguing with another despite redirection.

The topic of group five was *Physical Expression*, and the group leaders were instructed to emphasize that children of all cultures and racial background seek physical accomplishment. In group one, all the members reportedly identified physical activities in the book and shared their experiences with those activities. They also participated in the obstacle course activity. In group two, some of the members were able to say how they were physically different from the characters, and all the members participated in the obstacle course activity, many of whom required redirection. In group three, most of the members shared experiences with the group and all enjoyed participating in the obstacle course activity.

The topic of session six was *Languages*, and the goal was to expose members to other languages, and help them learn to respect and get along with children from different language backgrounds. In group one, some of the members showed interest in the book and tried to learn new Spanish words as instructed. There were some who needed redirection or showed little interest in the book. In group two, some members required consistent redirection and were distractions to the group as a whole. However, all were interested in writing down new Spanish words. In group three, most of the members were able to answer questions about the book and participated in the activity. There was one group member who was not interested in the book or activity.

The topic of session seven was *Food*, and the goal was to celebrate culturally diverse foods, while recognizing the common bonds of eating. In group one, most of the members engaged with the book. There were some members who required redirection, but all enjoyed preparing a meal with the group. In group two, with the exception of a few members who required redirection, most responded to the story, and all enjoyed preparing a meal with the group. In group three, some of the members required redirection, but all enjoyed preparing the meal with the group.

The topic of session eight was *Art Awareness*, and group members were encouraged to appreciate artistic expression and exercise their artistic abilities by reading about multicultural characters who themselves have experiences with creating art. In group one, most of the members had difficulty following the main characters' imagination as told in the story. However, most were able to make at least one comment about the book, and all seemed to enjoy the painting activity. In group two, many of the members did not seem interested in the story and some required redirection; yet, all the subjects enjoyed the painting activity. In group three, most of the members expressed interest in the story and evidenced by talking about it and asking questions. They all participated in the painting activity.

The topic of session nine was *Music*, and the goal was to introduce children to music and movement experiences that children everywhere can enjoy and share. In group one, some of the members require redirection, but all seemed to enjoy repeating sounds from the book and creating a drum during the activity. In group two, some of the members enjoyed repeating songs from the book and some required redirection; yet all participated in making a drum. One member referred to a song as a "white boy song," and this comment was used to emphasize the above-stated goal of the group. In group three, most of the members asked questions and showed

interest in creating a drum. There was one member that was not interested in the group and did not participate.

The topic of session ten was *Caring about the Earth*, and group leaders were instructed to emphasize that children everywhere should use their senses to think about, ask about, and find out about their world. In group one, most subjects participated in the exploration activity and shared their experiences with exploring. One member was excused from the group for acting out, but returned once he calmed down and apologized to the group. In group two, some of the group members were able to share their exploration experiences and all enjoyed exploring on the playground. In group three, many of the members participated in the group and exploration activity, but some were more reluctant to participate. One member refused to participate in the activity and removed herself from the group.

Additionally, homework was assigned during each group and was related to the topic of the week. Although each parent was given a written description of the homework each week, only two group members completed one homework assignment during the course of the group. Overall, the level of participation seemed to largely vary according to interest in story and/or activity, competing interests and scheduled activities, and additional individual idiosyncrasies.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

As discussed in Chapter I, the literature indicates that the use of multicultural picture books in a developmental bibliotherapy group for African American children can promote learning about racial differences and similarities, and a better understanding of stereotyping and discriminatory behaviors. The literature also suggests that an increased awareness in these areas fosters positive racial and personal identity. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to improve African American children's attitudes towards their own racial group and emerging self-concept by providing them with a bibliotherapy group that exposes them to multicultural picture books. Essentially, the results indicate that the bibliotherapy group did not have a significant impact on racial group attitudes and emerging self-concept. A number of variables were analyzed to support this conclusion including demographics, own racial group attitudes, racial stereotypes, perceived competence and acceptance, person drawings, and a qualitative analysis of the group; notably, these variables did not differ significantly between groups on either the pre- or post- test. This chapter reviews these areas, discusses the clinical relevance of such findings, and offers direction for future research.

Demographics

The make-up of the sample as shown in Table 1 indicates that the demographic mean difference between the experimental and control group are small, as are the standard deviations. This suggests that there is not much between and within group variability, and the subjects are well-matched. Thus, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that the hypotheses were not significant because of an imbalance on a particular demographic variable.

Furthermore, subjects were asked about their television viewing and reading habits in order to get a sense of subjects' exposure to different forms of media. As stated in Chapter I, children watch more television than any other activity. The responses in this sample seem to support this finding. The most recent responses (i.e., post-test responses) to questions regarding television viewing and reading habits show that about half of the subjects in the control and experimental group watch "a lot" of television, about half of the subjects in the experimental group report reading "a lot," and about half of the subjects in the control group report reading either "almost never" or "sometimes." This shows that there are more subjects who watch "a lot" of television than there are subjects who read "a lot." According to Ward (2004), the impact of the media on the self-concept of African American children is tempered by specific contents of the media including the genre, the constellation or programming, and the strength of the connection to the characters. Thus, an exploration of these contents with this particular sample may be useful.

It has also been noted that a large number of the parents (i.e., approximately 59%) identified as making an annual income of less than \$30,000 per year; thus, one can conclude that these parents encounter many stressors (e.g., limited resources and finances) related to low socio-economic status. The literature suggests that parents in lower income areas may be concerned about substance use, safety, and academic success (Thomas, 2000); and the parents' willingness to participate in the study suggests some desire for their children to be involved in positive/academic-related activities. However, there were very few parent inquiries during and after the course of the group, and suggests that many of the parents may not have been able to devote sufficient time to follow-up on their child's progress in the group, possibly due to limited resources. Additionally, the literature suggests that the combination of minority status and low

income places the subjects at risk for emotional and behavioral problems including conflict with peers, inability to concentrate, and school suspensions (Christian & Barbarin, 2001). The presence of these qualities makes it difficult to run a group effectively, as it results in many distractions that can detract from the positive experience each member stands to gain from the group. It is likely that some of the subjects' battled with emotional and behavioral problems that negatively impacted each subjects' experience within the bibliotherapy group.

Own Racial Group Attitudes

The results show that subjects in the experimental and control group did not show significant differences in their awareness of racial differences and similarities, and tolerance of racial differences as evidenced by scores on the Own-group Attitudes Measure (Corenblum & Annis, 1993). The groups also did not show significant differences in their attitudes towards their own racial group as evidenced by scores on the Own-group Attitudes Measure (Corenblum & Annis, 1993). The literature suggests that children's knowledge of racial differences and similarities, tolerance of racial differences, and own racial group attitudes can be positively impacted when they are taught to recognize and celebrate similarities and differences, and see positive images of themselves reflected back to them. Considering that the bibliotherapy group addressed these subject matters, one could conclude that the children's own-group attitudes were influenced by factors more impactful than the group itself. According to the literature, racial socializing agents include school, the media, and parents. Thus, one could assume that either of these agents has had a significant impact on the subjects' own racial group attitudes. As stated in Chapter II, young children's racial identity may be more positive or negative depending on the racial attitudes of significant others, such as parents and teachers. The literature shows support for the use of short-term (e.g., 10 sessions) bibliotherapy in addressing issues such as aggression

and anxiety with children; however, own racial group attitudes may be difficult to impact in a limited amount of time due to the inherent difficulty in operationalizing an attitude rather than a specific target behavior. Further, the subjects mean Racial Recognition score in both groups were relatively high during the pre- and post-test and suggests they had an adequate understanding of racial differences and similarities; that is, they were able to accurately identify a “Black” or “White” child. This outcome could be attributed to the fact that the subjects were in settings that were predominately African American and, thus were able to distinguish another racial group from their own. Although their exposure to diverse racial groups outside of school and the YWCA is not known, many may have a superficial knowledge of other racial groups, largely from television and other forms of media. For instance, one subject reportedly believed that most White people were unhealthy because “they smoke.” Further, as young children think concretely before they begin to think more abstractly (Murray & Mandara, 2002), it could be assumed that while most were able to identify color, the older children may have been more aware of the social implications of the colors. The Own Group-Attitudes Measure did not assess for other forms of racial differences and similarities such as other phenotype characteristics, and thus assessing children’s knowledge of racial differences and similarities was limited in this study. An assessment of the different indicators of racial differences and similarities with this sample can be further explored.

Racial Stereotypes

The results show that there were no significant differences in subjects’ own and other group racial stereotypes that could be attributed to the bibliotherapy experience. This is contrary to the prediction that the bibliotherapy group would make the group members more aware of racial stereotypes and significantly improve their attitudes towards diverse groups. Nevertheless,

the literature shows that children are receiving messages about racial stereotypes from one or more socializing factors; and perhaps the bibliotherapy group could not compete with other socializing agents. As stated in Chapter II, parents have a significant impact on children's views about racial groups, yet their ability to deal with issues of race in their parenting practices is heavily influenced by their socio-racial experiences (Peters, 2002). More than 70% of the parents in the sample are single parents and close to 50% are making less than \$30,000 a year. Thus, many of these parents may experience economic stressors that intersect with experiences with racism, making it challenging for them to deal with issues of race effectively (Marshall, 1995). The relation between parental stress and discussions of race/racism with this sample should be further explored.

Although not statistically significant, it is also useful to mention that during the pre- and post-test many subjects responded in ways that suggested they perceived European Americans as having more negative traits than their own racial group, but also responded in ways that suggested a preference towards European Americans and a desire for more contact with them over their own racial group. This is consistent with literature that supports the complex relationship between racial attitudes and other racial variables. As mentioned previously, children's racial attitudes do not necessarily predict behavior, racial preferences may contradict racial attitudes, and racial identification may not always reflect racial attitudes or preference for racial groups (Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975; Conolly, 2001; Branche & Newcombe, 1988). It is likely that some of the subjects may be receiving conflicting messages from those around them and the media, and/or may have conflicting feelings regarding race/racial stereotypes; that is, they may espouse negative stereotypes about European American people, but at the same time

prefer to be with/ or like them when compared to their own racial group. A study exploring conflicting messages/or feelings about racial groups could be further explored.

Perceived Competence and Acceptance

The results show that there are no significant differences in subjects' emerging self-concept between groups which could be attributed to the bibliotherapy group as evidenced by scores on the Pictorial Scale of Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance for Young Children (Harter & Pike, 1984). The scores show that many of the subjects demonstrated relatively high competence and acceptance mean scores on both the pre-and post-tests, and these scores were not significantly correlated with own-group attitudes. These findings may suggest that the subjects' reference group orientation is not yet reflected in their emerging personal identity (Cross, Jr., 1985). However, according to Cross, Jr. (1985), if subjects develop a low or high reference group orientation it will eventually impact their personal identity; that is, as own-group attitudes are positively or negatively impacted by the messages children receive about race, it can in turn significantly impact their emerging personal identity or self-concept. In essence, although the bibliotherapy group did not have an impact on the children's perceived competence or acceptance, it is known that they are receiving messages about race from school, parents, and other socializing agents, which will influence both their view of race and self-concept.

Person Drawings

The Draw-A-Person Measure was included to determine if any group differences in specific indicators of own group-attitudes could be found. It is important to add that the scoring was subjective and conducted by the primary researcher only; thus, there is no inter-rater reliability. However, if there were some observed differences between groups, these drawings may have been looked at more closely in a future, qualitative study. Furthermore, although no

significant differences were found, most of the subjects' drawings seemed to depict an unidentifiable racial group (as indicated by physical features such as hair and clothing). While the content of their drawings can be attributed to skill level, one can also question the salience of race in the lives of many of these subjects and/or about own-group attitudes. The literature suggests that children's racial attitudes are context-specific and race may or may not be salient for them depending on the social context. Since most of the children and the staff at the YWCA are African American, and most of the children at the elementary school are African American, their racial group is the dominant one and there may not be enough other racial groups present to make significant comparisons. Thus, it is likely that race may not be as salient in these contexts. Further, it is not clear how much exposure the subjects have to other racial groups outside of these settings, particularly since the town that most of the subjects live in are predominately African American. Further, most subjects also seemed to depict persons with smiling faces and based on Zaidi's (1979) study, may suggest an optimistic attitude towards life. As stated above, children's personal identity and racial identity are fluid during this time in the children's lives, and teachers, caregivers, and other authority figures have an opportunity to provide them with a positive racial socialization experience that will allow them to sustain their seemingly optimistic attitudes.

Additionally, the lack of significant results may also be attributed to the limitations of the measures themselves. Most notably, all the measures were self-report, and the subjects' responses may not have always been reliable. Further, the scales did not have a validity feature to guard against subjects who may have offered exaggerated or random responses. More standardized measures of children's racial attitudes that address these limitations are needed.

Qualitative Comments on the Group

The results show that there was random variation in the pattern of absences across all three groups over time; thus, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that one group consistently received the bibliotherapy intervention while another did not. Further, it is important to reiterate that each bibliotherapy facilitator was trained to lead the group in a similar manner and followed a standard curriculum plan. Thus, differences noted between the experimental and control group after the bibliotherapy intervention has been given is not likely attributed to a lack of internal validity. Additionally, it has been noted that the gender and ethnic make-up of the facilitators may have affected the groups in unforeseen ways. For instance, one may question whether the subjects treated the Caucasian female facilitator differently than the African American male or female facilitator; or, wonder whether gender was more impactful than the race of the facilitators. Although these are questions that were not explored in this study, one can speculate that both gender and race (Lawrence, 1991), along with other individual characteristics (e.g., temperament) of the facilitators impacted the ways the children responded in the group. However, the lack of differences between the experimental and control group suggests that any response bias attributed to the characteristics of the facilitators did not differentially impact the results.

Moreover, the results show that the group members did not commonly express feelings of identification with the characters. As stated in chapter II, bibliotherapy can be used to help children cope more effectively with their presenting issues or concerns once they can perceive similarities between the self and the characters. It is likely that the children either did not see similarities between themselves and the characters or they simply did not express identification between themselves and the characters. However, results also indicated that many of the children

showed personal feeling in regards to the story frequently (54.1% of subjects had a “yes” response to this variable). This may suggest that while they did not express identification with the characters, they were able to make some comparisons between themselves and the characters in the stories. Most of the comments made in the group were general ones regarding the context of the book (70.2% had a “yes” response to this variable) and shows that the children were able to grasp the stories. Thus, it could be assumed that most of the children understood the readings.

Results suggest that there may be several reasons why the group may had minimal impact on racial attitudes and self-concept including varied interest in the story, competing interests and /or other scheduled activities, and individual characteristics. If some of the subjects displayed varied interest in the stories, it suggests that the story may not have captured their attention; and considering that there are more subjects’ who watch television “a lot” than there are that read “a lot,” it is possible that it may be more difficult for them to attend to a form of media that requires more critical thinking. As stated in Chapter I, research shows that children who watch a lot of television have little interest in academic activities such as reading; and it is the responsibility of parents and teachers to encourage interest in reading and understanding other cultures through literature. Thus, although the bibliotherapy group did not have a significant impact on own group attitudes and self-concept, it can be considered a first step in exposing children to multicultural literature. In order for a multicultural bibliotherapy group to have meaningful impact in the lives of the children, the group may have to run for a longer period of time, with more exposure to multicultural books both at home and at school.

The competing interests and/or scheduled activities offered at the YWCA and the elementary school may have also negatively impacted the bibliotherapy groups’ effect on own group attitudes and self-concept. These factors would be considered extemporaneous because

they were not associated with the group, but affected the content and process of the group. As the literature states that the child's worldview is shaped by the dynamics and characteristics of school, church, and community, these factors interacted with the bibliotherapy group, creating a dynamic that rendered the group insignificant. Thus, it is possible that the children may have experienced this dynamic and internalized the reading group as unimportant when compared to other activities. This may also explain why most of the children did not do the homework even though notes went home to the parents each week.

The individual characteristics also seemed to negatively impact the process and content of some of the groups as many of the children required redirection, and a few refused to participate. According to the Recruitment Checklist, children were not included in the sample if they had a cognitive or developmental delay; however, children were not assessed for interpersonal related difficulties. Assessing interpersonal/behavioral related issues was not the focus of this study and thus, no formal assessment was conducted; however, based on the behaviors mentioned in Chapter IV, it appears that some of the subjects experienced interpersonal difficulties that could not adequately be addressed in the bibliotherapy group. As mentioned above, the combination of minority status and low income places the subjects at risk for emotional and behavioral problems (Christian & Barbarin, 2001) which may have prevented them from adequately attending to the activities within the bibliotherapy group; thus, there may have been a sub-population within the population studied, notably, African American children in low-income environments. According to Christian & Barbarin, "African American children raised in impoverished communities deserve...attention" (p. 44); thus, this demographic is an important one that seems to have had a significant impact on the study.

Clinical Relevance

While the results of the study may have been statistically insignificant, the overall findings have clinical relevance for therapeutic work with African American children. More specifically, knowing that the impact of the bibliotherapy group on the subjects' racial group attitudes and emerging self-concept was insignificant, is critical to better understanding what components are necessary in order to positively impact African American children's emerging racial and personal identity. As mentioned above, it was difficult for the 10-week bibliotherapy group to compete with other socializing factors, such as school, parents, and community, largely due to short duration of the group and minimal impact it may have had in the larger scheme of their lives. The subjects' socio-economic status also seemed to create additional stressors, as the children likely developed emotional and behavioral problems that could be attributed to socio-economic status, thus preventing them from reaping the benefits of the bibliotherapy group.

Based on the literature, one can conclude that although the bibliotherapy group did not significantly influence the results in this study, exposing children to multicultural literature could be considered a healthy way to begin to influence their attitudes and self-concept. In order to effectively influence the subjects' racial attitudes and self-concept, a multi-faceted approach is required. Such services could include providing psycho-education to parents, caretakers, and teachers on the importance of providing children in their care with positive racial socialization experiences, using a multi-media approach. As many of the subjects watch a great deal of television, they may be more responsive to multicultural images via audio and visual mediums. This may increase the chances that the children will be exposed to positive images of themselves and other cultures.

Direction for Future Studies

According to Riordian & Wilson (1991), bibliotherapy can become a more precise tool with clarity regarding who, what, why and under what conditions it is best to use it. The results of this study show that it is challenging to use bibliotherapy with young children, particularly from low-income environments, for the purposes of changing attitudes without employing a more comprehensive approach to the intervention. For instance, Wham, Barnhart, and Cook (1996) examined whether multicultural storybooks read both at home and the classroom with young Caucasian children promoted positive attitudes of individuals from other cultures. There were a large number of participants (i.e., 128) and the intervention ran for seven months. The results were significant and it is likely that the involvement of parents and teachers made the intervention a much more meaningful presence in the lives of the children. It is recommended that future researchers who seek to explore the impact of a multicultural bibliotherapy group with African American children use such a comprehensive approach.

Furthermore, it was predicted that factors other than the bibliotherapy group may impact children's emerging racial identity and self-concept, and according to the results, the group did not have any significant impact on these constructs, rendering the other socializing factors much more potent in the lives of the subjects. Researchers have some understanding of what impacts children's racial socialization experiences such as children's identity exploration, parents' beliefs of the unfair treatment of their children, and the content of messages they receive in the media, (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Ward, 2004). There is also support to show that children's racial socialization experiences are significantly impacted by socio-economic status (Cross, Jr. and Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Thomas, 2001), as seemed to be the case in this study. An exploration of these and/or other socialization factors with African American children may be helpful in better

understanding what socialization experiences or combination thereof, largely inform their emerging racial identity.

Moreover, the literature suggests that emerging racial identity develops within the context of other aspects of the self (Thomas & Carter, 1997). It is also understood that one's personal identity or self-concept can be negatively impacted by one's racial identity. However, children have shown either no relationship between personal identity and racial identity or a pattern of a higher personal identity and a lower racial identity (Cross, Jr., 1985; Crabtree, 2002); and it is not clear when personal identity begins to be more reflective of racial identity. Therefore, this study predicted that self-concept would correlate with emerging racial identity (either negatively or positively); perhaps most likely during the post-test when changes in both emerging racial identity and self-concept was expected to occur. However, results showed no significant correlation and such findings may be specific to some limitation in the study or may in fact be reflective of a temporary disconnect between personal and racial identity between ages 5-7. Future studies can explore the relationship between self-concept and emerging racial identity among children of various ages to better understand how the two constructs impact each other time. Additionally, constructs used to infer racial identity such as racial attitudes and racial preference may contradict each other at times, thus rendering it difficult to accurately measure children's emerging racial identity (Connolly, 2001). The contradiction in racial attitudes, preference, and even behaviors may in part reflect the fluid nature of emerging racial identity in children and the conflicts inherent in resolving, often contradictory messages about race. More sophisticated quantitative measures of emerging racial identity that addresses the complex relationships between preference, attitudes, and behaviors, and includes validity items are needed.

Conclusion

This chapter attempted to offer explanations as to why the bibliotherapy group did not significantly impact the emerging racial identity and self-concept of the group members; thus, resulting in no significant difference between the control and experimental groups. The explanations stated above can most aptly be divided into methodological and theoretical issues. The methodological issues would include the factors that prevented the group from running or operating as intended, such as parents not encouraging the children to do the homework, children's varied interests in the story, competing activities, interpersonal characteristics, and the difficulties inherent in operationalizing an attitude, rather than a specific target behavior. The theoretical issues consist of factors that explain the results from the theories presented in the literature review. This includes understanding the group's minimal impact as a minute socializing factor when considered within the context of the dynamics, such as school, home, and community that shape the child's worldview. An understanding of these methodological and theoretical issues may be important to those who wish to provide children with a positive socializing experience, such as a bibliotherapy group. According to the literature, all educators, parents, and caregivers have an opportunity to positively impact children's emergent racial identity and self-concept; thus, one can conclude that if all of these socializing agents work towards positively shaping children's personal and racial identity, then activities such as bibliotherapy groups have a better chance of having a significant impact.

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APPENDIX I

Standard Information for Each Session/ Multicultural Reading Group
(Refer to outline for all components of the session)*Session 1 Topic: Alike and Different (1 hour)*

Session Goal: Introducing the common bonds curriculum by celebrating the bonds children have with other children like themselves in similar and different cultures.

Materials:

- Book: *Bein' with You This Way* (Nikola-Lisa, 1994)
- Camera
- Construction Paper, Stapler
- Colored Pencils/ Markers
- Glue and/or tape
- Note paper to list names for name tags
- Card for name tags

Guidelines for Introducing Group:

- Facilitator should introduce him- or herself and say, "This is a reading group. We will be reading a lot about other children like you who are different and similar in a variety of ways. We will also be doing arts and crafts."
- Do an ice-breaking activity. Have each child say their name and something about themselves. Afterwards the children must come up with at least one way they are all alike, then they must come up with at least one way they are unique.

Guidelines for Creating Rules:

- Introduce the importance of rules. Say, "Every group has rules, what rules should we have for our group?"
- Assist them in coming up with rules.
- Make sure the following rules are included:
 - One person can talk at a time.
 - Everyone must sit in a circle.
 - Everyone must participate as much as they can.

Discussion Questions- begin eliciting questions to the story as the story is being read. This will help to keep the children engaged. The following questions should be asked:

- What differences do you notice?
- What similarities do you notice?
- What are the children in the story doing?

- Do you like to do those same things?
- How are the children in the story like you?
- How are the children in the story different than you?

Points to Emphasize Throughout Session:

- Encourage acknowledgement of the differences and similarities in physical characteristics, i.e., among the story characters, between the story characters and children, and between the children themselves.
- Emphasize that we are all alike yet different in a number of ways.

Session 2 Topic: Self-esteem (50 min.)

Session Goal: Enhancing children's self-esteem by promoting self- and other acceptance.

Materials:

- Book- Palm Trees (Cote, 1993)
- Paper plates
- Yarn
- Google eyes
- Glue
- Construction paper
- Scissors
- Colored felt

Discussion Questions:

- How did the character style her hair?
- Why do you think she styled it that way?
- How did she feel when her friend commented on her hair?
- How did her friend style her hair?
- Why do you think she styled it that way?
- How did the character feel when she realized her friend copied her hairstyle?

Points to Emphasize Throughout Session:

- Promote acceptance of self and other through the picture book and activities.
- Emphasize the importance of having enough confidence to stand up for oneself and others despite biased and discriminatory behavior (e.g., teasing and name-calling).
- Emphasize importance of having pride in their cultural/racial background.

Session 3 Topic: Empathy (50 min.)

Session Goal: Enhancing children's ability to get along with all sorts of people through the development of empathy.

Materials:

- Book- Daniel's Dog (Bogart, 1990)
- Colored Felt
- Wooden sticks
- Scissors
- Google eyes
- Yarn
- Glue

Discussion Questions:

- How did Daniel feel about his sister?
- How did the Ghost dog help him?
- How did Daniel's feelings change toward his sister?
- What feelings did Daniel think his sister had?

Points to Emphasize Throughout the Session:

- Emphasize the importance of understanding how the other person feels during a conflict.
- Emphasize that through experiencing common feelings with other children similar or different than themselves, they can become friends.

Session 4 Topic: Relating to Family (50 min.)

Session Goal: Promoting good family relations by exposing children to multicultural families which they can identify.

Materials

- Book- Jamaica Tag-Along (Havill, 1989)
- Newsprint pad
- Pens/Pencils

Discussion Questions:

- How did Jamaica feel when her brother wouldn't let her play basketball with him?
- What did she do about it?
- How do you think the little boy felt when Jamaica didn't want him to help her make a sand castle?

- What did she do about it?
- What do you do when you are discouraged from tagging along with an older kid/ sibling?
- Do you stop smaller children from playing with them?
- How do you think the children feel?
- What other kinds of things can cause hurt feelings?

Points to Emphasize throughout the session:

- Children can identify with other children similar or different than themselves who experience conflicts among big and little kids.
- Not every brother-sister/sibling relationship goes smoothly, regardless of race/ethnicity.

Session 5 Topic: Physical Expression (50 min.)

Session Goal: Promoting physical expression among children; demonstrating that children of all cultures and racial backgrounds seek physical accomplishments.

Materials:

- Book- Father and Son (Lauture, 1992)
- Gross motor toys/objects (e.g., hoops, buckets)
- The toys/objects should be made into parallel trails around the room
- Children should be divided into partner

Guidelines for Discussion Questions:

- What actions do the father and son do?
- How are the father and son physically different? (height, weight, etc.)
- How are you physically different from one another? (e.g., encourage them to look at their arms, legs, torsos, heads, height, weight)
- What actions can you do?
- Can you mimic the actions in the story?
- What actions do you like the most? (e.g., climbing, balancing, stretching?)
-

Points to Emphasize throughout the session:

- Every body is different, yet everyone's physical skills can be developed and strengthened through activities.
- Physical differences are attributed to genetic makeup, not race or culture. Some people will be short, tall, active, sedentary.
- It is okay to ask about their own and other's physical characteristics, as this encourages a sense of ease with and respect for physical differences.

Session 6 Topic: Languages (50 min.)

Session Goal: exposing children to other languages; to help them learn to respect and get along with children from different language backgrounds.

Materials:

- Book- Abuela (Dorros, 1991)
- Paper
- Staples
- Pen/Markers
- Spanish dictionary

Discussion Questions:

- What language did the main character speak?
- How did she learn the language?
- What new words did you learn from the story?
- Do you know anyone who speaks a different language than you do?
- What are they like? (if they give a negative description, encourage them to find something positive about someone they do know who speaks a different language)
- Have you learned any words from them?
- Have you taught them words they do not know?

Points to Emphasize in the Session:

- Learning a second language can help children bond (and appreciate) with people who speak another language.
- Encourage the children to say words from the language spoken in the picture book. This will help them to develop a respect for those who speak that language.
- If the children speak a second language, they might want to share some words with the other children. This will help them feel good about themselves and their own language development, and will help the other children to develop a respect for those that speak the language.

Session 7 Topic: Food (1 hour.)

Session Goal: Celebrating culturally diverse foods, while recognizing the common bonds of eating.

Materials:

- Book- This is the Way we Eat our Lunch (Baer, 1995)
- Choose recipe from the story for the children to make- bring the ingredients and cooking materials.

- Bring the meal in its completed form.
- Paper plates
- Cups/drinks
- Plastic forks/knives
- Napkins
- Photocopy of the recipes
- Table
- Table cloth

Discussion Questions:

- What types of foods were depicted in the story?
- What country are the foods from?
- What are the different ways the characters eat in these countries?
- Have you heard of any of these foods? What have you heard?
- Have you tasted any of these foods?
- What foods are/or seem most tasty?
- What kinds of foods are cooked in their home?
- What foods from their home do they like the most?

Points to Emphasize Throughout the Session:

- All foods are cultural, as they all originated from a specific culture.
- Have the children help set the table, serve, share, and clean up the meal as it promotes social skills and a positive self-image.

Session 8 Topic: Art Awareness (50 min.)

Session Goal: Encouraging children to appreciate artistic expression and exercise their artistic abilities by introducing them to multicultural characters who themselves have experiences with creating art.

Materials:

- Book- Tar Beach (Ringgold, F., 1991)
- Water colors
- Canvas paper
- Paper bowls for water
- Paper towels
- Sponges

Discussion Questions:

- Where was the main character?
- What was she doing?

- What did she imagine?
- What feelings did the character have?
- What do the pictures look like to you?
- What do you feel when you look at the pictures?
- Have you ever used their imagination to create something?
- What did you create?

Points to Emphasize Throughout the Session:

- Emphasize the beauty of artistic expression from people of all cultures.
- If the children ask questions about discrimination in the story, provide an accurate, developmentally appropriate response (e.g., the character's father was not accepted into the union because of his skin color), while emphasizing that the main character still had the ability to be creative and imaginative.

Session 9 Topic: Music (50 min.)

Session Goal: Introducing children to music and movement experiences that children everywhere can enjoy and share.

Materials:

- Book- Baby-O (Carlstron, 1992)
- Empty oatmeal boxes
- Construction paper
- Glue
- Markers/crayons
- Maracas and/or microphone
- Tambourines
- Disc of cultural songs by Ella Jenkins

Discussion Questions:

- What kind of folk song was sung in the story?
- Who sung the songs?
- What instruments did the characters play?
- Can they recall the words? (e.g., What did baby do?)
- What songs do you like to sing?
- Do you know any other cultural songs?
- Where did you learn them?
- How do you feel about them?

Points to Emphasize Throughout the Session:

- Many people in the world enjoy singing- singing is one of our common bonds.
- Songs people sing may be different, but the people singing them may have the same feelings as they do. This will help them to appreciate songs from different cultures.

Session 10 Topic: Caring about the Earth (50 min.)

Session Goal: Demonstrating that multicultural children like themselves use their senses to explore their natural world; promoting a common bond between children everywhere as they all learn to care about the earth.

Materials:

- Book- Where does the trail Lead (Albert, 1991)
- Sack or paper bag
- Construction paper
- Glue

Discussion Questions:

- Where did the main character go?
- What did he hope to see?
- What did he see?
- What senses did he use?
- What did he think about what he found?
- Did you ever explore an area?
- What did you find?
- What senses did you use?
- What did you think about what you found?
- What did you do with what you found?

Points to Emphasize Throughout the Session:

- All children everywhere use their senses to find out about their world.
- Children everywhere should use their senses to think about, ask about, and find out about their world. Promoting such interests will encourage children to care about the world around them.

The following objectives should be accomplished by the completion of the intervention:

- Encourage children to ask about their own and others' physical characteristics.
- Provide children with accurate, developmentally appropriate information.
- Enable children to feel pride, but not superiority, about their racial identity.
- Enable children to develop ease with and respect for physical differences.

- Help children become aware of our shared physical characteristics.
- Help children change discomfort and inappropriate responses to differences into respectful, comfortable interaction.
- Expand the children's developing concept of fairness and feelings of empathy for each other.
- Foster children's critical thinking about stereotyping.
- Enable children to gain the tools and self-confidence to stand up for themselves and others against biased ideas and discriminatory behavior.