

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE SCHOOL CHILD'S SELF-DEVELOPMENT
EMPLOYING THE THEORY OF GEORGE HERBERT MEAD

A THESIS

Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Sociology
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Mae M. Wickboldt
January 1968

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to explore methods in assessing the school child's self-development and to find hypotheses worthy of testing concerning the relationship of the child's self-development to school performance, and secondarily, concerning the relationship of his socioeconomic status and intelligence to his self-development. The following three hypotheses suggested by George Herbert Mead's theory guided the study:

I. The child whose self has reached the stage of development in which he has incorporated the social attitudes of the group of which he is a part, in other words, in which he takes the attitude of the "generalized other," will give a better school performance than the child whose self has not reached this stage.

II. The child who can take the attitude of a particular other person in a situation of social interaction will be able to interact with others more successfully than the child who cannot do so and therefore will give a better school performance than the child whose self has not developed to this point.

III. The child who can view himself with objectivity will give a better performance as a student than the child who cannot do so.

Twenty-five members of a sixth grade class in an elementary school were the subjects of this study. The method consisted partly of an interview using as dramatic materials a diagram of the school room and chess markers to represent the children and teacher. The child and

the interviewer moved the chess markers about to simulate movement of the children and teacher as they discussed incidents suggested by the interviewer. The method appeared effective in helping the children objectify the situations discussed in the interviews. The interviews were sources of variables indicating the three aspects of the self set out in the three implicit hypotheses. These variables were compared with the child's school performance for evidence of association.

The aspect of the self contained in the first implicit hypothesis was represented by three variables: the child's awareness of the universal nature of a traffic rule in the hall at the school; his view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity in the school organization, and his view of himself as having the responsibility for his own actions. The data were indeterminate concerning the first variable's association with school performance. Association was shown between the second variable and school performance. No association was shown between the third variable and school performance. Hypotheses containing propositions that the first two variables and school performance are associated were suggested as worthy of testing.

The aspect of the self contained in the second implicit hypothesis was represented by two variables: the child's expectation of the response of the teacher in one instance; and his interpretation of her actions in another instance. The fourth variable and school performance were found to be associated, but the data were indeterminate concerning the fifth variable and school performance. It was suggested that hypotheses containing propositions concerning the relationship of these

variables to school performance were worthy of testing.

The aspect of the self contained in the third implicit hypothesis was represented by the child's ability to rank himself accurately as a student and in conformity with the class as to how well he was liked. Both of these variables were associated with school performance and hypotheses containing these propositions were suggested as being worthy of testing.

The child's socio-economic status, as evidenced by the type of house in which he lived, whether he lived with his father, and whether his mother remained in the home and did not work outside the home, was found to be slightly associated with his self-development. A hypothesis containing this proposition was judged worthy of testing. The relationship between the child's intelligence quotient and self-development was not clear, suggesting the need for further research.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND THEORETICAL BASIS

An aspect of man's society which sets it apart from the societies of other species is that its members have the ability to direct themselves. This self-direction is possible because man has self-awareness; that is, man can place himself in his own objective field. He can respond to himself; he can point things out to himself, and by giving these things his attention he can select his environment and thereby control his activity.

Self-awareness is acquired in social participation. It is an important part of the world of meanings and ideas which is entered during childhood by way of symbolic communication. From the time he learns to use language until he matures the child is undergoing a period of self-development. As time goes by he gets to know himself better, not only because he has the opportunity to become better acquainted with himself, but also because the person he is getting to know is a more stable, a more definite self. He learns to look at himself objectively and to direct himself in a rational manner. With social experience he learns to think reflectively; he responds in a less direct manner to his environment.

It is reasonable to think that the child's relationship to himself, including his knowledge of himself, his ability to treat himself objectively, his tendency to act with self-awareness, has an important

bearing on his performance as a student. And it is logical that these abilities related to self-awareness, dependent as they are upon social experience, should vary from child to child. Even among mature individuals one would expect variations in self-development resulting from differences in social experience. Among immature persons, or children who are in a state of development, this variation would be more evident because of the plastic nature of the child's personality, causing it more readily to reflect the influence of social experience.

The thoughts contained in the foregoing paragraphs posed certain interesting questions. How are such variations, if such there be, related to the child's school performance? Can such variations be determined? Can different aspects of the child's relationship to himself, such as his knowledge of himself, his ability to treat himself objectively, his tendency to act with self-awareness, his engagement in reflection, and his ability to direct himself, be investigated? How do these abilities relate singly to his performance as a student, and how do they relate to each other?

And there are equally interesting questions concerning the antecedent conditions of a particular stage of self-development. What bearing does the child's home situation: the absence of one or both parents from the home, the socio-economic status of his family, as compared with the socio-economic statuses of the families of the other children with whom he associates, have upon his self-development? How is his self-development related to his score on an intelligence test?

Interest in these questions grew out of an acquaintance with the theory of George Herbert Mead. His conceptualization of the self provided the theoretical basis for the study which is described in this thesis. Therefore the writer next presents her understanding of Mead's theory of the self.

Theoretical Basis

Two main aspects of Mead's theory excited the interest in the foregoing questions, and particular attention has been given to them. The first of these is his treatment of the self as a process which goes on at all times when the person is acting with awareness of what he is doing. The other aspect is his conceptualization of the self as primarily a cognitive phenomenon. These two points require discussion.

With reference to the first aspect Mead says:

The self involves a process that is going on, that takes on now one form and now another—a subject-object relationship which is dynamic, not static, a subject-object relationship which has a process behind it, one which can appear now in this phase, now in that.¹

This process is, in simplest, behavioristic terms, the individual's responding to his own gesture and then reacting in turn to this

¹George Herbert Mead, George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology, ed. Anselm Strauss (The Heritage of Sociology, a series edited by Morris Janowitz. Revised edition; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 13.

response in a modified way. The individual's own gesture to which he responds is, in the beginning, his own speech. Later other gestures, acts, and objects of all kinds come to have a symbolic representation which the individual implicitly employs so that he calls out a response in himself to them. This characteristic of human speech, that the person speaking tends to respond in the same manner as the person to whom he speaks, plays an important part in Mead's theory.

While the process referred to as the self can be stated in the foregoing simple way, its implications become very complex. In the first place, the response which the individual makes to his own stimulus consists of an organization of the attitudes of others which he has internalized. By internalising the attitudes of others within himself so that these attitudes are called out by his own gesture, he has incorporated the elements of the social act, "stimulation and response and the results of the response."²

There is after this a duality present so that when the individual responds to himself with the internalized attitudes of others he is in a sense putting himself in the place of the others. This is what Mead calls taking the attitude of the other or taking the role of the other. By the latter expression Mead does not mean the deliberate reconstruction of the role of the other; he is referring to something

²Ibid., p. 92.

which follows as a result of the nature of language.³ And because of the universal meanings involved in symbolic interaction the individual's response is in general the same as that of the other. At one point Mead says, "We are unconsciously putting ourselves in the place of others and acting as others act."⁴

It is appropriate at this point to give the writer's understanding of the term role as Mead uses it. He is not using it as the counterpart of the structural concept of status.⁵ He is using it more in the sense in which Daniel J. Levinson uses it:

Role may be defined as the member's orientation or conception of the part he is to play in the organization. It is, so to say, his inner definition of what someone in his social position is supposed to think and do about it.⁶

Levinson continues with reference to this usage of role, "Mead (1934) is probably the main source of this view of social role as an aspect of the person, and it is commonly used in analysis of occupational roles."⁷

³George H. Mead, Mind, Self & Society, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 161.

⁴Ibid., p. 69.

⁵The writer owes this viewpoint to Anselm Strauss. It appears in his introduction to George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology, p. xii. See also Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (March, 1966) 535-544.

⁶Daniel J. Levinson, "Role, Personality, and Social Studies in the Organizational Setting," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LVIII (March, 1959), 172.

⁷Ibid.

Considering the expression taking the role of the other in light of this definition of role, and remembering that it represents an implicit response, except in the case of the small child who overtly acts out the role, Mead's use of it interchangeably with the expression taking the attitude of the other is understandable.

In the second place, as a consequence of the duality introduced into the self by calling out the internalised attitudes of others toward the social situation of which he himself is a part, the individual becomes aware of himself. He acts self-consciously; he knows what he is doing. This is not to say that all human behavior is self-conscious. Behavior which does not involve thinking does not involve the self. Much human activity goes on in a habitual way and does not call into operation the self process. It is possible for one to become so caught up in activity, such as running in fear, also that he is not aware of what he is doing. But at any time that the person knows what he is doing, he is aware of himself through this process of responding to himself from the standpoint of another. And it is because of this becoming an object to himself with its consequences for intelligent action that Mead speaks of the self as primarily a cognitive process.

The second aspect of Mead's self with which this study is especially concerned is his conceptualization of the self as primarily cognitive and this aspect will now be further discussed. While Mead concedes that one may react to one's self emotionally, he points out that one must become aware of himself before he can make an emotional

response to himself. In discussing this, Mead objects to James's and Cooley's treatment of the self as primarily emotional and points out that they do not account for the appearance of the self in the individual. Mead's account of the appearance of the self and its continuing operation relies upon cognition. Concerning its appearance he says:

The thinking or intellectual process—the internalization and inner dramatisation, by the individual, of the external conversation of significant gestures which constitutes his chief mode of interaction with other individuals belonging to the same society—is the earliest experiential phase in the genesis and development of the self.⁸

And concerning the general nature of the self, he says:

Emphasis should be laid upon the central position of thinking when considering the nature of the self. Self-consciousness, rather than affective experience with its motor accompaniments, provides the core and primary structure of the self, which is thus essentially a cognitive rather than an emotional phenomenon.⁹

One facet of this cognitive nature of the self in Mead's theory is that the universality and impersonality of thought and reason rests upon the individual's ability to take the attitude of the other toward himself.¹⁰ This is so because in thinking and exercising reason the individual is calling out in himself the attitude of the other, or many others, and this gives that which he experiences an impersonal and universal nature.

⁸Mead, Mind, Self & Society, p. 173.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 90.

Reflective thought, as described by Mead, illustrates the nature of the self, both as a process and as a cognitive phenomenon. In it the individual is able to point out to himself for attention the important aspects of the social situation. He does this by means of language, to which he himself responds with the organized set of attitudes of the society. This is an implicit process; he can try alternative solutions and decide upon the one that is best. He can then, by selective attention to the proper stimuli, control his behavior. Species other than man can also use selective attention, but they cannot point things out to themselves. In trial and error solutions, the human individual does not point things out to himself, although he may use selective attention. The individual's problem solving is greatly assisted by his being able to point things out to himself, in other words, to analyze the situation. His problem solving ability is even more increased if the responses he makes to his own implicit vocal gestures are the universal meanings and ideas present in the society.

These two ways of looking at the self, as a process in which the person is involved when he is acting with awareness, and as a cognitive phenomenon, appealed to the writer as perhaps offering insight into or understanding of the differences between the involved school child and the child who is merely present.

With these two general aspects of the self as background, certain more specific components of the self process need discussion. There are three of these components which would be expected to have a

bearing upon the child's school performance, and they are as follows: his incorporation of the organized attitudes of the group of which he is a part; his taking the role or attitude of a particular other in social interaction with that other; and his taking the standpoint of another, or particularly the group as a whole so that he views himself with objectivity. These specific components are next discussed in the order listed.

As already set out, the organized attitudes of others which the individual has incorporated and which are called out in him constitutes one part of the self. Since the individual has incorporated these attitudes, he does not see them as the attitudes of others, but as his own. In the beginning of the child's self-development the attitudes he internalizes and organizes are attitudes of particular others. Later, as the child matures, he internalizes the organized attitudes of the entire group. This is what Mead calls the attitude of the "generalized other," and he speaks of this as the second stage of the development of the self. The attitudes of the "generalized other" are in an abstract form; they are a reflection of the organized pattern of the social process.¹¹ Thus, the extent to which the child is able to take the role of the "generalized other" as opposed to the role of particular others is an indication of the extent to which he has internalized the social organization.

¹¹Ibid., Footnote, p. 155.

Mead elaborates upon the self, that is, the calling out of a set of attitudes to which the individual responds, in terms of the "I" and the "me." The "I" is, first, that aspect of the self which is aware of itself. And the "I" both calls out the set of attitudes and responds to it.¹² The "I" is never immediately experienced. This means that the individual can see himself as an acting, responding person in the past in memory or even in the future by imagery, but at the moment of acting he is aware only of that aspect of the self which Mead calls the "me." Concerning this aspect of the self, the "me," as it appears in immediate experience, Mead makes statements which appear at first glance to be at variance with each other logically. First he defines the "me" as the organized set of attitudes of others which the individual himself assumes, as follows: "The attitudes of the others constitute the organized 'me,' and then one reacts toward that as an 'I.'"¹³ Following this, in the next paragraph, he says, "The taking of all those organized sets of attitudes gives him his 'me'; that is the self which he is aware of."¹⁴ At still another time, Mead says, "What appears in the immediate experience of one's self in taking that attitude is what we term the 'me.'"¹⁵ The attitude referred to in this last statement has been identified as the attitude of the "organized, generalized other."

¹²Mead, Mind, Self & Society, p. 178.

¹³Ibid., p. 175.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 196.

The last two statements are easily reconciled, the third appearing to be merely more inclusive in that it designates the entire social situation as the "me," while the second appears to refer only to one's view of himself. But the first statement remains to be explained. The explanation which occurs to the writer is that the set of attitudes, from the standpoint of the individual who takes them, would be experienced only in one way, and that way would be as a particular view of himself and his world; and this explanation would reconcile the three statements. Also this explanation appears to be in accordance with Mead's idea of what he terms the self which is developed in the fullest sense which is more than a social view of one's self, including, as it appears, the entire social situation:

If the given human individual is to develop a self in the fullest sense, it is not sufficient for him merely to take the attitudes of other human individuals toward himself and toward one another within the human social process, and to bring that social process as a whole into his individual experience merely in these terms: he must also, in the same way that he takes the attitudes of other individuals toward himself and toward one another, take their attitudes toward the various phases or aspects of the common social activity or set of social undertakings in which, as members of an organized society or social group, they are all engaged; and he must then, by generalizing these individual attitudes of that organized society or social group itself, as a whole, act toward different social projects which at any given time it is carrying out, or toward the various larger phases of the general social process which constitutes its life and of which these projects are specific manifestations.¹⁶

For the purposes of this study then the phase of the self which Mead calls the "me" is taken to be the individual's view of himself and his

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 154-5.

world as it appears from the standpoint of the attitude of the other which he takes. Also in this study this attitude is the attitude of the "generalized other" to the extent that the child has internalized the organized set of attitudes of the society. And to the extent that the child has not internalized the organized set of attitudes, it will be the attitude of particular others or an organization of the attitudes of particular others.

The "me" looked at in this way, it occurred to the writer, is what William A. Scott calls the individual's cognitive structure, which Scott defines as "the individual's phenomenological representation of himself and the world—the set of ideas maintained by him and relatively available to conscious awareness."¹⁷ And certain aspects of this phase of the self, or cognitive structure, should be ascertainable by questioning. One such aspect which is relevant in this study is the degree to which the child assumes the organized sets of attitudes of the society, as opposed to the attitudes of particular others. The school child's cognitive structure should reflect this as the child's awareness of social organization. The child's assuming the organized sets of attitudes will increase his ability to solve the problems which confront him in the school situation. He learns to solve these problems as he learns to approach them in terms of abstract principles. In Mead's theory, thinking is a process of conversation with one's self

¹⁷William A. Scott, "Cognitive Structure and Social Structure: Some Concepts and Relationships," Decisions, Values and Groups, Vol. 2, ed. Norman F. Washburne (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962), p. 87.

wherein one takes the attitude of the other, particularly the attitude of the whole group.¹⁸ This conversation with one's self is possible because of the characteristic of speech mentioned before, that it calls out the same response in the person speaking as it does in the other.

The second more specific component of Mead's theory has to do with interaction and the part which taking the role of the other plays in it. Taking the role of the other, it must be remembered, is assuming the role or attitude of the other which one has called out in himself. The individual sees this attitude as his own because he has internalised it. The attitude which the individual calls out in himself in abstract thought is the attitude of the "generalized other." But in concrete thought, as would occur in interaction, he calls out that part of this organized set represented in the attitudes of the person or persons with whom he is interacting.¹⁹ Taking the role of the other in interaction has two consequences. The first of these is that the individual is able to control his behavior by doing so. He responds to this attitude of the other in a modified way, so that his overt expression of behavior will be different from what it would have been without taking the attitude of the other.²⁰ The second consequence is that the individual, in taking the role of the other,

¹⁸Mead, George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology, p. 38.

¹⁹Mead, Mind, Self & Society, pp. 155-6.

²⁰Ibid., p. 254.

anticipates the response of the person with whom he is interacting so that he is prepared to proceed with the interaction in a more efficient way than he would otherwise be.²¹

To the extent that the individual's overt behavior meets the expectation of the other and his expectations of the other's response are fulfilled, he has accurately taken the role of the other. He is able to do this if the organized set of attitudes which he is calling out in himself is the same as that of the one with whom he is interacting; in other words, if he and the other share the same universe of discourse. A universe of discourse refers to a common meaning which is communicated to everyone and at the same time to one's self.²²

Interaction does not proceed in the smooth way implied in the foregoing description always. Anselm Strauss speaks in a more explicit way of a problematic situation in which the individual is unable to identify the other and consequently is unable to identify himself.²³ We may assume that being unable to identify the other he cannot take his attitude and identify himself. While Strauss does not define the term identity, he uses it, in the sense of self-identity, in a way similar to the way the term role is used in this study. He explains that the individual does not know the identity of the other; he does

²¹Ibid., p. 73.

²²Mead, George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology, p. 38.

²³Anselm Strauss, Mirrors and Masks. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1959), pp. 47 f.

not know in what capacity he is acting; he does not know what his motives are in a problematic situation. To determine the identity of the other, he imputes motives to him. And to establish his own identity he makes a motivational statement, usually mentally. This motivational statement is a statement to himself of what he is about to do and why. In stating one's own motives, or in assigning motives to others, one can do so only in the "vocabulary of motives" which he has learned. This vocabulary of motives must coincide to some extent with that of the other in order that understanding and agreement be had and interaction can proceed.

The third and last component of the self in Mead's theory requiring discussion is the person's ability to take an objective view of himself. He gets outside of himself so that he can look upon himself as an object by taking the standpoint of another. At any time that the person is aware of himself he is taking an objective view of himself in this sense. But the cognitive nature of Mead's self implies more than this. The person must be able to look at himself without the distortion brought about by personal feelings and prejudice in order to act with intelligence by means of his self process. Mead makes this clear in the following:

The apparatus of reason would not be complete unless it swept itself into its own analysis of the field of experience; or unless the individual brought himself into the same experiential field as that of the other individual selves in relation to whom he acts in any given social situation. Reason cannot become impersonal unless it takes an objective, non-effective attitude toward itself; otherwise we have just consciousness, not self-consciousness. And it is

necessary to rational conduct that the individual should thus take an objective, impersonal attitude toward himself, that he should become an object to himself. For the individual organism is obviously an essential and important fact or constituent element of the empirical situation in which it acts; and without taking objective account of itself as such, it cannot act intelligently, or rationally.²⁴

The ability to look at one's self objectively is also closely related to the idea of self-criticism and social control. The person must see himself as he appears to others in the group in order that his self-criticism be valid. Self-criticism is a form of social control, and it serves to integrate the individual into the social organization.²⁵

The writer has given this lengthy discussion of Mead's theory as her understanding of it because his theory is interpreted in different ways and the writer's particular viewpoint is necessary for the understanding of this study. The problem which follows, and its treatment in this study rests upon the two general aspects of Mead's theory: his conception of the self as a process which goes on at all times that the person is aware of what he is doing, and his conception of it as a cognitive phenomenon, as well as the components of internalization of the organized attitudes of the social group, taking the role of the other, and looking at one's self objectively, as a theoretical basis.

²⁴Mead, Mind, Self & Society, p. 138.

²⁵Ibid., p. 255.

The Problem

Mead's theory, as presented in the foregoing section, appeared to the writer to be a framework in which she might explore the questions asked at the beginning of this chapter concerning the relationship of the child's self-development to his performance at school, as well as the relationship of background factors of the child's life to his self-development. However, an examination of all these questions in their entirety was far beyond the scope of any study this writer might undertake. Therefore she chose certain limited aspects of some of the questions for attention and treated them in an exploratory way in the hope that she might learn ways of observing or ascertaining the level of the child's self-development and derive hypotheses worthy of testing concerning some aspects of these questions.

The following three general hypotheses from Mead's theory concerning the relationship of the child's self-development to his school performance occurred to the writer:

First Hypothesis. The child whose self has reached the stage of development in which he has incorporated the social attitudes of the group of which he is a part, in other words in which he takes the attitude of the "generalized other," will give a better school performance than the child whose self has not reached this stage.

Second Hypothesis. The child who can take the attitude of a particular other person in a situation of social interaction will be able to interact with others more successfully than the child who cannot do so and therefore will give a better school performance than the child

whose self has not developed to this point.

Third Hypothesis. The child who can view himself with objectivity will give a better performance as a student than the child who cannot do so.

The writer decided to use these hypotheses in an implicit way to guide a study to explore ways to ascertain the level of the school child's self-development and to derive more refined hypotheses which were worthy of testing.

This study, then, represents an attempt (1) to explore ways of assessing the following aspects of the elementary school child's self-development: his internalization of the social attitudes of the group of which he is a part, his ability to take the attitude of another in social interaction, and his ability to view himself objectively; (2) to seek relationships between these aspects of the child's self-development and his school performance; (3) to seek relationships between the three aspects of the child's self-development; and (4) to seek relationships between the child's self-development and such antecedent conditions as the type of house in which he lives, residence with his father, and whether or not his mother works outside the home, which may affect the self-development of the child, as well as relationships between the child's score on an intelligence test and his self-development.

Because of the limitations of this study, the purposes are merely to suggest methods of assessing aspects of the self-development of the school child and to derive hypotheses worthy of testing concerning the relationship between the child's self-development and his school

performance.

While accounts of many studies are to be found in the literature in which the authors treat the self as an entity, the writer has found none in which the self was treated as a process as described in this thesis. Also in the studies with which the writer is acquainted the affective aspects of the self rather than the cognitive aspects were stressed. There have been a few studies based upon Mead's theory having to do with the self-conception.²⁶ Other studies have been made of role-taking in which Mead's theory was used as a conceptual basis, but role-taking was not identified as a part of the self-process.²⁷ The importance of Mead's theory calls for studies of the self in its terms, and the statement made several years ago by Leonard S. Cottrell that such studies comprised one of the neglected areas in social psychology remains true today.²⁸ The justification for making this study rests upon the writer's conviction that the conceptual treatment given to the self here is more in accord with Mead's theory than that used in other studies of the self which have come to her attention.

²⁶See S. Frank Miyamoto and Sanford M. Dornbusch, "A Test of Interactionist Hypotheses of Self Conception," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (March, 1956), 400; and Leo G. Reeder, George A. Donahue, and Arturo Biblars, "Conception of Self and Others," American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (September, 1960), 153.

²⁷One such study, James C. Frown, "An Experiment in Role-taking," American Sociological Review, XVII (August, 1952), 587.

²⁸Leonard S. Cottrell, "Some Neglected Problems in Social Psychology," American Sociological Review, XV (December, 1950)

CHAPTER II

THE PRESENT STUDY

As stated in the first chapter, this study was an attempt to explore ways of assessing the school child's self-development, more particularly, his internalization of the social attitudes of the group of which he is a part, his ability to take the attitude of another in social interaction, and his ability to view himself objectively. Also this study sought to discover relationships between those aspects of the child's self-development, above-mentioned, and his school performance, as well as relationships between the aspects of self-development themselves. In addition, relationships were sought between certain background factors, such as residence with parents, socio-economic status, and scores on intelligence tests, with aspects of his self-development. In this chapter the writer gives an account of how the objectives of the study were pursued.

The writer conducted the following limited investigation, using in an implicit way the three hypotheses drawn from Mead's theory and set out in the first chapter to guide the investigation. The limitations of the study are consequences of both the method and the data. The lack of stringency in the method and the meagerness of the data would preclude any claim to the testing of hypotheses. The empirical contributions are offered merely as tentative explorations. That they will serve as a stimulus to further studies by suggesting methods or

hypotheses is the hope of the writer.

I. SOURCE OF THE DATA

A classroom of twenty-seven sixth-grade school children was the source of data for this study. It was one of four classes of sixth-grade students in an elementary school. The principal of the school offered this particular class when the writer asked permission to study one of the classes at the school. His reason for selecting this class is not known; however, it is possible that he knew the teacher of this class would be more favorably disposed toward such a study's being conducted in her classroom than the other teachers. The principal later stated that other classes could be made available, but because of the cordial and cooperative manner of the teacher of the first class offered, the writer continued the study there.

In the school each class was formed in the fall when school began and remained together throughout the school year, and also the teacher who was assigned to the class in the fall continued with them until school was terminated in the spring. The children in the classroom remained in the room with the same teacher throughout the day, except during the music period when they left for another room, and during the reading period, when some of the children went to a remedial reading class.

While different classes of sixth-grade children were not formally designated as fast or slow, the teacher stated that the

classes were apparently set up on the basis of their academic performance in the interests of efficiency in teaching, and that the class under discussion was made up of students considerably below average in performance. The teacher made this statement after the study was well under way; otherwise the writer would have requested a group of children more nearly average for study.

The children were all Negro in an all Negro school. They all lived a short distance from the school in a segregated area. In this area the houses range from small, unpainted dwellings in extreme state of disrepair to houses which, while still modest, are obviously the objects of a great deal of attention and are attractive in appearance with well-tended lawns. There are two main streets which run parallel to each other and which extend from the school building to the entrance to the area. All of the houses along these two streets and the cross streets which connect them are kept in good repair and have trees and shrubs in the yards. The houses and yards beyond these two streets on either side are much inferior to the houses along the two main streets. However, on the other side of the school, opposite to the two parallel streets running up to the school building, there is a section which is relatively unpopulated. The houses there are widely scattered and vary in appearance from very dilapidated shacks to newly constructed houses which individually are superior to the houses along the two main streets. Several of the children live in that part of the area, and two of them live in new brick houses which appear to be professionally

designed and built.

While the houses in this segregated area vary somewhat, the people who live throughout the area are of the laboring class.

II. THE DATA

The data for this study consist of observation notes taken in the classroom, notes on a verbal appraisal which the teacher made concerning each child, the term grades of the children, the children's scores on an intelligence test, information concerning the child's residence, including the appearance and situation of his house, whether he lived with both his parents and whether his mother was employed outside the home, and notes on a personal interview with each child. The following is a short description of the data and the way it was obtained.

Observation Notes Taken in the Classroom

The writer observed the class over a period of three weeks during the last month of the school year in May, 1966, taking notes on as much of the classroom activity as possible. The observation period served to give familiarity with the classroom routine and to furnish knowledge of incidents which could be discussed with the children in the interview which was planned for a later date. Another purpose of the observation period was to permit the children to become acquainted with the interviewer, and many of them became friendly.

The Teacher's Verbal Appraisals

During the three weeks observation period and immediately following the end of the school year, the teacher gave verbal appraisals of each child to the writer. The writer sought the appraisals originally to learn from the teacher whether she, the teacher, could interact successfully from her standpoint with the child. When it was learned that all the children were passing on to the seventh grade, although the teacher considered many of them were not performing at the sixth-grade level, the writer requested information concerning each child in this regard; that is, whether or not he was passing on the basis of his work. These talks with the teacher were on an informal basis and the writer made notes immediately following the appraisal. The writer encouraged the teacher to talk about the child from the standpoint of her interactions with him, with particular reference to whether the child appeared to understand what she meant and whether she found the child predictable and understandable to her. The teacher also gave her opinion of the child's work from the standpoint of what she considered an adequate performance for a sixth-grade student, including whether or not the child had performed well enough to pass on to the seventh grade on the basis of his work alone. If the child's performance did not warrant his passing, the the writer asked the teacher if he was passing on because of lack of facilities for retaining him or whether he was passing on because she felt he could not benefit by repeating the course. The teacher had already indicated that the

children who had not done satisfactory work were passing on for one of the last two reasons.

Term Grades

The grades the children made came from the school records immediately following the close of school. These were the grades for the second semester of the sixth grade. The subjects in which the children received grades were reading, arithmetic, English, spelling, writing, geography, science, health, music, drawing, physical education, effort and conduct.

Intelligence Test Scores

The intelligence test scores, also coming from the school records, are for the California Short-Form Test of Mental Maturity which a few of the children in this class had taken three times since they had started in the first grade. A few more had taken the test twice, but many of the children had had it only once, a year before the time of this study. However, five of the children had never taken the test at all. The principal explained that they gave the test only on one day and that some of the children had been absent on that day. The scores for the test administered one year before this study were the ones used for this study, since they more nearly covered the entire class. In the instances where the child had not taken the test at that time but had taken it at an earlier time, the writer used the score for

the earlier test.

The test purports to be an instrument for appraising mental development or mental capacity. The manual provided for the administering and interpreting of the test states that it samples mental processes in four areas: spatial relationships, logical reasoning, numerical reasoning, and verbal concepts. The scores for the test which were given in the school records were in the form of intelligence quotients. The manual states that the test yields a normal distribution of intelligence quotients with a mean of one hundred and a standard deviation of sixteen. The standardization of the test is based on a national sample.

Observation of Homes

It was necessary for the writer to call at the homes of all of the children to take them to the school for the interviews. At this time she gave particular attention to the house in which the child lived and the immediate neighborhood in which it was situated and made notes of these observations.

Information Concerning Residence with Parents

At the time the writer obtained the child's grades from the school records, she also noted whether the parent enrolling the child was the father or the mother. If it was the father, she assumed that the child lived with his father. If it was the mother, she made

inquiry of the teacher or the principal as to whether or not the child's father lived in the household. When she studied the data later, it developed that it was an error to assume that the child lived with his father because the father's name was shown as the enrolling parent, since the teacher's evaluation of the children revealed on more than one occasion that the child's father did not live in the home. The writer used this information from the teacher in each instance where the teacher gave it, but it was too late to make a systematic check of all the children. The writer used these data, therefore, with the knowledge that they may not be accurate to the extent that some of the children shown as living with their fathers may in fact not be doing so.

Mother's Employment

In some instances the teacher gave the information concerning whether the child's mother was employed away from home; in other instances the child gave it in response to questioning. Again the writer used these data with the reservation that fuller information was needed to assure their accuracy. Many of the mothers of these children worked sporadically and the child may have said his mother did not work because she was not doing so at that particular time, whereas, as a matter of fact, she may have been working most of the time, or vice versa.

The Interviews

Immediately following the end of the school year, the writer interviewed all of the children with the exception of two who moved away. She accomplished this in a two-weeks period. These interviews were an hour or more in length and were conducted in a classroom at the school building with only the child and the interviewer present. There was no school in session at this time and the building was unoccupied except for the principal's office. The purpose of the interviews was to attempt to get at some of the aspects of the self-process of the individual child. And the article by William A. Scott, referred to on page 12, concerning the cognitive structure of the individual served as a guide in the interviews.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the writer saw a similarity between the "me" of Mead's self and Scott's concept of the cognitive structure. As will be recalled Scott defines the cognitive structure as "the individual's phenomenological representation of himself and the world—the set of ideas maintained by him and relatively available to conscious awareness." Scott divides the elements of the cognitive structure into two kinds; one of these classifications is made up of those elements that involve no affective or evaluative properties, that are simply knowledge of what or how. In this classification Scott places cognitions, beliefs, knowledge, and concepts. He further defines this class of elements as involving concrete or abstract ideas about classes of objects and relations among them, and he mentions the

self concept, the stereotype, the expectancy or subjective probability as being types frequently encountered in psychological literature and studies. The other classification of elements is made up of those that involve liking or disliking the cognized object. Examples of these are goals, values, and threats. The elements contained in both of these classes, as set out by Scott, seemed appropriate as components of Vead's "me." Accordingly, the writer attempted to get the child to express himself with reference to both kinds of these cognitive elements by questions which would be expected to elicit information concerning them. The writer chose three situations which she had observed in the classroom for reconstruction in the interviews which, she thought, would elicit expressions on such cognitive elements as described in Scott's article. The following is the manner in which the interviews were conducted:

The writer told the child at the outset that the purpose of the interview was to learn how he saw things at the school and that what he said would be used in such a way that it could not be identified as his communication. She also told him that although they would be using the names of the other children and the teacher in the interview that no names would appear in the report of the study. The child and the interviewer sat at a table so that both could use the interview materials. These materials were thirty-six chess markers and a large sketch pad containing a diagram of the portion of the school building where the room in which the child had spent the past nine months was located.

The diagram showed the entry hall to the school building, the hall leading to the classroom, and the room with rectangular outlines representing the desks, situated as they had been during the school term.

The writer gave an explanation of the diagram to the child and encouraged him to point out the desks where the different children sat, including himself, to make sure that he understood the diagram. She then told him that he could let the chessmen represent the children and the teacher, and the writer moved the chessmen about to show him how this could be done. The writer then asked the child to imagine another child who had never been to school (a boy if the child being interviewed was a boy, and a girl if the child being interviewed was a girl) and to imagine that he was telling the child who had never been to school about it, using the chessmen and diagram to show the child what he meant. The writer then suggested things the child being interviewed might tell the one who had never been to school. The writer also asked questions using the chessmen to dramatize them, occasionally reminding the child being interviewed that he was telling this to a child who had never been to school.

The interviews were not rigorously structured, but the writer reconstructed the same three situations at approximately the same point in each interview. And she asked much the same questions of all the children. A description of these situations and questions follows in the section devoted to procedure. The writer conducted the interviews in as informal a manner as possible and the questions were all

open-ended. The purpose of using the chessmen was to put the child at ease. It is the opinion of the writer that this occurred; most of the children became animated and entered into the make-believe in an enthusiastic way. The chessmen served another purpose which the writer had not anticipated. Some of the children were reluctant to call the child by name who was a poor student or whom the others disliked, but when they were asked to move the student who was the poorest to a position along the wall, as shown in the diagram of the room, they did this. In many cases, the child after doing this would then become voluble about the others in the class. The child's difficulty here was not mere illness-at ease; he seemed to feel that he was doing something which he should not do when he called the other child by name, but it did not bother him to indicate the chessman who represented the child.

In both instances, where the child was ill at ease with the writer, and where he was reluctant to make unfavorable remarks about another child, the dramatization helped the child to objectify the situation. In terms of Mead's theory, it freed him from his emotional involvement with the situation which was causing him to react in a direct manner to it so that his self-process could come into operation and he could handle the situation in a cognitive manner.

The above has been a description of the eight kinds of data used in this study, i. e., the observation notes taken in the classroom, notes on the verbal appraisals made by the teacher concerning each child, the term grades of the children, the children's scores on

an intelligence test, information concerning the child's residence, including the appearance and situation of his house, whether he lived with both his parents and whether his mother was employed outside the home, and notes on an individual interview with each child. The manner in which the writer treated these eight kinds of data follows.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

After the writer collected the data described in the foregoing section she classified them in the following way so that she could study them to determine if relationships existed between them.

Classroom Notes

The classroom notes served not as a direct source of data, but, as set out in the foregoing section, as a source of information for use in the interviews. In addition, from time to time, reference to them served for explanatory purposes, as will be set out in this report.

Teacher's Verbal Appraisals

The teacher's verbal appraisals served as a basis for dividing the children into two classes, those who were being passed on the basis of their work and those who were being passed on to the seventh grade for other reasons. As stated before, all of the children were passed to the seventh grade and their grades reflected that they were passing, although some were very low. The teacher said that she considered many

of them in need of repeating the course, but that facilities were not available for their doing so. Others, she said, while they were not doing satisfactory work, were being passed on because she considered them incapable of doing any better even though they had repeated the course. The writer decided not to use the teacher's expressions concerning her interactions with the children since her statements as to the quality of their work included this factor. As in the case of the classroom notes, however, different items from the teacher's appraisals served for explanatory purposes and these instances have been noted in this report.

Term Grades

While the term grades of the children were not of use for dividing the children into two groups of those doing passing work and those doing failing work, they were of use for comparative purposes since the teacher had given those children who were doing better work better grades and those doing poorer work poorer grades, with the exception of two cases which will be discussed later. The writer used the grades for devising a ranking system against which the child's ranking of himself as a student could be compared. In constructing the ranking system, the writer first computed the average of the grades each child received in the different subjects, giving the letter grades the following weights: A, four; B, three; C, two and D, one. (The teacher gave no grades of F.) An average of three and six-tenths or

above was then considered an A; two and six-tenths to three and one-half, a B; one and six-tenths to two and one-half, a C; and one and one-half and below, a D.

As can be seen in Table I, there were eight children with an average of B. These children were all doing what the teacher considered satisfactory work for children in the sixth grade. There were fourteen children with an average of C. Only one of these was considered by the teacher to be doing passing work. As the table shows, there were three children with an average of D. The teacher said that she would have passed one of these children with a D average in any event because she considered him capable of doing seventh-grade work satisfactorily.

TABLE I
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE BASED ON GRADE AVERAGE AND
TEACHER'S VERBAL APPRAISAL

Grade Average	Teacher's verbal appraisal		Total
	Doing passing work	Doing failing work	
B	8	0	8
C	1	13	14
D	1	2	3
Totals	10	15	25

In devising the ranking system, the writer next ranked the children according to their grade averages. Those with the eight highest ranks, based on grade alone, were the children with B average, and these eight children retained the top eight ranks in the devised system. However, the children who ranked ninth and tenth according to their grade averages the teacher considered to have done failing work, while the one who ranked eleventh on the basis of his grades the teacher considered to have done passing work. In the devised ranking system, the writer moved this child who held eleventh place up to ninth place ahead of the two children who had occupied the ninth and tenth places on the basis of their grades. The teacher considered all of the other children to have done failing work with the exception of the one boy who had a D average, whom she said she would have passed because she thought him capable of doing seventh-grade work. The writer moved this boy into tenth place in the devised ranking system, above the other children with higher grade averages whom the teacher considered to have done failing work. With the exception of these two boys, one of whom the writer moved up two places and the other fifteen places, all of the children held ranks according to their grade averages. The writer recognizes that this ranking system does not have a completely sound logical basis, but it was the best she could devise with the available information, and it was used with this reservation.

Intelligence Quotients

The writer placed the intelligence test scores in the classification suggested in the manual which accompanied the tests. As shown in Table II this classification divided the possible scores into six classes, those of one hundred and thirty and above being classified as Very Superior and comprising three percent of a typical population; those falling from one hundred fifteen to one hundred twenty-nine were placed in the Superior class and made up fourteen percent of the typical population. None of the scores of the children fell within these two top classes, as will be seen by referring to Table II. The third class was made up of scores from one hundred to one hundred fourteen, and was entitled High Average, constituting thirty-three percent of the typical population. The fifth class, the Low Average class, was made up of scores from eighty-five to ninety-nine and also constituted thirty-three percent of the population. The two lowest classes were the Inferior and the Very Inferior, made up of scores of seventy to eighty-four and sixty-nine and below, respectively. The Inferior class comprised fourteen percent of the typical population, and the Very Inferior three percent. The scores of the children under consideration fell in all of these four classes, as Table II shows. Where a two-category division was used in this study, the writer divided the children into two categories by placing those whose intelligence quotients fell into the High Average and Low Average classes in the upper category, and those whose intelligence quotients fell into the Inferior and

Very Inferior in the lower category. This made a total of eleven children in the upper intelligence quotient category and a total of nine in the lower.

TABLE II
INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT CLASSIFICATION

Class	Intelligence quotients	Percent typical population	Number of children in present study
Very superior	130 and above	3	0
Superior	115-129	14	0
High average	100-114	33	3
Low average	85-99	33	8
Inferior	70-84	14	8
Very inferior	69 and below	3	1
Total		100	20

Socio-Economic Status

As will be recalled from the description of the data, the children's socio-economic status was based on three factors: the type of house in which they lived, whether they had a father in the home, and whether their mothers worked outside the home. The writer divided the children into two categories on the basis of each of these three criteria, as follows:

Type of Residence. The writer placed the children occupying the houses situated on the two parallel streets running from the entrance into the area to the school building and the cross streets connecting these two parallel streets in the upper category. As explained in the section on the source of the data, all of these houses were noticeably of better construction and were better cared for than the houses on the streets on either side beyond the parallel streets. There were five children who lived in this section. Also the writer placed in the upper category the two children who occupied the new brick houses in the sparsely settled area. While this area was on the whole inferior to the area of the parallel streets, the houses were widely scattered and some were small farms, so that these two houses were not as closely associated in value with the surrounding houses as were the houses in the two areas on the other side of the school. As shown in Table III, this made a total of seven children in the upper category of this socio-economic criterion.

All of the other children were placed in the lower category. These were the children who lived in the houses in the poorer section on either side of the area of the parallel streets and those who lived in houses of like appearance in the sparsely settled area on the other side of the school. There were eighteen children in the lower category, as is shown in Table III.

Presence of father in home. The writer divided the children into two categories with reference to this second criterion also, the

upper category containing simply those children who lived with a father in the home and the lower category containing those who did not have a father in their home. As Table III shows, there were nineteen children who lived with their fathers, and six who lived in homes without fathers.

TABLE III
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF CHILDREN FROM STANDPOINT OF
THREE CRITERIA

Category	Type of residence	Father in home	Non-working mother
Upper category	7	19	12
Lower category	18	6	13
Total	25	25	25

Mother not working outside home. The writer placed those children whose mothers did not work outside the home in the upper category on the third criterion and those whose mothers worked away from home or were completely absent from the home in the lower category. As Table III shows, there were twelve children whose mothers remained at home and thirteen whose mothers worked outside the home, or were completely absent.

Over-all socio-economic status. In addition to consideration of the children on the three above-described socio-economic criteria

separately, the writer considered them in terms of an over-all, or general socio-economic classification. This classification also had two categories, the upper of which contained the children who fell into two or three of the upper categories of the separate criteria, and the lower being made up of children who fell into two or three of the lower categories of the separate criteria. The children were about evenly divided into the two categories of this over-all socio-economic classification as is shown in the following:

Children falling into two or more upper categories of the three socio-economic criteria	12
Children falling into two or more lower categories of the three socio-economic criteria	13
Total	25

This concludes the discussion of the research methods concerning the data indicating the children's school performance, their intelligence quotients, and their socio-economic status. The treatment of the data taken as an indication of the children's self-development, derived from the interview notes will be subject of the remainder of this chapter. Because of the importance of these last data to the study, their treatment will be given in some detail.

IV. RESEARCH METHODS, SELF-VARIABLES

The writer treated the child's stage of self-development in terms of the three aspects of the self contained in the three implicit hypotheses from Mead's theory, that is, the extent to which the child had internalized the organized social attitudes of the group; his ability to take the attitude of the other, in this case the teacher, in social interaction; and his ability to view himself objectively. Since the interviews were unstructured, it was necessary to subject them to content analysis to determine what variables occurred in enough instances to be used to indicate the first two aspects of the self, or internalization of social attitudes and taking the attitude of the other, as contained in the first and second implicit hypotheses. Variables for the third aspect of the self, looking at one's self objectively, contained in the third implicit hypothesis, were drawn from the interviews without content analysis, as will be described later.

In doing the content analysis, the writer remained alert, first, in terms of the first implicit hypothesis, to any indication in the child's cognitive structure of awareness of social organization or organized social attitudes, since she considered this to be a manifestation of what Mead calls taking the attitude of the generalized other. Three such variables were discovered which appeared in a sufficient number of interviews to warrant their use. These are discussed below in detail.

The second kind of variable which the writer sought by content analysis was, in terms of the second implicit hypothesis, that which indicated the child was taking the attitude of the other, in this case, the teacher, in remembered or imagined social interaction. Two of these were found and are discussed below in detail.

The third kind of variable obtained from the interviews was that which indicated the child's ability to look at himself objectively, in terms of the third hypothesis implicitly guiding this study. It was not necessary to use content analysis to obtain these variables. Two of these were found and these are also discussed in detail below.

Incorporation of Social Attitudes

As stated above three variables were chosen to indicate incorporation of social attitudes. Following is a discussion of each in terms of its conceptual framework and its division into two categories.

First self-variable. The first variable pertains to the child's discernment of the universal nature of traffic rules in the hall of the school. This was seen as an indication of taking the attitude of the generalized other.

At the school, members of the student body stand in the hall and direct traffic. Anyone passing in the hall must go to the right of the student council member. These children who direct traffic are instructed to see that all obey the rule, even the teachers and the principal. A student council member stopped the writer and asked her to go around him on two different occasions before she inquired and found out about

the rule. This situation, the writer thought, offered possibilities for testing awareness of a rule to which all are subject, or in other words a universal rule. The child's awareness of this aspect of the rule would be an indication of his incorporation of the organized sets of attitudes of others, or of social organization.

During the interview the interviewer drew the child into a discussion concerning the duties of the student council members who stand in the hall and direct traffic. The interviewer then presented a situation to the child by use of the interview materials where a chessman representing the teacher and a chessman representing the principal were moved past the student council member on the left-hand side. The interviewer then asked what the student council member would do. The answers of the children to these questions showed the following differing ways in which the children saw the situation. The child could see the rule as binding upon the teachers and enforced with reference to them; he could see it as a rule which the teachers should obey but which was not enforced with reference to them; or he could see it as a rule not applying to the teachers. The child who saw the rule as one applicable to the teachers and as enforced where they were concerned was considered to be the one who was aware of its universal nature to the greatest degree. In the situations in which the child thought the rule applied to the teachers but thought it was not enforced or only enforced part of the time, or, perhaps, he was not sure as to whether it was enforced or not, as well as in the situation in which he thought the

rule did not apply to the teacher, the child was considered to be not completely aware of the nature of the rule.

The writer therefore divided the children's statements concerning this matter into two categories: the upper category containing those answers which indicated the child saw the rule as one to which the teachers were subject and concerning which the hall monitors would correct them and the lower category containing all the answers which indicated one of the following: the child thought the rule did not apply to the teachers; the child thought that the children would not enforce the rule where the teachers were concerned; or, the child was not sure about the rule or about whether the children would enforce it where the teachers were concerned. As shown in Table IV, there were twelve children whose answers indicated they were aware of the universal nature of the rule and thirteen whose answers showed that they were not aware, or fully aware of its nature.

TABLE IV

SELF-VARIABLES: INCORPORATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES
FIRST VARIABLE: AWARENESS OF UNIVERSAL NATURE OF TRAFFIC RULE

Categories	Number of children
Upper category: aware of universal nature of rule	12
Lower category: not aware of universal nature of rule	13
Total number of children considered	25

Second self-variable. The second variable also was an indication of the child's internalization of social attitudes and had to do with his view of the teacher as performing a function in the school organization. The writer asked each child, as will be recalled, to imagine that he was telling another child who had never been to school about the school situation. At one point, the writer suggested to him that a child who had never been to school would want to know about teachers. The responses the children made to this suggestion were studied to see if the child's view of the teacher reflected an awareness of the social organization of the school. The bearing which the child's view of the teacher had upon his awareness of the social organization of the school appeared as follows.

If the child was aware of the social organization of the school, of the part the different people play in it, and of the purposes of the school, he would see the teacher in her capacity as teacher, that is, in an instrumental capacity. He would look at the student-teacher relationship in an impersonal way, as one in which his part was an active pursuit of education and the teacher's part was to instruct, guide, and direct him in this activity. On the other hand, if the child saw the teacher purely in an affective way, that is, if he saw his relationship to her as an end in itself, or if he saw her as his keeper, as someone in whose charge he had been placed, and with whose arbitrary actions he must cope, he was not considered to be aware of the social organization of the school.

The children's answers to this question were therefore studied with reference to the criterion of whether they saw the teacher as being instrumental in the accomplishment of the purpose of the school. Again the writer divided the answers into two categories. In the first category she placed those answers which seemed to show that the child saw the teacher primarily in an instrumental capacity. The second category contained the answers in which the child indicated that he looked upon the teacher-student relationship more or less exclusively in terms of a relationship which was to be valued or shunned in terms of itself alone, or as a relationship in which he played a passive part, except to the extent that he must placate the teacher or avoid her displeasure. Table V shows how the children's answers were divided into two categories.

TABLE V

SELF-VARIABLES: INCORPORATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES
SECOND VARIABLE: VIEW OF THE TEACHER IN AN
INSTRUMENTAL CAPACITY

Categories	Number of children
Upper category: sees teacher in instrumental capacity	14
Lower category: sees teacher in other capacity	10
Total number of children considered	24

Fourteen answers showed that the child saw the teacher primarily in an instrumental capacity and ten showed that the child saw her in some other capacity. One of the children's answers was not used because it showed that the child had been discussing the interviews with the other children and was attempting to discuss the teacher in terms of another question asked in the interviews. This kept her answer from being a true reflection of her view of the teacher.

Third self-variable. The third variable which the writer decided to use as an indication of the child's internalization of social attitudes was his view of himself as having the responsibility for his own behavior. The writer had seen the following situation during the observation period in the classroom, and she reconstructed it with the child's help, using the chessmen and room diagram.

The teacher went from the room for a while and before leaving she placed the class president in charge of the class, telling him to continue with the lessons and admonishing the class as a whole to behave in the way they knew they should. While the teacher was out the recess bell rang. There were two bells, with a five-minute interval between them, for recess. It was the usual procedure when the first bell rang for the children to clear their desks and then arise and stand beside their desks in an attitude of attention until the second bell rang. The teacher usually stood in front of the room inspecting them and the room in general. When the second bell rang, they passed out in single file unless the teacher detained them.

After reconstructing this situation up to the point where the first bell rang, the writer asked the child, "What happens now?". After the child had given his answer, other questions were asked, one of which was whether the boy who had been left in charge of the class was supposed to tell them what to do, and another of which was what would happen if the boy who had been in charge had seemed to forget that he was in charge of the room and had gone to his desk and started arranging his books. (This was, in fact, what he had done.) The children's answers to these questions were studied to learn whether they expected to be told what to do and whether they looked upon themselves as being responsible for continuing in the usual way even though the teacher was out of the room and the boy in charge of the class had abandoned his position. Their answers varied from those who said the boy in charge was not supposed to tell them what to do because they already knew what to do and would do it, to those children who said that the boy in charge was supposed to tell them what to do and that if he didn't, they, the children being interviewed, would just stand by their desks and would not under any circumstances leave the room until, or unless, the boy in charge told them what to do.

The rationale here was that the internalization of the attitude of the other, particularly the generalized other, acts as an agency of social control. The person takes the standpoint of the group toward himself and in reacting to this standpoint he is controlled by the social attitudes of the group.

In this case, the answers of the children were placed in two categories according to whether the child saw himself as bearing the responsibility for his own behavior, or if he phrased his answers in terms of what the class would do, the extent to which he saw the children in the room, with himself as one of them, as being responsible for their own behavior. The first category contained those answers in which the child saw himself and the other members of the class as clearing their desks, standing beside them, and passing out when the second bell rang. If they said they expected the boy in charge to direct them, they also said, when asked, that they would know what to do anyway and would do it. Eighteen of the children's answers fell into this category, as shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI

SELF-VARIABLES: INCORPORATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES
THIRD VARIABLE: SEES SELF AS BEING RESPONSIBLE
FOR OWN BEHAVIOR

Categories	Number of children
Upper category: sees self as responsible for own behavior	18
Lower category: sees self as not responsible for own behavior	7
Total number of children considered	25

In the second category, the writer placed those answers which indicated that the child expected the boy in charge of the class to tell them what to do and if he did not they, and sometimes the class, would not know what to do, and in many cases they would do nothing. The reasoning behind placing these answers in this category was that these children did not see themselves as assuming the responsibility for their own actions. There were seven children whose answers were judged to show that they did not see the responsibility for their own behavior resting upon themselves, as is reflected in Table VI.

Taking the Attitude of the Other

The next two variables were viewed in the context of the second component of Mead's self, as contained in the second implicit hypothesis, that of taking the attitude or role of the other. They were handled in the interviews in the following way.

Fourth self-variable. The situation described in the third variable in which the teacher had left the room had further significance in the interviews. As will be recalled, the recess bell rang and the children prepared to go to recess. There was some disorder and noise and this became worse when the assistant principal sent one of the children back into the room with instructions that they were not to go into the hall because a school election was being held and there were already too many children in the hall. From this time until the children returned to the classroom following their turn to vote—they were

also participating in the election—the class was not called to order by the class president and there was some noise, with the children singly, or in two's and three's going into the hall for short periods of time.

When the teacher returned to the room she was obviously upset and began talking to the children in a stern way, although at the time she returned, the class was proceeding in an orderly way with its lessons again with the class president in charge. The writer reconstructed the scene in which the teacher returned to the room with the interview materials in its proper sequence following the other events as recounted in variable three and the events described above. At this point the writer said to the child, "Were you surprised that she was angry?". Here again the answers varied; some of the children said they were not surprised because they had been noisy; some said they were surprised, and some insisted she was not angry. The situation was then developed further by having the teacher in the drama (as she had done in the real situation) remind them of the Bible story of Lot, whose wife had looked back at the city of Sodom after having been commanded by the Lord not to do so, and had been turned to a pillar of salt. This made a few of the children say something to the effect that perhaps they hadn't been so surprised after all or that maybe they were a little noisy at that.

The writer saw this situation, as reconstructed for the child, as an example of what Mead meant when he said that human social interaction was carried on in a more efficient way because the individual, by taking the role of the other, knew what to expect of the other and

was thereby already prepared for the response of the other.

Further light can be thrown on this situation by viewing it in terms of Strauss's discussion of establishing the identity of the other in a problematic situation and of one's self so that one can proceed with the interaction. For some of the children, at least, it was a problematic situation in which it was necessary that they assign motives to the teacher in order to determine in terms of what self she was acting so that they could understand the situation well enough to place themselves in it and proceed with the interaction. Those children who changed their interpretation after having the story of Lot pointed out to them had succeeded in placing the teacher and themselves in the situation. However, in this instance the child's ability to anticipate the response was the variable under consideration, so that the children who were successful in post-diction, so to speak, were not successful in anticipating the teacher's response, although they could be considered to be more proficient in role-taking than those children who were never able to figure out the situation.

As in the case of the other variables, the writer placed these answers in two categories as to what appeared to be the child's expectation of the response of the teacher. The answers of the children who said that they had not been surprised and who attributed the teacher's displeasure to their having been noisy in the teacher's absence were placed in the upper category. As is shown in Table VII, nine answers fell into this upper category.

The second category was composed of the answers of the children

who said they were surprised, or who insisted she was not angry. There were fourteen answers in this category, as is shown in Table VII. There were two answers which could not be used because it was obvious the children were confusing this incident with another incident which occurred before the writer had begun observing the class.

TABLE VII

SELF-VARIABLES: TAKING THE ATTITUDE OF THE OTHER
FOURTH VARIABLE: EXPECTATION OF
TEACHER'S RESPONSE

Categories	Number of children
Upper category: expected teacher's response	9
Lower category: did not expect teacher's response	14
Total number of children considered	23

The children who said they were surprised gave many different answers when asked why the teacher was angry. Some said simply that she was angry because they had been noisy. One of these said he didn't know she would know about it. Another said he didn't think they were that noisy. One or two of them amended their answers after being asked why she had told them the story of Lot to say that she was angry because they had been noisy. Some of the children, even after being reminded of the story of Lot, were unable to account for the teacher's response. Also in

this category were placed a few children who said they were not surprised but who attributed her displeasure to other causes; in other words, they assigned incorrect motives to her and thereby demonstrated that their correct expectation was merely a happenstance.

Fifth self-variable. The fifth self-variable was also an aspect of taking the attitude or role of the other, in terms of the second implicit hypothesis. The writer had also observed a situation during the visits to the classroom in which the children had had a spelling match. The contest had not lasted long because all the boys, who were competing against the girls, had to sit down when they could not spell the word sincerely. Most of the girls had had to sit down also because of this word, but there were two or three of them still standing when one correctly spelled the word. At this point the teacher told the remaining girls to take their seats. She then told the children to put their books in their desks and get a clean sheet of paper. After all the children had complied with these instructions, she told them to start writing the word cat and to continue writing it until she told them to stop. This was only a short time before lunch time, and when the bell rang she told them they might stop and prepare for lunch.

The writer reconstructed this scene in the interviews by asking the child from time to time, "What happened then?", or "What happens now?", depending upon whether the child was remembering or imagining. After the writer had contributed the part about the teacher's having them write cat, she asked the child, "What did you think when she said that?".

All the children connected her behavior with spelling in some way, but their reasons as to why she had had them do this particular thing showed a great variety. Some said that she was mad because they had not studied their spelling lesson, while others took it so literally that they said she thought they didn't know how to spell cat and was teaching them how to do it. Some of them insisted she was not angry and was showing them a method of studying spelling.

While the writer saw this situation, like the situation described under variable four, as an example of the part taking the attitude of the other plays in interaction, she handled it differently here because the idea was to get at the child's interpretation of the teacher's behavior. The situation was one which could appear as problematic, in the sense that Strauss described, from the standpoint of the child since the teacher offered no hint as to her reasons for having them do what she did. The writer studied the answers with a view to seeing how the children identified her, that is, what motives they assigned to her so that they in turn could take her position and identify themselves in the situation and proceed with the interaction.

Two categories were set up here in an attempt to classify the answers of the children as to how nearly their assignment of motives agreed with the teacher's own view of her behavior. The answers which showed the child knew the teacher was provoked because they hadn't studied their spelling lesson and was in a sense punishing them were placed in the upper category. Table VIII shows that ten answers were

placed in this category. In the lower category were placed those answers which seemed to indicate the child connected her actions with the class's inability to spell the words but that he did not see it as a punishment or as a result of her being provoked. In the lower category were also placed the answers which showed that the child was unable to attribute motives to the teacher, in other words, he said he did not know why she had had them write the word cat. As Table VIII shows, there were also ten answers in the lower category. The writer failed to ask the other five of the twenty-five children to interpret the teacher's actions in having them write the word cat.

TABLE VIII

SELF-VARIABLES: TAKING THE ATTITUDE OF THE OTHER
FIFTH VARIABLE: CORRECT INTERPRETATION OF
TEACHER'S RESPONSE

Categories	Number of children
Upper category: correctly interpreted the teacher's response	10
Lower category: failed to interpret correctly the teacher's response	10
Total number of children considered	20

The foregoing five variables were all the variables determined by content analysis. However, two more variables which did not require

content analysis came from the interviews. These variables pertained to the child's ability to take an objective view of himself, which is the third aspect of the self treated in this study and which was contained in the third implicit hypothesis

Looking at the Self Objectively

As will be recalled from the theoretical discussion, the expression looking at one's self with objectivity means more than the mere placing of one's self in one's own environmental field. While it includes as a first step making an object of one's self, and this is done by taking the attitude of another, or the "generalized other," it also includes looking at one's self without the bias of personal feelings and prejudices. The following two variables were considered to be instances of looking at the self objectively.

Sixth self-variable. The sixth self-variable, proposed as an indication of the child's looking at himself objectively, was his ranking of himself accurately as a student. The child ranked himself in the context of the interview as follows.

During the interview the interviewer asked each child to place the chessman representing the best student in the class against the line representing the wall in the diagram of the room. The interviewer then asked him to place the next best beside the first, and then the next best, and so on. This continued until the child had placed seven or eight chessmen. If he had placed himself among these seven or eight, the interviewer then asked him if he had gone far enough to tell

who was going to be at the end of the line. If he could place the one he considered the poorest student, he did so. Sometimes, however, the child was reluctant, or unable, to do this. In this case he was asked to place a few more in the upper part of the line, and then again he was asked if he was able yet to determine who would be at the end.

If the child had not placed himself in the first seven or eight students considered by him to be the better students, the interviewer encouraged him to continue until he had placed himself and usually one or two more before stopping him to ask if he was then able to tell who would be at the end of the line. The purpose of this was to see where the child placed himself as a student and to compare this with his rank as devised for the purpose of this study, as described under treatment of the term grades on pages 33-35.

Reference is made to Table IX which shows the differences which occurred between the students' ranking of themselves and their ranking as students by the criteria used in this study. These differences ranged from zero to twelve and one-half places. Thirteen of the children were able to rank themselves within four places of their rank as determined for the purposes of this study. Four more were able to rank themselves within eight places of their objective rank. The others missed their objective rank by eight and one-half or more places. This last group included two children who were unable to rank themselves at all. The writer assigned a difference for these last two children equal to the greatest difference in the classroom, twelve and

one-half places, so that there would be a basis on which they could be included in using this variable in the study.

TABLE IX

SELF-VARIABLES: LOOKING AT SELF OBJECTIVELY
SIXTH VARIABLE: CORRECT RANKING OF
SELF AS STUDENT

Difference between self-rank and objective rank devised for study	Number of children
0.0 - 4.0	13
4.5 - 8.0	4
8.5 - 12.5	8
Total	25

This variable as a test of the child's ability to look at himself objectively ignores the factor of whether he was able to place the other children accurately. It might appear if he were unable to do this, his inability to place himself accurately could not logically be attributed to his failure to view himself objectively. However, the writer did not see this to be the case. The individual's ability to look at anyone objectively, as defined for this variable, hinges upon his ability to take the attitude of the generalized other, or to assume the organized attitudes of the group in which he is involved to some extent. In other words, the child who had incorporated these social values would have been able to place the members of the class with a

satisfactory degree of accuracy. So that the child's inability to place the children in the classroom, including himself, accurately would have been an indication of an inability to look at himself objectively. It would likewise have been a manifestation of lack of objectivity, although in a more restricted sense, if the child were able to place his classmates accurately but not himself. Both instances of lack of objectivity occurred in the interviews.

With reference to this self-variable and the next, also having to do with the child's looking at himself objectively, the writer made no distinction between overrankings and underrankings. While this would be an important distinction for many purposes, the writer did not see it to be of significance in this conceptual framework. The cognitive aspects of the self-process were being investigated; the question was whether the child could see himself in the light of social attitudes or from the standpoint of an entire class of children rather than from an affective standpoint.

Since there was no logical place of division of the differences in self-rank and objective rank of these children, they were not placed in two categories as in the first five variables. Instead, this variable was used by comparing the average difference of one group of children to the average difference of another. This is discussed further at the end of this chapter and again fully under the findings of this study.

Seventh self-variable. The seventh self-variable also was an aspect of looking at one's self objectively. Here the criterion was agreement of the child's view of himself as to how well he was liked by the class with the view the class, as a whole, had of him in this regard. The writer handled this variable in a similar manner to the foregoing variable in the interviews.

In the same manner in which the writer asked the child to rank the members of his class and himself as to school performance, she also asked the child to rank the members of the class as to how well each was liked. The child picked out the child whom he saw as the best liked in the room and placed him, or rather the chess marker representing him, against the line representing the wall of the room in the diagram. He then picked out the one who was liked next best. He repeated this until he had placed himself. The writer then asked the child who would go at the end of the line, and in most cases who would be the one just before the last one in the line. The purpose of this was to see whether the child saw himself as the others saw him.

The way the other children saw him was also determined from this same part of the interview. A ranking system which was called the class rank was constructed in the following way. The writer tabulated the rankings all the children gave to each other as to how well each was liked, exclusive of self-rankings. The child whom the others saw as best liked the most often received first place in this system. The succeeding ranks were determined by multiplying the number of times a

child was placed in a particular rank by the rank number, then adding the products together and dividing by the number of times he was ranked by the other children. These quotients for all the children were then placed in rank order. This system has the serious failing that each child did not rank the entire class. At the time the interviews were conducted the writer did not anticipate using the children's rankings of each other in this manner. While the child's ranking of himself is reliable, the class's rank is not reliable in all instances. The writer used the class's rank with this reservation.

The writer placed this self-variable in the conceptual scheme of the study in the following way. The children had all been members of the class for a period of nine months. During this period of time they had been incorporating the informal social interaction of the group so that there should have been a similarity in the group attitude, or attitude of the "generalized other" which each was taking with reference to group activities. Each child's awareness of how well he was liked, as well as how well his classmates were liked, came from assuming the group attitude. And it is by assuming the group attitude, rather than the attitude of a particular individual that the child gets an impersonal, objective view of himself. The children participated in a like manner in the informal social interaction patterns of the group and the attitudes associated with it, and there should have been a similarity in the group attitudes assumed by the children. That is to say, the views the children in the class had with reference to a

particular member should have been similar. This similarity should have been present as well when the child's view of himself was compared to the views of his classmates of himself.

When a child saw himself in a manner greatly at variance with the manner in which his classmates saw him, there was reason to think that he was not looking upon himself objectively. This lack of objectivity may have come about through his inability to assume the attitude of the group, so that he likewise was unable to place his classmates in a manner similar to the way the other children placed them. Or the child could simply have been so influenced by his personal feelings and prejudices that he could not place himself objectively, although he might be able to assume the attitude of the group with reference to the other children. In either event, objectivity with reference to himself would not have been present.

While this variable is similar to the preceding variable, there is this difference. In the earlier instance the child's accuracy in placing himself was the question, accuracy being taken to mean agreement with his place in the ranking system employed in this study, which, in turn may have been a reflection of the teacher's attitude, the social attitudes of the larger society, or more particularly of the school organization of which the teacher and the child were a part. With respect to the variable here under consideration the agreement of the child's placement of himself with his placement by his classmates is being investigated. As a participating member of the group, he is

being asked to assume the attitude of the group as a whole toward himself. His view of himself from the standpoint of the class is being compared to how the other children see him from the standpoint of the class. It is not being compared with the average of the way he is liked by the children individually, which is a different thing and which does not necessarily coincide with how well he is seen as being liked.

As reflected in Table X, the greatest difference between self-rank and class rank was twenty-one places. Only ten of the children ranked themselves within seven places of their class rank. Seven more ranked themselves within fourteen places of their class rank. The others ranked themselves with a difference of fifteen or more places between their self-rank and class rank.

TABLE X

SELF-VARIABLES: LOOKING AT SELF OBJECTIVELY
SEVENTH VARIABLE: RANKING OF SELF AS
TO HOW WELL LIKED

Difference between self-rank and class rank as to how well liked	Number of children
0 - 7	10
8 - 14	7
15 - 21	8
Total number of children	25

Six children were unable to rank themselves or their classmates at all as to how well they were liked, and the writer assigned to them a difference equal to the greatest difference in the class, or twenty-one places.

Again, since there was no logical way of dividing these differences into two categories, this variable was used by comparing the average differences of groups of children. This is discussed at the end of this chapter and more fully in the findings of this thesis.

The foregoing description of the treatment of the data covers the procedure followed in preparing the different self-variables, the school performance variable, the socio-economic variables, and the intelligence quotient variable so that relationships between the variables could be sought.

As stated in the first chapter, the purpose of this study was partly to seek relationships between the self-variables and the variables indicating school performance, socio-economic status, and intelligence quotient, as well as between the self-variables themselves. The writer sought relationships between the variables by placing those having two categories in two by two tables. Since the data did not represent any sample and the number of cases was so small, these tables were merely examined without benefit of any tests, and the results of the examination are fully discussed in the findings of this report. The tables are shown in each instance in the findings where the relationship of two

variables is discussed.

Since the two self-variables taken to indicate the child's ability to look at himself objectively were not divided into two categories, their relationship to the other variables having two categories was considered by comparing the average differences between the self-rank and objective rank as student and the self placement and class placement as to being liked for the children in the upper category with the average differences for the children in the lower category of the variable having two categories. Tables reflecting these averages are shown in the findings when the relationships of these two self-variables indicating the child's ability to look at himself to the other variables are discussed. The relationship of these two variables to each other was considered by computing the correlation coefficient for the differences between self-rank and objective rank as student with the differences between self-rank and class rank as to being liked for each individual child. The relationship of these differences to each other are discussed fully in the findings of this report.

With reference to the content analysis concerning the first five self-variables, two judges, in addition to the writer, divided the children's answers into the two categories of each variable. The final classification was one in which all answers have the agreement of at least two of the three judges, and in most instances the agreement of all three judges. The percentage of agreement for each variable was computed by subtracting the number of answers on which only two judges

agreed from the total number of answers and dividing the remainder by the total number of answers. Table II shows the percentage of agreement for the five self-variables. For the first, second and fifth self-variables the percentage of agreement was eighty-four, for the third self-variable ninety-two and for the fourth self-variable ninety-six.

TABLE XI
PERCENTAGES OF AGREEMENT OF THREE JUDGES
ON FIRST FIVE SELF VARIABLES

Variable	Percentage of agreement
First self-variable	84
Second self-variable	84
Third self-variable	92
Fourth Self-variable	96
Fifth self-variable	84

This chapter has included an account of the present study, giving the source of the data, a description of the data, and a general account of the treatment of the data. In the chapters which follow the findings will be set out and also more details concerning the use of the data will be presented.

CHAPTER III

THE SELF-VARIABLES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

The aims of this study were to explore ways of determining aspects of the elementary school child's self-development and to seek relationships between these aspects of self-development and his school performance, as well as to seek relationships between these variables themselves, and to look for indications of relationships between the child's socio-economic status and his self-development, and between his intelligence quotient and his self-development. The writer explored three main aspects of the child's self-development: his internalization of the social attitudes of the group to which he belongs; his ability to take the attitude of another; and his ability to view himself objectively.

The preceding chapter was an account of how the writer pursued these aims in the present study and described how the data were obtained and how they were treated. This chapter and the next two chapters present the findings of the study. Because of the limitations of the study, these findings are offered as being merely suggestive and not as being conclusive in any way.

In this chapter the writer presents and discusses each self-variable and gives its relationship to the school performance of the children as indicated by the data in this study.

First self-variable. The writer attempted to evaluate the school child's internalization of the attitudes of the group by

examining his interview from the standpoint of three variables. The first variable was the child's awareness of the general or universal nature of a traffic rule in the halls of the school. The child's answer to a question whether or not the children stationed in the hall would stop a teacher or the principal if they did not observe the rule to go to the right was used as a basis for seeing whether the child understood the idea of an abstract rule which a child could enforce where the teacher was concerned.

The children's answers to this question revealed interesting contrasts. It was obvious that some understood the nature of the rule completely and that they even took delight in the idea of its universality. Others were not sure and showed that they had not given the matter any thought, and some stated that the teachers could go any way they wished. It was possible to divide the answers into two groups, and twelve children's answers fell into the category of those who were aware of the nature of the rule; thirteen fell into the category of those who were not aware of its nature, as set out in Table IV on page 44 of the preceding chapter.

When this variable was examined in relation to the school performance of the children by placing the two variables in a two by two table, the results were as shown in Table XII. It was found that six out of ten children doing passing work evidenced awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule in the hall of the school. Six out of fifteen children doing work which was not passing were aware of the

nature of the rule.

TABLE XII
FIRST SELF-VARIABLE AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

School performance	First self-variable		Total
	Number of children aware of universal nature of rule	Number of children not aware of universal nature of rule	
Number of children doing passing work	6	4	10
Number of children doing failing work	6	9	15
Total	12	13	25

Although when looked at this way, the proportion of children doing passing work who were aware of the nature of the rule is greater than for the children doing failing work, when looked at from the standpoint of the first variable, out of the twelve children aware of the nature of the rule six were doing passing work and six were doing failing work. So that the data is indeterminate for the relationship of this first self-variable to school performance.

Second self-variable. The second variable related to the child's internalisation of social attitudes was whether or not the child saw the teacher as an instrument in helping educate the children, rather than as an authority in whose charge they were placed or as a

personality toward whom they reacted more or less in an unstructured fashion. Fourteen of them saw her primarily in her capacity as teacher, that is, in her role as teacher whose function it was to help or guide the children in obtaining an education, and ten of them saw her otherwise, as is shown in Table V on page 48 of the preceding chapter. Six of the children who did not see her in an instrumental capacity looked upon her as someone to whose authority they were subject, and four of them described teachers as persons with whom one had close personal relationships in which the teacher gave one lunch money, or who wanted one to be a "nice" child. The last four children were girls who were having personal problems of one sort or another and the teacher they had at this time had shown interest in their problems. There was another child whose answer could not be considered because she answered this question in terms of how teachers and mothers were alike. This was one of the subjects discussed with the children in their interviews and this child had apparently been discussing the interviews with the other children and thought these were the terms in which the writer wanted the question answered.

The second self-variable was found to be related to school performance in the way shown in Table XIII. As the table reflects, eight out of nine children who were passed on merit saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity. One of the ten passing children was the child mentioned above whose answer could not be used. Among the children who were passed for reasons other than their work, six out of fifteen saw

the teacher in an instrumental capacity in the school organization. Thus the proportion of passing children who saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity was greater than for the children doing failing work. In addition, more of the children who saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity were doing passing work than were doing failing work. The data indicated that the second self-variable was related to school performance.

TABLE XIII
SECOND SELF-VARIABLE AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

School performance	Second self-variable		Total
	Number of children seeing teacher in instrumental capacity	Number of children not seeing teacher in instrumental capacity	
Number of children doing passing work	8	1	9
Number of children doing failing work	6	9	15
Total	14	10	24

Third self-variable. The third variable concerning the child's internalisation of social attitudes was the responsibility he saw himself as having for his own behavior. The writer made an attempt to get at the child's view of this through a question concerning what he did when left in the classroom without supervision. There were eighteen

children who were shown by their answers to see the responsibility as resting upon themselves for their behavior. This was set out in Table VI on page 49 of the preceding chapter. Seven were shown to be wanting to place the responsibility on the boy who had been left in charge.

When this variable was considered from the standpoint of the children doing passing work and those doing failing work, the results were as shown in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV
THIRD SELF-VARIABLE AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

School Performance	Third self-variable		Total
	Number of children seeing self as responsible for own behavior	number of children not seeing self as responsible for own behavior	
Number of children doing passing work	8	2	10
Number of children doing failing work	10	5	15
Total	18	7	25

As Table XIV shows, eight out of ten children doing passing work were found to see the responsibility for their own behavior as resting upon themselves, while ten out of fifteen children doing unsatisfactory work saw themselves in this way. So that in both groups of children

more saw themselves as being responsible than not responsible, although the proportion for those doing passing work was a little greater than for those doing failing work. And there were more failing children than passing children among those who saw themselves as being responsible for their own behavior. The data thus showed that the third self-variable was not associated with school performance.

Fourth self-variable. The second general aspect of the child's self-development for which indications were sought was his ability to take the role of the other, in this case the teacher. Indicators of two phases of role-taking were found, one of which was the fourth self-variable, the child's expectation of the teacher's response to the misbehavior of the class as determined by his answer to the question: "Were you surprised that she was angry?". As was shown in Table VII on page 53, nine of the children's answers were placed in the upper category as having expected her response and fourteen answers fell into the lower category as having been surprised, two of the children not giving answers which could be placed in either category. When this variable was placed in a two by two table with the children's school performance, the results were as shown in Table IV. This variable was shown to be related to the children's school performances as follows: five out of nine children doing passing work said that they had expected the teacher's response, and only four out of fourteen children doing failing work said that they had expected her reaction. And among the children expecting the teacher's response, there was one more passing

than failing. So that there was a slight indication that the fourth self-variable was associated with school performance.

TABLE XV
FOURTH SELF-VARIABLE AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

School performance	Fourth self-variable		Total
	Number of children expecting teacher's response	Number of children not expecting teacher's response	
Number of children doing passing work	5	4	9
Number of children doing failing work	4	10	14
Total	9	14	23

Fifth self-variable. The second phase of role-taking for which the writer sought an indicator was the interpretation of the response of the other, in this case again the teacher. Here the writer asked the child why the teacher told them to write the word cat over and over on a sheet of paper. The answers to this question showed that some of the children had been puzzled by the teacher's instructions. Some others, including the four girls who have already been mentioned as having an emotional attachment with the teacher, interpreted it as showing them a method of learning to spell, or as an instruction to all the children but for the benefit of those who did not know how to spell cat. Three others in this last group were children who were unable or did not want

to rank the children in the class as to how well they were liked. It is possible that in both instances the children were simply unable to take the attitude of another, or a number of others as in the ranking of the children as to how well they were liked; on the other hand, they may have been protecting the teacher and the children out of a feeling of group loyalty. As was shown in Table VIII on page 56, only twenty of the twenty-five children gave answers to this question which could be used, and ten correctly interpreted her response. The other ten either misinterpreted it or did not reveal their true interpretation of it.

This fifth self-variable was related to school performance in the way shown in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI
FIFTH SELF-VARIABLE AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

School performance	Fifth self-variable		Total
	Number of children correctly interpreting teacher's response	Number of children incorrectly interpreting teacher's response	
Number of children doing passing work	5	3	8
Number of children doing failing work	5	7	12
Total	10	10	20

Only eight answers of the children doing passing work could be placed in the two categories as to interpreting the teacher's response in having them write the word cat, but five out of eight interpreted her response correctly. Only five out of twelve poorer students were able to interpret her response correctly. However, of the ten children correctly interpreting the teacher's response, five were doing passing work and five were doing failing work, so that the data with reference to this fifth self-variable are indeterminate as to its relationship to school performance.

Sixth self-variable. The writer investigated the third general aspect of the child's self-development, that of his ability to look at himself objectively, first by the accuracy with which he ranked himself as a student. As was shown in Table IX on page 59, thirteen of the children were able to rank themselves within four places of their rank as determined for the purposes of this study. Four more ranked themselves within eight places of their objective rank, and the eight remaining missed their objective rank by eight and one-half places or more.

With reference to the relationship of this variable to school performance, there was a noticeable difference between the accuracy with which the average to better students ranked themselves and that with which the very poor students ranked themselves. And it was poor students who were unable to rank themselves, as well as the rest of the children, at all. One of these was the poor student who sat with the better students. As stated before, many of the children ranked him

toward the top of the list as a student, whereas he was twenty-fourth in the ranking system determined for this study. It is possible that this child's confusion concerning how he and the other children stood as students resulted from his inability to reconcile the seating arrangement and deferential treatment by the other children with his grades.

The other child who was unable to rank the children or herself as students had great difficulty understanding what the writer meant during most of the interview, and she misunderstood this also. When it was seen that she had misunderstood the question, there was not sufficient time to explain it to her and have her place the chessmen in order again. It is doubtful that she could have ranked the children even then, since she was later unable to rank them and herself as to being liked.

In all cases of more than a few places between the way the child ranked himself and the way his rank was determined for this study, the child ranked himself higher than his actual rank except in one case. This was the case of the boy with the low grade average who, the teacher said, was being passed on the basis of his work. His rank as determined for the purpose of this study took the teacher's statement into account and was considerably higher than his grade average alone would have placed him. He placed himself eight places lower than the place he held in the ranking system used in this study. His confusion is also understandable in terms of his grades and the way he was treated by the other children, who ranked him generally low as a student.

As will be recalled from the section on the treatment of data, the relationships of the two variables having to do with the child's ability to look at himself objectively with his school performance were examined by dividing the children into the categories of students doing passing work and students doing failing work and comparing the average differences found in these groups between the children's ranking of themselves as students and their objective ranks, on the one hand, and the average difference between the children's rank of themselves and that of the class as to being liked on the other hand. Table XVII shows how this variable having to do with the child's ranking of himself as a student was related to school performance.

TABLE XVII

SIXTH SELF-VARIABLE AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

School performance	Sixth self-variable
	Average difference between self-rank as student and objective rank, shown in number of places
Children doing passing work	1.8
Children doing failing work	7.8
Entire class	5.5

As the table shows, the passing children had an average difference of one and eight-tenths places, while the children doing failing work had an average difference of seven and eight-tenths places. The

average difference in number of places between self-rank and objective rank as students for the class as a whole was five and one-half places. The average for the children doing passing work was thus considerably less than the average for the class as a whole, while the average for the children doing failing work was considerably more.

This finding, of course, is just another way of saying that as the child's rank goes down, so does his ability to rank himself correctly. None of the passing students missed his rank more than three places except the boy whose grade average was near the bottom of the class. He ranked himself eight places below the rank he received in the ranking system devised for this study. Only three of the students doing failing work ranked themselves within three places of their objective rank. These were students more or less in the middle range of the grade averages.

Seventh self-variable. The writer also approached the child's ability to look at himself objectively from the standpoint of the child's view of himself as to how well he was liked. As was shown in Table X on page 64, only ten of the children ranked themselves as to being liked within seven places of where their classmates ranked them, and the maximum difference between self-rank and that of the class was quite large, being twenty-one places. In addition, there were six children who either could not or would not rank their classmates and themselves as to how well they were liked. Three of these children appeared to be unable to organize the attitudes of their classmates

into one general attitude concerning the children in the room. The other three appeared to be unable because of a feeling that it was wrong to do so; they insisted that everybody liked everybody equally well and said their teacher had told them it should be that way. However, the nineteen children who ranked their classmates and themselves did so on the whole readily enough and often with a show of pleasure.

This variable concerning the child's ability to look at himself objectively, his ranking of himself as to how well he was liked in agreement with that of the class as a whole, was related to school performance as shown in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII
SEVENTH SELF-VARIABLE AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

School performance	Seventh self-variable
	Average difference between self-rank as to how well liked and class rank, shown in number of places
Children doing passing work	6.3
Children doing failing work	14.2
Entire class	10.6

As the table reflects those children who passed on merit had an average difference of six and three-tenths places between their self-rank and the rank of the class as to how well each was liked, and those who passed for other reasons had an average of fourteen and two-tenths

places. So that the data showed with reference to this variable, as with the sixth self-variable, that the children doing passing work looked at themselves with more objectivity than the children doing failing work.

An interesting difference exists between this variable and the sixth self-variable, the child's accurate ranking of himself as a student. The statement that the children doing passing work were more accurate in ranking themselves as students than those doing failing work was in effect a statement that the higher the child's rank as a student the more accurate he would be in ranking himself. With reference to the variable presently under consideration, the child's ranking of himself in conformity with the class rank as to how well he was liked, the statement that the children doing passing work ranked themselves more in conformity with the class rank than the children doing failing work does not necessarily involve any connection between high rank as to being liked and ranking of one's self in conformity with that of the class. Yet, there does appear to be such a relationship.

The better liked children on the whole ranked themselves more accurately than those who were not liked. There were three children in the middle range who ranked themselves very nearly as the class did, but all the children whom the class ranked beyond this middle range were either at considerable variance with the rank of the class or were unable to rank themselves at all.

On the whole, the children ranked themselves higher than their classmates ranked them. However, two of the better liked children

ranked themselves considerably below the ranking that their classmates gave them, the one being eight places below the class ranking, and the other nine places below. The first was a shy girl who was held in high esteem because she was "quiet." The other was the poor student who sat among the good students and who had been unable to rank the class as to the standing of each as students. Both of these children were apparently unable to look at themselves objectively, but their lack of objectivity appeared to be the result of a negative attitude toward themselves; whereas, the others who were unable to look at themselves objectively appeared to be prevented from doing so by defensive feelings about themselves.

The writer also examined the self-variables from the standpoint of individual children. There were four children who made responses which fell into the upper categories of all the first five self-variables, the other two self-variables, those having to do with the child's looking at himself objectively, not being of a nature to classify as either upper or lower. Two of these children were doing passing work and two were doing failing work. One of the failing students was a boy who also ranked himself with an error of five places as student and without any error as to how well he was liked. He was admired and liked by his classmates, as evidenced in the interviews. The teacher described him as a slow student and she said he never did any studying outside the classroom. He was also new to the school and the teacher said she did not know very much about him. His grade average was C,

although the teacher said she would have retained him if facilities had been available for him to repeat the course.

It is possible that this boy's home conditions prevented him from studying; he has no father. It is also possible that his capabilities were not being recognized and developed in the classroom. There was no intelligence test score available for this boy.

The other failing child who gave five answers all of which fell into the upper categories of the first five self-variables was a girl who was greatly in error in both her rank as student and as to how well she was liked. Her rank of student on the objective ranking system used in this study was low and the other children also ranked her near the bottom of the class as to being liked. They described her as being quarrelsome and eager to fight, although in the classroom she smiled more than most children. She was attractive in appearance and her intelligence test score was in the Low Average range. The teacher said this child seemed to have no motivation to learn; she did not care to compete with the other children in the classroom even in contests. While some aspects of this child's self seemed to be developed as well as that of the children doing passing work, her inability to look at herself objectively would throw some light upon her failure to perform as a student.

This chapter has contained a discussion of the seven self-variables drawn from the interviews with the children and the relationships of these variables with the children's school performance. The next chapter contains further findings.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES

One of the purposes of this study was to seek relationships between the self-variables themselves. This chapter contains the findings with reference to these relationships.

I. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CONCEPTUALLY LINKED SELF-VARIABLES

As will be recalled, the three hypotheses used as a guide in this study each involved a general aspect of the self. The first hypothesis was concerned with the relationship between the aspect of the child's self which was conceptualized as internalization of social attitudes and the child's school performance. The first three variables were seen as manifestations of this aspect of the self. If, as postulated, these first three self-variables are all indications of the child's internalization of social attitudes, the children whose answers fall into the upper category of one should have a tendency to give answers which fall into the upper categories of the other two self-variables.

The second hypothesis had to do with the relationship between the aspect of the child's self which was called taking the attitude of the other and his school performance. Self-variables four and five were seen as being indications of this aspect of the self. And if these two self-variables are both aspects of taking the attitude of the other

it is reasonable to think that the positive answers to these two variables would be associated together. The same is true of the sixth and seventh self-variables, conceptualized as two instances of looking at the self objectively; the third implicit hypothesis was concerning this aspect of the self and the child's school performance. The writer therefore first looked for relationships between the self-variables which were taken as indications of the same aspect or component of the self as conceptualized by Mead.

Internalization of Social Attitudes

As will be recalled, the writer postulated that the three self-variables: the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule, his view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity, and his view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior, were all variables reflecting the child's internalization of social attitudes, as conceptualized in hypothesis number one. For this reason they should have a tendency to occur together. Yet there did not seem to be any consistent relationships between these three self-variables.

Relationship between first and second self-variables. The first self-variable, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule in the hall, and the second self-variable, his view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity, are shown in Table XIX. As the table shows, six out of eleven children who were aware of the general nature of the traffic rule had a view of the teacher in an instrumental

capacity, while eight out of thirteen of the children who were not aware of the nature of the traffic rule saw the teacher as instrumental in accomplishing the purpose of the school. Looking at the table the other way, six out of fourteen children seeing the teacher in an instrumental capacity were aware of the nature of the rule, while five out of ten among those seeing the teacher in some other capacity were aware of the nature of the rule. So that these two self-variables are not associated with each other.

TABLE XIX

INTERNALIZATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES
FIRST AND SECOND SELF VARIABLES

First Self Variable	Second self-variable		Total
	Number of children seeing teacher in Instrumental capacity	Number of children seeing teacher in Some other capacity	
Number of children aware of universal nature of rule	6	5	11
Number of children not aware of universal nature of rule	8	5	13
Total	14	10	24

Relationship between first and third self-variables. Concerning the relationship of the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule with the other variable chosen to indicate the child's

adoption of social attitudes, his view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior, reference to Table XX shows that nine out of twelve children who were aware of the universal nature of the traffic rule saw themselves as being responsible for their own behavior, and that nine out of thirteen of those not aware of the nature of the rule saw themselves as being responsible for their own actions. And also, among the children seeing themselves as being responsible for their own behavior, there were nine out of eighteen aware of the nature of the rule, while among those not seeing themselves as being responsible for their own actions three out of seven were aware of the universal nature of the traffic rule. So that the data showed these two self-variables not to be related.

TABLE XX

INTERNALIZATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES
FIRST AND THIRD SELF VARIABLES

First self-variable	Third self-variable		Total
	Number of children seeing self as responsible	Number of children not seeing self as responsible	
Number of children aware of universal nature of rule	9	3	12
Number of children not aware of universal nature of rule	9	4	13
Total	18	7	25

Relationship between second and third self-variables. The two variables, the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity and his view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior, also showed no tendency toward being associated together. As Table XXI shows, ten out of fourteen children who saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity saw themselves as being responsible for their own behavior, while seven out of ten children who did not see the teacher in an instrumental capacity saw themselves as being responsible for their own behavior. Among the children who saw themselves as being responsible for their own behavior, ten out of seventeen saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity, and among the children not seeing themselves as being responsible for their own actions, four out of seven children saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity.

TABLE XXI

INTERNALIZATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES
SECOND AND THIRD SELF-VARIABLES

Second self-variable	Third self-variable		Total
	Number of children seeing self as responsible	Number of children not seeing self as responsible	
Number of children seeing teacher in instrumental capacity	10	4	14
Number of children not seeing teacher in instrumental	7	3	10
	17	7	24

First three variables from standpoint of children. It has been shown that there was no indication that the three self-variables thought to be indicators of internalization of social attitudes were associated together. Looking at the relationships of these three variables from the standpoint of the children, out of the twenty-five children, only six had three responses all of which fell in either the upper or lower categories. Five of these children had three answers in the upper categories of these variables and only one had three answers in the lower categories. In addition, there was one child who gave only two answers which could be categorized on these first three self-variables and these two answers were both in the upper categories.

This leaves eighteen children who gave answers which fell into both the upper and lower categories of the first three self-variables. Explanations for a few of these mixed answers occur to the writer. One child who gave an answer concerning her view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity which fell into the lower category gave answers to the other two variables which fell into the upper categories. She was one of the children with personal problems who had an affectionate attachment to the teacher. It is possible that in general this child had internalized the social attitudes and that her answer to this question did not reveal her knowledge of the instrumental capacity of teachers because her attachment to this particular teacher was so strong.

Another of the children who gave two answers which fell into the upper categories of the first three variables gave an answer on the

variable of seeing herself as responsible for her own behavior which fell into the lower category. A possible explanation of this is that she was one of the younger children in the room, but a better explanation is that her family was of a fundamentalist religious sect which stressed obedience to authority. Her answer which appeared to show that she did not see herself as responsible may have been prompted by her idea that obedience was a prime value.

Among the children who gave two answers which fell into the lower categories and one which fell into the upper category was a girl who gave an answer to the first self-variable concerning the awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule which fell into the upper category. This girl was a member of the student council and had acted as monitor in the hall. For this reason she had received explicit instructions to enforce the rule where the teachers were concerned. It is possible she did not understand the nature of the rule's universality although her remarks concerning this variable technically fell into the category indicating that she did.

Even with these explanations, there are still more children with mixed answers to these first three self-variables taken to indicate internalization of social attitudes than children whose answers were alike. The data showed then that these three variables were not associated together.

Taking the Attitude of the Other

The two self-variables indicating taking the attitude of the other, the self aspect set out in the second implicit hypothesis and therefore theoretically related, were those having to do with the child's expectations of the teacher's response to the misbehavior of the class during her absence and the child's interpretation of the teacher's response to the class's inability to spell the words used in the spelling contest. If these variables were theoretically related, they should in fact occur together, and this proved to be the case.

Relationship between fourth and fifth self-variables. Table XXII shows the data concerning the relationship between the fourth and fifth self-variables.

TABLE XXII

TAKING THE ATTITUDE OF THE OTHER FOURTH AND FIFTH SELF- VARIABLES

<u>Fourth self-variable</u>	<u>Number of children correctly inter- preting teacher's response</u>	<u>Number of children incorrectly inter- preting teacher's response</u>	<u>Total</u>
Number of children expecting teacher's response	7	1	8
Number of children not expecting teacher's response	2	8	10
<u>Total</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>18</u>

As is shown in Table XXII, out of nine children who interpreted the attitude of the teacher correctly, seven said they had expected her show of disapproval following the misbehavior of the class in her absence. Out of nine who incorrectly interpreted her response, only one said that she had expected the response the teacher gave. And out of eight children who expected the teacher's response, seven interpreted her other response correctly, while out of ten who did not expect her response, only two interpreted her other response correctly.

Fourth and fifth self-variables from standpoint of children.

There were only eighteen children who gave answers which could be used with reference to both of these variables, but fifteen of them gave answers both of which fell in the upper categories or lower categories of these two variables. Seven of the children gave answers both of which fell into the upper categories, leaving eight children whose answers both fell into the lower categories. Three students then had one answer in the upper category and one answer in the lower category of these variables concerning taking the role of the other. The following explanation of one of these children's mixed answers has occurred to the writer. One of the students with the highest grade average in the room gave an answer which fell into the lower category of the fourth self-variable by saying that she was surprised at the teacher's expression of annoyance at the class, although she interpreted the reason for the teacher's response correctly and said that she realized they were misbehaving at the time they were doing it. This girl was described

by the teacher as having some nervous disturbance which made her very uncomfortable at any show of anger even on the part of one child toward another, so that she acted in the capacity of a peacemaker much of the time. Also some of the children spoke of her being well-liked because she always tried to straighten things out when there was trouble between them.

It is possible that this child's expectations of the teacher's response would have been more accurate in an instance where the teacher's show of anger was not the response to be expected. And another type of response, that is, an unemotional response, would have been more in keeping with Mead's concept of the self. In his emphasis on the cognitive nature of the self he points out that emotional gestures do not call out the attitudes in the individual which correspond to those called out in the other. So that emotional gestures are minimally, if at all, self processes. This would apply to the person toward whom they are directed as well as the other originating them. For this reason, the children's ability to interact through operation of that aspect of the self called taking the attitude of the other could have been better investigated by questioning them concerning their anticipation and interpretation of responses by the teacher which were of a cognitive nature rather than primarily emotional.

Looking at Self Objectively

The third implicit hypothesis contained reference to looking at the self objectively as an aspect of the self. The last two self-variables, the child's ability to rank himself correctly as to being a student and his view of himself as to being liked in a way corresponding to that of the class as a whole, were both indications of looking at himself objectively and for that reason it was expected that the child's error in ranking himself as a student and the difference between his self-rank and the class rank of him as to being liked would be similar.

Relationship of sixth and seventh self-variables. The children's ability to rank themselves in both instances decreased as their rank went down, generally speaking, and in addition there was a slight tendency for the better students to be better liked and for the poorer students to be less liked. These two tendencies would have been expected to have two consequences: the children would have given themselves similar ranks as students and as to being liked, and the children would have been at variance with their objective ranks and the ranks the class gave them a similar number of places. The children did give themselves similar ranks as students and as to being liked. And there was evidence of a moderate amount of correlation between the discrepancies in the children's ranking of themselves as students and as to how well they were liked. The correlation coefficient for the relationship between these two self-variables was fifty-one. The consideration

which can be given to even this moderate amount of correlation is greatly lessened by the inadequacies of the data for the seventh self-variable which were discussed in the description of the data on page 62. However, if the number of children had been greater the correlation coefficient might have been larger.

Sixth and seventh self-variables from standpoint of children.

There were enough exceptions to the tendency for the better students to be better liked to have prevented an extremely high correlation between the discrepancies in these two self-variables. One exception concerned one of the two girls with the highest grade average in the room. This girl was ranked ninth as to being liked by the class. Since she ranked herself as highly as to how well she was liked as she did as a student, there was a difference here of seven places between the way she ranked herself as to being liked and the way the class ranked her. She had placed herself accurately as a student.

Also the good student with better than B average who sat apart from the other good students and did not associate with them was ranked twenty-first by the class as to being liked. She was at great variance with this in her self-ranking. However, she ranked herself without error as a student, while the class gave her a lower rank as student than her rank in the objective system used in this study. It will be recalled that the writer surmised that the children were using the seating arrangement to guide them to some extent in the way they placed each other as to being good students, and this girl was not generally

recognized to be as good a student as she was.

In addition one of the children passing on the basis of his work whose grade average was less than some of the other children's averages whom the teacher said she would have failed if facilities had been available for having them repeat the course received a low ranking from the other children as to being liked, as well as a low ranking as a student.

Among the students not passing on merit there were four whose ranks as to being liked were considerably above their ranks as students. One of these was the poor student who sat among the good students and whom many of the children ranked highly as a student also. There were three other children, among those not doing passing work, who were described in the interviews as "quiet" whom the children had ranked highly as students and higher as to being liked than several of the passing children. There was also one of the children doing failing work who was ranked much lower as a student by the class than her objective rank and who was also ranked low as to being liked. Here the children explained that their low ranking of her on both scores was because she was disobedient and disrespectful to the teacher. At times the children explained their giving one of their classmates a low rank as student in terms of behavior which they used to explain their low ranking of the same student as to being liked. So that on the whole the children looked upon the children they considered the better students as being better liked. Their judgment of who the better students were

did not always agree with the ranking system used in this study, however. If a particular child had a sizeable difference between his objective rank as a student and the way the children saw him as to how well he was liked, he was apt to be in error in one of his rankings of himself,

This section has consisted of a presentation and discussion of the findings with reference to the relationship existing between the self-variables which were postulated as being indications of the same aspect of the self as contained in each of the three implicit hypotheses guiding this study. The succeeding section will present findings with reference to the relationships between the self-variables generally.

II. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELF-VARIABLES IN GENERAL

The preceding section contained a discussion of the relationships between those self-variables which were postulated as being indications of the same aspect of the self, and which would therefore be expected to occur together. This section is a discussion of the findings concerning relationships found between the self-variables in general. Since the three aspects of the self contained in the three implicit hypotheses are closely related, if not really different views of the same thing in Mead's theory, the writer would have expected the variables indicating different aspects of the self also to be associated together.

In the discussion of these relationships which follows each variable and its relationship to each of the other six self-variables

is treated in numerical order. Then a summary of the relationships as a whole is given.

First Self-Variable

As has already been shown in Table XI, page 91, in connection with the discussion of conceptually linked self variables, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule, the first self-variable, was not found to be associated with the second variable, his view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity, nor, as shown in Table XII, page 92, with the third self-variable, his view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior.

Relationship between first and fourth self-variables. Reference is made to Table XIII which shows the relationship between the first and fourth self-variables.

TABLE XIII
FIRST AND FOURTH SELF-VARIABLES

First self-variable	Fourth self-variable		Total
	Number of children expecting teacher's response	Number of children not expecting teacher's response	
Number of children aware of universal nature of rule	6	5	11
Number of children not aware of universal nature of rule	3	9	12
Total	9	14	23

As will be seen in the table six out of eleven children who were aware of the universal nature of the rule expected the response which the teacher gave to their misbehavior, while only three out of twelve children who were not aware of the universal nature of the rule were correct in their expectation of her response. Also six out of nine children who expected the teacher's response were aware of the nature of the rule, whereas only five out of fourteen of those not expecting the teacher's response were aware of the universal nature of the rule. So that the data showed these two self-variables to be associated together.

Relationship between first and fifth self-variables. The relationship of the first to the fifth self-variable was less clear, as is shown in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXIV
FIRST AND FIFTH SELF-VARIABLES

First self-variable	Fifth self-variable		Total
	Number of children correctly interpreting teacher's response	Number of children incorrectly interpreting teacher's response	
Number of children aware of universal nature of rule	5	4	9
Number of children not aware of universal nature of rule	5	6	11
Total	10	10	20

As Table XXIV reflects, five out of nine children aware of the universal nature of the rule accurately interpreted the teacher's response, while five out of eleven children who were not aware of the nature of the rule were able to interpret the teacher's response satisfactorily. Thus, while the proportion of children aware of the rule who interpreted the teacher's response correctly was greater than for those not aware of the nature of the rule, there were the same number of children aware of the rule as not aware among those who correctly interpreted the teacher's response. So that the data were indeterminate concerning the relationship between these two self-variables.

Relationship between first and sixth self-variables. The relationship of the variable now under discussion, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule in the hall of the school, to the first of the two variables indicating his ability to look at himself objectively was found to be as shown in Table XXV.

TABLE XXV
FIRST AND SIXTH SELF-VARIABLES

First self-variable	Sixth self-variable
	Average difference between self-rank as student and objective rank, shown in number of places
Children aware of universal nature of traffic rule	4.3
Children not aware of universal nature of traffic rule	6.6
Entire class	5.5

As Table XXV shows, the children who were aware of the universal nature of the rule had an average error between their self-rank as students and their rank as determined for this study of four and three-tenths places, and the children who were not aware of the nature of the rule had an average error of six and six-tenths places. The average difference between self-rank and objective rank as students for the class as a whole was five and one-half places. The data showed then that the children aware of the universal nature of the rule had a slight tendency to look at themselves more objectively when ranking themselves as students than the children not aware of the nature of the rule.

Relationship between first and seventh self-variables. The relationship between the first and seventh self-variables is shown in Table XXVI.

TABLE XXVI
FIRST AND SEVENTH SELF-VARIABLES

First self-variable	Seventh self-variable
	Average difference between self-rank as to how well liked and class rank, shown in number of places
Children aware of universal nature of traffic rule	8.0
Children not aware of universal nature of traffic rule	13.0
Entire class	10.6

As shown in the table, the children who were aware of the nature of the traffic rule had an average difference between the rank they gave themselves as to how well they were liked and the way the class saw them of eight places, while the children who were not aware of the universal nature of the rule had an average difference of thirteen places. The average difference between self-rank and class rank as to being liked for the entire class was ten and six-tenths places. As can be seen, the data showed that the children aware of the rule ranked themselves considerably more in conformity with class rank than did the children not aware of the universal nature of the rule.

Summary concerning first self-variable. The first self-variable, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule, appeared to be associated with three of the other self-variables. These were the fourth self-variable, the child's expectation of the teacher's response; the sixth self variable, his accurate ranking of himself as a student; and the seventh self variable, his ranking of himself as to being liked in conformity with the ranking of the class. The first self-variable appeared to be not associated with the second and the third self-variables, those, together with the first variable taken to indicate the child's internalization of social attitudes. These were the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity, and his view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior. The data were indeterminant concerning the relationship of this first self-variable to the fifth self-variable, the child's interpretation of the

teacher's response.

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Second Self-Variable

The second self-variable, the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity, has already been shown not to have any association with the other two variables thought to be expressions of the child's internalization of social structure. These were the first and third self-variables, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule and his view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior. See Table XIX on page 87 and Table XXI on page 89.

Relationship of second and fourth self-variables. Reference is made to Table XXVII concerning the relationship between the second and fourth self-variables.

TABLE XXVII
SECOND AND FOURTH SELF-VARIABLES

Second self-variable	Fourth self-variable		Total
	Number of children expecting	Number of children not expecting	
	teacher's response	teacher's response	
Number of children seeing teacher in instrumental capacity	7	5	12
Number of children seeing teacher in some other capacity	1	9	10
Total	8	14	22

When the second self-variable, the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity, was considered in connection with the first of the two variables taken as indications of taking the role of the other, as Table XXVII shows, seven out of twelve children who saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity were accurate in their expectation of her response, and only one out of ten who saw the teacher in some other way was accurate in his expectation of her response. Also among the children expecting the teacher's response, seven out of eight saw her in an instrumental capacity. Thus the data indicate that the second and fourth self-variables are associated with each other.

Relationship of second and fifth self-variables. Table XXVIII shows the relationship between the second and fifth self-variables.

TABLE XXVIII
SECOND AND FIFTH SELF-VARIABLES

Second self-variable	Fifth self-variable		Total
	Number of children correctly interpreting teacher's response	Number of children incorrectly interpreting teacher's response	
Number of children seeing teacher in instrumental capacity	9	4	13
Number of children seeing teacher in some other capacity	1	6	7
Total	10	10	20

The data showed this second self-variable, the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity, to be associated also with the other variable indicating taking the role of the other, the fifth self-variable. This was the child's interpretation of the teacher's response to the class's inability to spell the words in the spelling contest. As is reflected in Table XXVIII, nine out of thirteen children seeing the teacher in an instrumental capacity interpreted her instructions accurately, as opposed to only one out of seven seeing her in some other capacity. So that of the ten children interpreting the teacher's response correctly, nine saw her in an instrumental capacity.

Relationship of second to sixth self-variable. The second self-variable was found to be related in the way shown in Table XXIX to the first of the two indicators of the child's ability to look at himself objectively, the sixth self-variable.

TABLE XXIX

SECOND AND SIXTH SELF-VARIABLES

<u>Second self-variable</u>	<u>Sixth self-variable</u>
	<u>Average difference between self-rank as student and objective rank, shown in number of places</u>
Children seeing teacher in instrumental capacity	5.2
Children seeing teacher in some other capacity	7.0
Entire class	5.5

As Table XXIX shows, the fourteen children who saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity had an average difference between self-rank as students and objective rank, according to their grades and the teacher's verbal evaluation, of five and two-tenths places. The ten who saw her in another capacity had an average error of seven places. While the data does not show a great difference between the two groups of children, the difference indicates that the children seeing the teacher in an instrumental capacity were looking at themselves a little more objectively than those seeing her in some other capacity.

Relationship between second and seventh self-variables. The relationship of the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity to the second self-variable taken to indicate looking at the self objectively, the child's ability to rank himself as to how well he was liked, is shown in Table XXX.

TABLE XXX
SECOND AND SEVENTH SELF-VARIABLES

Second self-variable	Seventh self-variable
	Average difference between self-rank as to how well liked and class rank, shown in number of places
Children seeing teacher in instrumental capacity	7.8
Children seeing teacher in some other capacity	13.8
Entire class	10.6

As Table XXX shows, the fourteen children who saw the teacher in an instrumental capacity had an average difference between their ranking of themselves as to how well they were liked and the way the class ranked them of seven and eight-tenths places. Those who saw the teacher in some other capacity had an average difference in self-rank and class rank as to being liked of thirteen and eight-tenths places. The data thus showed that the second and seventh self-variables were associated together.

Summary concerning second self-variable. The second self-variable, the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity, was seen to have a tendency to be associated with four of the other self-variables. These were as follows: the fourth self-variable, the child's correct expectation of the teacher's response; the fifth self-variable, his correct interpretation of the teacher's response; the sixth self-variable, the child's ability to rank himself accurately as a student; and the seventh self-variable, his view of himself as to being liked in conformity with that of the class as a whole. The second self-variable was seen not to be associated with the first and third self-variables, the other two self-variables seen as expressions of internalization of social attitudes. These were the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule in the hall and his view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior.

Third Self-Variable

The third self-variable, the child's view of himself as having the responsibility for his own behavior, has already been shown as being not associated with the other two self-variables representing internalization of social attitudes. These were the first and second self-variables. See Table XX on page 88 and Table XXI on page 89.

Relationship of third and fourth self-variables. The relationship of the third self-variable with the first of the variables taken to indicate taking the attitude of the other is shown in Table XXXI.

TABLE XXXI
THIRD AND FOURTH SELF-VARIABLES

Third self-variable	Fourth self-variable		Total
	Number of children expecting teacher's response	Number of children not expecting teacher's response	
Number of children seeing self as responsible for own behavior	6	10	16
Number of children not seeing self as responsible for own behavior	3	4	7
Total	9	14	23

As the table shows, six out of sixteen children who saw themselves as being responsible for their own actions said they expected

the response the teacher made to their misbehavior. And three out of seven children who did not see themselves as being responsible for their own behavior said they had expected the response the teacher made. So that the ratio of children expecting the teacher's response is a little greater for those who did not see themselves as being responsible for their own behavior. In addition, ten out of fourteen children not expecting the teacher's response saw themselves as being responsible for their own actions. Therefore, the data showed that there was no association between the third and fourth self-variables.

Relationship between third and fifth self-variables. Reference is made to Table XXXII showing the relationship between the third and fifth self-variables.

TABLE XXXII

THIRD AND FIFTH SELF-VARIABLES

Third self-variable	Fifth self-variable		Total
	Number of children correctly interpreting teacher's response	Number of children incorrectly interpreting teacher's response	
Number of children seeing self as responsible for own behavior	8	6	14
Number of children not seeing self as responsible for own behavior	2	4	6
Total	10	10	20

As Table XXXII shows, eight out of fourteen children seeing themselves as being responsible for their own actions gave an accurate interpretation of the teacher's response to their poor showing in the spelling contest, while two out of six children not seeing themselves as being responsible for their own actions interpreted the teacher's response correctly. However, among the children incorrectly interpreting the teacher's response six out of ten saw themselves as being responsible for their own actions. So that no association was found between the third and fourth self-variables.

Relationship between third and sixth self-variables. The third self-variable was found to be related to the sixth self-variable as reflected in Table XXXIII.

TABLE XXXIII

THIRD AND SIXTH SELF-VARIABLES

Third self-variable	Sixth self-variable
	Average difference between self-rank as student and objective rank, shown in number of places
Children seeing self as responsible for own behavior	5.0
Children not seeing self as responsible for own behavior	6.8
Entire class	5.5

As is reflected in Table XXXIII, the eighteen children who saw themselves as being responsible for their own behavior made an average error of five places when they ranked themselves as students, and the seven children who did not see themselves as being responsible for their own behavior had an average error of six and eight-tenths places. The data thus showed that the children seeing themselves as being responsible for their own behavior looked at themselves more objectively when ranking themselves as students than the children seeing themselves as not being responsible for their own behavior.

Relationship between third and seventh self-variables. The third self-variable's relationship to the other variable concerning looking at the self objectively is shown in Table XXXIV.

TABLE XXXIV

THIRD AND SEVENTH SELF-VARIABLES

Third self-variable	Seventh self-variable Average difference between self-rank as to how well liked and class rank, shown in number of places
Children seeing self as responsible for own behavior	10.9
Children not seeing self as responsible for own behavior	9.8
Entire class	10.6

With reference to the relationship of the child's view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior to his ability to rank himself as to how well he was liked in a way similar to the way the class ranked him, Table XXXIV shows that the eighteen children who saw themselves as being responsible for their own behavior had an average difference of ten and nine-tenths places between their self-rank and class rank. Those seeing themselves as not responsible for their own behavior had an average difference of nine and eight-tenths places. Thus the children seeing themselves as being responsible for their own behavior were on the average not as close to the class rank as the children seeing themselves as not being responsible. Furthermore, the children seeing themselves as being responsible for their own behavior were not as close to their class rank as the class as a whole, and the children who did not see themselves as being responsible were on the average closer in their self ranking to the class rank than the class as a whole. So that no association appears to exist between the third and seventh self-variables.

Summary concerning third self-variable. Summing up the relationships of the third self-variable, the child's view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior, with the other six self-variables, association was shown with only one of the other self-variables. This was the sixth self-variable having to do with the child's ability to rank himself as a student. The third self-variable was shown not to be associated with the other five self-variables.

Fourth Self-Variable

The fourth self-variable, seen as one of the two variables which were expressions of taking the role of the other, the child's expectation of the response of the teacher to the misbehavior of the class in her absence, has already been shown to be associated with the first and second self-variables, as reflected in Table XXIII on page 99 and Table XXVII on page 104 in the course of the discussion of those self-variables. And it was shown not to be associated with the third variable in the discussion of that variable's relationship to the other self-variables, as reflected in Table XXXI on page 109. It was shown to be associated with its conceptually linked variable, the fifth self-variable, in the section where the conceptually linked variables were discussed and Table XXII on page 92 reflected this relationship. This leaves its relationship with two of the self-variables to be discussed, that is, the sixth and seventh variables, taken to indicate the child's looking at himself objectively.

Relationship between fourth and sixth self-variables. When the fourth self-variable, the child's expectation of the response of the teacher to the misbehavior of the class during her absence, was considered in connection with the child's ability to rank himself accurately as a student, the results were as shown in Table XXIV. As can be seen the nine children who said they expected the response of the teacher made an average error of five and six-tenths places when ranking themselves as students. The fourteen children who said they did

not expect the response the teacher made had an average error of five and eight-tenths places.

TABLE XXXV
FOURTH AND SIXTH SELF-VARIABLES

Fourth self-variable	Sixth self-variable Average difference between self-rank as student and objective rank, shown in number of places
Children expecting teacher's response	5.6
Children not expecting teacher's response	5.8
Entire class	5.5

This difference is slight enough to be negligible, and both of the averages are greater than the class average. The data then fails to show anything concerning the relationship between the fourth and sixth self-variables.

Relationship between fourth and seventh self-variables. When the fourth self-variable was considered with the variable of ranking themselves as to how well they were liked, the results were as reflected in Table XXXVI. The nine children who said they had expected the teacher's response had an average of nine and three-tenths places between self-rank and their rank by the rest of the class as to how well each was liked. The children who did not expect the teacher's response had an

average difference between their rank of themselves and that of the class of twelve and seven-tenths places.

TABLE XXIV
FOURTH AND SEVENTH SELF-VARIABLES

Fourth self-variable	Seventh self-variable
	Average difference between self-rank as to how well liked and class rank, shown in number of places
Children expecting teacher's response	9.3
Children not expecting teacher's response	12.7
Entire class	10.6

As can be seen, the children expecting the teacher's response had an average difference less than that for the children not expecting her response, as well as an average less than that for the class as a whole. The children not expecting the teacher's response had an average difference greater than that of the class as a whole. Therefore, the data showed association between the fourth and the seventh self-variables.

Summary concerning fourth self-variable. The fourth self-variable, the child's expectation of the teacher's response, was found to be associated with four of the other six self-variables. These were as follows: the first self variable, the child's awareness of the

universal nature of the traffic rule; the second self-variable, his view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity; the fifth self-variable, his correct interpretation of the teacher's response; and the seventh self-variable, his ranking of himself in accord with the ranking of the class as to how well he was liked. The fourth self-variable was found not to be associated with the third self-variable, the child's view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior. The data were indeterminate concerning the relationship between the fourth and sixth self-variables, the sixth variable being the child's correct ranking of himself as a student.

Fifth Self-Variable

The child's correct interpretation of the teacher's response, the fifth self-variable, has already been discussed with reference to the first self-variable, the data concerning the relationship being indeterminate, as shown in Table XXIV on page 100. It also has been shown as being associated with the second self-variable, as reflected in Table XXVIII on page 105. The fifth self-variable has already been shown as not being associated with the third self-variable, as reflected in Table XXXII on page 110. And the fifth self-variable has been shown to be associated with its conceptually linked variable, the fourth self-variable, as was shown in Table XVII on page 92. It remains to be discussed from the standpoint of its relationships to the last two self-variables, those having to do with the child's ability to look at

himself objectively.

Relationship between fifth and sixth self-variables. The child's ability to interpret the teacher's response to the class's failure to spell the words in the spelling contest was found to be related to his ability to rank himself accurately as a student as shown in Table XXXVII.

TABLE XXXVII
FIFTH AND SIXTH SELF-VARIABLES

Fifth self-variable	Sixth self-variable Average difference between self-rank as student and objective rank, shown in number of places
Children correctly interpreting teacher's response	4.4
Children incorrectly interpreting teacher's response	6.4
Entire class	5.5

As the table shows, the ten children who interpreted the teacher's response correctly were in error an average of four and four-tenths places in their self-rank as students. The ten who misinterpreted the teacher's response were in error an average of six and four-tenths places. Thus the data showed a tendency for the children who correctly interpreted the teacher's response to look at themselves with more objectivity.

Relationship between fifth and seventh self-variables. Reference is made to Table XXXVIII which shows the relationship found between the child's correct interpretation of the teacher's response and his ranking of himself as to how well he was liked in conformity with the class rank. As will be seen from the table the children who interpreted the teacher's response correctly had an average discrepancy between self-rank and class rank of eight and one-tenth places. The children misinterpreting the teacher's response had an average difference of eleven and seven-tenths places.

TABLE XXXVIII
FIFTH AND SEVENTH SELF-VARIABLES

Fifth self-variable	Seventh self-variable
	Average difference between self-rank as to how well liked and class rank, shown in number of places
Children correctly interpreting teacher's response	8.1
Children incorrectly interpreting teacher's response	11.7
Entire class	10.6

The data thus showed that the child's correct interpretation of the teacher's response was associated with his ranking of himself in conformity the class rank.

Summary concerning fifth self-variable. The fifth self-variable, the child's correct interpretation of the teacher's response, was shown to be associated with four of the other self-variables. These were as follows: the second self-variable, the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity; the fourth self-variable, the child's expectation of the teacher's response; the sixth self-variable, the child's correct ranking of himself as a student; and the seventh self-variable, his view of himself as to how well liked in conformity with that of the class. The fifth self-variable was shown not to be associated with one self-variable, the third, the child's view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior. With reference to the relationship of the fifth self-variable to the first, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule, the data were indeterminate.

Sixth Self-Variable

The child's ability to rank himself as a student, the sixth self-variable, has already been discussed from the standpoint of its relationships to the first five self-variables in the discussion of the relationships of those variables. See Table XXV on page 101, Table XXIX on page 106, table XXXIII on page 111, Table XXXV on page 115, and Table XXXVII on page 118. Its relationship to the other variable used as an indication of looking at the self objectively has also been presented in the discussion of the conceptually linked variables.

Therefore, only a summation remains to be given concerning this variable's relationships to the other self-variables.

Summary concerning sixth self-variable. Summing up the sixth self-variable's relationships to the other self-variables, it has been shown to be associated with five of the other self-variables. These were as follows: the first self-variable, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule; the second self-variable, the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity; the third self-variable, the child's view of himself as having the responsibility for his own action; the fifth self-variable, the child's correct interpretation of the teacher's response to the class's inability to spell; and the seventh self-variable, the child's placement of himself as to how well he was liked in conformity with the class's placement. Concerning the relationship between the sixth self-variable and the fourth, the child's expectation of the teacher's response, the data were indeterminate.

Seventh Self-Variable

The seventh self-variable, the child's ranking of himself as to how well he was liked in conformity with the class rank, has already been discussed with reference to its relationships to the first five self-variables in the discussions of the relationships of those variables. See Table XXVI on page 102, Table XXX on page 107, Table XXXIV on page 112, Table XXXVI on page 116, and Table XXXVIII on page 119. Its relationship to the sixth self-variable has also been discussed

under the conceptually linked variables. A summary is all that remains to be given.

Summary concerning seventh self-variable. The seventh self-variable, the child's view of himself as to how well he was liked, was shown to be positively associated with five of the other self-variables. These were as follows: the first self-variable, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule; the second self-variable, his view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity; the fourth self-variable, the child's correct expectation of the teacher's response; the fifth self-variable, the child's correct interpretation of the teacher's response to the inability of the class to spell; and the sixth self-variable, the child's correct ranking of himself as a student. The seventh self-variable was shown not to be associated with the third self-variable, the child's view of himself as having the responsibility for his own behavior.

Relationships of Self-Variables to Each Other as a Whole

As reflected in Table XXXIX, when the seven self-variables and their relationships to each other were viewed as a whole, there were thirteen pairs out of the twenty-one combinations in which the variables showed a tendency to occur together. There were six combinations in which the variables showed no tendency to occur together. With reference to the remaining two combinations, the data were indeterminate as to association of the variables.

TABLE XXXIX
RELATIONSHIPS OF SELF-VARIABLES AS A WHOLE

Combinations in which variables were shown to be associated	Combinations in which variables were shown not to be associated	Combinations in which the data were indeterminate
1 and 4	1 and 2	1 and 5
1 and 6	1 and 3	4 and 6
1 and 7	2 and 3	
2 and 4	3 and 4	
2 and 5	3 and 5	
2 and 6	3 and 7	
2 and 7		
3 and 6		
4 and 5		
4 and 7		
5 and 6		
5 and 7		
6 and 7		
Totals 13	6	2

It will be noticed in Table XXXIX that the third self-variable, the child's view of himself as being responsible for his own behavior, was found to be associated with only one of the other self-variables. This was the sixth, the child's ranking of himself correctly as a student. When the combinations involving this third self-variable are not considered only one combination is left in which association was shown not to occur and two in which the data were indeterminate.

This chapter has included the findings concerning the relationships between the self-variables. The next chapter is an account of the relationships found between what were conceptualized as antecedent conditions, the socio-economic status of the child and his intelligence quotient, and the self-variables.

CHAPTER V

ANTECEDENT CONDITIONS AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT

The two preceding chapters have contained the findings pursuant to two of the aims of this study. The last aim of the study was to see if relationships could be found between certain antecedent conditions and the child's self-development. One of these antecedent conditions was his socio-economic status and the other was his general intelligence as evidenced by his intelligence quotient. This chapter contains the findings with reference to the relationship of socio-economic status and intelligence quotient to self-development.

I. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT

The socio-economic status for each child rested upon three factors: the kind of house in which he lived, whether or not he resided with his father, and whether or not his mother remained at home rather than working outside the home. Each of these three factors contained two categories into which the writer placed the children. The writer also divided the children into two categories of a general socio-economic status, the upper category of which contained the children who fell into two or more of the upper categories of the three socio-economic factors and the lower category of which contained the children who fell into two or more of the lower categories of the three socio-economic factors.

As Table III on page 39 reflected, seven children fell into the upper category as to type dwelling, leaving eighteen in the lower category. There were nineteen children with fathers who fell into the upper category of this factor. This left six children without fathers who fell into the lower category. And there were twelve children with mothers who remained at home and this placed these children in the upper category of this last socio-economic factor. The remaining thirteen children had mothers who worked outside the home or were completely absent from the home and these children fell into the lower category of this factor.

The writer examined each of these socio-economic factors with reference to the self-development of the children. As will be recalled, the first five self-variables each contained an upper and a lower category. In considering the relationship between the socio-economic status of the children and their self-development, the writer considered the children's self-development partly in terms of the answers they gave to the first five self-variables, and partly in terms of the average discrepancies in their self-rank as students and as to how well they were liked.

Type of dwelling and self-development. Table XL shows the relationship between the first socio-economic factor and self-development, as described above. The seven children who lived in the better houses had an average of two and six-tenths answers in the upper categories of the first five self-variables and an average of one and

TABLE XL
TYPE OF DWELLING AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT

Socio-economic factor	Number of children	Self-Development			
		Average number of answers to first five self-variables		Looking at self objectively, average discrepancy in self-rank, shown in number of places	
		Upper categories	Lower Categories	As a student	As being liked
Children living in better houses	7	2.6	1.8	4.4	6.7
Children living in poorer houses	18	2.5	2.3	6.0	12.1
Entire class	25	2.5	2.2	5.5	10.6

eight-tenths answers in the lower categories of these same self-variables. The children who lived in the poorer houses had an average of two and one-half answers in the upper categories and an average of two and three-tenths answers in the lower categories.

With reference to the children's looking at themselves objectively, as indicated by the sixth and seventh self-variables, the children who lived in the better houses appeared to be better able to look at themselves objectively than the children who lived in the poorer houses. As Table XL shows, the average error of the children in the upper category in ranking themselves as students was four and four-tenths places, as opposed to the average of six places for the children in the lower category. When the children ranked themselves as to being liked, the children in the upper category had an average difference of six and seven-tenths places between self-rank and class rank, as against an average difference of twelve and one-tenth places for the children in the lower category.

With reference to this socio-economic factor, the data appeared to show that the children who lived in the better houses tended to have slightly better developed selves than those who lived in the poorer houses.

Living with father and self-development. The factor of having a father in the home appeared to have no clear relationship with self-development, as determined in this study. As Table XLI reflects, the

TABLE XLI
HAVING FATHER IN HOME AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT

Socio-economic factor	Number of children	Self-development			
		Average number of answers to first five self variables		Looking at self objectively, average discrepancy in self-rank, shown in number of places	
		Upper categories	Lower categories	As a student	As being liked
Children living in home with father	19	2.4	2.2	5.3	11.4
Children living in home without father	6	3.0	2.0	6.2	8.2
Entire class	25	2.5	2.2	5.5	10.6

nineteen children with fathers at home had an average of two and four-tenths answers in the upper categories of the first five self-variables and an average of two and two-tenths answers which fell into the lower categories of these variables, while the children without fathers had an average of three answers in the upper categories of these variables and an average of two answers in the lower categories.

Also, as Table XLI shows, the children with fathers were a little better at ranking themselves as students with an average error of five and three-tenths places, as against the average error of six and two-tenths places for the children without fathers. However, concerning the other variable meant to show the child's ability to look at himself objectively, the table shows that the children with fathers had a greater difference between their self-rank and the rank of the class as to how well they were liked than the children without fathers, the children with fathers having an average difference of eleven and four-tenths places, as opposed to an average difference for the children without fathers of only eight and two-tenths places.

So that the data showed no association between having a father in the home and self-development.

Mother not working and self-development. The relationship of the third socio-economic factor, that of having a mother who remained at home rather than working outside the home or being absent completely from the home, to self-development also was not clear as far as the first five self-variables were concerned. As Table XLII shows, the twelve

TABLE XLII
MOTHER NOT WORKING AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT

Socio-economic factor	Number of children	Self-development			
		Average number of answers to first five self-variables		Looking at self objectively, average discrepancy in self-rank, shown in number of places	
		Upper categories	Lower categories	As a student	As being liked
Children living in homes where mother does not work	12	2.6	1.9	5.4	9.3
Children living in homes where mother works or is completely absent	13	2.4	2.4	5.6	11.8
Entire class	25	2.5	2.2	5.5	10.6

children with mothers at home had an average of two and six-tenths answers which fell into the upper categories of these self-variables and an average of one and nine-tenths answers which fell into the lower categories. The children whose mothers worked outside the home or were completely absent from the home had an average of two and four-tenths answers in both the upper and lower categories.

However, this socio-economic factor did appear to be associated slightly with the children's ability to look at themselves objectively. As the table shows, the children with mothers at home ranked themselves as students with an error of five and four-tenths places, while those whose mothers worked or were completely absent from the home ranked themselves with an error of five and one-half places. And, as can be seen, the children with mothers at home placed themselves within an average of nine and three-tenths places of the rank given them by the class as to being liked, while the children with mothers working or absent placed themselves with an average of eleven and eight-tenths places between their self-rank and class rank.

Over-all socio-economic status and self-development. As was set out on page 40, when the writer divided the children into two general socio-economic categories by placing the children who were in the upper categories of two or more socio-economic factors in the upper category of the over-all socio-economic classification and those who were in the lower categories of two or more factors in the lower category of the over-all classification, twelve children fell into the

upper general category and thirteen fell into the lower. The writer then examined these general socio-economic categories from the standpoint of the average number of answers in the upper categories of the first five self-variables as opposed to the average number of answers in the lower categories, as well as from the standpoint of the sixth and seventh self-variables having to do with the children's looking at themselves objectively.

As Table XLIII reflects, the children in the upper socio-economic category had an average of two and seven-tenths answers in the upper categories of the first five self-variables and an average of one and nine-tenths answers in the lower categories. The children in the lower socio-economic category had an average of two and four-tenths answers in both the upper and lower categories of the first five self-variables. Since the class as a whole had an average of two and one-half answers in the upper categories of the self-variables and an average of two and two-tenths answers in the lower categories, these data indicate a slight tendency for the children in the upper socio-economic category to have better developed selves with reference to these five variables than the children in the lower socio-economic category.

With reference to looking at themselves objectively, the children in the upper socio-economic category ranked themselves with an average error of five and one-half places as students, while the children in the lower socio-economic category ranked themselves with an

TABLE XLIII
OVER-ALL SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT

General Socio-economic Status	Number of children	Self-development			
		Average number of answers to first five self-variables		Looking at self objectively, average discrepancy in self- rank, shown in number of places	
		upper categories	Lower categories	As a student	As being liked
Upper socio- economic category	12	2.7	1.9	5.5	9.3
Lower socio- economic category	13	2.4	2.4	6.0	11.8
Entire class	25	2.5	2.2	5.5	10.6

average error of six places. Also the children in the upper category ranked themselves as to how well they were liked with an average discrepancy between their self-rank and class rank of nine and three-tenths places, as opposed to an average discrepancy of eleven and eight-tenths places for the children in the lower category.

The data for all the self-variables then indicate a slight tendency for the children of the upper socio-economic status to have better developed selves, but the differences are so slight that they are almost negligible.

II. SELF-DEVELOPMENT CONSIDERED FROM STANDPOINT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT SIMULTANEOUSLY

Since the writer was interested in both the children's socio-economic status and intelligence quotients for any explanatory value they might have for the children's self-development, she decided to cross-tabulate self-development with socio-economic status and intelligence quotient simultaneously.

Intelligence quotients were available for only twenty of the children. These children were placed in two intelligence quotient categories, with those with High Average and Low Average quotients in the upper category and those with Inferior and Very Inferior quotients in the lower category. As Table II on page 37 showed, there were three children whose intelligence quotients were in the High Average classification and eight whose intelligence quotients were in the Low Average

classification, making a total of eleven children in the upper intelligence quotient category. Also, as Table II reflected, there were eight children whose intelligence quotients were in the Inferior classification and one whose intelligence quotient was in the Very Inferior classification, making a total of nine children in the lower intelligence quotient category.

Tables XLIV and XLV show the difference between the children in the upper socio-economic category and the lower socio-economic category when their intelligence quotients are near the same level. Reference to Table XLIV shows that among the children of higher intelligence, both those in the upper and in the lower socio-economic categories had more answers in the upper categories of the first five self-variables than in the lower categories, their averages being three and one-half answers in the upper categories of the self-variables and one answer in the lower categories for the upper socio-economic group, and two and eight-tenths answers in the upper categories of the self-variables and two answers in the lower categories for the children in the lower socio-economic category. Regardless of the fact that both groups had more answers in the upper categories than in the lower categories of the self-variables, there is still a greater difference between the upper and lower socio-economic groups than when intelligence quotient was not held constant.

With reference to looking at themselves objectively, the children in the upper socio-category were less objective in one instance and more objective in the other. When ranking themselves as students

TABLE XLIV
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT
UPPER INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT CATEGORY

General Socio-economic status	Number of children	Self-development			
		Average number of answers to first five self-variables		Looking at self objectively, average discrepancy in self- rank, shown in number of places	
		Upper categories	Lower categories	As a student	As being liked
Upper socio- economic category	4	3.5	1.0	6.4	7.5
Lower socio- economic category	7	2.8	2.0	5.4	12.7
All children in higher intelligence quotient category	11	3.1	1.6	5.7	10.8

TABLE XLV
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT
LOWER INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT CATEGORY

General Socio-economic status	Number of children	Self-development			
		Average number answers to first five self-variables		Looking at self objectively, average discrepancy in self- rank, shown in number of places	
		Upper categories	Lower categories	As a student	As being liked
Upper socio- economic category	5	2.0	2.6	3.9	8.6
Lower socio- economic category	4	1.5	3.5	7.4	12.5
All children in lower intelligence quotient category	9	1.8	3.0	5.4	10.3

they made an average error of six and four-tenths places, as opposed to an average error of five and four-tenths places for the children in the lower category. When asked to rank themselves as to how well they were liked, they had an average discrepancy between their self-rank and class rank of seven and one-half places, while the children in the lower category had an average discrepancy of twelve and seven-tenths places.

Among the children of lower intelligence, as determined by their intelligence quotients, both socio-economic groups had more answers in the lower categories of the first five self-variables than in the upper categories. Reference to Table XLV shows the average number of answers in the upper categories of the self-variables to be two for the children of upper socio-economic status, with an average number of two and six-tenths answers in the lower categories for the same group. The table also shows an average number of answers in the upper categories of the first five self-variables of one and one-half for the children of lower socio-economic status, with an average number of answers of three and one-half in the lower categories for the same group. And again, there is more discrimination between the upper and lower socio-economic groups than when intelligence quotient was not held constant.

Among these children of lower intelligence, the upper socio-economic category were more objective in both instances when ranking themselves. As students they had an average error of three and nine-tenths places, as opposed to seven and four-tenths places for those in

the lower socio-economic category, and an average discrepancy between their self-rank and class rank as to how well they were liked of eight and six-tenths places, as against an average discrepancy of twelve and one-half places for the children in the lower socio-economic category.

When children of like intelligence were compared therefore it appeared that in every instance except one the children of the upper socio-economic category tended to have better developed selves than those of the lower socio-economic category. The exception was among the children of higher intelligence when ranking themselves as students; there the children of the upper socio-economic status were less objective than those of the lower socio-economic category. This would indicate that socio-economic status was more closely related to self-development than first appeared. It also indicates that intelligence is associated with self-development.

That there is association between intelligence quotient and self-development can readily be seen by comparing the last lines of Tables XLIV and XLV which reflect the self-development of all the children of higher intelligence and all the children of lower intelligence. As can be seen, the average number of answers in the upper categories of the first five self-variables was three and one-tenth for the children of higher intelligence and one and eight-tenths for the children of lower intelligence. The children of higher intelligence had an average of only one and six-tenths answers in the lower categories of these variables, as opposed to an average of three answers for the

children of lower intelligence.

With reference to looking at themselves objectively, however, the children of higher intelligence quotient appeared to be less able to do so in both instances. They made an average error of five and seven-tenths places when ranking themselves as students, as opposed to five and four-tenths places for the children of lower intelligence, and they had a discrepancy of ten and eight-tenths between their self-rank and class rank as to how well they were liked, as against an average discrepancy of ten and three-tenths places for the children of lower intelligence.

III. SCHOOL PERFORMANCE CONSIDERED FROM STANDPOINT OF SELF-DEVELOPMENT AND INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT

This study's main concern being the relationship between the child's self-development and his school performance, and in consideration of the extensive use of intelligence quotients to predict the school performance of children, the writer decided to compare the twenty children whose intelligence quotients were available, ten of whom were doing passing work and ten of whom were doing failing work, on the basis of their intelligence quotients and their self-development as determined by this study. Table XLVI shows the results of this comparison.

As will be seen, seven of the children doing passing work had intelligence quotients in the higher category, that is, in the High

TABLE XLVI

SCHOOL PERFORMANCE IN TERMS OF SELF-DEVELOPMENT
AND INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT

School performance	Intelligence quotient			Self-development			
	Number of children		Average IQ	Average number of answers to first five self-variables		Looking at self objectively, average discrepancy in self-rank, shown in number of places	
	Higher IQ	Lower IQ		Upper categories	Lower categories	As a student	As being liked
Children doing passing work	7	3	90.4	3.2	1.4	2.1	5.9
Children doing failing work	4	6	81.2	1.8	3.1	9.1	12.2
All children on whom intelligence quotients available	11	9	85.8	2.5	2.2	5.6	10.6

Average or Low Average classification, and three had intelligence quotients in the lower category, that is, in the Inferior or Very Inferior classification. These children doing passing work had an average intelligence quotient of ninety and four-tenths.

Among the children doing failing work, four had intelligence quotients in the higher category and six had intelligence quotients in the lower category. Their average intelligence quotient was eighty-one and two-tenths.

With reference to self-development, Table XLVI shows that the children doing passing work gave significantly more answers which fell into the upper categories of the first five self-variables, the average number being three and two-tenths. The children doing failing work had an average of only one and eight-tenths answers in the upper categories of these same variables. The children doing passing work had an average of only one and four-tenths answers in the lower categories of the first five self-variables, while the children doing failing work gave an average of three and one-tenth answers which fell into the lower categories.

The children doing passing work looked at themselves with considerably more objectivity in both cases than the children doing failing work. The passing children made an average of two and one-tenth places when ranking themselves as students, while the children doing failing work made an average error of nine and one-tenth places. The children doing passing work were at variance with the class an

average of five and nine-tenths places when ranking themselves as to how well they were liked, while the children doing failing work had a difference of twelve and two-tenths places. Thus both the intelligence quotients and self-development, as determined by this study, discriminated between the children doing passing work and those doing failing work.

An examination of the children individually in terms of self-development, as described in this study, affords some possible explanations of school performance where intelligence quotient fails to explain it.

There were three children among those doing passing work who had Inferior intelligence quotients, the other seven having either High Average or Low Average intelligence quotients. Two of these children with the Inferior intelligence quotients had better than B average in their work and one shared with another girl the highest grade average in the room. Both of these children also had well-developed selves according to the criteria used in this study. On the other hand, the other child doing passing work with an Inferior intelligence quotient cannot be explained either by his intelligence quotient or his self-development since his self-development was equally poor according to this study.

Among the failing children were four with intelligence quotients in the Low Average classification and who, on this basis, would have been expected to be passing students. These children had poorly developed selves according to this study. One of them, while

giving answers which fell into the upper categories of the first five self-variables was so much in error in ranking herself as a student and was so greatly at variance with the class in ranking herself as to how well she was liked that this inability to look at herself objectively could explain her poor school performance.

This chapter has contained the findings with reference to the relationships between certain antecedent conditions and self-development, these antecedent conditions being the child's socio-economic status and his intelligence quotient. In the next chapter a summary of the findings and the conclusions will be given.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was a limited investigation of the relationship between the elementary school child's self-development and his school performance, and secondarily, the relationship between the socio-economic status of the child's family and his self-development and the relationship between his intelligence as reflected by an intelligence quotient and his self-development. Its purposes were to discover methods by which the school child's self-development could be assessed and to derive hypotheses worthy of testing with reference to the relationships between his self-development and his school performance.

George Herbert Mead's theory not only suggested the study but also furnished the theoretical framework for it. Important in this framework were Mead's conceptualization of the self as a process involved in all the individual's conscious actions and his treatment of the self as primarily a cognitive phenomena. Mead's theory suggested three hypotheses which appeared to be particularly relevant to the main concern of this study, the relationship of the school child's self-development upon his school performance. While the limitations of both the data and the method of this study preclude any claim to testing these hypotheses, they served as a guide to the study.

The study was conducted among the members of a sixth grade class in an elementary school and included data concerning twenty-five

children. The main data came from interviews, one hour in length, with each child. The interviews were oriented around the child's cognitive structure. Data concerning the child's school performance, socio-economic status, and intelligence quotient were obtained from the school records, the teacher, and observation by the researcher.

The first hypothesis which guided the study was as follows: The child whose self has reached the stage of development in which he has incorporated the social attitudes of the group of which he is a part, in other words, in which he takes the attitude of the "generalized other," will give a better school performance than the child whose self has not reached this stage.

Three indications of this aspect of the child's self, his internalization of social attitudes, came from the contents of the interviews. One indication was the child's comprehension of abstract rules or norms which were not tied to the authority of a particular person. A situation existed at the school where members of the student body enforced traffic rules where the teachers were concerned. The child's awareness that everyone, including the teacher, was subject to the traffic rules and that a child, usually subject to a teacher's authority, could enforce the rules when the teachers were in error would indicate that the child understood the universal nature of the traffic rules.

The second indication of the child's internalization of social attitudes was his comprehension of the nature of a socially defined

position in an organization. The evidence in the interview of this comprehension was his view of the teacher as being an instrument for accomplishing the main purpose of the school, the education of the children.

The third indication of the child's internalization of social attitudes was his view of himself as a part of the social organization of the school and therefore responsible for his own behavior. This view of himself was manifested by his expression of what he would do when left without supervision in the classroom.

The second implicit hypothesis was as follows: The child who can take the attitude of a particular other person in a situation of social interaction will be able to interact with others more successfully than the child who cannot do so and therefore will give a better school performance than the child whose self has not developed to this point.

Taking the attitude of the other enables the person to interact more efficiently in two ways: first, he would be ready to react to the other's response even before it was perceived because the person had already implicitly responded to it in his self process in anticipation of it. The child's ability to predict the response of the teacher was reflected in the contents of the interview by his statement of whether or not he had expected the teacher to react in the way she had when the class had misbehaved during her absence.

The second way in which the person's taking the role of the other would enhance his efficiency in interaction would be that he would interpret the response of the other in the same way the other intended it. The child's ability to interpret the response of the other correctly was demonstrated in the interview in his correct interpretation of the teacher's instructions to the class in what appeared to be an ambiguous situation.

The third general hypothesis which Mead's theory suggested was as follows: The child who can view himself with objectivity will give a better performance as a student than the child who cannot do so.

The viewing of one's self objectively could result from viewing one's self in terms of abstract principles or by application of impersonal standards to one's self. This was manifested in the interview data in terms of the child's view of himself as to how he compared with the other children as a student.

Another way the viewing of one's self in an objective fashion would occur would be in a more direct fashion, by taking the attitude of the group as a whole and seeing one's self as the group sees one. The child's view of himself as compared to the view of the class as to how well he was liked was a manifestation of the child's ability to look at himself this way.

The writer investigated the internalization of social attitudes in the child's cognitive structure, his ability to engage in the cognitive process of taking the attitude of a particular other person,

and his ability to look at himself objectively by a method involving the use of dramatic material consisting of a diagram representing the classroom and hall, and chess markers representing the children and teacher, which the child and the interviewer moved about to dramatize the social occurrences discussed in the interview. The use of these materials in this way proved to be effective; it appeared to free the child from embarrassment and permitted him to objectify the persons in the classroom, including himself, so that he revealed his cognitive structure and processes to a greater extent than he would have done in response to direct questioning. However, the close study of the interviews in analyzing them revealed errors in the choice of questions and the way they were asked which detracted from the value of the study.

One error was that while it was correct to reconstruct situations in familiar surroundings for the child in the interview, it now appears that the actual occurrences presented to the child should have been ones the child had not actually experienced, or that he could not identify with a particular, concrete occurrence he had experienced, so that he would not have been calling upon his memory of what his cognitive processes had been at a former time but would have been revealing what they were at the time of the interview. This conclusion applies to the variable involving the child's view of himself as being responsible for his behavior in the absence of supervision, the variable involving his expectation of the teacher's response to the misbehavior of the class, and the variable concerning his interpretation of her

response at another time. The value of the data from the standpoint of validity is lessened by this error.

Another error occurred in the type of incidents chosen for investigation of the child's ability to take the attitude of the other. Incidents in which the attitude of the other which the child was asked to take should have had as small emotional content as possible so that the child's cognitive processes would have been called into effect to take the attitude of the other. This would have been more in keeping with Mead's concept of the self as a cognitive phenomenon.

Another error was in the method of interviewing. Because of the writer's fear of putting words into the child's mouth, she did not always explain the questions to the point that it was certain the child understood what was being asked, and she did not employ probing to bring out exactly what the child was thinking in all instances. This was not evident to the writer until the interviews were subjected to content analysis.

With reference to the relationships between the child's self-development and his school performance, the study showed the following concerning that aspect of the self conceptualized as internalization of social attitudes. This aspect of the self was the aspect set out in the first implicit hypothesis and the first three self-variables were indications of it.

Concerning the first self-variable, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule in the hall, the data were

indeterminate. However, a hypothesis embodying the proposition that there is a relationship between such awareness and the child's school performance is tenable and it is suggested that it would be worthy of testing.

With reference to the second self-variable, the data showed that the children who looked upon the teacher as occupying an instrumental position in the school organization tended to be better students than those who saw her otherwise. A hypothesis containing this proposition is therefore suggested as being worthy of testing.

Concerning the third self-variable, the data indicated there was no association between the children's view of themselves as having the responsibility for their own behavior and their school performance. The conclusion is that a hypothesis containing this proposition is not worthy of testing.

The second implicit hypothesis concerned the aspect of the self conceptualized as taking the attitude of the other, and it was indicated by the fourth and fifth self-variables. The investigation of the relationship of this aspect of the self to school performance showed the following.

With reference to the fourth self-variable, the data supported the proposition that the children who had expected the teacher's response to their misbehavior were better students than those who had not expected it. A hypothesis embodying this proposition is suggested as being worthy of testing.

Concerning the fifth self-variable, there was no clear indication from the data whether the children who interpreted the teacher's response to their inability to spell correctly performed better as students than those who did not interpret her response correctly. Since the data did not cast doubt upon this proposition, a proposition embodying it is suggested as being worthy of testing.

The third aspect of the self, that of looking at the self objectively, was set out in the third implicit hypothesis. The sixth and seventh self-variables represented this aspect in the study. The data revealed the following concerning the relationship of this aspect of the self to school performance.

With reference to the sixth self-variable, the data indicated that the children who were able to rank themselves as students with greater accuracy were the better students. It is suggested that a hypothesis containing this proposition is worthy of testing.

Concerning the seventh self-variable, the data indicated that the children who saw themselves nearer to the way the class saw them as to how well they were liked were the students who gave the better performance as students. The conclusion is that a hypothesis embodying this proposition is worthy of testing.

Since there were two or more variables conceptualized as being manifestations of each of the three aspects of the self set out in the three hypotheses, the writer looked for association between the variables indicating a particular aspect. The presence of these associations

would tend to strengthen the theoretical basis of the study.

Variables indicating internalization of social attitudes were examined first. With reference to the relationships between the self variables indicating this aspect of the self, the data did not support the theoretical proposition that the first three variables were positively related to each other because they were all manifestations of internalization of social attitudes. This suggests need for review of this part of the theoretical basis of the study.

Variables indicating taking the attitude of the other were next examined. The data supported the theoretical proposition that these two variables, the ability to predict the response of the other and the correct interpretation of the response of the other, would be positively associated. This strengthens the theoretical basis of the study.

The writer next examined the variables indicating looking at the self objectively. The data supported the theoretical proposition that these two indications of looking at the self objectively would be positively associated. This strengthens the theoretical basis of the study.

The writer had conceptualized the child's self-development as being at a particular stage. This would suggest that all the self-variables would tend to be associated with each. The study revealed the following concerning the relationships between each-self variable and the other six self-variables.

The data showed the first self-variable, the child's awareness of the universal nature of the traffic rule in the hall, to be associated with only three of the other six self variables. The data were indeterminate with reference to the relationship between the first self-variable and one other self-variable. The data showed that no association existed between the first self-variable and the other two self-variables.

The second self-variable, the child's view of the teacher in an instrumental capacity was shown by the data to be associated with four of the other six self-variables. The data showed that this variable was not associated with the other two self-variables.

The data showed that the third self-variable, the child's view of himself as having the responsibility for his own behavior, was not related to five of the other six self-variables in a positive way. The data showed it to be associated with one self-variable. Exclusion of this variable would greatly enhance the over-all association of the other variables.

The data showed that the fourth self-variable, the child's expectation of the teacher's response to the misbehavior of the class during her absence from the classroom, was positively associated with four of the other six self-variables. It was shown to be not associated with one of the self-variables, and the data were indeterminate with reference to its association with the other self-variable.

The fifth self-variable, the child's correct interpretation of the teacher's response to the class's inability to spell the spelling words, was shown to be associated with four of the other six self-variables. The data were not determinate as to this variable's relationship to one other self-variable, and the data showed no association existed between this variable and another self-variable.

The data showed self-variable six, the child's ranking of himself as a student, to be associated with five of the other six self-variables. With reference to its association with the other self-variable, the data were indeterminate.

The seventh self-variable, the child's view of himself as to how well he was liked, was shown to be positively related to five of the other six self-variables. The data showed it not to be related to the other self-variable.

There were twenty-one combinations of these seven self-variables. In thirteen of these combinations the variables showed a tendency to occur together; in six of the combinations the variables showed a tendency not to occur together, and in two combinations the data were indeterminate as to association between the variables. The third self-variable being excluded there would have been fifteen combinations remaining, twelve of which would have shown a tendency toward association, one of which would have shown a tendency for the variables not to be associated, and two in which the data would have been indeterminate as to association between the variables. With the exception of the third

self-variable, there was evidence that the self variables over-all were related to each other in a positive way. This tends to strengthen the theoretical basis of the study.

A part of the conceptual scheme of this study was that the child's socio-economic status and general intelligence might be related as antecedent conditions to his self-development. The child's socio-economic status was determined by three factors: the type of house in which he lived, whether he lived in a home with a father, and whether his mother remained at home rather than working outside the home or being completely absent from the home. When the three socio-economic factors were considered singly with reference to the child's self-development, the data showed that the children who lived in the better houses tended to have better developed selves generally than the children who lived in the poorer houses, that is, they gave more answers which were in the upper categories of the first five self-variables and they ranked themselves with less error as students and closer to the place given them by the class as to being liked.

The second socio-economic factor, that of having a father in the home, appeared from the data not to be positively associated with the better developed selves, as determined by the variables used in this study.

The data were indeterminate concerning the relationship between the third socio-economic factor, that of having a mother who did not work outside the home, and self-development as far as the first five

self-variables were concerned. However the children with mothers at home were a little more objective in the view of themselves as students and as to how well they were liked than the children whose mothers worked or were completely absent from home.

The writer also placed the children in two general socio-economic categories based on all three of the factors already described, the children who fell into the upper categories of two or more of these three factors making up the upper general socio-economic category and those falling into two or more of the negative categories of the three factors making up the lower general socio-economic category. When these two categories were examined from the standpoint of the children's self-development, the data indicated a very slight association between upper socio-economic status and better developed selves.

Since the children's socio-economic status and intelligence quotient both had possible explanatory value for self-development, the writer then examined self-development in terms of socio-economic status and intelligence simultaneously. Two intelligence quotient groups, the upper made up of children with High Average and Low Average intelligence quotients, and the lower containing the children with Inferior and Very Inferior intelligence quotients, were examined separately on the basis of socio-economic status and self-development. The data showed more discrimination between upper and lower socio-economic status in terms of self-development when the children of like

intelligence were compared even though both socio-economic groups among the children of higher intelligence had more answers in the upper categories of the first five self-variables, and both socio-economic groups among the children of lower intelligence had more answers in the lower categories of the first five self-variables.

The children of upper socio-economic status in both intelligence groups were more objective concerning themselves in three instances and less objective in the other instance. The instance in which they were less objective was among the children of higher intelligence when ranking themselves as students.

This cross-tabulation indicated there was more association between socio-economic status and self-development than had first appeared. The conclusion was that a hypothesis containing the proposition that socio-economic status and self-development are related is worthy of testing.

This cross-tabulation also indicated a strong association between intelligence, as evidenced by intelligence quotient, and self-development. A comparison of all the children of higher intelligence with all the children of lower intelligence revealed a great difference in self-development with reference to the first five self-variables, the children of higher intelligence having considerably more answers in the upper categories of these variables than the children of lower intelligence. However, the children of lower intelligence looked at themselves with more objectivity both when ranking themselves as

students and as to how well they were liked. Apparently intelligence and self-development are related but the data in this study did not indicate the exact nature of this relationship. There is need for further investigation of the relationship.

The question of the relative predictive values of intelligence quotients and self-development, as here defined, suggested a comparison of the ten failing children and ten passing children for whom intelligence quotients were available in terms of their intelligence quotients and their self-development.

The data showed that the higher intelligence quotients were associated with the children doing passing work and the lower intelligence quotients with the children doing failing work. The data also showed association between the children doing passing work and the children's self-development, both in terms of the answers to the first five self-variables which fell into the upper categories of these variables and in terms of the children's ability to rank themselves correctly as students and in conformity with the class as to how well they were liked. When the children were looked at individually, their self-development, as determined by this study, offered some explanations of why some children of lower intelligence quotient were the better students and some children of higher intelligence quotient were poor students.

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