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ETHNIC IDENTITY IN NIGERIAN CHILDREN OF
BLACK-WHITE MIXED MARRIAGES

The relationship between child rearing practices and ethnic identification in interracial (Yoruba/Oyinbo) and Yoruba families in Nigeria.

A thesis presented at the Postgraduate School of Studies in Psychology, University of Bradford for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

by

Karen Pfeffer

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the relationship between child rearing practices and ethnic identity in interracial and Yoruba children in Nigeria. An in-depth study of 20 interracial and 20 Yoruba families was conducted. Three methods of measuring ethnic identity (a doll choice technique, Draw-A-Person and 'Tell me about yourself') were administered to 20 interracial and 20 Yoruba children (aged 6 - 9 years) in the home environment. A questionnaire was administered to the mother in each family to measure the extent of use of 'elite' Yoruba child rearing practices. A separate questionnaire was also administered to fathers. The mothers' questionnaire responses were correlated with the children's test results.

The doll choice technique and Draw-A-Person were found to be more successful than 'Tell me about yourself'. However, an additional 'food preference' measure was extracted from 'Tell me about yourself'. The results indicated that Yoruba children showed a stronger Yoruba identity than interracial children and that the majority of children in both groups showed correct own-group identification. As expected, Yoruba mothers were found to use more Yoruba child rearing practices than interracial mothers. A significant relationship between child rearing practices and ethnic identity was found in the interracial group but not in the Yoruba group. Correlations between doll play, Draw-A-Person and the food preference measure were generally low. Race of experimenter (white and Yoruba) did not affect children's test results.

Results were interpreted within a family interactions frame-
work and with considerations given to the social and cultural background of the subjects. It was suggested that socialization may be important for the development of ethnic identity in the 'minority' interracial children but not in the 'majority' Yoruba children. The implications of this finding for interracial children in other societies and for other ethnic minority groups was discussed.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
Ethnic identity in children is a well-researched topic. Considerable interest has been shown in the ethnic identity of black children in the United States and elsewhere and also in the ethnic identity of other groups of children such as Asians, Jews, Maoris, French-Canadians and English-speaking white children. However, ethnic identity in interracial children has largely been ignored.

The investigator became interested in the study of ethnic identity in Nigeria while working as a lecturer in a Nigerian university. From personal observation it became evident that although Nigeria has a diverse cultural background there is little apparent racial tension compared to Western countries with marked racial conflicts (e.g., Britain). This means that the societal atmosphere in which black and interracial children grow up in Nigeria may be very different from that surrounding black and interracial children in many Western countries. Several investigators working in Western countries (e.g., Clark and Clark, 1947; Porter, 1971; Milner, 1983) have underlined the negative aspects associated with growing up in racially hierarchical societies which may affect the minority group child's self-concept. In addition, cross-cultural studies (e.g., Young and Bagley, 1979) have found more positive self-concepts in minority group children originating from countries with little racial tension (e.g., West African countries).

Before discussing the specific aims of the research it may be useful to consider the pertinent concepts of race, ethnicity, culture and identity.

According to Figueroa (1984) race is a social construction
that is not inherent to humanity but rather it is a frame of reference often used in making sense of the world. He suggested that a racial frame of reference assumes, first of all, that there do actually exist objectively different races. Secondly, these different 'races' share by nature certain common characteristics. Thirdly, the different 'racial' categories are mutually exclusive. Thus, it may be inferred that a racial group should be clearly defined and that all members should possess similar characteristics, some of which differ from those possessed by members of other racial groups.

However, the existence of objectively different races can be refuted. Firstly, racial groups are not mutually exclusive, neither can they be clearly defined. A certain amount of overlapping occurs between any socially defined groups, even between the sexes. An obvious example of racial group overlapping is the interracial individual. Furthermore, racially determined characteristics have not been reliably established. (See Postscript)

Why the concept of 'race' should persist despite the inability to satisfy its basic assumptions has been explained by Figueroa (1984). The racial frame of reference has a number of functions which may help to explain its continued use. Firstly, it permits categorisation and ordering of the world. According to Davey (1983), categorisation involves the ability to group discriminably different objects, persons and events together and treat them as if they were equivalent for some purpose. Categorisation thus reduces the complexity of the constant flow of information we receive from the environment.
Without the ability to categorise we would be overwhelmed by the amount and variety of stimuli impinging on us. Categorisation provides us with a means of rapid identification of stimuli and provides signals for appropriate action. Thus, objects are grouped into categories, members of which can be easily identified and are believed to possess some characteristics in common. 'Racial' categories are frequently based around discernable cues such as skin pigmentation, facial features and hair texture. The ease with which such cues may often, though not always, be perceived may serve to attenuate the use of a racial category system.

A second function of the racial frame of reference is that it may contribute to a definition of social identity. Social identity at its most basic level is a grouping of people into two categories, 'us' and 'them', or 'in-group' and 'out-group', depending on perceived similarities between oneself and various other people. Perceptions of racial differences may not only assist in defining a group's social identity but may also contribute to group loyalty and cohesion.

Ethnicity may also be thought of as a social construction. Epstein (1978) traced the development of the term 'ethnicity'. He maintained that it is a term of recent use which derives from the earlier use of the concept of ethnic group. Definitions of ethnicity have included definitions in terms of cultural groups and of interest groups or groups which are political in nature. Barth (1969) suggested that ethnicity is self-defining, that is, ethnic group members define themselves by the attributes they ascribe to themselves and their
identification with the group. Ethnic group membership may or may not be of great relevance to behaviour, it may pervade the whole of social life or it may be limited to minor activities depending on the circumstances. Barth (1969) suggested that ethnic groups exist in so far as they can maintain their boundaries with other social groups and in so far as they imply differences in behaviour.

The concept of culture has been defined by Verma and Bagley (1984) as:

'a series of attitudes, values and beliefs shared by a particular group of people because of common experience based on a common tradition and a common present'. (p.2)

However, Verma and Bagley (1984) identified serious problems in any definition of culture. According to them culture is not static, it is dynamic and changes over time. Secondly, descriptions of culture cannot be objective. Any attempted description of a particular culture must allow for the way in which it is perceived by individuals living in that culture. Despite problems in defining culture it is a more useful concept than race in understanding human behaviour. The effects of race on human behaviour have not been reliably established, however, the effects of culture on behaviour are well-documented (see for example, Serpell, 1976). (See Postscript)

We may now consider the concept of identity. Epstein (1978) preferred to think of identity as

'an awareness of the self as a differentiated but organised entity which is separate and distinct from its environment, an entity moreover that has continuity and
direction, and the capacity to remain the same in the midst of change." (p.6)

Erikson (1959) also referred to the idea of continuity in this connection. He defined identity as a sense of continuity which links what the individual was as a child and what he is about to become. It also links his conception of himself with his community's conception of him. Erikson (1968) differs from most of his contemporaries in the field of psychoanalysis in terms of emphasis on identity. According to him identity is a psychosocial phenomenon which is determined both from within the individual's psyche and from the social world without. In this respect his theory may be thought of as a forerunner of later definitions of identity as being, to a great extent, social in origin (e.g., Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Tajfel, 1974, 1978; Epstein, 1978).

Studies of ethnic identity, though numerous, tend to be problematic because of the tremendous difficulties involved in this area. To begin with, a definition of ethnic identity is difficult and has tended to be vague or ignored altogether. Early studies concerned themselves with racial identity rather than ethnic identity (e.g., Clark and Clark, 1939). People were classified according to various types of skin colour. One of the drawbacks to this type of study is based on the assumption that people who share the same skin colour also share the same cultural background. However, some studies focused on ethnicity and even area of origin (e.g., Young and Bagley, 1979). (See Postscript)

The specific culture under study in this research was the Yoruba culture of Nigeria. Attempts were made to present
specific aspects of the Yoruba culture most pertinent to the subjects of the study in order to develop a more meaningful measure of ethnic identity.

A number of aims guided the research. The first aim was to study the development of ethnic identity from the perspective of the family. Several studies have examined ethnic identity development in the interracial child and ethnic identification of the mother of interracial families (Jacobs, 1977; Benson, 1981; Wilson, 1981a, 1981b; Bagley and Young, 1984). These studies are of some interest and relevance to the present study. Certainly, these studies, some of which placed considerable emphasis on the mother in the interracial family, have underlined the need to consider the ethnic identification, development and functioning of the entire family, not just the individual child.

The second aim was to examine the social and cultural context of this study. Ethnic identification cannot be studied as an isolated phenomenon. Account should be made of the societal, parental and personal influences impinging on the child. According to Young and Bagley (1982a):

"Before we can make an assessment of a child's self-concept and its relationship to identity we must know his world of 'objects' and the social arrangements of the family and community into which he is born. This includes beliefs and values found in the family, attitudes towards the child at school, among his peers, etc." (p.52)

As noted above, the present study attempted to examine
ethnic identification within the family unit. Although the family unit can be considered as an individual unit for study, attempts were made to consider the societal influences affecting this small group. To this end, the cultural context of the study was examined as well as the attitudes of the society towards white people in general and interracial marriage in particular. This aspect of the study had two main functions which were to assist the development of culturally appropriate research tools and to outline the cultural setting and societal atmosphere surrounding the subjects.

The third aim was to examine the relationship between culture-specific child rearing practices and ethnic identity. Various researchers have attempted to outline specific determinants of ethnic identity such as age (Clark and Clark, 1947), socio-economic status (Porter, 1971) and language (Giles, 1977). Generally, studies of the determinants of ethnic identification have tended to concentrate on fairly global aspects. Little account has been made of specific, individual aspects of behaviour and attitudes which together make up a particular culture. Such individual aspects may be thought of as processes within the family, such as culture-specific child rearing practices.

Although the present study examined ethnic identification in families with children whose parents were both members of the Yoruba ethnic group, the main interest was with families whose children were of mixed parentage (Yoruba-white children). Some studies have been conducted in Western countries examining mixed-race and two-culture families. Examples of fairly recent
studies of mixed-race families are Benson (1981), Wilson (1981a, 1981b) and Bagley and Young (1984) in Britain, and Jacobs (1977) in the U.S.A. Surprisingly few studies of mixed-race individuals or families have been carried out outside of the 'West' with the exception of studies conducted in South Africa (e.g., Dickie-Clark, 1966). The study of interracial families in Nigeria is interesting because the societal atmosphere in which interracial children grow up in Nigeria may be very different from that in many Western countries. As mentioned above, there is little apparent racial tension in Nigeria compared to some Western countries with marked racial conflicts.

Finally, the study aimed at considering methodological issues in measuring ethnic identity. A recurrent theme is evident throughout most of the studies of ethnic identity in any country or culture, which is that to a large extent the results may be influenced by methodological variables including the instrument used (Jahoda et al., 1972) and the research design (Milner, 1973). However, methodological problems are not confined solely to the measurement of ethnic identity. As will become evident, methods of measuring culture-specific child rearing practices and the extent of adaptation of the family to the host (Yoruba) culture may also be fraught with difficulties. Hence, thoughts were also given to any methodological problems inherent in such measurements.

In summary, the aims of the research were as follows:

(i) to study the processes involved in the development of ethnic identity from the perspective of the family;
(ii) to examine the social and cultural context of the study;
(iii) to examine the relationship between culture-specific child rearing practices and ethnic identity;
(iv) to study the mode of operation of interracial families;
(v) to consider methodological issues in measuring ethnic identity and culture-specific child rearing practices.

It was hoped that the study would yield valuable results for understanding identity development. While much research has considered the relationship between child rearing and other aspects of socialization and ethnic attitudes (see Milner, 1983) little attention has been paid to socialization and ethnic identity. Possibly the assumption is that a white English child living in Britain or a black Nigerian child living in Nigeria will more or less automatically identify with English and Nigerians respectively because of perceived similarity to appropriate role models (e.g., parents). However, this assumption breaks down in the case of the interracial child who is not expressly similar to either parental ethnic group.

It is hoped that the study of identity formation in interracial children would aid in interpreting identity development generally. As the interracial child does not have a ready-made group with which to identify, the exact process by which he/she comes to identify with any particular group or any number of groups may be very interesting. The difference between the interracial child and a child whose parents are both of the same ethnic group is that the interracial child
has a choice of groups with which to identify whereas the non-interracial child in reality has only one. This is what makes the comparison all the more interesting.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF SOME RELEVANT STUDIES
Having discussed the important concepts involved in the study of ethnic identity and the specific aims of the present study we may now consider a review of relevant studies. The discussion of relevant studies follows several themes; the historical context of studies of ethnic identity, theoretical aspects of identification, identity and ethnic identity, methods of studying ethnic identity, the development of national and ethnic identity, cross-cultural studies of ethnic identity, and ethnic identity in interracial children.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF STUDIES OF ETHNIC AWARENESS AND IDENTITY

The study of ethnic identity is by no means new. Interest in the topic probably began at the beginning of the century and research studies began to be published in number during the 1920s and 1930s. However, this does not mean that the issues of race and ethnicity had not been considered prior to the twentieth century. On the contrary, the scientific study of race was probably at its height during the nineteenth century and had its origins as early as the eighteenth century.

During the eighteenth century black slavery reached its peak. During the same period, scientific thought about racial types began to develop (Milner, 1983). Milner (1983) maintained that this was not mere coincidence but the results of intellectual curiosity aroused by white Europeans' first prolonged contact with Africans. Racial thought in the Americas was based on the ideology of black inferiority which developed
in the slave societies (Benson, 1981). Developments in Europe have been aptly described by Benson (1981), by the last quarter of the eighteenth century:

"awareness of differences in physical appearance and in culture had crystallised into a number of conflicting patterns of thought, which, despite their differences, all drew upon a widely accepted classification of humanity into different varieties, or 'races', to which were attributed not simply differentiated physical characteristics, but also differing mental and moral capabilities". (p.5)

The scientific study of race in the eighteenth century sought to explain the political ascendancy of particular races and ethnic groups (both within and outside Europe) over others (Milner, 1983). It also was probably developed as a justification for slavery using a simple argument of whites being superior to blacks therefore slavery is the natural order of things.

The abolition of slavery, however, did not herald the abolition of racist attitudes. Stereotypes of African 'amorality, sexuality and lustfulness, ... stupidity, brutality and savagery' (Benson, 1981) continued into the nineteenth century and supported the then expanding imperialism. Darwin's theory of evolution unwittingly provided a scientific framework for racist thinking and imperialism, that is, superior nations and superior races were thought to be created by natural selection. Sir Francis Galton and the Eugenics movement also provided a framework for contemporary racial attitudes. Galton's basic tenet was that intelligence was inherited. This
belief was applied to the prevailing social structure such that social classes were deemed to be in particular relation to each other by virtue of their inheritance. According to Milner (1983) this hierarchy of inheritance and ability was extended to races as well as social classes. The Eugenics movement continued to be influential into the twentieth century.

Although theories about race and beliefs and opinions about different ethnic groups flourished during the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, racial attitudes were not studied at all (Milner, 1983). This may have been because the sciences of psychology and sociology were new and social psychology hardly existed at all. It may also be because race relations were considered to be of little importance at that time (Benson, 1981). Also, racial attitudes did not seem to be of significance, that is, they were believed to be natural and did not need justification (Milner, 1983). Finally, the prevailing belief in white supremacy supported by scientific theorists and the belief in the innate inferiority of black people seemed good enough reasons for holding prejudiced attitudes (Milner, 1983).

According to Milner (1983), early social psychologists contributed to some extent towards a change in opinion regarding the racial hierarchy of power in operation at that time. During the first twenty years of the twentieth century the question of nature versus nurture, heredity versus environment took on new developments. For the first time, differences in behaviour observed between different races and ethnic groups were attributed to social causes rather than
heredity. Furthermore, the development of anthropology was breaking down previously established ideas of other ethnic groups. Also around this time, black writers in the USA such as DuBois and Booker T. Washington provided accounts of the disadvantaged position of black people and inspired black Americans to campaign for desegregation and social equality. So, the causes of relations and attitudes between blacks and whites were originally seen to be a result of innate characteristics and abilities. Emphasis later shifted to the social and cultural factors that might determine racial differences.

During the First World War many black soldiers distinguished themselves in war service and many white soldiers also had their first experience of black men with equal status. This led, to some extent, to a re-evaluation of racial attitudes held by whites. Furthermore, during this period the migration of blacks from the segregated southern states to the less-segregated northern states of the USA took place. Racial attitudes then became a nationwide issue rather than being contained only in the south. The contributions of American blacks during the war underlined their right to full American citizenship. White attitudes towards blacks began to be seen as potential areas for research.

Moreover, immigration of Europeans to the US on a large scale during this period turned the issues of nationality and race into issues of contemporary social importance. Similar processes were taking place in Europe. The immigration of Irish people and European Jews into Britain may have given new emphasis to ethnic issues. Issues of nationality and ethnicity
may also have been brought to the fore in Europe with the amalgamation of small states and creation of new states (e.g., Germany) taking place at the end of the nineteenth century.

According to Brand et al. (1974) early studies of ethnic groups focused on group traits, historical developments, geographical distribution and political and economic fortunes that distinguish ethnic groups. In the 1920s studies concerned with racial attitudes began to be carried out. Bogardus (1925a) asked students to rank different ethnic groups and nationalities according to feelings which they held towards them (of liking, neutrality or antipathy). In another study, Bogardus (1925b) developed the social distance scale. Subjects were asked to indicate to which of a number of social relationships they would admit various ethnic groups and nationalities: 'to close kinship by marriage', 'to my street as neighbours', 'to a club as personal chums', 'to employment in my occupation in my country', 'to citizenship in my country', and 'as visitors to my country'.

Thus, during this period, the study of ethnic identity developed a methodology. The social distance scale was later used by various researchers (see Brand et al., 1974) to study attitudes towards different ethnic groups depending on social concern. In the early 1930s attitudes of white American children towards German and other East European nationals were studied. In the 1940s attitudes towards Jews were studied. During World War II attitudes were studied of Americans towards Japanese and German nationals and American citizens of Japanese and German descent. Also in the 1940s research
interest in black-white relations increased. During the 1960s attitudes towards own ethnic group were also examined, that is, the extent of own-group identification and preference (see Brand et al., 1974).

To summarise, early studies focused on the attitudes of white Americans towards other ethnic groups. Towards the end of the 1930s studies began to concentrate on the attitude objects and their feelings about and conception of themselves (e.g., Clark and Clark, 1939; Horowitz, 1939) in studies of the self-identification and ethnic preferences of minority group children.
An understanding of the concepts of identification and identity is crucial to the study of ethnic identity.

The concept of identification has its origins in psychoanalytic theory. Freud used the concept to describe how young children come to think, behave and feel like some other person (Bronfenbrenner, 1960). This other person is termed a model. According to psychoanalytic theory, identification is motivated primarily by the Oedipal situation. In order to reduce anxiety over anticipated aggression or rejection from the same-sex parent and obtain the affection of the opposite-sex parent, the child identifies with the same-sex parent. The child identifies with the parent not only to reduce anxiety over anticipated aggression but also to enjoy the rewards that seem to accrue to the parent, such as relative power and mastery of the environment. Kagan (1974) suggested that there are two major motives underlying identification behaviour, the desire for mastery of the environment and the desire for love and affection.

The most important models for young children are their parents. However, older children may identify not only with the parents but also with older siblings, with peers or with some other adults. They also identify with broad classes of people who fit within a common grouping, such as male or female, or members of a particular ethnic group. All the models with which the child may identify share the common element of perceived similarity to the child. If the child perceives some
similarity between himself/herself and some model then he/she is more likely to identify with that person (Meyer and Dusek, 1979).

The term identification has been used to convey a variety of different meanings depending on the theoretical orientation of the user (Milner, 1983). Kagan (1974) for example suggested that identification is a learned cognitive response which depends on the child's perception of similarity between himself and significant others. Identification was viewed as a gradual process in which the child associates himself with the model to a lesser or greater degree and acquires some or all of the model's characteristics. Mussen (1967) maintained that we should limit ourselves to discussing 'identification behaviour' rather than identification per se which should be thought of as a hypothetical process. Identification behaviour was defined as overt manifestations (e.g., imitation) of the hypothetical process of identification. He added that this hypothetical process may be used to explain such behaviours as imitation and modelling and refers to imitation of complex integrated patterns of behaviour (rather than simple responses) emitted spontaneously without direct reward or specific training.

This brings us to the concept of identity. Berger and Luckmann (1966) rooted identity formation in the different social realities encountered everyday. As Milner (1983) has aptly explained:

'we do not always view the world in exactly the same way, how we do so depends on who we are, where we are, what we are doing, why, when and how. In any one day, a man sees
the world from the very different perspectives of early riser, father, Times-reader, commuter, bank employee, saloon bar raconteur, bedtime storyteller, and perhaps even great lover. In other words we pass through different realities as a matter of course, and we can recall them to consciousness at will'. (p. 63)

So any situation in which a person finds himself has its own reality, requires certain attributes and thus produces a specific identity. However, 'identity', what we may possibly refer to as global identity, is not merely the sum of attributes, roles and situation-specific identities. It is the identity construed by the individual in the everyday reality, the 'strong common thread' running through the situation-specific identities, it is construed from:

'the small number of attributes which recur again and again in the different realities encountered. These form the central core of identity'. (Milner, 1983, p. 64)

According to Milner (1983), children inhabit fewer social realities than do adults, their experience is limited to the home, the school, the playground, etc. and thus they have to contend with fewer identities. However, the process is the same as for adults. The child may be appraised by others, for example, by his mother and by his school teacher, in different ways and perceive himself in terms of the qualities appraised by his significant others. The qualities which recur in many different situations contribute most to the child's sense of identity. Some qualities are likely to be important in most situations. Sex and age are good examples. Sex determines
behaviour, dress and other people's behaviour towards the child. Age determines permissible behaviour and the child's place in the family and school. Age and sex are fairly simple categories which are easily understood by the child. However, there are categories which are complex and, therefore, not fully understood by the child but which contribute to identity. Examples are religion and ethnicity.

Epstein (1978) agreed with this situation-specific, socially defined concept of identity. He viewed identity as essentially a concept of synthesis:

'It represents the process by which the person seeks to integrate his various statuses and roles, as well as his diverse experiences, into a coherent image of self'. (Epstein, 1978, p.101).

Ethnic identity is a function of social categorization (Epstein, 1978). At the most fundamental level, ethnicity is a matter of the separating out and pulling together of the population into a series of categories defined in terms of 'them' and 'us'. What this implies is that we are who we are by virtue of some common attribute or quality we see ourselves as sharing compared to those who are perceived not to possess it (Epstein, 1978). Ethnic identity also provides a means for organising social behaviour.

Tajfel's (1974, 1978) work on intergroup relations and social identity used a similar theme. Tajfel suggested that a person recognises his identity in socially defined terms. By ordering the social environment into groups or categories of persons in a way which makes sense to the person is one of the
most important ways in which social identity is achieved. According to Tajfel (1978):

'The characteristics of one's group as a whole (such as its status, its richness or poverty, its skin colour or its ability to reach its aims) achieve most of its significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotation of these differences.' (p.6)

Davey (1983) defined social identity as a person's consciousness of membership of various social groups and the value the person attaches to that membership. He explained the process of achieving a social identity in childhood. Children cannot perceive themselves apart from the reactions of others, they can only evaluate themselves in terms of individuals in their own position. Their social identity develops in the context of their own group and its position relative to other groups in their environment. Davey suggested that children develop attitudes towards other groups at the same time and by the same process as they develop favourable attitudes towards their own group. They learn to describe people 'like us' and 'not like us' in favourable or unfavourable terms. They learn the appropriate behaviour to adopt to different groups of people. In this way they extend their mastery over the social environment and learn to define themselves.

Epstein (1978) suggested that ethnic identity is to some extent produced by the interaction between inner perception and outer response, that is, the interaction between forces
operating on the individual and group from within and those impinging on them from outside. He viewed ethnic identity as being on a continuum. At one extreme, ethnic identity may be imposed entirely from within, that is, perceived by the individual or group in terms of a positive social identity. At the other extreme, the identity may be imposed entirely or almost entirely from without. That is, ethnicity is not particularly salient to the individual or group but is imposed on them by the attitude and behaviour of others. Epstein (1978) gave an example of the latter process in the social category known in the USA as 'mischlings'. He explained that 'mischlings' are the children of marriages between Jew and Gentile who have been reared in neither a Jewish nor a Christian tradition, and where the home environment has placed the minimum of emphasis on ethnic origins. In later life, however, despite a usually non-Jewish identity, the 'mischling' learns that the American community as a whole tends to regard him as a Jew. The identity is imposed from without and bears little relationship to the individual's self-image.

Epstein (1978) maintained that ethnic identity can be positive or negative in nature. Negative identity can be seen in cases where individuals perceive themselves and their group in unfavourable terms. He believed that negative identity exists where the self-image is dependent mostly on the internalised evaluations of others. He cited as examples the 'mischlings' discussed above, black Americans before the civil rights movement and subjects of the colonial system. In contrast, positive identity is built on self-esteem, a sense of
worthiness of one's own group's ways and values which is manifested in one's attachment to them.
METHODS OF STUDYING ETHNIC IDENTITY AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Before considering studies of the development of ethnic identity it is important to examine methods used in studying ethnic identity.

Brand et al. (1974) have identified a number of broad classifications of methods of examining ethnic identification and preference. Seven of Brand et al.'s classifications are discussed below. The seven types of methods are: attitude measurement using ranking scales, studies using photographs or drawings of individuals representing various ethnic groups, choice of dolls of varied skin and hair colours, analysis of sociometric interaction, observations of intergroup behaviour, attitude measurement using disguised measures, and measurement of autonomic changes.

Attitude measurement using ranking scales

As mentioned above, Bogardus' social distance scale was among the first measures of ethnic attitudes to be used. Other studies (e.g., Katz and Braly, 1935) involved ranking or rating ethnic groups according to a variety of characteristics in order to obtain a measure of prejudicial stereotypes. Brand et al. (1974) considered the historical development of such techniques, beginning with studies during the 1930s concerned mainly with attitudes towards different nationalities and with national stereotypes. Such studies became more prominent during World War II when studies were juxtaposed against national political concern. In the 1940s, methods that
had been used to study international concerns were adapted to domestic studies of ethnic relations, between for example Anglo and Spanish American children (Johnson, 1950) and black children's attitudes towards different races including their own (Johnson, 1941). During the 1960s studies examined college students' attitudes towards blacks and whites, for example, Triandis and Triandis (1960) found greater social distance expressed by whites than by blacks.

Social distance scales have been used in other cultural settings, most pertinent are studies of inter-ethnic attitudes in Nigeria. Ogunlade (1972) found that the Yoruba expressed greater social distance to other Nigerian ethnic groups than to their own group and furthermore that preferences were expressed within the Yoruba group (Ogunlade, 1980). That is, between the different subgroups which make up the Yoruba group.

Brand et al. (1974) reported several criticisms of such scaling methods of measuring ethnic attitudes. Firstly, the scales may be susceptible to response sets, that is, subjects may respond with socially approved answers. Furthermore, subjects who did not have a stereotyped opinion of a particular ethnic group may be seen to express some type of stereotype by the forced nature of response selection. Another criticism is that different cultures have different norms about social distance hence data obtained from various groups cannot be compared directly.
Photograph or picture preference tests

Pictorial stimuli (in the form of drawings and photographs of people) have frequently been used to measure ethnic identity. Horowitz (1936) developed a picture preference test which he used with preschool children. The test comprised a self-identification measure, a preference measure and a social situations test in which subjects were asked to indicate whether they wished to participate in the social situations depicted in the drawings. Horowitz (1936) found that awareness of own race as indicated by the self-identification test was higher for black than white subjects but was well developed for both groups by age 5 years. Helgerson (1943) used photographs of black and white children in a racial preference test. Black and white preschool children were asked to select playmates from the photographs. The results indicated an age trend such that black children tended to select photographs of black children less frequently with age across a 2-6 years age span and that facial expression was a more significant determinant of preference than was race. Stevenson and Stewart (1958) and Radke et al. (1950) found that the tendency to select own-group photographs increased with age, in contrast to Helgerson's findings, though a slightly older age group was used (3-7 years).

The photograph choice method has also been used with other ethnic groups, such as Jews (Radke-Yarrow, 1953), Maoris in New Zealand (Vaughan, 1963) and Chinese in Hong Kong (Morland, 1969). Vaughan's (1963) study is particularly interesting in the finding that ability to classify own race accurately
appeared before the ability to discriminate which of several figures in a group is racially different.

Marsh (1970) studied a sample of West African children in Britain who were being privately fostered while their parents were continuing their education. He presented the children with photographs and compared their responses with those of their white foster siblings and a white control group. There were no significant differences between the black and white children in accuracy of self-identification. More interesting were the preference results obtained; 64 per cent of the West African children said they would like to be white as did 78 per cent of the white control group. However, 72 per cent of the white foster siblings said they would like to be black, indicating the influence of socialization on attitude development.

More recent use of photographic stimuli include the work of Young and Bagley (1979) working with black and white children in Jamaica and London. Young and Bagley (1979) used the Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure developed by Williams and Morland (1976), a test consisting of pictures of black and white people of various ages and sexes equated on all features except colour.

Davey (1983) studied white children and children of West Indian and Asian origin in London and Yorkshire aged between 7 and 10 years. He found no significant differences between the three groups of children regarding ethnic identification, the majority of children in all ethnic groups expressed own-group identification. The preference question, however, yielded
different results. The responses of the West Indian and Asian children differed markedly from those of the white children; less than half of them preferred their own group compared to 80 per cent of the white children. Furthermore, a positive but weak relationship was established between the children's ethnic group preference and their choice of friends. When asked to divide the photographs into two groups of equal size, the majority of children in all three groups selected race as the foremost differentiating factor and dress as the last with sex and age taking second and third places. In contrast, when asked to indicate which photographed child a second photographed child would be likely to be playing with, sex was considered more important than ethnicity. This is not surprising considering the rigid playtime division of sexes in most primary schools. On three different tests of liking and disliking each of the three groups of children showed a strong in-group bias, though the white children were found to be more ethnocentric than the other two groups of children. The white children

'decisively rated themselves above the other groups, favoured their own group in the distribution of sweets and showed a greater readiness than the minority children to attribute favourable characteristics exclusively to themselves.' (Davey, 1983, p.173/4)

In contrast the West Indian and Asian children

'conceded a place for the whites in their hierarchy of preferences, showed some generosity towards them in the sharing of sweets and were willing to describe them
in equally favourable terms as themselves, (but) they were reciprocally ungenerous and derogatory towards each other's groups.' (Davey, 1983, p. 174)

Davey's work involved a thorough study of ethnic identification and preference. He examined ethnic preference using several different approaches. However, one drawback to his study concerns the ethnic stimuli employed. Davey attempted to control all possible influential variables inherent in the stimuli. He made sure that the children in the photographs were dressed identically, wore a similar facial expression, etc. However, as the ethnic stimuli consisted of photographs of existing children, differences in attractiveness due to personal idiosyncrasies cannot be ruled out.

In summary, the general findings of studies using the picture or photograph preference method have been presented by Brand et al. (1974). They noted that the method provides a reliable measure of ethnic preference and that ethnic discrimination is established by age 5 years. Also, recognition of one's own ethnicity may arise before, after or concurrent with ability to recognise other's ethnicity, suggesting a different cognitive process to ethnic identification (possibly because of the more personal nature of self-identification). They, however, cautioned that self-identification measures should not be used as the sole determinants of racial awareness. Ability to discriminate the ethnicity of the stimuli needs to be tested also.
Doll Play Studies

Clark and Clark (1939, 1947) developed a coloured doll test in which the child is shown two dolls of the same sex, dressed identically and differing only in colour - one dark brown with black hair and one the colour of a typical 'white' doll with yellow hair. The child was typically asked such questions as: 'show me the one that is most like you' (for identity); 'show me the one you like best' (for preference); and 'show me the white/black doll' (for awareness); 'show me the nice/nasty/clever/rich/etc. doll' or 'show me the one you would like for a friend' (for attitude). The age range of the children studied was from 2 to 7 years. The Clarks found that racial classifications began before the age of 4 years but that racial attitudes were not prevalent until the ages of 4 to 5 years. Other researchers (e.g., Porter, 1971) have obtained similar results regarding age.

Clark and Clark's study has been replicated by a considerable number of researchers, some using the original method and others using modifications. Most of these studies have been conducted throughout the USA (Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968; Porter, 1971) and a number have been conducted in Europe (e.g., Milner, 1973; Jahoda et al., 1972).

In a British study, Milner (1971, 1973) used ethnic doll stimuli to examine ethnic attitudes in West Indian, Asian and English children. Dolls were made to represent the three ethnic groups and each child was shown a pair of dolls. The 'immigrant' children were shown a doll representing their own ethnic groups and a white doll. The English children were shown
a white doll and a doll representing the predominant other ethnic group in their locality. Questions were centred around five themes: identity, preferences, stereotypes, aspirations, and a test of ethnic awareness measuring the ability to classify by race. Results indicated that West Indian and Asian children demonstrated a substantial amount of orientation towards the white group. Both minority groups misidentified significantly more than did the English children and both groups expressed less favourable responses to their own group than did the English children. When asked 'Which one of these two dolls looks most like you?', 48 per cent of the West Indians and 24 per cent of the Asians selected the white doll. When asked 'If you could be one of these dolls which one would you rather be?', 82 per cent of the West Indians and 24 per cent of the Asians selected the white doll. These results indicate observable differences between the two minority groups such that the West Indian children were found to be considerably more out-group oriented than the Asian children. Milner interpreted this result as being due to cultural differences between the two groups. He suggested that the West Indian children's parents were socialized in a society which placed a very positive evaluation on being white. Lighter skin was associated with higher status and 'improving' one's colour by marrying a lighter skinned person was much believed in. Young and Bagley (1982b) presented a similar argument. The Asians, in contrast, valued highly their indigenous traditions, language, diet, dress and religion. The Asian children studied were generally believed to have 'a much more detached and
independent relationship with the host community'. Thus Milner (1983) suggested that prejudice against Asians 'had to contend with a greater social and cultural insulation, and greater positive resources of identity'. Milner concluded from his study that many minority group children feel equivocal about their group's identity in British society compared to the English children's 'wholehearted' identification with and preference for their own group.

Milner attempted to make his dolls appropriate for Asian and West Indian children. He designed dolls to represent each ethnic group with appropriate facial features, hair texture, eye colour, etc. However, differences between the dolls in attractiveness cannot be ruled out. In addition as most children are more familiar with white dolls, the unfamiliarity of ethnic dolls may affect the children's choices.

Although strong out-group orientation has been found in a considerable number of studies of ethnic minority groups, a change in test results has gradually become evident in more recent times (Davey, 1983). This change is towards greater in-group orientation though it affects ethnic identity scores more so than ethnic preference scores. An increased amount of correct own-group identification has been observed in studies conducted during the 1970s and 1980s (Vaughan, 1978; Milner, 1979; Davey, 1983). However, preference questions still elicited out-group responses, that is, the majority of 'minority' group children indicated that they would rather be white (Milner, 1979; Davey, 1983) suggesting an awareness of the racial hierarchy of the society in which they live. Davey
(1983) linked this development to social and political developments:

'In the early 1970s it became increasingly clear...that the militant ethnocentrism of black adults together with their increasing involvement in politics, the mass media and education, had been accompanied by a greater probability that black children would prefer and identify with their own ethnic group than those of earlier generations'. (p. 91)

**Sociometric Studies**

A number of studies have used sociometric procedures to examine ethnic preferences among children. This involves asking children to select from a known group of people (usually peers) according to criteria given by the investigator. For instance they may be asked to select which child they would like to play with, sit next to in class, take home, which is their best friend, etc. Choice is not necessarily limited to one child depending on the nature of the research.

Almost all sociometric investigations of ethnic preferences have concluded that ethnic differences affect social choice (Brand et al., 1974). Furthermore, own-group preferences have been noted to appear years later than ability to discriminate ethnic cues and at significantly older ages than found with picture and doll choice studies (Brand et al., 1974). Picture and doll choice studies indicate development of ethnic preferences at the preschool age level whereas ethnic preferences are not exhibited in sociometric choice until the fourth and fifth grades, that is, approximately between 9 and
11 years (Brand et al., 1974). Brand et al. interpreted this discrepancy as reflecting "the dynamics of development of ethnic attitude and behaviours", attitude developing first and later influencing behaviour. Other discrepancies have been found between results of sociometric studies and doll and picture choice studies. For instance, Hraba and Grant (1970) found no correlation between ethnic preference using the doll play method and race of stated best friend using the sociometric method. Also Radke et al. (1950) found that both black and white elementary school children in the USA with a majority of black children in the school assigned more 'undesirable' characteristics to photographic slides of black than of white children. However, when asked a sociometric question of choice of best friend, over 90 per cent of black children and 70 per cent of white children listed black children. Although the children had more black children in the school to choose from when designating a best friend, their increased contact with blacks (especially in the case of the white children) did not seem to have influenced their attitudes as measured by projective test. They concluded that children exhibit more prejudice in projective tests than in reality-based situations.

Some studies have attempted to explain discrepancies between sociometric and other methods as a function of the specific sociometric questions asked. Lundberg and Dickson (1952) and Durojaiye (1969), for example, found ethnic variables influencing peer selection on statements of friendship but not leadership. Davey (1982) found a positive
though weak relationship between preferences expressed in a photograph choice test and desired friendship measured sociometrically. He suggested that the weak relationship found in his study and the lack of relationship found in other studies (e.g., Hraba and Grant, 1970) can be explained along the lines of Teplin's (1977) argument:

'when children choose between photographs of unknown individuals the choices will reflect their ethnic stereotypes, since only visual cues are available. In contrast, when a child chooses from a known group, as in the sociometric test, his choice is not necessarily restricted by ethnic considerations since additional sources of information, relevant to potential friendship, are open to him. A close relationship between imaginary photo-choice and choice in a real-life situation would imply that the children's stereotypes were already so inflexible that the children were no longer amenable to the discovery of characteristics which conflicted with their ethnic expectations.' (Davey, 1982, p.67).

Brand et al. (1974) concluded that sociometric studies have been highly sensitive to ethnic factors for varied social roles. However, the results are affected by the limitations of sociometric techniques, mainly, that they do not explain the psychological factors related to choosing or being chosen. Furthermore, it is possible that some factors other than ethnicity may be influencing sociometric choice. However, as compared to picture and doll choice methods, sociometry has the advantage of using real social relations as stimuli.
Observations of Behaviour

A number of studies have employed the observational method to examine ethnic attitudes. Possibly the most well-known is the study conducted by La Pierre (1934). La Pierre travelled throughout the United States with a Chinese couple and stopped at 200 restaurants and motels in which the Chinese couple were refused service only once. A follow-up questionnaire was sent to the visited establishments requesting sleeping accommodation for a Chinese couple. Only half of the questionnaires were returned and 13 per cent of the respondents who replied refused them accommodation. A control group of establishments which had not been visited provided similar results. The results indicate a marked difference between stated attitude and actual behaviour.

Similar discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour have been found with children. Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) found that race was unimportant in 2- and 3-year old children's play interactions. Porter (1971) observed the playground behaviour of 5-year olds after prior testing with doll play indicated that both black and white children preferred white dolls. In one school studied she found no correlation between doll preference and actual behaviour. In a second school, white children who showed high preference for white dolls chose more black playmates than white children with low preference for white dolls.

Some studies, however, have provided contrasting evidence of congruence between attitudes and behaviour. Linn (1965)
found some agreement between racial attitudes in adults and willingness to be photographed with a black person. Fendrich (1967) found a positive relationship between white college students' attitudes towards blacks and their actual participation in discussion groups concerning racial problems.

Brand et al. (1974) listed a number of factors which may explain the discrepant results. Firstly, in the studies showing a positive relationship between attitude and behaviour, attitude measurement preceded behavioural observation indicating that possibly the subjects were attempting to behave consistently with their expressed attitudes. Secondly, individual differences in 'intellectual and social abilities' may explain some of the discrepancies, that is, some individuals may not be able to translate attitudes into action. Thirdly, the role of the experimenter may differ in the two types of measures, that is, attitude measures may be more anonymous than observational studies in which case the respondent may feel more free to express prejudice. Finally, observational studies may be more affected than attitude measures by subjects' expectations of present and future consequences.

Disguised Measures

Disguised measures of ethnic attitudes are characterised by the camouflaging of ethnic stimuli in the test content and evaluating ethnic attitudes indirectly in an effort to minimise response set. A number of disguised measures have employed a Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) type of format (e.g., Vaughan
and Thompson, 1961). Horowitz and Horowitz (1938) showed subjects a complicated picture for 2 to 3 seconds. The experimenter then presented deliberately leading questions about characters not present in the picture. In answer to the question 'Who is cleaning the grounds?', 70 per cent of the answers referred to a non-existent black. Williams (1964) asked subjects to evaluate colour names on a semantic differential with the result that white subjects gave significantly more 'bad' scores to black and brown colours than did black subjects. Similarly, both black and white preschool children were found to place 'negative' objects more often in black boxes than in white boxes.

Another type of measure which may be considered a disguised measure are measures of the 'spontaneous self-concept' (McGuire et al., 1978). Open-ended questions such as 'Tell me about yourself' or 'What are you?' have been used to measure the salience of ethnicity in the self-concept (e.g., Jahoda, 1963; Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; McGuire et al., 1978). Jahoda et al. (1972) found that comments involving ethnic identification were significantly more frequent in British children of Pakistani or Indian origin than in Scottish children. No age trend (between 6 years and 10 years) was evident. McGuire et al. (1978) asked children (age range 6 to 15 years) to respond to two instructions 'Tell us about yourself' and 'Tell us what you are not'. They found the 'Tell us what you are not' question to be more useful. The 'Tell us about yourself' statement elicited significantly less (P<.05) mentions of ethnicity than the 'Tell us what you are not' despite the fact that the time
allowed for the former was five minutes while the time allowed for the latter was only three minutes.

Draw-A-Person may also be considered as a disguised measure of ethnic identity. Early work using Draw-A-Person to measure ethnic identity was conducted by Clark and Clark (1950) and later by Coles (1964, 1965, 1968), Dennis (1966, 1968) and Singer (1967). All of these studies were carried out in the U.S. though Dennis (1966) also investigated other cultures. It is evident that the earlier findings conflict to some extent with the later findings. This may possibly be a reflection of the social changes of the 1960s notably the desegregation of schools. Briefly, Clark and Clark (1950) found that 90 per cent of the black children they studied correctly identified themselves by race by choosing a dark colour for their drawings (though when the problem was racial preference only 50 per cent used dark colours). Coles (1964, 1968) studied black children in the early desegregated schools in the Southern states and found that children tended to avoid drawing figures which were unambiguously black. Also Dennis (1966, 1968) found that drawings of black children from both Northern and Southern states 'clearly represent whites'. The authors considered the children's anxiety about their group membership and lack of pride in their own race and heritage to be the major contributing factor.

Dennis (1966) considered the argument that children's drawings reflect their everyday surroundings and the figures in them rather than dimensions of the self. He termed this suggestion the 'familiarity hypothesis' and particularly
applied it to the finding that black children in the U.S. tended to draw white figures. However, Dennis (1966) presented strong evidence against this in a cross-cultural study. He found that children's human figure drawings did not generally reflect the social types with which they were familiar. Also, Schofield (1978) argued that if the familiarity hypothesis is to have any support then some of the white children she studied in an integrated school should have drawn a black figure, but not one white child did so.

In summary, disguised measures may be effective in eliciting stereotypes about ethnic groups but may not be so useful for measuring ethnic preference (Brand et al., 1974). Phenomenological approaches to measuring the self-concept as discussed above may prove useful for identification measurement and may likely prove to be a good indicator of the salience of ethnicity to the subjects. However, Brand et al. (1974) warned that researchers should always consider the ethical implications involved in deception research. This warning may not, however, apply to the self-concept measures as subjects are more in control of the information they are giving.

Measurement of Autonomic Changes

Interest has been shown in measurements of autonomic responses that are not much subject to conscious control as additional measures of ethnic attitudes in an effort to reduce effects of response set. The most frequently measured autonomic response in ethnic attitude research is the galvanic skin response (GSR). Galvanic skin response is believed to vary with
emotional state. For example, Rankin and Campbell (1955) found greater GSR levels in white subjects to incidental contact by a black experimenter than by a white experimenter. However, Porier and Lott (1967) were unable to replicate these findings.

Pupil dilation has also been investigated as a measure of ethnic attitudes. This measure has an advantage over the GSR method in that direction of emotional arousal and hence supposed attitude can be inferred. That is, negative arousal is expected to result in pupil constriction and positive arousal in pupil dilation. However, measures of pupil dilation have not proved to be reliable measures of emotional arousal to ethnic stimuli (Brand et al., 1974).

Brand et al. (1974) concluded that autonomic measures have been able to discriminate prejudiced from unprejudiced subjects but have little value in measuring intensities of attitudes. (See Postscript)

Variables affecting ethnic identity research

Various researchers have attempted to outline specific determinants of ethnic identity. Much of the research to date has concentrated on age as a primary variable (e.g., Horowitz, 1939; Clark and Clark, 1947; Porter, 1971). Although developmental trends have been outlined, actual age of onset is not clear.

Socio-economic status has been considered primarily for its effects on racial attitudes rather than identification per se. Most of the work has been conducted in the United States. Porter (1971) found socio-economic status to be an important
variable for both black and white children. Children from low income families tended to show more negative responses to members of the other race and to be more accepting of their own race. Middle class children differed significantly. White middle class children made more positive responses to blacks and black middle class children tended to reject their own race in preference for whites. Porter (1971) interpreted the finding for low income groups in terms of threats to employment for white families and in-group support for black families. For middle class groups she suggested that liberalism and economic stability accounted for white data and status deprivation for black data. Obviously her suggestions assume that the attitudes of the parents are transferred to the children.

Socio-economic status involves related variables such as education which has been considered as a factor influencing ethnic attitudes (see Milner, 1983, p.116). Intelligence has also been related to ethnic attitudes. Singer (1967, cited in Milner, 1983) found higher intelligence to correlate with decreased prejudice.

The effects of proportion of each ethnic group in the sample being studied has been examined by comparing subjects from segregated and desegregated schools and different employment and residential settings in the United States. Findings are conflicting, some researchers found evidence of more mixed ethnic choices in integrated than segregated settings whereas others found more own-group choices (Amir, 1969). The effects of length and quality of contact between ethnic groups is complex, being dependant on a
number of related factors such as relative status of the
different ethnic groups and institutional support of ethnic
contact (Brand et al., 1974).

Sex of stimuli and sex of subject have also been found to affect research findings. Sex of ethnic stimuli may interact with age, sex of stimuli being more important than ethnic group of stimuli at an earlier age (Brand et al., 1974). Subjects aged 4 years have been found to choose own-sex stimuli regardless of ethnic cues. By age 5 years, girls have been found to choose pictures of their own sex while boys make ethnic choices (Abel and Sahinkaya, 1962). Studies of sex differences in ethnic research findings (predominantly conducted in the United States) suggested that minority group girls may reject their own ethnic group more frequently than minority group boys and that girls are more influenced by majority group norms (Porter, 1971). Observational and questionnaire-type studies suggested that males are more likely to interact with other ethnic groups than females (Brand et al., 1974). Davey (1983) found sex differences in amount of ethnocentrism to be weak and inconclusive.

Giles (1977) suggested that language and humour may be important determinants of ethnic identity. Taylor et al. (1973) and Bourhis et al. (1973) also supported language as a major determinant of ethnic identification. Both of the latter two groups of researchers found language to be a more important factor than geographic location, and to some extent cultural heritage was found to be secondary to language. Vallee (1971) suggested that when ethnic and geographic regions correspond
geography serves a supporting function, otherwise language and culture are the major dimensions of ethnic identity and will override geographic boundaries if necessary. Schneiderman (1982) considered the interaction between sex and language and concluded that sex-role socialization may influence ethnic and language attitudes as part of the female role may be seen as guardian and transmitter of the culture through child rearing. She concluded that more knowledge is needed about the development of sex-role identification and the relationship of this process to attitude formation in children before drawing any clear conclusions about sex and ethnic attitudes.

Other important influences which have to a large extent been ignored are grandparents and the peer group. Epstein (1978) suggested that the grandparents may take as great a part as the parents in the development of ethnic identity in the child. He observed in his anthropological studies that there tends to be a reversal in ethnic emphasis between each successive generation. This is especially so with immigrants. For instance the children of immigrant Jews in America may reject their Jewish background favouring the mode of life of mainstream Americans. The second generation are likely to revert back to their Jewish way of life in an effort to conserve their group identity thus countering the move towards assimilation made by the parents. The grandparents, as origins of the immigrant culture, may be very important in transmitting the standards of behaviour and beliefs.

The peer group may possibly influence ethnic identity. However, peer relations may have different effects at different
ages. The child may be greatly influenced by school friends and playmates (for instance Piaget, 1932, suggested that peers are important in moral development). Certainly peers give some insight into standards of behaviour and behaviour inside other homes. Secondly, children can be very discriminatory, taunting a child who is different from the rest - be he fat, tall or a different colour. Goodman (1964) suggested that many children come face-to-face with ethnic attitudes when they first enter school as peers may make positive or negative comments about the child's appearance or ethnic group. On the other hand, research suggests (e.g., Porter, 1971) that children's attitudes, particularly towards race, do not always influence their behaviour. Porter studied the playground behaviour of her black and white subjects and found little link between attitudes and behaviour. However, one of the factors suggested by Jacobs (1977) as being necessary for the attainment of a positive self-concept in interracial children was that of having friends and associates from various racial groups.

So, to summarise, studies of the determinants of ethnic identification have tended to concentrate on fairly global aspects. Little account has been made of specific individual aspects such as type of dress usually worn, the type of food preferred, games and pastimes, parental attitudes to particular behaviours, reward and punishment systems, and a host of other individual features which make up a particular culture. Any of these features may work individually or they may work together as a whole to influence ethnic identification.

Variables affecting the design of ethnic identification
studies and ethnic stimuli employed have been given considerable attention. One problem causing much argument is how much the ethnic group of the tester affects the subjects' responses. It is now established that experimenter effects need to be controlled (Sattler, 1970) but the extent of their effect is subject to debate. A number of researchers have found that the investigator's ethnicity affects preference and attitude responses but not identity responses (Vaughan, 1963; Jahoda et al., 1972). However, other researchers have found no significant experimenter effects (Hraba and Grant, 1970; Winnick and Taylor, 1977). After reviewing the literature, Sattler (1970) suggested that investigator's ethnicity may be particularly important in studies where subjects have had minimal contact with authority figures of other ethnicities, when questions are highly personal, and when degree of commitment or interest in the task can affect results. Milner (1973) has argued that although we should assume that race of investigator is likely to affect subjects' responses it cannot be effectively controlled. The evidence suggests that the race of the experimenter disposes subjects to respond more favourably towards that ethnic group. That is, black children tested by white investigators may show more orientation towards the white group. Hence it has been suggested that subjects should always be tested by an examiner from their own ethnic group (Vaughan, 1964b; Jahoda et al., 1972). However, this may not be an adequate solution. Milner (1973) pointed out the equally plausible argument that using an investigator of the subjects own race or ethnic group may bias the subjects
towards giving responses more favourable to the own-race. In other words, how to tap the subjects true conceptions and feelings is a problem offering no easy solution. Milner (1973) further suggested that investigators of more than one race should be used enabling us to obtain not a true response but a range of responses based on situational variables.

Many of the early studies of ethnic identity in young children (e.g., Clark and Clark, 1939, 1947) used only two ethnic stimuli, one black and one white. Clark and Clark (1940, 1947) found that 'light-skinned black children' identified with and preferred white dolls more frequently than did 'dark-skinned black children'. This finding may indicate that the choice of dolls was too limited, particularly for the lighter-skinned black children. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) and Jacobs (1977) attempted to obtain more meaningful results by increasing the choice of dolls. One criticism levelled at this type of study is that it is not clear whether the children could effectively discriminate between the stimuli (Porter, 1971; Brand et al., 1974). Another problem is to ensure that the dolls are equivalent, that is, as identical as possible, while at the same time offering variety. Milner (1973) attempted to solve this problem by creating dolls designed to represent different racial and ethnic groups, that is, dolls which were accurate as far as possible as to facial characteristics, hair type, etc., as well as skin colour. Similar procedures have been carried out using photographic stimuli (Young and Bagley, 1979). While solving the problem of racial representativeness, this method does not entirely solve
the problem of equivalence of stimuli. Jahoda et al. (1972) aptly pin-pointed the problem:

"If children are asked to pick the representation 'which looks most like you' as is commonly done, there would seem to be ample scope for the selection of criterial stimulus elements at variance with the intentions of the experimenter. Generally, it may be as well to become reconciled to the fact that studies of this type are at present subject to a great deal of uncertainty and doubt, and this ought to be more freely acknowledged." (p.29)

They called for more detailed and systematic study of what the children's responses actually mean.
DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Having examined methods of measuring ethnic identity we may now consider studies of the development of ethnic identity. Studies of national identity may also be relevant.

National Identity

Early studies of national attitude development in children tended to focus on their cognitive abilities, that is, their capacity to handle complex ideas of nations, countries, etc. (Milner, 1983). The foremost researcher in this area was Piaget, beginning in 1923 (e.g., Piaget, 1966). Piaget was particularly interested in children's grasp of part-whole relationships and the concept of inclusion as applied to the relations between a town and a country. He was especially interested in the inability of most 8- or 9-year old Swiss children to understand that one could be both Swiss and Genevan, or, say, English and British simultaneously. He also found egocentricity in young children:

'Thus when at nine or ten, children can say that foreigners are people from another country, they are still ignorant of the fact that they, themselves, are foreigners to these people'. (Piaget, 1966, p. 131-132)

In a later study Piaget and Weill (1951) surveyed 200 children in Geneva aged between 5 and 14 years. They developed a stage theory in which development of national identity was divided into three stages. The age of stage I children was about 7 to 8 years and below, stage II covers the period between 7 to
8 years and 10 to 11 years, and stage III commences at approximately 10 to 11 years. To the question asking for knowledge of homeland, the stage I child does not understand that a person can be in both Geneva and Switzerland, he thinks of nation as another town or district alongside rather than as surrounding and incorporating the town or district. The stage II child understands that Geneva is in Switzerland, however, he/she has not yet grasped the notion of dual allegiance, that is, a person is either Genevan (in Geneva) or Swiss elsewhere in Switzerland. A stage III child understands that a person is both Genevan and Swiss. When asked 'What country do you like best? Why?', the stage I child has no real inclination to nationalism and gives 'fleeting, accidental, subjective reasons' for liking (Davies, 1968). The stage II child shows a preference for own country for family and 'traditional' reasons (e.g., because his parents are Swiss). The stage III child prefers Switzerland for more 'collective national ideals' such as 'no war', etc. (Davies, 1968).

When asked: 'Have you heard of any foreign countries? Are there any differences between them? And the people living there?', stage I children can name a few other countries and give arbitrary, subjective information about foreign countries and nationals. In addition, they show a liking for exotic detail (Knoche and Goldlust, 1966 cited in Davies, 1968). The stage II child tends to have likes and dislikes for exaggerated reasons but cannot justify his/her reasons. In stage III the child's preferences are more moderate than in stage II and tolerance towards other nationalities may also be found in this stage.
Regarding the concept of 'foreigner', the stage I child does not know what a foreigner is but he/she believes that he cannot be a foreigner. A stage II child however, understands that if he/she were living in another country he/she would be treated as a foreigner. He/she understands that a Frenchman is not a foreigner in France but is a foreigner in Switzerland. When asked 'Is he still French then?' the typical reply is 'Yes, but a little Swiss, too'. By stage II the child comprehends that a foreigner is anyone out of his country. So, attitudes towards other countries are generally egocentric or personal in younger children, based on family values at a later stage of development and finally based on wider societal values in the older child.

Piaget's stage theory of nationality development follows closely his stage theory of cognitive development, cognition and national attitude development developing alongside each other. According to Davies (1968):

"A child of seven cannot understand that he could be regarded as a foreigner, that French or English children would prefer their own nationalities, because he lacks the logical skill to manipulate paired or reciprocal concepts in general." (p.109)

However, cognitive and nationality development are, according to Davies, to some extent reciprocal:

"He lacks till ten the power to conjure with a concept as remote and abstract as 'Switzerland', because he lacks any solid interest in collective realities outside the family or local scene; when he becomes concerned with
national events and the vicissitudes of the national community, he becomes able to think in abstract terms and of general values." (p.109)

Jahoda's (1962) study of Glasgow children, in general, supported Piaget's work. Jahoda (1962) also commented on the extent to which children's attitudes towards foreign countries were influenced by societal attitudes. For instance, young children's preferences were found to be influenced by past wars and older children's preferences by current political conflicts. In addition, younger children tended to prefer remote countries with exotic features whereas older children disliked 'strangeness' in foreign people. As they grew older children tended to emphasise people more as reasons for their likes and dislikes.

Piaget and Weill (1951) believed that cognitive and affective aspects of nationality developed concurrently. However, Tajfel and Jahoda (1966) found that affective aspects of national attitude development tended to emerge before factual knowledge, that is, before the facts on which they were supposed to be based. So, affective and cognitive factors do not necessarily follow the expected pattern of logical progression. Furthermore, Johnson et al. (1970) found that the facts children gave about countries were not necessarily the reasons for their preferences.

However, it is clear that children express a 'liking for their own nationality before other nationalities and even before understanding the concepts of countries and nations (Tajfel et al., 1970) with one or two exceptions to the rule
Milner (1983) suggested that, as the child has little, if any, direct contact with such abstract entities as nations then the development of attitudes towards own and other countries must be affected by social influences. Sources of both factual and evaluative information were suggested to be parents, siblings, peers, teachers, comics, books and television. Within this system children acquire a preference for their own country and a lasting identification with it.

**Ethnic Identity**

Goodman (1964) proposed a three-stage theory of ethnic identity development and Katz (1976) proposed an eight stage theory. These theories have been discussed by Milner (1983). Both Katz' and Goodman's stages are separable but to some extent overlapping with the stages immediately before and after. The child passes through the stages in chronological order but the age of the child at each stage may vary. As with Piagetian stages, the attainment of one stage is necessary for the next to develop.

Goodman's (1964) theory involves three stages, 'racial awareness', 'racial orientation' and 'racial attitudes'. The first stage involves the ability to discriminate persons of one ethnic group from another. Goodman (1964) suggested several major variables which influence the age at which awareness of racial differences are realised. The reaction of other people to the child's personal appearance may be an important variable which may bring ideas of race or ethnicity
directly to the child's attention. Remarks about skin colour, hair and other features suggest to the child that there are others who look different. Dress has also been found to be a social cue to young children (Stewart et al., 1982). Cognitive development may also be very important.

The second of Goodman's stages involves the emergence of rudimentary feelings about different ethnic groups. The third and final stage is reached when more complex information about ethnic groups is incorporated into the basic feelings held about different groups to form what Milner (1983) referred to as 'true racial attitudes'.

Katz' (1967) stages of ethnic attitude development have been aptly summarised by Milner (1983). The first stage involves the early observation of racial cues such as skin colour, hair, facial features, etc. This stage begins well before the age of three. The second stage involves the formation of rudimentary concepts about racial types, labels for which may be provided by adults. Learning is often accompanied by some evaluative information. The third stage involves conceptual differentiation. This is the stage in which the learning of racial concepts is reinforced, through adult feedback. The child learns more complex aspects of racial concepts and their definitions. Milner (1983) gives as an example, the child learns that skin colour is not the only determinant of race, a person may be called 'black' because of hair type and facial features despite a light-coloured skin.

The fourth stage involves the recognition of the irrevocability of cues. The child begins to understand that unlike size and
age, a person's sex and race do not change. The fifth stage involves the consolidation of group concepts. This involves the further development of stages three and four in which the recognition of and understanding of racial group membership is consolidated together with some evaluation of groups. This process usually begins before five years of age and continues for some time. The sixth stage involves perceptual elaboration. This involves greater differentiation between groups and less differentiation within groups particularly the out-group. In other words, the child begins to widen the gap between his own group and others and to see members of other racial groups as being very similar to each other. The seventh stage is called cognitive elaboration. This is the stage in which rudimentary concepts about people become 'true' racial attitudes through school experiences, contact with children of other races and contact with the attitudes of teachers and peers. The eighth and final stage is attitude crystallisation in which the child's attitudes more closely resemble those of people in his immediate environment. His attitudes then become supported by others and thus resistant to change.

According to Milner (1983), ethnic attitude development is based on ethnic awareness and ethnic orientation. Goodman's theory separates these stages. However, Milner (1983) believed that awareness and orientation may develop to some extent simultaneously. In fact, Piaget and Weill (1951) suggested that cognitive and affective aspects of attitude develop together and Tajfel et al.'s (1970) study even suggested that feelings about nationalities can develop before even understanding the
concept of nationality. Milner (1983) further suggested that although racial orientation has been found to occur at a later age than racial awareness, it may not necessarily be because racial orientation develops before racial awareness. Rather it may be because racial orientation is expressed later than racial awareness.

Whatever the case may be, it is clear that racial awareness begins to develop at a very early age. The ability to recognise and label racial differences seems to be established between 3- and 5- years old (Morland, 1958; Vaughan, 1963; Porter, 1971). Ethnic identity has been found in children as young as 3 years (Morland, 1958). Vaughan (1963) has suggested that self-identification occurs around age 4 years, discrimination of other's ethnicity occurs by age 6 years and 'conceptualisation' of ethnic differences occurs between age 7 and 10 years. So, it seems that children are able to correctly classify themselves before they can classify others.

In older children ethnic attitudes and prejudice have been considered though ethnic identity seems to have been given less consideration. A gradual intensification of ethnic prejudice has been found to occur up to age 12 years (Johnson, 1950) though at a lesser rate than in the preceding years (Milner, 1983). During adolescence attitudes tend to remain stable (Zeligs, 1938). Studies of ethnic identity would be very interesting during adolescence as this is the period in which it is believed the individual may be attempting to consolidate a personal identity.

Of course, the age trends suggested above are general
trends. Not all children will follow the exact course suggested by researchers. Some children may be more exposed to ethnic attitudes than others and differences in socialization, experience and personality may affect development (Milner, 1983).

Some aspects of socialization as it may affect ethnic identity have been briefly considered above (pp 41-45). The relationship between parents' ethnic attitudes and those of their children has been considered by Davey (1983) who found little overall relationship between parental and children's attitudes. Davey (1983) pointed out that 'inter-ethnic issues were not a preoccupation' of many of the parents interviewed which he felt partly explains the weak relationship. The parents were found neither to 'inculcate children with intergroup antipathies' nor to show evidence of any 'deep commitment to intergroup equality'. Davey (1983) found that many of the parents interviewed

'were unable to offer their children more than a superficial explanation of cultural differences, and were failing to equip them to resist the prejudices which they would inevitably encounter.' (Davey, 1983, p.171)

However, Davey (1983) found some link between parents' and children's attitudes. Children who were found to be highly ethnocentric and also those showing the least ethnocentrism tended to have attitudes similar to their parents. This was especially so for the children of West Indian heritage in the sample.

Milner (1983) discussed the research on the 'Authoritarian
Personality' (Adorno et al., 1950). He explained that the researchers proposed that the child rearing practices and beliefs of parents of highly prejudiced persons were causes of prejudice. He further suggested that home backgrounds of an 'authoritarian' type, that is, harsh and restrictive, tend to produce children who are disposed towards prejudice (see Milner, 1983, p.118).

Turning to another, very different, facet of the child's experience which may influence ethnic identity and ethnic awareness, McGuire et al. (1978) found that the subjective importance of ethnic identity was influenced by demographic factors. They found the salience of ethnicity to the minority group subject to increase as the number of minority group members in the community decreased.

In conclusion, ethnic identification is believed to develop in stages though the exact ordering of the stages has been disputed. The course of development of the individual child is believed to be affected by experience.

(See Postscript)
CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Studies of ethnic identity have been conducted in various countries throughout the world. When considering these studies it is important to examine methodological issues pertaining to cross-cultural research.

Most early work on ethnic identity was conducted in the United States (Brand et al., 1974). Several studies have been conducted in other countries and other cultures, for example, Vaughan (1963) in New Zealand, Jahoda et al. (1972), Milner (1973) and Davey (1983) in the U.K., Schneiderman (1982) in Canada, Gregor and McPherson (1966) in South Africa, Radke-Yarrow (1953) with Jews, among others. In addition, a few studies have made comparisons between countries, for example, Morland (1969) and Young and Bagley (1979). A variety of different methods have been used but most are essentially similar to those used in the American studies. Despite variations in method used and cultural differences, a similar developmental trend has been observed across the cultures studied (Milner, 1983).

At this point it may be pertinent to consider briefly some methodological issues of cross-cultural research, particularly as applied to projective tests of which the doll-choice, Draw-A-Person and 'Tell us about yourself' methods are examples.

One of the most important problems in cross-cultural research is the equivalence of measurement (Hui and Triandis, 1983). Hui and Triandis (1983) described a number of types of equivalence of measurement. Functional equivalence means when
two or more behaviours, in two or more cultural systems are related to functionally similar problems. Conceptual equivalence is when research materials or behaviours have the same meaning in the two cultural systems, for example, as with translation equivalence. Metric equivalence 'occurs in situations when psychometric properties of data obtained from more than one culture exhibit the same structure' (Hui and Triandis, 1983). Scalar equivalence means that the scale scores are directly comparable. Construct operationalization occurs when the correlations between a measured construct and its antecedent and consequent variables are similar across cultures. Finally, item equivalence means that the items on a scale have similar meanings across cultures, involving a good translation.

We may consider the problem of equivalence of measurement to have two sides. On the one hand, can a single test yield equivalent results in two cultures as it is almost certain to be biased towards one of the cultures? On the other hand, can individual tests designed for specific cultures yield equivalent results as the tests are likely to differ in some way?

Considering the question of 'culture-fairness', Hui and Triandis (1983) suggested that the problem can be attacked by using a standard stimulus and by attempting to achieve as many levels of equivalence as possible, which they called a multi-strategy approach. Frijda and Jahoda (1966) suggested that, although not culturally fair, a standard stimulus may be used in different cultures depending on the research
'A good deal can be said in favour of the alternative strategy of using the same test in various cultures and attempting to tease out the causes of such differences as are found... The optimal strategy will depend on one's goal.' (p.118)

Verma (1979) also suggested a multi-strategy approach, but by using different tests for different ethnic groups. It is now generally accepted that a test reflects the culture of its designer, or at best the culture for which it was developed (Verma, 1979; Verma and Mallick, 1982). Verma (1979) suggested that tests should be designed and validated for individual cultural groups according to 'local criteria and circumstances', he called for:

'a view of testing which does not depend on the notion that the test must be a standard stimulus. Local test development will lead to non-standard tests with common purpose: in this case different tests, constructed by and validated for different ethnic groups' (p.461)

Verma anticipated the use of 'loosely parallel forms of instrument' for measuring inter-ethnic relations, each test designed specifically for a particular group with an understanding of the expectations, habits, norms and values of the groups for whom the test is being designed. Thus, Verma considered functional equivalence to be of primary importance. However, he cautioned that misuse of culturally based or 'local' tests should be avoided by ensuring that the test developers make their framing assumptions explicit to users. Furthermore,
sufficient information should be provided on the purposes for which the test is appropriate and on the settings for which it was designed.

Irvine (1973; Irvine and Carroll, 1980) presented an important guide to cross-cultural testing. He outlined seven principles of data collection designed to reduce unwanted variance due to the testing procedure. The first principle states that no assumptions should be made about a person's ability to respond in the manner required by the test. Both test materials and methods of recording answers should be fully understood. The second principle applies mainly to the use of a series of tests. It states that each test should be separate from every other and should be accompanied by its own instructions. The third principle states that instructions should be oral, not written, as the ability to read instructions is not part of the test situation. The fourth principle concerns translations. It states that translations for test instructions should not be literal. They should be idiomatic expressions of the intent of the test demonstrator, who ideally should be from the same ethnic group as those taking the test. The fifth principle states that supervised practice for each test is essential to make certain that test instructions have been understood. The sixth principle concerns the order of presentation of test materials. It states that familiar test material should be given first and unusual or abstract material presented later. Finally, the seventh principle is concerned with putting the subject at ease during testing. It states that the climate of testing should be as enjoyable as
Irvine's principles were compiled from experience with subjects unfamiliar with psychological tests. However, they should be seen as prerequisites for testing subjects in any culture even, to some extent, test-sophisticated Western groups.

Holtzman (1980) considered cross-cultural applications of projective tests. He defined projective techniques as 'indirect methods of assessment of personality by analysing the responses of an individual to ambiguous stimuli presented in a standard manner.' (p.271) Projective tests were developed originally for clinical assessment and were based on psychoanalytic theory. They are designed to elicit 'projections of inner thoughts, perceptions, fantasies, wishes and anxieties' (p.271) which are subject to clinical interpretation.

He discussed cross-cultural uses of the Inkblot test, the Thematic Apperception Test, word association and completion techniques and expressive and constructive techniques such as drawings, paintings and structured play. The latter category, expressive techniques, is the one most pertinent to the present research study.

Holtzman (1980) maintained that it is generally believed that certain aspects of a person's feelings, emotions, values, attitudes, and self-image may be expressed in such creative activities as drawings, paintings and play. According to Holtzman the most commonly used expressive technique is some form of human figure drawing. Machover (1949) suggested that the Draw-A-person figure represents the person who drew it.
However, the extent to which a human figure drawing can be considered a self-projecton is subject to much debate. Human figure drawings have been used as an assessment of personality (Machover, 1949), to study cognitive development (Harris, 1963) and to investigate cultural values, sex roles and other social phenomena (Dennis, 1966). The most extensive cross-cultural comparison of children's drawings was conducted by Dennis (1966) in 13 different countries. Children's perceptions of sex-roles have been examined cross-culturally through drawings made by Filipino and American children (Rabin and Limuaco, 1959). Holtzman (1980) maintained that drawing techniques are suitable for most cultures.

He also briefly commented on the clinical use of doll play sessions with children and its cross-cultural applicability. He argued that such play methods tend to be unstandardised and hard to replicate therefore of little value cross-culturally. Holtzman's criticism is directed against the use of doll play for clinical assessment. Therefore it may not be entirely applicable to ethnic identity research. The Clark and Clark (1939) doll play technique is now a fairly standard method.
The review of relevant studies on ethnic identification in interracial children follows three themes; the theory of the 'Marginal Man', studies of interracial families, and research on interracial children.

The theory of the 'Marginal Man'

The study of ethnic identity in interracial or even intercultural families remains a relatively untouched area. The most notable studies are probably those based around the theme of the 'marginal man' postulated by Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) and later reviewed and redeveloped by Dickie-Clark (1966) and Johnston (1976).

The work of Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) in conceptualising the 'marginal man' has influenced a considerable amount of research, for example, with 'coloured' people in South Africa (Dickie-Clark, 1966), interracial children and their mothers in Britain (Wilson, 1981a, 1981b) and other groups such as immigrants and children of immigrants (Johnston, 1976) who can likewise be classified as occupying a 'marginal' position.

Marginality according to Stonequist (1937) is a result of: 'living in two different cultural milieux. Both of these cultures are generally arranged in a hierarchy of two levels, one of which carries prestige and power, while the other is evaluated as peripheral and inferior to the first'. (Johnston, 1976, p.145)
Marginality is thus a wide term embracing many different sectors of society. It may, for instance, be used to refer to class, social role, occupation, etc. However, the term has been most widely applied to people of mixed-race parentage (or even mixed-culture/mixed-nationality parentage), to migrants and the children of migrants, and to indigenous minorities such as Aborigines in Australia, Maoris in New Zealand, blacks and native Indians in North America.

Stonequist (1937) described the psychological manifestations of marginality as consisting of:

'an inner strain and malaise, a feeling of isolation, of not quite belonging'. (p.201)

However, according to Stonequist, the perception of these feelings depends on a number of factors such as the extent to which the 'marginal' individual is in the minority, the cultural role of the 'marginal' person and the social attitudes which they have encountered. In the case of interracial individuals the attitudes of one or both of the parent races and the circumstances of their parents, that is, whether in 'sanctioned marriages or irregular unions', were also considered to be important by Stonequist.

Stonequist (1937) suggested that there are three phases of development of the 'marginal personality'. The first period is one in which the individual is not sensitive about his/her race (or other marginality defining feature) because he/she is not aware of race. This phase Stonequist considered to occur during childhood. The second phase is a period in which the 'marginal' individual consciously experiences a conflict of identity.
Stonequist believed that this period occurs during adolescence. The third period is marked by more permanent adjustments, or lack of adjustments, to the 'marginal' situation and was considered by Stonequist to correspond with adulthood. Stonequist's linking of his three periods of 'marginality' to three major periods in the life cycle seems logical, however, it may not be entirely supported empirically. From the review of studies of ethnic identity above, it is clear that race awareness begins in early childhood and thus the 'marginal' person may not be protected from anxiety during childhood as Stonequist implied.

However, the 'characteristic inner conflict' of the 'marginal personality' was not seen by Stonequist as a necessary consequence of being in a marginal position. He maintained that for some people being in a marginal position is a minor problem. It is only in cases where the 'inner conflict' is intense and of considerable duration that anxiety arises. Stonequist described persons who are most likely to suffer psychologically from their marginal position as those who participate extensively in the culture of the dominant group. He equated the strength of their identification with the dominant group with the severity of the 'mental shock' felt when rejected by the dominant group.

This aspect of Stonequist's theory, that is, the acceptability of the minority individual by the majority group takes a central place in Dickie-Clark's sociological theory of marginality. Dickie-Clark (1966) emphasised the situation in which the 'marginal' individual finds himself rather than the
psychological problems created by that situation. Using the example of the 'coloureds' in South Africa he suggested that the dominant group, in this case the white South Africans, are responsible for the 'coloureds' marginal position by their inconsistent attitudes towards them (i.e. considering them worthy of the franchise but not worthy of social intercourse).

Johnston (1976) attempted to integrate the psychological and sociological perspectives of marginality into a unified theory. She suggested that the perception of marginality depends on the occurrence of four conditions. The first of these conditions is based on Stonequist's (1937) definition of marginality:

'life in a bi-cultural milieu arranged in a two tier hierarchy, in which the ethnic culture is evaluated as inferior'. (Johnston, 1976, p.146)

The second condition (as in Stonequist's theory) supposes that the ethnic group members have achieved a certain level of assimilation. Those who have failed to or refuse to assimilate into the dominant culture cannot be considered as marginal because they are 'safely anchored' in their own culture. Hence marginality does not affect all members of a potentially marginal ethnic group. The third condition supposes that assimilated individuals are rejected by members of the dominant group. This condition also arises from Stonequist's theory. The fourth condition supposes that there is uncertainty amongst the ethnic group members as to the choice between the ethnic and the dominant culture, even if membership of groups in both cultures is open.
Johnston (1976) also studied strategies used by marginal individuals to try to ameliorate their position. Her research subjects were immigrants in Australia, however, there is no reason to suppose that the findings may not be applicable to other marginal groups. She found that one type of strategy, on failing to gain admission to the dominant group, was to reject the dominant group and return to the ethnic group. Those who were denied readmission to the ethnic group of origin became withdrawn within themselves, 'embittered by experiences of double rejection'. A second strategy was to form a marginal group for their own self-protection and mutual support. A third strategy was to continue trying to join the dominant group and to continue experiencing rejection.

Bochner (1982) also suggested strategies for potentially marginal children of migrants. He suggested four alternatives. The first is to reject the culture of origin and become completely assimilated. The second is to "remain aggressively 'ethnic' and find fault with everything in their new country". The third is to become marginal, at home in neither group. Finally, they can integrate their two cultures, and become bicultural mediating persons.

From the foregoing discussions, interracial children are potentially marginal individuals. However, it is not only the interracial individual but also the interracial family which has been considered to be in-between two cultures.
Studies of Interracial Families:

Several studies have considered interracial marriage and family life notably Monohan (1971), Kannan (1972), Porterfield (1973), Bentley (1977), Bagley (1979), Benson (1981) and Wilson (1981a, 1981b).

Benson (1981) gave a brief history of interracial unions in England from as early as 1555 to the 1970s and described contemporary attitudes during each historical era. Her work was primarily a sociological study of 20 interracial marriages in Brixton, London (most of which were between white women and black men). Although she considered the psychological development of the children of these marriages, Benson's main concern, however, was with the marital process. She discussed such issues as the problems faced by the interracial couple and how they coped with these problems, the ethnic orientation of the household, their social world and what led them into interracial marriage in the first place. (The term marriage is used here in a non-legal sense as not all respondents were legally married). She viewed interracial marriage in London as a microcosm of race relations in Britain in the 1970s, the period in which the study was conducted.

One of the problems faced by many of Benson's respondents was the reaction of family and friends. Acceptance of the marriage by family members was found to be more frequent in the families of the black partners. Thirteen of the black partners' families accepted the marriage from the beginning compared to only five of the white partners' families. Some opposition was found in the families of seven white partners
and four black partners. Serious opposition in the form of permanent or temporary ostracism was found in the families of four white partners and no black partners. In the case of three black partners and three white partners kin. were not informed. Similar findings were reported by Porterfield (1973) in the United States.

Family opposition centred around a number of issues, notably, the practical problems likely to be encountered by the couple and the problems likely to be encountered by their children, and most frequently, the supposed 'unsuitability' of black people as spouses for whites. For some of the couples, family reaction was a matter of complete indifference to them, but for most couples family approval was important to them and they often went to considerable lengths to secure it. The reactions of friends were not felt to be so important to the respondents. Porterfield (1973) found a similar pattern of attitudes in his American respondents.

Hostile reactions from the wider community were usually directed at the white woman in the interracial marriages studied by Benson (1981). Black husbands did not usually encounter social disapproval and white men married to black women reported no problems in this respect. Although hostility was not usually of long duration, Benson suggested that it added to the sense of difference felt by most interracial couples, especially the white women in her research set:

'It was upon them that the full weight of familial and social disapproval fell, and, because of the importance of kin, neighbours and friends in the
management of the domestic domain, it was they who suffered most from the withdrawal of external support.' (p. 76)

The impressions Benson gained of the domestic culture of her respondents was of 'overwhelming Englishness'. The home decor and also the cuisine of these households generally reflected English tastes. The majority of families never ate or rarely ate African or Caribbean food. Similarly, English language was the medium of communication in all except one household. In one family the husband, a St. Lucian, spoke only broken English or a French based patois which the wife and children could understand but could not speak.

Benson (1981) reported that the underlying assumption of the white spouses was that the black partner should adapt to English ways. English mores could also be discerned in the respondents' comments about child-rearing. Most of the white respondents and some of the black respondents reported unfavourable attitudes towards African and Caribbean child-rearing methods. According to Benson, the fact that the mothers were either English or strongly oriented towards the English culture ensured that the children were raised in a way not very different from their white peers. Most of the fathers in the response set were contented to leave child-rearing to their wife. On the whole, most adaptations were towards the English culture and the black partners were in general contented with this situation. However, Benson reported flexibility and willingness to adapt in most partners, English or otherwise.
As would be expected, Benson (1981) reported a number of misunderstandings based on cultural differences. The significance of these misunderstandings, at least as far as the white women were concerned, depended on whether or not the partner fulfilled his domestic obligations. As long as the men continued to meet their domestic obligations their English wives perceived what were 'quite significant differences in conjugal expectations' as individual idiosyncracies of their husbands. If, however, the husbands failed to meet their obligations, English wives tended to interpret their failure as being due to ethnic origin. Benson (1981) reported a tendency on the part of the white partners to regard their partners as black Englishmen or women, an illusion which could be easily shattered by a change in circumstances such as moving to the black partners country of origin.

The 'marginal' position of the entire interracial family was discussed by Benson (1981) in considering the social contacts of the families and how they chose which ethnic group to orient themselves towards. Only two of the 20 families were oriented towards a black social network and in both cases the black partner was a manual worker from a low-income family background. Five of the families were oriented towards a white social network. Three of these families were families where the husband was white and the remainder were black-husband families from a higher socio-economic background than the black-oriented households. Three couples in the research set chose to have separate circles of friends and other contacts according to their own ethnic origin, for example the wife being oriented
towards a white social network and the husband towards a black social network. Two couples concentrated on forming friendships with other interracial couples. The remaining families had a very limited interaction with outsiders and a serious decrease in social life.

Wilson (1981b) studied a sample of mothers of interracial children in Britain and, in some respects, obtained similar findings to Benson (1981). Wilson (1981b) suggested that the concept of marginality is inappropriate in describing the interracial child in Britain as the majority of (white) British people perceive and react to the interracial child as 'not-white' and therefore black. However, she further proposed that the concept of marginality may be very apt for describing the mother in the interracial family:

'The white mother in particular often seems to find herself in precisely the situation usually attributed to her child - trapped between two races and cultures, juggling with two different, often incompatible roles and compelled by the attitude of others to experience acutely the feeling of not being fully accepted in any one racial group.' (p.208)

According to Wilson (1981b), the white mothers in her research set experienced unintentional dual roles which depended largely on whether other people knew or did not know that they were married to a black man. When people knew the woman had a black husband prejudice and hostility was not always openly expressed (though in some cases prejudice may be violently expressed). However, when others were not aware of her personal
circumstances they expressed prejudiced attitudes about black people, assuming that she also would share the same attitude. The white mothers generally felt that acquaintances fell into three categories, those who accepted them and their families, those who rejected them and their families and those about whose attitudes they were completely unsure. The first group mostly comprised of other 'mixed' couples or mothers of mixed children. Wilson (1981b) reported that over half the sample mentioned other 'mixed' couples among their closest friends. Those who rejected the interracial mothers were generally white strangers. The largest category, however, were those people whose attitudes the mother was not sure of. Wilson pointed out that this ambiguity about acceptance, never being sure of her position, is considered to be central to the concept of marginality. She also noted that none of the white women in her sample seemed to have strong links with the black community other than with their families and a few relatives of their husbands. None of the women seemed to have black friends of their own, and had not sought or not gained the support and acceptance of black women. Their daily life and child care seemed to be carried out with the help of an all-white, female network.

Wilson (1981b) also reported that the white mothers she studied did not appear to have a clear white identity. She explained that this may be caused by the white interracial mother's partial exclusion from white membership and, to some extent, personal factors which influenced her to marry outside the white group in the first place. Few of Wilson's subjects showed any strong identification with their husband's race.
though most seemed to view themselves, to some extent, as being non-white. However, there is no established non-white category in Britain to which the white interracial mother can feel she truly belongs - she is neither an immigrant nor a foreigner, nor is she black or brown.

The situation for the black mother in the interracial family is somewhat different according to Wilson (1981b). The black mother differs from the white mother in the British interracial family in that she does not have to contend with the imposition of a racial split between herself and her children:

"for, however 'fair' their complexion, it is unlikely that anyone would assume they were adopted, or not believe they were her own (a frequent complaint of the white women). In this respect the black mother feels more part of a unit with her children than does the white mother - her children are less often seen as targets of hostility by white extremists or objects of pity by more moderate whites". (p.211)

However, the black woman in the interracial family is as equally likely as the white woman to experience marginality. Some of Wilson's black respondents identified completely as black and viewed it as a positive attribute and also an inescapable fact of life. Other black women in the sample were similar to many of the white women in not appearing to be fully integrated into any one racial group:

"There was a recognition of being non-white and yet dissociation from 'non-white' as a group." (p.213)
Wilson concluded her study by describing what she felt to be the source of feelings of marginality in the British interracial family:

'The marginality that many mothers of mixed race children seem to feel stems from the racialism and mistrust which they see as surrounding them, painstakingly concealed beneath a thin veil of politeness.' (p. 214).

Ethnic Identity in Interracial Children

Although much research has been conducted on ethnic identity in black children, little attention has been paid to ethnic identity in interracial children. Among the few studies of ethnic identity in interracial children are studies by Jacobs (1977), Wilson (1981a) and Bagley and Young (1984).

Before considering these studies it may be useful to consider studies examining the effects of the shade of children's skin colour on ethnic identity as measured by choice of ethnic stimuli. Clark and Clark (1940, 1947) found that light-skinned black children identified and showed preference for white ethnic stimuli more frequently than did dark-skinned black children. This finding was supported by Vaughan (1964a) and Milner (1973). However, Porter (1971) found that shade of skin colour does not have an effect when socioeconomic status and amount of contact between ethnic groups is controlled. In other words, Porter suggested that the shade of skin colour finding may be confounded by other variables such as class, etc. Greenwald and Oppenheimer (1968) used three different dolls in their study; black, white and mulatto. They found that the
amount of black children identifying with the white doll was considerably reduced as 38 per cent identified with the mulatto doll. Interestingly, 25 per cent of the white children also identified with the mulatto doll. One criticism levelled against this study is that it is not clear whether the children could effectively discriminate between the stimuli, especially between the white and mulatto dolls (Porter, 1971; Brand et al., 1974). Note that no real definition was given in any of these studies as to what constitutes 'black' and 'white' racial/ethnic groups. We are only aware of the investigators' subjective judgements of 'light-', 'medium-' and 'dark-' skinned blacks, some of which may overlap with 'swarthy-skinned' whites (see Jahoda et al., 1972). It is possible that some of these children may be from interracial families, if not first generation, then possibly second generation, in which case their 'misidentification' is given a new perspective.

In one of the few studies conducted on ethnic identity in interracial children, Jacobs (1977) conducted an in-depth study of seven black-white interracial families involving ten children in all. He identified two basic methodological problems involved in this type of study. Firstly, a problem which particularly affects doll play studies with interracial children is created by offering a limited choice between two racially polarised dolls. Secondly, studies such as Clark and Clark's (1939) study may be too subjective yielding results based on the experimenter's own preconceptions about racial meanings and therefore considerably biased. In order to combat these two problems, Jacobs developed a testing situation involving 36
different dolls consisting of six skin and hair colour combinations, both sexes and three levels of size (age). Furthermore, each doll choice was followed by Piaget's clinical interview technique. In addition, a wide range of tasks was used ranging from free-play to highly structured questioning. It is doubtful whether Jacobs' method completely eliminates the second identified problem though in all probability it eliminates the first. Jacobs found that children under 4½ years did not classify by race, conflicting with earlier findings (see above) though this may be due to the smaller number of subjects used. Secondly, that children over 4½ years separate the class of 'brown' or interracial from the class of black and white. Subjects of this age recognised that they are interracial and that their colour is constant and will not change.

Bagley and Young (1984) examined ethnic evaluation and self-evaluation in interracial children in Britain using a photograph-choice technique with a black experimenter. The children were aged between 4 and 7 years. Forty-two fathers and 22 mothers in the sample were black. Bagley and Young (1984) used a measure of ethnic attitudes in which 'good' or 'bad' characteristics could be attributed to one or two ethnic figures, thus yielding a measure of ethnic bias. Compared to black (West Indian and West African) and white (English) children the interracial children showed 'the most balanced' responses, having a majority of responses reflecting no bias towards either black or white ethnic stimuli. Black children were found to show considerable white bias (45 per cent of the
West Indian children showed a white bias) and the majority (74 per cent) of white children displayed a white bias (Young and Bagley, 1982b). Bagley and Young (1984) further suggested that the reason interracial children displayed a neutral bias may be because they were evaluating people like their mother and father, that is, black and white, positively. They found strong support for this hypothesis by analysing the children's responses to black and white figures according to sex.

Seventy-four per cent of children with a white mother were found to evaluate the white female photographs positively and 71 per cent of the same group of children evaluated black males positively. In contrast, children whose parents were both either black or white had equivalent evaluations of the white female and male figures which were also consistent with their ethnic bias.

Bagley and Young's (1984) findings are an important addition to research on the interracial child. However, the limitations of the photograph-choice method should be considered. As mentioned earlier, possible differences in attractiveness of the photographs cannot be ruled out. Such differences may affect the subjects' evaluations of the stimuli.

Wilson (1981a) examined ethnic identity in interracial children and also their use of ethnic classifications using a photograph choice technique. The photographs were of black, white, Asian and mixed-race adults and children. Subjects were instructed to group the photographs according to race. The first group was given by the experimenter as white and the
children were left to choose their own grouping criteria for the remaining photographs. Only two children in the sample (n=51) spontaneously grouped the photographs into two groups, white and non-white (described as 'black', 'coloured' or 'brown'). Some of the children used gradations of colour as their grouping criteria using such categories as 'yellow', 'biege', 'tan', 'brown' and 'black'. Others used the racial combination of the parents as their criteria, with 'mixed' children in one group and 'pure' racial types separately grouped. Some of the children thought of the mixed group as being nearer to white than the Asian group, others thought it to be nearer to black. Some children grouped the photographs according to culture (e.g., 'Indian', 'Jamaican', 'English') ignoring mixture and colour and others combined several elements into a group.

Regarding self-identification, 29.5 per cent of the sample saw themselves as belonging to a 'mixed' group, some describing the mixture in terms of culture, others seeing it as a result of having a black/brown father and a white mother. The majority of the children (43.2 per cent) identified themselves with a 'brown' group which was defined according to skin colour (mid-brown) regardless of hair type, parentage or facial features. Other children (15.7 per cent) felt they belonged to a 'black' group and the remainder (11.8 per cent) identified with the 'white' group.

Wilson's study is a valuable account of British inter-racial children's ethnic identity and their understanding of racial categorisation and how it applies to themselves. The
previously described problems involved with photographic stimuli may apply to Wilson's identity measure. However, she also explored the children's responses using a novel interview technique which involved asking the children to teach a 'spaceman' about race. The results of the interview generally supported those obtained with the photographs.

Finally, one or two studies have considered the self-esteem of interracial children. Benson (1981) considered 'signs of disturbance' in her sample. From a total of 27 children aged 3-16 years, 11 children showed what Benson termed signs of disturbance, some of the children showing more than one 'disturbed' behaviour. Benson (1981) indicated that a significant proportion of children in her sample sought to define themselves as white and, to some extent, she classified disturbed behaviour as rejection of a black identity. Five children (four in one family) demonstrated overt rejection of black identity. Seven children demonstrated what Benson termed the 'washing' syndrome, that is they attempted to wash off their brown colour. Seven children showed a desire to change their appearance to resemble whites, and six children demonstrated abusive behaviour to black children. While some of these categories are not unarguably 'signs of disturbance' (for instance, rejection of a black identity does not necessarily imply rejection of a 'half-caste' identity, and fighting with black children may have other causes) some, such as the 'washing' syndrome do indicate a lack of ethnic self-esteem. Benson also noted other non race-related behavioural disorders such as temper tantrums, bed-wetting, etc. However,
Benson suggested that disturbance in the children was somehow linked to parenting rather than interracial status per se. She found that disturbed children tended to be found in households where the parents had not themselves succeeded in working out a satisfactory solution to the problems arising from their situation as interracial couples. She also described particular case histories of disturbance, for instance, a 5 year old interracial boy whose mother and white half-sister joked about his attempts to wash himself white. He was discouraged by his mother from playing with black or even interracial children.

Bagley (1979) refuted the popular notion that children of mixed-race parentage are certain to have no particular disadvantages and, in the case of the American research, a better self-concept than children from unmixed marriages. Bagley (1979) also suggested parenting to be a major influence. He found that some parents convey to their mixed-race children a sense not only of being different but of being worthwhile as well.
The historical context of studies of ethnic awareness and identity was considered. The study of ethnic groups had its origins in the eighteenth century and reached a peak in the nineteenth century. However, attitudes of white people towards non-white ethnic groups and the attitudes of these ethnic groups towards their own group were not studied until the twentieth century.

The concepts of identification, identity and ethnic identity were considered. It was concluded that an individual has more than one identity and that each identity is situation-specific and, in some cases, socially defined. What we may call 'global identity' was considered to be, to some extent, a synthesis of the situation-specific, socially defined identities. Ethnic identity was discussed in terms of perceptions of similarity to a particular social category.

Seven broad methods of studying ethnic identity were considered. These were attitude measurement using ranking scales (particularly the Bogardus social distance scale), studies using photographs or drawings representing members of various ethnic groups, doll-choice studies using dolls representing various ethnic groups, sociometry, observations of behaviour, disguised measures (particularly the analysis of human figure drawings and measures of the 'spontaneous self-concept'), and measurement of autonomic changes. A number of variables affecting ethnic identity research were also considered. These include social variables such as the influence of the peer group, socioeconomic status and demographic features of the minority group such as population
distribution. Other subject variables are education and intelligence, sex, age, language and presence or absence of a grandparent. Variables affecting methodology include sex, skin shade and other features of the ethnic stimuli used and the ethnic group membership of the experimenter. The development of national and ethnic identity was considered from a developmental stage theory perspective. Awareness of ethnic group differences was suggested to begin before the age of four years. However, research evidence was not found to unequivocally support the stage theorists' suggestions that awareness develops before attitude. Evidence was presented to suggest that attitude and awareness may develop concurrently and in some instances attitude may develop before awareness.

Issues pertinent to the study of ethnic identification in a variety of cultures were discussed.

Finally, the concept of 'marginality' and its application to interracial children and families was discussed and studies of ethnic identity in interracial children were presented.

Having discussed some previous research on ethnic identity we may now consider this study of ethnic identification in interracial children in Nigeria.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK, PILOT STUDIES AND

RESEARCH DESIGN
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

We may now consider the methodological framework of this study and the methods used in measuring ethnic identity. Firstly, the relationship between child rearing and the self-concept was discussed. Secondly, the family interactions model of child development was assessed. Thirdly, consideration was given to the choice of methods used in this study to measure ethnic identity. Finally, the research design was discussed.

Child rearing and the self-concept

One of the main aims of this research was to examine the relationship between child rearing and one aspect of the self-concept, namely, ethnic identity. Before discussing studies which relate child rearing to the self-concept, definitions of the terms child rearing and self-concept were considered.

Child rearing may be defined in terms of socialization and caretaking activities. Socialization has been defined as 'the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and the society' (Brim, 1966, p.3). Socialization is a two way process in that it demands changes by both the parent and the child. As the child grows up he/she is expected to show more independence. At the same time parents must learn to act differently towards their child's strivings for independence. Just as parents bring up children, children bring up parents (Meyer and Dusek, 1979). Goslin (1969) emphasizes the importance of the interactional aspects of
interpersonal relations by noting that each participant influences the behaviour of the other. Hence, social role learning and role teaching are difficult to separate.

Rutter (1975) discussed some of the dimensions of child rearing and parental child care activities. These include the provision of emotional bonds and relationships, responding to the child's needs and signals, providing a secure base from which to explore the environment, providing models of behaviour and attitudes, providing life experiences, and discipline and the shaping of behaviour.

There are many definitions of self-concept (e.g., Mead, 1934; Allport, 1937; Rogers, 1951; Coopersmith, 1967; Burns, 1979, 1980). However, most are in agreement with William James' original definition of the self-concept as a hypothetical construct which is reflexive, that is, the knower and the known are the same person (Olowu, 1983).

Mead thought of the self-concept as consisting of two aspects, the 'I' and the 'Me'. The 'Me' is the objectified aspect of the self which is presented to others. It is what the individual perceives when interacting with another person. An individual has several 'Mes' at any one time, for instance there is the physical me, the me in a particular interaction, the me as a parent, the me as a child, etc., (Young and Bagley, 1982a). The 'I' is the subjective aspect of the self that reacts to the 'Me'. The 'I' also responds to the 'Me' presented by others in interaction. The self is made up of interactions between the 'I' and the 'Me' aspects. Thus the Meadian theory of self suggests that the individual's idea of self is social in
origin. It derives from interaction with others who evaluate
him in many different ways (Young and Bagley, 1982a).

Burns (1979) defined the self-concept as that part of the
self which is aware of itself, the perceptions one has of one's
own characteristics, feelings, attitudes and abilities.
According to him, it is the set of attitudes a person holds
towards himself (Burns, 1980).

Much research has been conducted on the relationship
between various aspects of parental child rearing patterns and
the child's self-concept. Olowu (1982) presented an overview
of psychological, social and educational research relating
family variables to children's self-concepts. He divided family
variables into four categories. The first category concerned
parent variables such as parents' characteristics, values,
self-acceptance, and child rearing practices; interparental
relationships; absence of one parent through death or divorce;
never-married status of parents; and working status of mother.
The second category concerned family role structure and role
specialisation. The third category was family size and the
fourth category was birth order of children.

Much of the research, however, has been devoted to limited
aspects of the self-concept. Predominant among the literature
are studies considering the relationship between child rearing
and self-esteem (Olowu, 1982) and child rearing and sex-role
identification (Fransella and Frost, 1977; Gilbert et al.,
1982). Very little research has been conducted on the
relationship between child rearing and ethnic identity or
even national identity.
Among the few studies available are studies on the relationship between child rearing or parental attitudes and the development of positive self-esteem in black children and in interracial children. Young and Bagley (1979) studied black children in Jamaica and Britain. One of their comparisons was between British children of West Indian origin and West African children resident in Britain. The researchers speculated that socialization within the family is an important influence on the way these children see themselves. The African children tended to show much less pro-white bias and to have better self-esteem than did the children of West Indian origin. To quote the authors:

'many West Indian families, even after migration, may transmit to their children negative feelings about colour and ethnicity derived from island traditions which have been largely absent in Nigeria and Ghana, where the subjective ethnic status of black people has been only marginally affected by colonial enterprises'.

Jacobs (1977) studied a small sample of interracial children in the U.S.A. He suggested a number of areas in which parents can influence the self-esteem of their interracial children. These included early ego enhancement, providing an interracial label for the child, assistance in verbalising racial material and supportive interest in expression of verbal ambivalence, and providing interracial associates and friends.

Bagley and Young (1984) reported on the effects of parental models on evaluation of race in black, white and mixed race children in Britain. They found that the majority of mixed
race children evaluated black and white males and females in accordance with the race of their parents. That is, mixed race children with a white mother and black father evaluated the white female and black male stimuli more positively than the black female and white male stimuli. In contrast black and white children whose parents were both of the same race showed no difference in evaluations of white male and female figures. The researchers examined the influence of the sex of the child (regarding modelling of the same-sexed parent) and the presence of other siblings of differing sexes and races but found no significant effects. Bagley and Young (1984) also found high levels of self-esteem in their sample of mixed race children which they attributed in part to the attitudes of the parents. They noted that the parents of this particular sample of interracial children were known to:

'take a special pride and interest in the positive evaluation of both black and white culture, and their essential compatibilities. Children of such couples are given a very positive sense of identity by their parents, and selected peer groups.'

Bagley (1979) also reported similar findings from American research. He suggested that positive self-concept in interracial children may result from parents transmitting to their children a sense 'not only of being different, but of being worthwhile as well'.

Little information is available to link child rearing practices directly with ethnic self-concept. One of the few studies available, by Davies (1968) linked parental attitudes
with the child's national identity and with the child's sense of nationality. Considering the immigrant child, Davies believed that the child's attachment to the new country depends primarily on the strength of the mother's attachment to the new country. If the mother fails to fit into her new surroundings then so does the child. However, the situation is never quite as clear cut as Davies suggested. Bochner (1982) discussed two studies, conducted under his supervision, of children of immigrants. The interest of both studies (Novakovic, 1977; Crowley, 1978) was in determining why some children of immigrants lean towards the host (Australian) culture whereas others tend to remain more oriented towards the culture of their parents. The results of the two studies suggested that the peer group (especially in adolescence) is a major determinant of national identity which can temper the influence of the family and by adolescence may even outweigh family influences.

The present study attempted to fill in some of the gaps (and create more) in the self-concept literature specifically in the field of ethnic self-concept. The role of the family, as the primary socializing agent, was examined in the development of ethnic identity in the child. Although limited to the study of the family, the investigator tried not to lose sight of non-family variables such as the peer group and the wider social context in which the family operates. Because of the many family variables to be considered, the many questions to be answered and the many more still to be asked, the study was largely exploratory. Obviously, some significant findings were
anticipated, however, it was hoped that the major contribution of this study would be in defining the appropriate questions to be asked.

The family interactions model and its application to the development of ethnic identity

Having discussed the relationship between child rearing and the self-concept, we may now consider the family interactions model of child development.

Belsky (1981) suggested a model of family interactions based on three interacting variables: child behaviour and development, parenting, and the marital relationship. This study has used Belsky's model as a methodological framework, however, greater interest will be shown in the effects of this interaction on one variable, namely child behaviour and development.

Belsky's model draws attention to the fact that parenting affects and is affected by the child. The child both influences
and is influenced by the marital relationship, which in turn both affects and is affected by parenting.

Six main effects can be observed from the model: (1) parenting effects on child behaviour and development, (2) effects of child behaviour and development on parenting, (3) effects of the marital relationship on parenting, (4) effects of the marital relationship on child behaviour and development, (5) parenting effects on the marital relationship, (6) effects of child behaviour and development on the marital relationship.

This study aimed to examine the first three main effects listed with greater emphasis placed on the first, namely, parenting effects on child behaviour and development.

(1) Parenting effects on child development: Belsky noted that although a vast number of psychologists have studied the influence of the parent on the developing child, most have considered the parent as a separate entity, ignoring external influences impinging on the parent. Most of the research has examined the influence of the mother alone. However, more recently, greater interest has been shown in the influence of the father on child behaviour. In nearly all cases both father and mother have been considered as individuals who individually influence the child. Few researchers have considered the mother and father as a dyad having a joint influence on the child. This study sought to examine the effects of parenting on the development of ethnic identity. At the most basic level, the effects of the parent may depend on the parent's own ethnic identity. In families where both parents are of the same ethnic origin disparity between maternal and paternal effects may be
least. Where the parents are of different ethnic origin we may expect differential effects. Either parent's ethnic group may determine the ethnic orientation of the family. This may result in the child identifying with one or the other parent's cultural group. Or, more likely, each parent may have a contributory effect, the ethnic orientation of the family being part Yoruba part European. In which case one may expect the child's ethnic identity to be at worst ambiguous and optimally interracial.

For the purpose of this study 'parenting' was defined in terms of use of culture-specific child rearing practices.

(2) Effects of child behaviour and development on parenting: Belsky noted that much empirical attention has been paid in recent years to the two-directional nature of the socialization process. Researchers now take into account the fact that the child's behaviour influences the parent and in this respect is to a great extent the producer of his/her own development. However, exactly which individual attributes affect parental behaviour remain to be discovered.

In the present study it was anticipated that the child's ethnic self-concept may affect parenting especially in the interracial families. The child may feel that he/she belongs to the ethnic group of one parent or to the ethnic group of the other parent or a mixture of both. For instance, if the child identifies with the host ethnic group, the immigrant parent may feel under increasing pressure to adapt (or on the other hand may feel more isolated). Conversely, if the child identifies with the immigrant ethnic group the immigrant parent's child
rearing behaviours may be reinforced and the other parent may either try to counter such behaviour or try to conform more to the culture of the family (at least when at home).

(3) Effects of the marital relationship on parenting:
Examples of research on this facet of the model are studies on such topics as maternal overprotection and unsatisfactory marital relations, and marital relations and child abuse (Belsky, 1981).

In the present study, it was anticipated that the marital relationship may affect parenting defined as use of culture-specific child rearing practices. Of particular interest was the mode of decision making within the parent dyad in the interracial family. Where parents make decisions based on mutual discussion and consent we may expect more compromise in use of culture-specific child rearing practices. In addition, how well the wife is integrated into the extended family may also be important. Extended family members may put pressure on the immigrant mother (directly or indirectly) to conform to the host culture.

Other aspects of the model have been thoroughly discussed by Belsky. Although not of direct interest to the present study, the remaining three main effects will be discussed briefly as they may need to be considered when interpreting the data.

Effects of the marital relationship on child behaviour may be thought of as a continuation of the effects of the marital relationship on parenting.

The effects of parenting on the marital relationship has
usually been considered from the perspective of transition to parenthood (Belsky, 1981). Maternal exhaustion and its effects on sexual relations is one of the negative aspects which have been studied. On the more positive side, shared activities created by the presence of the child can provide opportunities for enjoyable marital interactions (Belsky, 1981). In the present study, although not intended to be empirically tested, a consideration would be that the presence of a child may create problems where none existed previously. The mode of cultural operations of the family may not previously have been considered of great importance before the birth of the child.

Regarding the effects of child behaviour on the marital relationship, most of the literature concentrates on the transition to parenthood with the birth of the first child (e.g., Russell, 1974). Other studies have concentrated on the effects of a handicapped child on the marital relationship (Gath, 1978). Regarding the development of ethnic identity in interracial families, similar processes may occur as with the effects of parenting on the marital relationship. In this case the behaviour of the individual child should be taken into consideration. Generally, one may expect the ethnic identification of the child to create either cohesion or dissent between the marital partners depending on their previous, present and future expectancies regarding the child.

One or two points should be considered in the use of Belsky's model and its application to this study. Firstly, Belsky himself admitted to the main limitation of his model, namely that its focus is restricted to the internal workings of
the nuclear family. The family's social networks are completely ignored. The present study has attempted to examine limited aspects of the system of nuclear family interactions while bearing in mind the social and cultural context.

Furthermore, Belsky's model is simplified to the three person family interaction - two parents and one child. Obviously there are many variations in family size and structure, including other siblings and extended relatives. Other important influences omitted include child peer groups (Belsky's model was designed for parent-infant interaction in which case the peer group is less important), parent peer groups and the extra-familial environment. The present study, for simplicity, concentrated on the three person interaction ignoring such factors as sibling interaction, etc. Ideally families with only one child should be considered. However, the African family is typically large with at least three or four children, often more. Thus a school-aged child will almost definitely have a sibling. Thus it may be stated at the outset that there are various extraneous variables inherent in this study but it must be stressed that these variables are very difficult to control.

Choice of methods used in the present study: Measuring ethnic identity

Having examined the methodological framework of this study, we may now consider the methods used to examine ethnic identification.

The first problem facing the investigator was to decide
which of the many tests of ethnic identification developed for children would be the most suitable. Which of the tests would be the most valid, reliable and culture-free? Which test has the least problems of interpretation?

The simple answer discovered from an extensive literature review was that no single test was completely satisfactory. Thus it was decided to use a series of tests, each presenting the child with a different sort of task, supported by observations of behaviour where possible and any additional information given freely by the children.

Studies of ethnic identity and awareness in young children have commonly used various projective techniques. The type of approach usually adopted for older subjects (e.g. social distance scales, attitude scales and other questionnaires) is obviously inappropriate. Arguably the most popular method for use with young children is the doll play technique developed by Clark and Clark (1939, 1947). The doll play method is flexible enough to be adapted for ethnic choices other than the simple blacks and whites choice offered by Clark and Clark. Werner and Evans (1968) used it with Mexican-Americans. Jahoda et al. (1972) and Milner (1973) used it with Indians and Pakistanis in Britain. In addition, probe questions can be incorporated into the test in a Piaget-style clinical method (Jacobs, 1977) and specific play situations can be created as part of the test (Porter, 1971; Nettelbladt et al., 1981).

One of the greatest problems inherent in the doll play technique concerns the choice of dolls. In most of the early studies, subjects were given a limited choice between a black
doll and a white doll. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) and Jacobs (1977) attempted to obtain more meaningful results by increasing the choice of dolls. However, this may create more problems than it solves. The problem here is how to ensure that the dolls are equivalent, that is, as identical as possible, while at the same time offering variety. Brand et al. (1974) pointed out that in all doll studies facial characteristics of the dolls have been those of traditional white dolls. Perhaps if the black dolls were more racially representative, having appropriate facial characteristics, hair style and hair texture, black children's responses would be more realistic. But, if such subtle changes in doll features can affect the results how meaningful is it to consider the stimuli as being equivalent? Perhaps the best policy is to draw up clear definitions of each ethnic group and use realistic stimuli based on these definitions. Alternatively, more abstract figures could be used, possibly schematic figures, varying on one dimension (colour) only, all other characteristics equated though not biased towards any particular race (i.e. not resembling white facial characteristics). The need for greater variety or more realistic and representative stimuli is present not only in the black subjects. For instance it is feasible that a white child with black hair would deny that a white doll with blond hair looks like himself. Likewise with the interracial child the inappropriateness of a single feature (for instance, hair texture) may affect the child's response.

Few studies have considered the reliability of the doll play method. As a projective test, establishing the reliability
of this method is important. Inter-observer reliability may not be so important in most of the studies as questions are usually quite straightforward requiring specific categories of responses each of which are predefined. However, it may be very important in those studies using a variety of ethnic stimuli or in those using fairly indistinct ethnic groups (e.g., Mexican Americans compared to Anglos) in deciding which stimuli constitute each ethnic group. A measure of reliability over time is afforded by Jahoda et al.'s (1972) study in which essentially similar results were obtained in two separate studies as far as factual issues such as identity were concerned. Considering the fact that on each occasion an experimenter of a different race was used then ethnic identity should be regarded as a robust concept.

Validity is quite difficult to ascertain objectively. Most validity tests employ comparisons with other methods which of course have unproven validity. Winnick and Taylor (1977) adopted a validity check involving the following questions: 'Are you black or are you white?' and 'Am I black or am I white?' Considerably more useful is Ward and Braun's (1972) validity measure comparing doll play results with a standardised self-concept scale. They found that doll play results compared favourably with ethnic self-concept results. Although possibly referring more to attitude and preference studies than to identity and awareness studies, researchers have called for an increase in use of multiple tests in order to ensure that the findings are not mainly a function of the measures used.

Although no published work has been found on the use of doll
play to measure ethnic identity in Nigeria, the method has been used with various ethnic groups throughout the world. There was no reason to assume that it could not be used with a Nigerian sample as the subjects under study were all highly familiar with Western-style toys and games including dolls.

The second method chosen was the Draw-A-Person test. This test was selected mainly to combat the problems with the doll play method. The basic concept underlying use of Draw-A-Person is that the figure drawn represents the person who drew it (Machover, 1949). The extent that race or ethnicity is a salient aspect of the individual's self-concept should be reflected in the drawing.

Brand et al. (1974) have called for the validation of drawing tasks with other measures in their review of studies of ethnic identity. This is all the more pertinent in the light of Jahoda et al.'s (1972) findings of an inherent 'uncertainty principle' dogging various measures of ethnic identity. Schofield's (1978) work offers a measure of validity. Schofield (1978) distributed white paper and a selection of crayons to 157 black and 167 white 6 and 7 year olds in a Northern state. Drawings were scored according to agreement with a number of categories ranging from black to white through indeterminate. Interrater reliability was found to be .79 (p<.01), test-retest reliability was .53 (p<.01) and correlation between the Draw-A-Person and doll play scores was .39 (p< .05). Although the validity was not strong it did seem large enough to support the use of Draw-A-Person as a measure of ethnic identity.
In Nigeria Draw-A-Person has been used in a number of studies. Jegede (1976, 1982) has used Draw-A-Person with Yoruba school children to measure psychological differentiation. Pfeffer (1985) has used Draw-A-Person as a measure of sex-identification. Eya (1984) has examined Nigerian children's drawings of women's hair for traditional and modern styles. Zaidi (1979) and Pfeffer and Olowu (1985a, 1985c) have used Nigerian children's human figure drawings as indicators of ethnic identity and social values. The above studies show that human figure drawings are easy to obtain from Nigerian children and that the method is not especially subject to cultural considerations.

The advantages of Draw-A-Person as a measure of ethnic identity are firstly that it counters some of the various disadvantages of methods involving ethnic stimuli such as the doll play method and photograph choice method, etc. In addition, it is less obvious to the child what the investigator is looking for. Disadvantages of the Draw-A-Person method are firstly, that the drawings are obviously dependent to some extent on the individual's ability to draw, though, as will be seen later, this is not as disadvantageous as it would seem. Secondly, Goodnow (1977) has pointed out that children often draw humans in a variety of ways and that the same child may use different techniques in drawing a human figure in a single day, week or month. For this reason both she and Kellogg (1969) called for a limit to the use of human figure drawings in measuring psychological phenomena (particularly intelligence). However, this contention may be countered to a large extent by the significant test-retest reliability found by Schofield (1978).
The third method chosen to measure the children's ethnic identity is called the 'Tell me about yourself' method. It can be considered as a modification of the Twenty Statements Test along with other open ended questions such as 'What are you?', 'Tell me what you are not', etc. This method has been used by Jahoda (1963; Jahoda et al., 1972), Lambert and Klineberg (1967) and McGuire et al. (1978). The usefulness of this method as compared to other methods did not appear to have been systematically investigated. Brand et al. (1974) make no mention of it in their review of methods of studying ethnic identification and preference. Jahoda et al. (1972) used other methods to study ethnic identification (an identikit procedure) in conjunction with a 'What are you?' question, however, a comparison between the two was outside the main objectives of their study. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see the results of its reliability over time. Also this method counters some of the disadvantages of the doll play method, that is, it is unobtrusive, more spontaneous and offers a measure of salience. Olowu (1982) used a similar method in his study of the self-concept of the Nigerian adolescent by asking the subjects to write an essay entitled 'Myself'. Olowu and Pfeffer (1985) have examined ethnic awareness in Nigerian adolescents using 'Myself' essays. So, there was no reason to suppose that this method was not suitable for a Nigerian sample.
PILOT STUDIES

Pilot studies of the three methods of measuring ethnic identity were conducted using Nigerian primary school children. The pilot study of the Draw-A-Person and 'Tell me about yourself' methods was conducted first, followed by the doll-play pilot study.

A pilot study of the Draw-A-Person and 'Tell me about yourself' method

Subjects: Subjects were twenty children aged between 6.5 and 8 years. They were randomly selected from a list of Yoruba students in Class 3 at the University Staff School. Both sexes were approximately equally represented.

Procedure: Three Nigerian research assistants were employed, 2 men and 1 woman. Subjects were tested in the school. The research assistants attended on separate days. The research assistants introduced themselves to the entire class and spent some time talking to the class (about schoolwork and play activities) before selecting individual children. In order to relax the individual children who became the subjects of the study the entire class was given a task to do. The subjects were approached by asking them if they liked art and drawing and then asking them to draw a person. White paper, a pencil and crayons were distributed. After completing a drawing to their own satisfaction subjects were then asked to 'tell me about yourself' and given three minutes for their reply. In some cases the children preferred to write their comments on the
same paper as the drawing. Otherwise the interviewers wrote their responses verbatim.

All the children studied enjoyed the Draw-A-Person. The open-ended question was not as successful. Some children were open and relaxed, some had to be prompted and one or two gave no response at all.

**Scoring procedure:** Drawings were scored on eight variables: (1) colour of face, (2) colour of body, (3) colour of hair, (4) style of hair, (5) type of nose, (6) type of lips, (7) type of dress, (8) adornments.

Reasons for choice of the eight variables are as follows:

(1) and (2) - Colour of skin is an obvious measure of ethnic identity. It was decided to divide this into colour of face and colour of body. Schofield (1978) pointed out that colour of face may be more important than colour of body as the body may be drawn in such a way that colouring the skin may be impossible (either because it is covered with clothes or drawn very simply) but the face is usually drawn more articulately.

(3) - Colour of hair may be important in depicting race.

(4) - Ethnicity can be easily depicted by hairstyle. For instance an 'Afro' hairstyle or alternatively weaved or plaited hair may be used to indicate an African.

(5) and (6) - Facial features may be used to denote race. A broad nose and thick lips are generally considered to be characteristic of black people.

(7) - The traditional dress for Yoruba women is a wrapper (a wide cloth wrapped around the waist), a loose blouse and a head-tie, though there are other variations. The traditional dress for
Yoruba men is trousers and a loose overshirt which may or may not be covered by a large 'agbada' (best described as an extra large, knee-length, sleeveless overshirt) and often a soft cloth cap is worn. Both male and female costumes may be made of 'ankara' (printed cotton), lace or damask. However, all children wear a European-style school uniform and many wear European-style clothes at home (both elite and lower class children). But, if a child has a strong identification with his/her ethnic group he/she may choose to draw traditional dress.

(8) - Typical Yoruba adornments are earrings on the female figures (almost all Yoruba women have their ears pierced shortly after birth) and beads around the neck, wrists or ankles on either male or female figures which may denote chieftancy or other titles. Other adornments which could possibly be added are the European belt, wristwatch, handbag or ribbons.

An ordinal scale of responses was devised ranging from non-African to African as follows:

Colour of face, body and hair;
0 = other (e.g., blue, green, red, etc),
1 = no colour (indicating white),
2 = light,
3 = medium,
4 = dark.

Style of hair;
0 = other,
1 = European,
2 = indeterminate
3 = African.
Nose;
0 = no nose,
1 = narrow,
2 = indeterminate,
3 = broad.

Lips;
0 = other,
1 = thin,
2 = indeterminate,
3 = thick.

Dress;
0 = other (e.g., football player, 'Superman'),
1 = European,
2 = indeterminate,
3 = African.

Adornments;
0 = none,
1 = European,
2 = African.

The responses to the 'Tell me about yourself' question were scored as follows. Any mention of race, colour, nationality, ethnic group, ethnic subgroup, state of origin or town of origin were coded as ethnic responses. An explanatory note on the last two categories may be necessary. Emphasis on state of origin (or as they say in Nigeria, 'statism') has become almost as important as ethnicism to modern Nigerians. Secondly, town of origin may denote ethnic subgroup.
Results: Interrater reliability (between the investigator and a naive coder) was determined for each of the eight features of the drawings on a random sample of 12 drawings using Spearman's correlation corrected for ties.¹

Table 3.1.: Interrater reliability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>$r_s$</th>
<th>$p$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colour of face</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour of body</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour of hair</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair style</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>non sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial features: nose</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial features: lips</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>non sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adornments</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: SE = .30

As can be seen from Table 3.1, two of the variables had non significant reliability coefficients; hairstyle, which was approaching significance and lips. The latter was found to be lacking in adequate guidelines for scoring and hence involved much guesswork. The reliability of the remaining variables was generally good. (See Postscript)

The rating scale appeared to have a limited usefulness as will be explained below. The lowest possible score on the scale is 0 and the highest is 26. Suppose we take 13 as a cut-off
point and assume that subjects who score below 13 (0-12) do not express an African identity and those who score above 13 (14-26) are expressing an African identity. Then, according to Table 3.2, only 5 children (25 per cent) definitely identified themselves as Africans, 9 children expressed a non-African identity (45 per cent) leaving 6 children in the middle range (30 per cent).

However, Schofield (1978) used only one feature of children's human figure drawings in her own study, namely global skin colour. If then, instead of taking a score on the total scale as an expression of correct or incorrect identity (after all, the cut-off point is decided arbitrarily) we consider the number of children who correctly identified themselves according to any of the variables, a considerably different picture emerges.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>No. of Subjects</th>
<th>Median Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-African</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 3.3. we can see that the number of children who identified themselves as African on any one feature of the drawings was 16, a figure considerably higher than that obtained from Table 3.2. A high proportion of children also
identified themselves as African on any two features, and no child used all eight features.

Table 3.3: Number of features used to express African identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of features</th>
<th>Number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A final point to consider as regards Draw-A-Person is how useful each of the eight features were to the children. That is, how much did the children use each of the features to express ethnic identity. From Table 3.4 we can see that nose and hair colour are the features the children were most likely to use to express their ethnicity. Hair style was also a widely used feature. Unfortunately hair style had a poor interrater reliability. Surprisingly, skin colour was used very little. The infrequent use of ethnic clothing was not surprising as most Yoruba children wear European style clothes for a greater
part of the day.

Table 3.4: Number of children using each feature to express African identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>No. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colour of face</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour of body</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour of hair</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair style</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial features: nose</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial features: lips</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adornments</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results from the 'Tell me about yourself' question and their relationship to the results from the Draw-A-Person (DAP) African identity scale are presented in Table 3.5 and Table 3.6.

The Fisher Exact Probability test was carried out on the results of Table 3.6. Using this test, no significant relationship was found between the two measures of ethnic identity. However, it should be noted that all the children categorised as African identifiers on the Draw-A-Person scale gave ethnic responses so a relationship was not completely absent.
Table 3.5: Responses to 'Tell me about yourself'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ethnic responses</th>
<th>Other responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children expressing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African identity on DAP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children not expressing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African identity on DAP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6: Number of children in each response category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ethnic response category</th>
<th>Other response category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children expressing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African identity on DAP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children not expressing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African identity on DAP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of this pilot study suggested that Draw-A-Person may be a useful measure of ethnic identity though considerable thought should be given to the method of scoring. This measure was chosen to give the children more freedom of expression than is allowed by other more standard tests. Perhaps then, we should allow subjects to express their identity in any way (using any feature) they wish. In which case we should score a limited number of features (any one or two) from a wide range of possibilities. In support of this, it should be noted that the lowest score obtained was 8 and that
many children scored around the 10-12 range. To say that these
children were not correctly identifying themselves might be
unfair. For instance, they may be unable to express themselves
skilfully on many features.

The relationship between 'Tell me about yourself' scores
and Draw-A-Person was disappointing. However, as mentioned
above, a relationship between the two measures was not
completely absent. Unfortunately, the 'Tell me about yourself'
question was poorly administered by the research assistants.
For instance, when a child failed to answer often the research
assistants asked questions (though advised against doing so)
which may have led the children away from the main point of
interest.

A further point regarding Draw-A-Person is that it is not
as heavily dependent on drawing skills as it might seem. For
instance, in the present study, one of the children drew a
match stick figure with no obviously ethnic features
whatsoever (or any other type of features, for that matter).
However, on asking the child to identify an object drawn
beside the feet of the figure the child informed us that it
was a wrapper, i.e., traditional Yoruba female dress. This
example illustrates a further point that to some extent the
children should be involved in the interpretation of their
own drawings. If there are any objects or features that are
difficult for the investigator to identify, why not consult
the creator of those objects? After all, any parent knows that
an adult can be completely confused as to what the picture
that their child has brought home from school represents.
Asking the child a few discrete questions about his/her drawing may not only provide vital information but may also possibly be used occasionally to check whether the drawing is actually a self-portrait or not. In the pilot study reported above some of the children actually labelled their drawings with their name, others either declared that it was a drawing of themselves or acknowledged such when asked. One or two children denied that their drawing was a self-representation, though it would seem that, overall, the assumption behind the use of Draw-A-Person was correct.

In conclusion, the results of this pilot study suggested that the method of scoring Draw-A-Person should be modified and that improvements should be made in administering the 'Tell me about yourself' method. Such improvements may greatly increase the utility and it is hoped, the validity of both these measures.

A pilot study of the doll play method

Materials: Ten two-dimensional cut-out dolls were constructed, five of each sex. The dolls were designed with schematic faces so as to counteract problems of racial representativeness. Hair styles were similarly simple and racially unbiased. The only culturally biased feature noticeably present was the addition of earrings to the female dolls to facilitate recognition of sex. The dolls were of five skin colours ranging from 'white' (creamy beige) to 'black' (black mixed with dark brown). A noticeable problem was hair colour, especially as it affects the lighter skin colours.
It was decided to adopt a rule of colouring the hair a shade
darker than the skin colour. However, it was decided to depart
from this rule for the white dolls by colouring their hair
blond. This was done in order to make the white dolls obviously
white, more so as the next dolls in the colour scale were only
slightly darker in skin colour. All the dolls were dressed
identically in yellow vest and pants.

Subjects: Subjects were 20 boys and 16 girls aged
between 7 and 8 years. Subjects comprised an entire class in
the university Staff School.

Procedure: A similar procedure for introducing the
subjects to the experimenter was carried out as in the Draw-A-
Person pilot study. A Nigerian research assistant (female)
conducted the study. Subjects were tested in the classroom.
Testing was done individually though all were tested in the
presence of their classmates. However, peer influences were
minimised as the children were occupied with drawing and
writing tasks. The research assistant presented each child with
the dolls in random order and asked 'Which one looks most like
you?'. Responses were coded according to colour of doll ranging
from one for choice of a white doll through five for choice of
a black doll.

Results: As can be seen from Tables 3.7 and 3.8 the dis-
tribution of doll choices was more or less evenly spread. As all
the children tested were black children it was obvious that very
few children (22.2 per cent or 38.8 per cent if doll number 4
is included) identified themselves correctly. Furthermore, a
considerable number of children misidentified sex (45 per cent
of boys and 37.5 per cent of girls).
Table 3.7: Male and female doll choices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doll</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (white)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: Doll choices expressed as percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doll</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.50</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of factors may have caused these disappointing results. Firstly, the testing situation was far from ideal. It would have been better to test the children individually in private. However, the facilities of the school involved did not allow for this. Secondly, the large array of dolls (10 in all)
may have confused the children. It may be noted that dolls 3, 4 and 5 were less attractive than the other dolls due to unavailability of suitable materials at the time of construction. Furthermore the pilot study used a simple doll choice technique, asking only one question with no free play allowed. So, the investigator's understanding of what the children's responses meant and whether in fact they had understood the task would be severely limited. (See Postscript)
COMPARISON GROUPS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The main group of interest in this study is the black-white interracial family in Nigeria. Owing to the cultural diversity of Nigeria and to practical considerations such as time and distance, one specific cultural group was selected for study, namely the Yoruba of South Western Nigeria.

A large majority of black-white interracial marriages in Nigeria are between Nigerian men and European or American women. Although some white husband-black wife couples can be found, they are few in number. Furthermore, they tend to be temporary residents, most intending to eventually settle in the father's home country. Hence, it was decided to concentrate on the more permanent residents and those more readily available, the black husband-white wife couple. However, a small number of white husband-black wife couples were also interviewed in order to gain information on a different dimension of the Nigerian interracial couple. This information was treated strictly as additional information and was not incorporated into the main analysis.

The second comparison group was the well-educated, middle-class Yoruba family. The Yoruba group was selected as an appropriate comparison group in order to examine to what extent the interracial family differs from the equivalent native group.

A comment should be made on the social class of the subjects. In Britain, Bagley (1979) has found many different types of mixed marriages according to social class and ethnic
origins. Some of the types involving European partners are Indian husband and white wife, both usually working class, African husband and white wife, both usually middle class, and white husband and African wife - a marriage sometimes contracted in Africa when the husband was on business or government service. In Nigeria, most interracial families are well-educated, belonging to the middle class or 'elite' group. This is probably because many of the husbands met their wives while sojourning as students in the wife's home country. It is unusual for an European woman to marry into the low income group, firstly because she may not have had the opportunity (in Europe) to meet a Nigerian labourer, and secondly few European women could tolerate the conditions of life of a low paid Nigerian worker. (Hence, as will be seen later, a white wife is to some extent viewed by the low income groups as a sign of wealth). Bagley's findings (Bagley, 1979) discussed above would support this view.

A major determinant of the selection of the sample was the age of the child under study. Most of the research to date on the development of ethnic identity has concentrated on age as a primary variable (Brand, et al., 1974). Although developmental trends have been outlined, age of onset is not clearly defined. Further, although results have been obtained suggesting that children as young as three years of age are aware of race and ethnic differences (Porter, 1971), it would appear that ethnic awareness emerges at about age four years and 'finer discriminative and conceptual skills develop later' (Brand et al., 1974). Vaughan (1963) contended that children are able to
classify themselves correctly by age four, discriminate others' ethnicity by age six and conceptualise ethnic differences from ages seven to ten. As the present study was concerned with how family interactions affect ethnic identity it is obviously important that the child is more than vaguely aware of his own and other people's ethnicity. Hence the children studied should be around the age of seven years. The age range selected was between six and nine years of age.

An important consideration in studies of ethnic identification in children is the effects of the race or ethnicity of the experimenter. In order to examine the effects of the race or ethnicity of the experimenter half of the children in each comparison group was tested by a white European (the researcher) and the remaining half was tested by a Yoruba research assistant. Both examiners were women.

It was intended to supplement the quantitative data obtained from the study with qualitative information and possibly case study material. This decision was influenced by three factors: the sampling limitations, the largely exploratory nature of the study and by the choice of methodological framework, that is the study of ethnic identity development within the family unit.

The study of the family is complicated by the number of complex interactions which may take place. The idea that a family dyad (e.g., husband-wife, mother-child) cannot operate in isolation from other family influences is now becoming fully realised (e.g., Minuchin, 1974; Belsky, 1981; Kreppner et al., 1982). Students of child development within the complex family
interactions system may use sophisticated measurement techniques but invariably rely on some form of qualitative analysis in order to conduct useful comparisons. This often involves compartmentalising interactional behaviours into qualitative categories (e.g., Kreppner et al., 1982).

The dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative methods has been thoroughly discussed by Griffin (1981). Campbell (1978) and others tend to view qualitative methods as a supplement to quantitative methods or as being relevant only to pilot studies. However, Griffin (1981) considered qualitative techniques as being of utmost importance in analysis of culture, especially where the prime concern is with the individual's subjective experience.

In the present study such an extreme view was not followed. Rather, it was the opinion of the author that drawing a distinction between the two methods is unnecessary as they may complement each other. It was hoped to utilise both techniques of data analysis in order to overcome the limitations of each. Furthermore, it was hoped that the final linking together of material would achieve the depth and scope obtained by Benson (1981) and Oppong (1981) in their studies of modern families.

Having considered the methodological framework, pilot studies and research design, we may now examine the social and cultural context of this study.
1. \[ r_s = \frac{\sum x^2 + \sum y^2 - \sum d^2}{2\sqrt{\sum x^2 \sum y^2}} \]

where
\[ \sum x^2 = \frac{N^3 - N}{12} - \sum T_x \]
\[ \sum y^2 = \frac{N^3 - N}{12} - \sum T_y \]
\[ T = \frac{t^3 - t}{12} \]

\( t \) = the number of observations tied at a given rank. (Siegal, 1956, p.207).
CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE YORUBA
The aim of this chapter was to place the study in its social and cultural context. Firstly, it presents an overview of Yoruba child rearing practices in order to comprehend the cultural background in which the children studied were reared. In addition to available published literature, original research are presented. Secondly, it presents a study of Nigerian attitudes towards white people generally and towards interracial marriage in particular.

The Yoruba of Nigeria

The Yorubas, like many other African societies, are not really a single homogeneous ethnic group. According to Gibbs (1965), they are a series of diverse people bound together by common language, dress, symbolism in chieftancy and rituals. Generally, the Yorubas of South Western Nigeria are made up of at least six groups - the Egbas, Ijebus, Ekitis, Onô and Oyo. According to Fadipe (1970), all the above groups are united by a common language, by a claim to a common place of origin (Ile-Ife) and a common ancestor (Oduduwa). Each group differs from the rest in dialect and, to some extent, culture. However Fadipe suggested that the differences in terms of culture are more a question of detail than of type.

In the following discussion of the Yoruba culture, no differentiation is made between any of the subgroups, rather, points of similarity are discussed. Fadipe's research was actually conducted in the 1930s though published in 1970. Communication systems have greatly increased in Nigeria since the time of Fadipe's study. Also, considerable numbers of rural
Yorubas from all parts of Yorubaland have migrated to the large urban areas. So, differences between subgroups may be becoming eroded. Furthermore, in the 'elite' group, the group most pertinent to the present research study, there is a fairly high proportion of couples marrying partners from different home areas (Eades, 1980). So, henceforth the term 'Yoruba' is used to denote all the major subgroups taken as a whole.

Before discussing child rearing practices among the Yoruba elite (members of the educated professional classes), it may be useful to consider traditional child rearing practices.

Traditional Yoruba Childhood

The following discussion of traditional Yoruba child rearing practices is based on Fadipe's (1970) classic account of the Yoruba way of life.

Family life and the raising of children is very important to the Yoruba. For a man or woman who has reached the age of marriage (commonly 30 for a man and 25 for a woman) to remain single is against Yoruba mores. However, 'family' to a Yoruba means more than the nuclear family. Family ties are the most important bond that exists in Yorubaland and one's family may be extremely large. The family includes blood relatives on both the maternal and paternal lines, relatives by marriage (extending to the most distant relatives of the man or woman to whom one is married) and people who are not related but who one includes in one's family by choice (Fadipe, 1970). Considering instances of polygamy where there may be 20 or more siblings it...
can be seen that a Yoruba's relatives may be very numerous.

The larger family as defined above (henceforth referred to as the extended family) play a very important role in the life of the individual. This role begins in childhood and continues into adulthood. The extended family are as equally interested in the marriage and subsequent offspring of a man and woman as are the marital partners themselves (Fadipe, 1970). They may be involved in settling disputes between marital partners and are certainly involved in the upbringing of any children.

The traditional Yoruba home is the extended family compound. The nuclear family lives in the man's extended family compound along with his numerous relatives. The compound consists of a collection of apartments for individual families—two or more rooms for each family. These apartments are arranged as a square, facing inwards, with a quadrangle in the centre so that all the apartments open onto the quadrangle. All the apartments are connected by a verandah. It is on this verandah that everyone eats, drinks and talks in full view of everyone else. This makes exclusive family life in the Western sense impossible. The Yoruba is constantly in company. Fadipe (1970) argues that the Yoruba prefers to be in company rather than being alone and suggests that he/she derives a great deal of strength from the company of other people. This feeling of solidarity is strongly developed among members of the compound and a large amount of mutual help goes on. Members of the compound sympathise with each other when in trouble and visit each other frequently when sick. Failure to do so may lead to an accusation of ill-feeling against somebody or even an
accusation of witchcraft (Fadipe, 1970).

Members of the compound other than a child's immediate parents play a large part in his/her upbringing and education. From birth the child is attended to by people other than his or her parents (in addition to the parents). The maternal grandmother leaves her own compound to live with her daughter and son-in-law for a period of up to six weeks in order to help her daughter to look after the new baby. Her arrival is looked upon as a matter of course and is not resented by the new father. It is primarily the duty of the mother to train the child though any adult member of the compound is expected to take his/her part should the need arise. This may mean teaching or correcting (even to the stage of thrashing) any child of the compound. If the child misbehaves while under the supervision of the mother (or anyone else for that matter) and the mother does not correct the child, any adult member of the compound present may admonish the mother for not correcting her child. The child's elder brothers and sisters are also responsible for his/her care. A child of six years and upwards is considered old enough to manage a toddler. (This is also the age at which a child takes on light household duties and begins to be apprenticed to a parent in order to learn a trade or occupation). A woman is not expected to be exclusively a housekeeper, she also follows a trade and in this way is to a large extent economically independent of her husband. Thus, the child cannot be continuously under the supervision of his/her parents. So various members of the extended family take a hand in his/her education at one time or another. It is chiefly
within the extended family that a child obtains the bulk of his/her education. This education may be direct - by training and correction, or it may be indirect - by observing what happens to others when they comply with or go against the expectations of the society. It may also be an unconscious absorption of cultural standards gathered from numerous proverbs and folk tales.

One of the most important lessons a Yoruba child must learn is to be deferential to seniors. A younger child is expected to obey the orders of his/her elders as soon as he/she is past infant stage. Six years of seniority is considered an elder (Fadipe, 1970). So a young child is expected to obey older siblings and older siblings are expected to punish younger ones for transgressions. To a Yoruba it is considered rude to look into the face of an elder when talking to him or her, instead the eyes must be averted. In addition, the male is expected to prostrate before his senior and the female is expected to kneel down. The class of people offered the most respect by the community are the aged. An old man will always have the last word in an argument and his opinion is always listened to with respect. Whether he is rich or poor he should never be offended. The next class of people to be respected are one's parents and anybody who is old enough to be one's parent. An elder is always right and there are very few opportunities for a younger person to challenge him (Fadipe, 1970). With practically no exception, younger people must be kept in their place. This rule extends to questioning an elder about many of the things of which a young child is curious. In European and
North American societies it is considered healthy for a child to pester his parents with questions. In Yorubaland, such natural curiosity is not encouraged. It is regarded as forwardness and is frowned upon.

Another important aspect of the Yoruba code of conduct to be learned by the child is the use of greetings. There is a salutation for every conceivable occasion and for every time of the day. If you meet an acquaintance you must greet him even if you have already greeted him that day. If he needs assistance, it should be offered. If he is sick, he must be visited. It is considered a duty to offer condolences to anyone who is bereaved, injured, ill, etc.

Hospitality is part of the code of good behaviour. It is the rule to invite any visitor to eat if he comes at mealtimes whether additional food can be prepared or not. Any visitor who arrives from beyond the immediate neighbourhood has special food prepared for him. Such a visitor is welcome to stay for as long as he wishes without being made to feel he is inconveniencing his host.

The notions of solidarity, peace and cooperation are highly valued. At almost the first sign of a serious disagreement, other people are expected to try to settle the argument and separate the combattants if necessary. This rule also extends to what Westerners would consider private family disputes, such as quarrels between husband and wife. Likewise an observer may intervene to save a child from punishment. The wives of a compound frequently intervene in such cases by pleading for the child. In addition, a child may either escape
punishment or receive condolences afterwards by fleeing to his/her grandmother. Grandmothers are notorious for spoiling children including feeding a child who has been deprived of his supper as a punishment. Keeping the peace also involves suppressing anger, an emotion which is given very little overt expression. When a Youruba is angry he/she often uses the language of diplomacy or uses proverbs or idioms to convey his/her message.

Solidarity and cooperation are ensured by the emphasis on kinship and seniority. In addition, various aspects of interpersonal relationships serve as safeguards. As has been mentioned above, a large amount of mutual help and sympathy goes on. Members of the same compound freely lend and borrow goods from each other. They also offer free services to each other. Neglecting or misusing someone's borrowed property is an offense. So is failing to look after someone's property when they are not around. It is not so much an act of good neighbourliness to save someone's dry washing from the rain as an act of duty. Giving and receiving sympathy is very important. A person who neglects to offer sympathy may be suspected of bearing a grudge. A person who does not complain but keeps his mental or physical suffering to himself so that others may not express their sympathy for him is regarded as churlish and to be feared (Fadipe, 1970).

According to Lloyd (1968) age is much more important than sex in determining roles and taboos. However, a strict sexual division of labour exists. It is considered the duty of the woman to do all the work connected with the household other
than carrying out repairs to the walls and roof. Repairs are the domain of the man. Although women usually have their own income, it is the duty of the husband to provide food and shelter for his wife. There is no rule requiring persons of opposite sex to avoid each other's company, though children from a very early age tend to keep apart in play according to their sex.

Little published information is available on the kinds of rewards given to children though punishment is often severe (Fadipe, 1970). The most usual form of punishment is beating. A serious offence such as theft is punished by beating and a severe warning against recurrence. A recurrence of the offense may sometimes be punished by beating and the rubbing of pepper into the weals left by the beating.

Although a child is expected to begin work at an early age (six years) there is still the opportunity for play. Choice of playmates is great as the child is expected to mix freely with other children of the village. Also his/her movements are not as restricted as those of the European child. The Yoruba child is allowed to wander freely anywhere within the compound. However, he/she is more likely to be called upon by a senior to run an errand or perform some other task.

The advent of British colonial rule brought many changes to the Yoruba way of life. Those who have been most affected are the highest economic group and those possessing a higher education. One effect of Western culture on these groups is the decrease in importance of the extended family. The rich and the educated tend to live in their own individual family house.
outside the compound of the extended family, often miles away from home. This practice has been precipitated by the necessity of working away from home. However, such a person is not completely isolated as he often has his parents or brothers and sisters living with him and maintains good contact with the extended family. In this way he is still influenced by the extended family though to a lesser extent.

Arguably a greater effect of Western culture on the Yoruba way of life is the practice of school-going. It has affected Yorubas in all walks of life, whether rich or poor, traditional or not. It has made the custom of children being under the continuous supervision and apprenticeship of their parents from the age of six to the age of marriage no longer possible.

Children of the Yoruba elite

The home and family life of the children of the educated elite is markedly different from that of their contemporaries from illiterate or traditional homes. Differences are obvious in the type of environment, social life, caretakers and parental attitudes. To what extent differences exist in other aspects of the Yoruba way of life such as kinship ties, the rules of seniority etc., has not yet been ascertained.

Barbara Lloyd (1966) compared the Yoruba home life in a well-educated professional group (elite) with that of a traditional group. The elite nuclear family is typically isolated to a large extent from relatives. Not only is the family isolated in a social sense but it is also physically isolated. Many elite homes are well spaced and usually
surrounded by a large garden. Parents often restrict their children's movements to their own garden and those of the adjoining houses as a road safety precaution. Roads are dangerous to young pedestrians as there are no pavements and drivers are not always cautious. Children living in more densely settled areas may also be isolated. Parents try to see that their children play only with other children from 'good homes' and to ensure this some children may be restricted to their family flat and verandah. However, families are usually quite large with four or five children and often children from the extended family live with the elite family in order to be educated. So the child of the elite nuclear family, whilst being comparatively isolated, is by no means lonely. In contrast the child from a traditional home has many playmates and is less isolated. Parents are not expected to choose a child's playmates. A parent who does so would be considered rude and unsociable. The child of the compound is seldom alone. A child who actively seeks solitude may be considered odd or in contact with spirits. The elite child, however, is often encouraged to play by him/herself. According to Lloyd, elite mothers believe solitary play gives a child time to think and to learn writing, drawing or painting. Though of course it may also be to teach them not to fret when no playmates are available.

Another feature of the elite family is its mobility. Housing and occupation are usually linked, in many cases a change of job means a change of house or even a change of town. Likewise housing may be affected by promotion. Change of
house or town may be frequent in a young family when the man is attempting to establish himself in his profession. So children may move about frequently in their early years, in addition it is common for children to be born abroad while parents are furthering their education at foreign universities. Once the child begins school, however, parents try to ensure that their schooling is not interrupted. This may mean the children living with only one parent while the other is working away or it may mean the children living with relatives near their school or alternatively it may mean boarding school. In contrast, children from traditional homes rarely leave the place of their birth though some of them attend boarding school. Children of elite parents travel more than their contemporaries. The family car affords outings, shopping expeditions, visits to friends and visits to the home town. This helps to reduce the isolation of the nuclear family.

A notable difference between elite and traditional families is in the number and type of caretakers. Full-time housewives are rare amongst both elite and traditional families. However, illiterate or semi-educated women usually trade or carry out some other occupation which enables them to set their own hours of work and usually they are able to carry small children with them. As has been mentioned above, relatives are able to keep watch over the children should the mother be otherwise occupied. The majority of elite wives are trained in various professions including nursing and teaching which have very demanding hours and afford no opportunity for
tending children while working. In addition, these women live in modern employer-provided houses isolated from relatives. Thus, the educated Yoruba mother needs to employ a caretaker for the children or to use a nursery school or some other day care centre. However, this does not mean that family members are totally unavailable as caretakers. Extended family members, parents, siblings or friends live with the nuclear family for long or short periods far more frequently than is common in Europe or North America. Di Domenico and Asuni (1976) found that among women working in the modern sector 32 per cent (of 343 respondents) relied on their own or their husband's mother to look after their children while they are at work. Whether the child's grandmother lives with the family or within a reasonable distance was not ascertained. A further 13 per cent relied on other relatives and 10 per cent relied on a neighbour. Forty one per cent of respondents employed a housemaid or babynurse to care for pre-school children. However, Di Domenico and Asuni's study may have included lower-grade government officials such as clerks and typists ignored in Lloyd's study.

Lloyd (1966) reported a difference in the atmosphere of the home in that the elite have a more relaxed family life than the illiterates. She suggested that children of educated parents are more at ease with their fathers. The educated father was reported to seek a warm, friendly relationship with his children; he plays with them and reads to them and is not unknown to look after them if it is necessary. Discipline is less harsh though children still receive spankings and
beatings. Like their traditional contemporaries, elite children are expected to be obedient and to run errands and perform household chores. However, parents are more inclined to consider what the children are doing at the time they are summoned, and if the task can be delayed they may be allowed to complete what they are doing. Parents in the educated group take an active interest in their children's education, helping them with homework and even arranging for extra tuition. Parents often teach their children to count and to recite the alphabet before beginning school. Traditional families are usually unable to help their children with school work though help may be available from older children of the compound. Elite parents are also able to provide toys, many of which may be educational in nature. Outings to zoos, museums, etc. are also encouraged. In contrast to traditional practice, educated parents take care to answer their children's questions and to encourage their natural curiosity.

A Contemporary Study of the Yoruba Elite

The above studies give a clear account of some of the modifications the elite have made to the traditional Yoruba lifestyle. However, other aspects, some possibly more superficial, have largely been ignored. Little account has been made of important aspects of Yoruba life such as the rules of seniority. Likewise more superficial aspects have been neglected - problems such as whether folktales and proverbs are told to elite children, whether mothers carry infants on their backs as is the traditional custom, whether children are taught
to eat particular foods with their hands, the type of dress
normally worn, the language spoken in the home, and so on.
Further information was obtained by the researcher on some of
these problems informally from thirty students and from
structured interviews with six couples who were parents of
young children.

Thirty Yoruba students of education and psychology, aged
between 18 and 30 years were asked to relate memories of their
childhood, particularly memories of their parents. In addition
they were asked if they felt that children of today have
different experiences to their own and whether there is any-
thing they would like to see changed in the way children are
brought up. Twenty-two of the respondents were classified as
coming from elite homes according to their parents' professions
and eight were classified as coming from traditional homes.
The middle group of petty officials and small businessmen was
ignored. The major findings are summarised in Table 4.1.

As would be expected, more elite families made use of
nursery schools and nursemaids. The two traditional families who
had paid help to look after the children were involved in
trading which, while being a traditional occupation, may be
quite lucrative. No difference was found in the number of
children attending boarding school from both types of home.
Using the Fisher Exact Probability test, it was found that a
greater proportion of elite mothers were described as
housewives than traditional mothers (p<.01.) No difference
was found between the two groups in the use of extended family
caretakers, though the responses from the traditional group
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 4.1 Summary of family characteristics for elite and traditional students.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Monogamous family</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygynous family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father/Mother absent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Both parents present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raised by other relatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raised in parental home</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother housewife</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother worked outside the home</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extended family caretakers present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No extended family caretakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended nursery school/employed nanny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No nursery school/nanny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended boarding school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not attend boarding school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family moved house</td>
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<td>Family remains in same town</td>
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NB. No response was obtained from some respondents on a number of items.
were very few. From the results, it can be seen that almost half of the students from elite families were cared for by relatives, this finding is in support of Di Domenico and Asuni's (1976) results.

A significantly greater proportion of elite families than traditional families were found to be monogamous (p<.01). Although a greater proportion of elite families (32 per cent compared with 12 per cent) moved during the students' childhood, some moving two or three times, the difference was found to be non significant. Similarly, students from elite families were more often raised by only one parent for at least a number of years than were students from traditional homes (50 per cent compared with 25 per cent) but the result was found to be non significant. Reasons given for father or mother's absence were death and divorce, employment and further studies. Although numbers are few, a higher rate of divorce and separation was reported by the elite students. One particular practice among the Yorubas which is rare in Europe and North America is that of sending children to extended relatives to be raised outside the family home. Common reasons for this are to further the child's education, to instill discipline or because of poverty. One would therefore expect the practice to be more common among the lower income traditional families. In fact this was not found to be the case. Almost half the elite children were raised by other relatives, in some cases for only short periods and in other cases for a number of years. Often the child would be passed around a number of relatives. Common reasons for this practice among the elite were because of the
absence of one parent through divorce or death and absence of one or both parents for further studies or employment reasons. Usually it was felt that the child's schooling should not be interrupted though in the case of further studies abroad it is more likely that the children would be a disturbing influence either economically or otherwise.

Spontaneous reports of parental rewards during childhood were rare and limited to the elite group. The type of rewards mentioned were praise, sweets and biscuits. Spontaneous comments on punishments, however, were much more frequent - either in the form of descriptions of punishments given or surprise at their absence. Among the elite, spanking, beating and scolding were common and carried out by both parents. One or two students reported that their father's felt unable to beat their children and so any discipline had to be carried out by the mother. Lloyd (1966) reported similar findings. Reasoning was also used as were deprivations such as preventing the child from playing or withholding presents. Generally, it would appear that the type of punishment given was dependent on the age of the offender. Children under six years were never spanked by their parents, but children over six years may be beaten. This would reflect the traditional belief that a child of six years is responsible. Reasoning was used more often on teenage children. The most common offence reported was stubbornness. Among the traditional families, depriving a child of food was a common punishment. Reasoning was used by one mother and beating by another. One student had a particularly harsh father who beat his children while they lay in their beds if they did not rise
in time for morning prayers. Common offences were disobedience and truancy from school.

Few elite students remembered being told folktales and proverbs whilst over half the students from traditional homes not only remembered being told but also related the stories in detail. Toys and games among the elite included board games, dolls, bicycles, pedal cars and books. However, favourite games were less sophisticated — playing with sand, making mud pies, pillow fighting and boxing. Among the traditional families toys were catapults, wooden dolls and a bicycle. Favourite games were similar to those of the elite with the addition of swimming, fishing, turning a tree trunk into an imaginary car and catapulting lizards. Among the elite, mothers were generally responsible for sex education and for training girls in housekeeping and 'how to be like a girl'. Discipline was more often enforced by mothers than fathers by their insistence on obedience. Both parents helped their children with schoolwork and both took an interest in the child's school life, though in most cases it was the father's duty to supervise homework. Other responsibilities of the father were listening to problems, giving advice, sympathising, playing, teaching to paint, draw and play the piano, taking the children to and collecting them from school. Responses among the traditional group were fewer in number though it would seem that mothers were responsible for general care and fathers for finance and schooling. Also fathers took on the responsibility of visiting any of their children who were away from home, either at boarding school or in the home of a
relative. (It is interesting to note that no student from a traditional home complained of not being visited whilst living away from home whilst a number of students from elite homes did so.) From the above findings one would be led to agree with Lloyd's (1966) conclusion that modern children are more at ease with their fathers than had been the case in the past.

One possible difference between a Yoruba child's upbringing and that of an European is in the allocation of household duties. From the age of six upwards a Yoruba child undertakes certain household duties ranging from sweeping the floor or washing plates to running errands and going to market. The difficulty of the task depends on the age of the child. Although it is common in countries like Britain for children to perform household tasks and run errands, the task more often than not depends on what needs to be done at the time and may differ from day to day. A Yoruba child, however, has certain responsibilities in the household that may make him or her (as one respondent suggested) feel an integral part of the household. He or she is an important member in that the family depend on him/her for some particular aspect of the smooth running of the household. Both elite and traditional children were found to have similar household duties as listed above. The only difference between the two groups was that children from traditional families were expected to help on the farm.

An obvious difference between Nigerians and Britons in general is in the popularity of religion. Religion in Nigeria is very popular, the majority of the population belong to one religious sect or another. From personal observation little
difference can be seen between elite families and traditional families in frequency of church going and extent of worship. Though it would be expected that more traditional than elite families follow the traditional Yoruba religion, superstition was not limited to the traditional group. One elite family respondent reported that her mother discouraged her from asking questions for fear that she may be a witch.

Membership of clubs and societies was found to be as common among traditional children as among the elite. Clubs for the elite included the Brownies, Girl Guides and a junior debating and literary society. Membership among the traditional group was in the Boys Brigade and the school band. Family outings were more frequent among the elite - shopping, visiting parents' friends, trips to Lagos and to the beach, visits to the zoo, concerts and the cinema, horse riding, hunting and fishing, trips to snack-bars and parents clubs and drives into the countryside. The greater number of outings arranged by the elite families was no doubt due to the ownership of a family car. Although family outings were comparatively rare among traditional families, one father tried to treat his children by sending them to a relative for a holiday.

A final comparison concerning the students' responses is regarding the practice of infants and small children being carried on their mothers' backs. Yoruba infants generally spend a large amount of time swaddled to their mothers' backs. In this way the child is in constant physical contact with the mother while at the same time the mother is free to carry on her household and occupational duties without neglecting the
child. Most infants of traditional families are carried in this way for a greater or lesser part of the day. Prams and pushchairs are unheard of amongst these people, in fact the traditional method of transporting a child is more convenient and less hazardous considering the lack of pavements. In contrast few elite mothers followed this practice and those who did probably only did so for a short period of time. None of the students from elite homes reported that their mother carried either themselves or their siblings in this manner. However, one was carried by his grandmother and another was carried by older sisters. In contrast the practice was much more common among traditional families. One girl remembered following her mother to market, her mother carrying her small brother on her back and the girl herself carrying a wooden doll on her back. Another student remembered substituting a shoe as a pretend baby.

A second source of information regarding child rearing practices among the Yoruba elite is a number of structured interviews with parents of young children. Respondents were members of the elite class and were selected in order to represent as many professions as possible. In all cases both parents were engaged in full-time paid employment. Six interviews were carried out. Questions were designed to cover the following aspects of child rearing: language spoken in the home, type of dress normally worn, caretakers other than the child's parents, types of rewards and punishments, mother's childcare responsibilities, father's childcare responsibilities, and training in indigenous traditions. The largest family size
was three, the average being two children. Father's professions were pharmacist, medical practitioner, agronomist, manager and two lecturers. Mother's professions were medical practitioner, lecturer, teacher, nursing sister, bank official and secretary. In three cases one or both parents had lived abroad (Europe) for more than a year. None of the parents reported speaking only Yoruba at home, all spoke a mixture of English and Yoruba; three of the families spoke equal amounts of Yoruba and English and the remainder spoke mostly Yoruba. However, when asked which language they speak to the children, all reported speaking equal amounts of English and Yoruba to their children. Regarding type of dress normally worn, half of the parents said that they wear European dress most of the time and the remainder said that they wear European and Yoruba dress about equally. All reported that their children wear mostly European dress (school uniform excepted).

Regarding caretakers, five of the six families had relatives around to help look after the children, in addition, half used a nursery school or nursemaid. So the use of paid child caretakers does not necessarily mean that there are no family members around to help. All reported the practice of carrying infants on the back, though in many cases it may be done by the relatives or nursemaids more often than by the mother. Rewards included giving biscuits or sweets, praise, using the family praise name, buying presents, outings to the zoo or amusement park. Rewards were given for doing well in school, 'behaving herself', running errands, for being good, using initiative, and being helpful. Punishments included
smacking, scolding, sending to bed and refusing to talk to them. Such punishments were administered for offences such as rudeness, 'inexcusable carelessness', telling lies, being naughty, beating younger siblings, using abusive words, being rude to their elders, and poor toilet control. None of the parents said that they consciously punish or reward boys differently to girls. Four of the couples said that they approve of other people correcting or punishing their children, one disapproved and one qualified their answer by stating that it depends on who is doing the correcting and on the severity of the offence. Mothers' childcare responsibilities included the following: feeding and clothing, bathing, putting to bed; teaching good manners, health education, ensuring their health, teaching them to respect elders and to love them. Fathers' childcare responsibilities included transporting the children to and from school, paying school fees, giving pocket money, financing the family, looking after their health, taking them on outings, discipline, taking care of them, and playing with them. In addition to the above information, fathers were probed about their participation in bathing, feeding and dressing the children, putting the children to bed and playing with the children. All fathers bathed and dressed their children some or most of the time, four would feed their children, three put the children to bed and five played with their children.

Regarding specific indigenous traditions, only two families related folk tales, two related Bible stories and two related European fairy stories and non-European children's stories from
children's books. All parents agreed that their children had particular duties in the home or would have when they were older. Duties were similar to those reported in the students' reports. Only one of the couples insisted that their children kneel down or prostrate to visitors though no doubt they must do so for relatives. Only one of the couples said that they expect their children to leave the room when visitors are present. None of the couples approved of children being raised by relatives away from their parental home. Finally, four of the couples maintained that they raise their children according to Yoruba tradition, one qualified their reply by stating that they raise their children according to 80 per cent Yoruba tradition and one was obviously unsure.

So, based on the above review, it is suggested that the lifestyle of the Yoruba elite is markedly different from the traditional Yoruba lifestyle as regards occupation, working conditions, home environment, and atmosphere of the home. However, it is further suggested that the elite retain some of the fundamentals of the Yoruba philosophy of life. These include strong kinship ties and a great respect for elders. Although the elite speak their native tongue less frequently than their contemporaries and wear their native dress less often and no longer live under the compound system, they retain many customs in an attempt to integrate the effects of a Western-type education with the tradition of their forefathers.
Having examined the cultural context of the study it is now important to underline the social background of the subjects, with particular reference to the interracial children. The following study examined attitudes of the elite and general Yoruba community towards white people as compared to other Nigerians and other Africans. Specific aspects such as close relationships with white people and interracial marriage were examined in detail.

**Attitudes towards white people and interracial marriage in the elite and general Yoruba communities**

Attitudes of the general British society towards interracial marriages have been thoroughly discussed by Benson (1981) and Wilson (1981a, 1981b) among others. Benson (1981) presented some of the problems and prejudices faced by interracial couples in Britain today.

Many interracial couples face similar problems in Nigeria though to a lesser extent. Families are often hostile towards the foreign spouse, refusing to accept the marriage. Though, usually, any hostility dissipates after the birth of the first child. Benson (1981) presented evidence of negative attitudes towards foreign spouses in Nigeria. These attitudes usually fell into two categories: (a) that the white women who marry black men are bad women (after all, why didn't they marry whites?); and, more frequently, (b) that the manners of white wives are bad, they are frequently rude to their relatives, especially their mothers-in-law.

In addition, a commonly held belief is that the foreigner
will be unable to adapt to the Yoruba lifestyle and will, one day, unexpectedly go home to her country. Furthermore, it is believed that when a difficult period is encountered in the marriage (or if the husband should die early) the foreign wife will 'run away' with the children. In fact, this latter belief may have some basis in reality. According to Nigerian custom the husband is responsible for the maintenance of the children, especially when they reach school age. In the case of a separation, divorce or any other rupture the husband usually takes custody of the children which is against the usual practice in Western societies. As the foreign spouse's right to residence is usually, though not necessarily, terminated on divorce (unless she applies for Nigerian citizenship), it is not unusual for foreign wives to 'kidnap' their own children and disappear without trace.

However, attitudes are more often positive than negative. At least among the general community and especially the older generation, certain colonial era attitudes are still upheld. In particular, some uneducated and older people hold the belief that white people are to be emulated. Also, a common belief is that white people are rich. Consequently, to be allied to white people may sometimes be seen as a sign of status, of associating with money.

But, more important, Nigerians are not insular. They are generally very open to non-Nigerian cultures and are usually very welcoming to foreigners, providing much more hospitality for foreigners than is afforded them when they travel to the West. To the average Nigerian, inter-ethnic differences are
of more concern than international differences. Consequently, attitudes towards non-Nigerians are often more favourable than attitudes towards fellow Nigerians from a different ethnic group.

In order to provide an introduction to the social context in which Nigerian interracial couples operate, data was collected from adolescents in rural and university communities on their attitudes towards different ethnic and national groups, and specifically towards inter-ethnic and international marriage.

Adolescents were chosen as subjects in this particular study for three main reasons. Firstly, secondary school students are fairly readily available as subjects, much more so than adults. Secondly, many of the fourth and fifth from secondary school students (especially in the rural areas) are in the late teens and early twenties, so they are reaching an age where marriage may be an important consideration. Thirdly, in the case of the university school, students may be in close contact with foreign nationals and interracial individuals, either as teachers or as schoolmates.

Subjects: Secondary school students from two secondary schools in and around Ile-Ife, Oyo State, were tested. Seventy students were obtained from a school within the University campus and 112 students were obtained from a large secondary school serving a rural community approximately 20 kilometres outside Ile-Ife (on the main Ife to Ondo road). The average age of the subjects was 17 years though some of the students were considerably older.
The attitude scale: It was decided to use a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale to measure attitudes as this method has been used previously on Nigerian subjects (Ogunlade, 1972, 1980). Nine degrees of social acceptance were used (see appendix). These were: exclude from your country, visitor to your town, citizen of your town, employee in your business, neighbour in your street, visitor to your house, close personal friend, related by marriage, would marry this person. The scale was administered in English. However, the wording of the scale was simplified and the instructions were devised to be readily understood by rural children. This necessitated close consultation with a former secondary school teacher who suggested using 'Nigerian English' for the ambiguous response (example 2 of the instructions).

The scale was reduced to 3 points, 1 indicating complete acceptance, 3 indicating complete rejection and 2 indicating ambiguity. It was decided to use only three points as experience has shown that Western scaling methods of testing are not easily understood without extensive prior exposure. Thus, the maximum possible score was 27 and the minimum was 9.

Attitude objects were as follows: Yoruba, Ibo (Eastern Nigeria), Ghanian (West Africa) and Oyinbo (literally translated, means European though commonly used to mean white people generally). These four attitude objects were chosen to reflect different levels of similarity to the subjects. For instance, Ibos are Nigerians but not Yoruba, Ghanians are Africans but not Nigerians, and Oyinbos are obviously at the farthest end of the scale as non-Africans and non-blacks. Of
greatest interest in this study are the Yoruba and Oyinbo results, however, the Ibo and Ghanian results may also be useful for comparison purposes. (See Postscript)

Administration: The principals of both schools were contacted prior to test administration in order to ascertain the number of Yoruba students in the school and the age range of the students (as well as to gain permission to use the school).

In the rural school all students in the selected classes were Yorubas. In the university school a number of students were not Yorubas. Consequently in the university school, students were asked to indicate their area of origin and this information was checked by the Vice Principal at the time of administration. After test administration the scales completed by non-Yoruba students were discarded.

The average age in the rural school was found to be higher than that in the university school. So, to counteract any problems arising from discrepancies in age, Form 4 was used in the rural school and Form 5 in the university school. All subjects in school on the day of the study were tested.

The test was administered by a Yoruba research assistant who explained the instructions in the Yoruba language for any student who was unclear about how to proceed. Attempts were made to ensure that subjects did not collaborate with each other.

Care was taken to ensure that the subjects were unaware of the ethnic origin of the investigator (oyinbo).
Results:

Table 4.2 Mean Social Distance Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTITUDE OBJECT</th>
<th>UNIVERSITY SCHOOL</th>
<th>RURAL SCHOOL</th>
<th>BOTH SCHOOLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOYS (n=39)</td>
<td>GIRLS (n=31)</td>
<td>TOTAL (n=70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>13.56</td>
<td>11.88</td>
<td>12.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanian</td>
<td>20.74</td>
<td>22.77</td>
<td>21.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean social distance scores were calculated for each attitude object. From the results of Table 4.2, the most preferred group was Yoruba closely followed by Oyinbo. For the university boys and girls and the rural boys the next preferred group was the Ibo and the least preferred was Ghanian. However for the rural girls, Ghanians were preferred slightly to Ibos. So, the order of preference for the two schools (boys and girls combined) was slightly different. The university school's order of preference was Yoruba, Oyinbo, Ibo, Ghanian whereas for the rural school the order was Yoruba, Oyinbo, Ghanian, Ibo. However, when the results of the two schools were combined, little difference was perceived between Ghanian and Ibo.

The related t-test was used to compare results from Table 4.2. Comparisons were made between attitude objects for the university school, the rural school and for both schools combined (see Table 4.3).
Table 4.3 Comparisons between attitude objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPARISON</th>
<th>UNIVERSITY SCHOOL (d.f. = 69)</th>
<th>RURAL SCHOOL (d.f. = 111)</th>
<th>BOTH SCHOOLS COMBINED (d.f. = 180)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YORUBA &amp; OYINBO</td>
<td>( t = 3.44 ) ( p &lt; .01 )</td>
<td>( t = 4.49 ) ( p &lt; .001 )</td>
<td>( t = 5.67 ) ( p &lt; .001 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYINBO &amp; IBO</td>
<td>( t = 6.13 ) ( p &lt; .001 )</td>
<td>( t = 11.784 ) ( p &lt; .001 )</td>
<td>( t = 13.12 ) ( p &lt; .001 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBO &amp; GHANIAN</td>
<td>( t = 2.99 ) ( p &lt; .01 )</td>
<td>( t' = 1.54 ) ( p &gt; .05 )</td>
<td>( t = 0.53 ) ( p &gt; .05 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYINBO &amp; GHANIAN</td>
<td>( t = 8.83 ) ( p &lt; .001 )</td>
<td>( t = 10.99 ) ( p &lt; .001 )</td>
<td>( t = 14.22 ) ( p &lt; .001 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, significant differences were observed between attitudes towards Yorubas and Oyinbos and between Oyinbos and Ibos, however the difference between Ibos and Ghanians was generally non significant.

In addition, the university school and the rural school were compared using the independent t-test \( t \)-test (for unequal groups) on their responses towards Oyinbos. No significant difference between the two groups was observed \( (t = 0.04, p > .05) \).

In order to examine attitudes towards close personal contact with different ethnic groups, responses to the last four degrees of acceptance (visitor to your house, close personal friend, related by marriage, would marry) were
analysed. Percentages of social acceptance scores (scale point 1) were calculated. Note that any scale point can be repeated for each attitude object therefore the figures in the table columns (Tables 4.4 and 4.5) do not total 100.

Table 4.4 Percentage of social acceptance responses for university school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTITUDE VISITOR TO</th>
<th>CLOSE PERSONAL RELATED BY WOULD MARRY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OBJECT</td>
<td>YOUR HOUSE FRIEND MARRIAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOYS GIRLS BOYS GIRLS BOYS GIRLS BOYS GIRLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YORUBA</td>
<td>58.9 64.5 65.7 64.5 51.2 58.0 58.9 61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBO</td>
<td>15.3 19.3 25.6 9.6 12.8 9.6 17.9 3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHANIAN</td>
<td>12.8 3.2 7.6 3.2 10.2 3.2 12.8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYINBO</td>
<td>51.2 58.0 56.4 54.8 33.3 22.5 41.0 16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the university sample the same order of preference was maintained for each of the four degrees of acceptance. The order of preference was as follows, Yoruba, Oyinbo, Ibo, Ghanian. There were no sex differences in this ordering though there were occasional sex differences in amount (i.e. intensity of preferences).

In the rural school preferences were as follows, Yoruba, Oyinbo, Ghanian, Ibo. This sequence was maintained almost throughout the four degrees of acceptance. The only deviation was a slight sex difference for the 'would marry' scale, with
girls maintaining the usual trend and boys preferring Ibos to Ghanians.

Table 4.5 Percentages of social acceptance responses for rural school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTITUDE VISITOR TO CLOSE PERSONAL RELATED BY WOULD MARRY</th>
<th>OBJECT YOUR HOUSE FRIEND MARRIAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOYS GIRLS BOYS GIRLS BOYS GIRLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YORUBA</td>
<td>89.2  85.7  72.3  89.7  87.6  93.8  86.1  87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBO</td>
<td>27.6  32.6  21.5  12.2  7.6   8.1   10.7  10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHANIAN</td>
<td>33.8  20.4  35.3  26.5  6.1   14.2  3.0   18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYINBO</td>
<td>79.6  63.2  62.5  69.3  32.8  53.0  53.1  51.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion: The most pertinent aspect of the results is the finding that Oyinbos were preferred above other Nigerian and other African groups. So, marked cultural differences between Yorubas and Oyinbos does not deter the Yoruba.

As mentioned earlier, ethnic differences within Nigeria are considerably important hence the dislike for Ibos found in the results. Secondly, the social distance expressed towards Ghanians may be a function of prevailing social circumstances. That is, a large number of aliens from neighbouring West African states entered Nigeria to seek refuge from economic hardships and civil disturbances.

However, one should not have the impression that Oyinbos appear to be liked simply because Ibos and Ghanians are
disliked. The wide disparity between Oyinbo and Ghanian and Ibo scores of social acceptance for the close personal contact scales would suggest otherwise. In most cases Yoruba and Oyinbo scores were extremely close with a wide gap between these scores and the scores for the remaining Africans.

Why this should be so can only be conjectured at this point. Possibly, as mentioned earlier, the subjects felt that close association with an Oyinbo person would be prestigious, more so for the (usually low-income) rural students.

Another possibility is that the Yoruba subjects liked aspects of European culture. Certainly, it is more fashionable today to wear European dress than it was some years ago. For instance, jeans are a particular favourite among fashion-conscious students though such attire is considerably unsuited to the climate. A liking for European ways may be especially noticed in the university children as many of them may have been born abroad or may have accompanied their parents on study leave for a year or more. Many of them may be familiar with such places as London, New York and Rome as parents may visit these cities on business or shopping trips.

It is evident from the results that few university school girls would marry an European. When compared to the percentage of university school boys and rural girls who would marry Oyinbos the disparity appears great. Reasons for this result are not readily available. Possibly, the girls would not like to leave their home which is a highly likely outcome of such a venture. However, why then is the result not similar for rural girls? A possible answer is that the question of whether or not
they would marry an European is less of a reality for the rural girls and thus the question has less meaning for them.

Lest the social acceptance scores give a distorted view of prevailing attitudes let us consider the opposite end of the scale. The percentage of adolescents expressing dislike for being related to an Oyinbo by marriage and for marriage to an Oyinbo were as follows. The percentage of subjects expressing dislike for close relationship by marriage: university boys, 25.4, university girls 45.1, rural boys 37.5 and rural girls 32.8. The percentage of subjects stating that they would not marry Oyinbo: university boys 25.6, university girls 54.8, rural boys 32.8 and rural girls 34.6. So there was a considerable number of subjects who would not like to be intimately associated with Oyinbos. This is not unexpected and is understandable. However, when compared to expressed dislike of intimate associations with other Africans the figures seem slight.

Finally, to return to the comments made in introducing this study, it would seem that the stereotyped attitudes discussed earlier are not widespread. Though, possibly, if the subjects who stated that they would not marry an Oyinbo and would not like to be related by marriage were asked to state their reasons they may give such stereotypical answers.

To summarise the findings, it would seem that close associations with whites and interracial marriage are not especially condemned. Furthermore, attitudes do not seem to be affected by social class and/or amount of contact. It would seem that marriage to whites is more likely to be condoned than
marriage to Africans of other ethnic groups.

In conclusion, this chapter was intended to serve two purposes, to describe Yoruba child rearing practices (especially those of the Yoruba elite) and to describe the social and cultural context of the study. The information on Yoruba child rearing practices was used in designing the questionnaires administered to Yoruba and interracial parents. It was also hoped that the research described in this chapter would be useful in interpreting the results of the study of ethnic identification.

1. This finding may reflect economic differences between the two groups. However, some of the elite women may actually have been conducting some form of commercial enterprise at home. From the researcher's knowledge of the present day elite, most women engage in some form of commercial enterprise, for example retailing, in lieu of or even in addition to salaried employment. However, much of the work involved may be done by the maid, casual employees or younger relatives. So, being a housewife does not necessarily imply a lack of personal income in the European sense.
Having examined social and cultural aspects of the Yoruba we may now consider the study of ethnic identification in interracial and Yoruba children.

MEASURING THE RESEARCH VARIABLES

A variable is a characteristic of a population which varies from one individual to another. The major variables in this research were the use of culture-specific child rearing practices by the parents and ethnic identity in the child. The use of culture-specific child rearing practices was measured by questionnaires administered to the parents. Ethnic identity in the child was measured by a series of tests.

The questionnaires

A questionnaire was developed to measure use of culture-specific child rearing practices. The results of the study of child rearing practices among the Yoruba elite (see Chapter 4) were used in formulating the questionnaire. Research by Lloyd (1966, 1970) and Oppong (1981) were also used.

In all families the questionnaire was administered to the mother. Subsections of the questionnaire dealt with different aspects of child rearing. In addition the latter sections were concerned with family relationships within both the nuclear and extended family. The final section asked for background information such as age, number of children, etc. The various subsections were as follows: (A) Caretakers, (B) Discipline, (C) Responsibility, (D) The Home, (E) Sources of
Influence, (F) The Marital Relationship, (G) The Extended Family, (H) Background Information.

The various subsections of the questionnaire were compared with each other and with the children's responses to obtain information on family interactions. A series of more informal interviews and participant observation were used to supplement the information gained from the questionnaire.

The first draft of the questionnaire contained 60 questions. After close scrutiny of the questions and consultations with a small number of Yoruba parents, a number of questions were omitted from the final version, mostly in the section dealing with background information. It was decided to reduce this section to the minimum required in order to reduce anxiety about invasion of privacy for the families concerned. The final version used in the study contained 55 questions for white mothers and 52 questions for Yoruba mothers (a copy appears in the Appendix).

In addition, a shortened version of the questionnaire was developed for the fathers in each family to gain their opinion and to compare both parents' opinions regarding a specific problem. Furthermore, a few questions posed to the mother concerned her perception of the opinions of the father in order to compare the two sets of answers as a methodological exercise.

The Appendix contains both parent's questionnaires and information about sources where appropriate.
The Children's Test

The tests used were Draw-A-Person, the Doll Play method and the 'Tell me About Yourself' technique.

Following findings from the pilot studies amendments and improvements were made to the tests. The major alteration made to the Draw-A-Person test concerns the scoring procedure rather than administration. Scoring of the Draw-A-Person is discussed in a later section.

The Doll Play test was altered in a number of ways. Firstly, the number of dolls was reduced from 10 to six; two white dolls, two brown dolls and two black dolls (one of each sex respectively). Secondly, efforts were made to improve the distinguishability of the two sexes. Slight sex differences were introduced into the dolls and the earrings (a strong symbol of femininity in Nigeria) were made more obvious. It was decided to basically retain the original style of dolls due to their simplicity and standardised facial features.

Two play sets were constructed, both street scenes, one a town scene of fairly well-to-do houses standing on a tarred road, the second a village scene of mud-brick houses on an untarred road. In addition, clothes were made for the dolls. A choice of two different European outfits and two different Yoruba outfits were made for boy and girl dolls, totalling four different outfits altogether. It was hoped that in this way dress choice would not be unduly influenced by colour or style preferences. A number of questions were drawn up to guide the interviewer, however, free play and/or deviations from the schedule were encouraged.
The questions comprising the doll play test are listed below:

1. Show me yourself walking along the street (indicate street scene, select doll) (Prompt:) Which one looks most like you?
2. Let's put some clothes on it (doll). Which dress do you think he/she might like to wear today?
3. Which dress would you put on for a party?
4. Now let's pretend you are visiting granny/ going home to your town or village. Does your granny live in a town like this (indicate street scene) or a village like this (indicate village scene)?
5. What kinds of things do you do at your granny's house?
6. Do you take presents?
7. When granny comes to your house what sorts of things do you do together?
8. Show me how you would greet her.
9. Now let's pretend that your best friend is coming to play. Which one is your best friend? (select doll)
10. What sorts of games do you play together?

An explanatory note may be needed for some of the questions. It is important that the doll should be dressed for a party (question 3) as that is the occasion when the Yoruba elite are most likely to wear traditional dress (especially for weddings and other such ceremonial occasions). Questions 4. to 7. will give an indication of amount of contact with the extended family. Whether visits to the grandparents and other family members are classed as visits or as 'going home' (question 4.) may depend on the closeness of the family and/or
whether grandparents and other family members are resident in the ancestral home or elsewhere. Questions 8. to 10. were used to cross-check some of the mother's responses as similar questions are contained in the mother's questionnaire.

A series of colour meaning questions were also presented to the subjects in order to check on the children's understanding of the ethnic stimuli and whether they interpret the stimuli in the same way as the experimenter. The following questions were asked:

1. Which is the white doll?
2. Which is the black doll?
3. What about this one? (indicate brown doll)
4. Which is the Nigerian doll?

Major amendments were made to the 'Tell me about yourself' measure. The question was rephrased in a manner more comprehensible to young children as follows:

'Let's pretend that somebody who lives a long way away and has not seen you before (like a penfriend) wants to know something about you. What would you tell them about yourself?'

If it was not spontaneously mentioned, the interviewer asked the child to name his/her favourite food(s) as this may be a useful indicator of ethnicity.
THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The present study aimed at considering the development of ethnic identity from the perspective of family interactions based on Belsky's (1981) model. According to Belsky, three main variables interact in any family unit, these are (i) child behaviour, (ii) parenting and (iii) the marital relationship. From these three variables six main effects can be observed: (1) parenting effects on child behaviour, (2) effects of child behaviour and development on parenting, (3) effects of the marital relationship on parenting, (4) effects of the marital relationship on child behaviour and development, (5) effects of the parenting experience on child behaviour and development, and (6) effects of child behaviour and development on the marital relationship.

The aspects of this model which were of direct relevance to this study were (1) parenting effects on child behaviour and development, (2) effects of child behaviour and development on parenting and (3) effects of the marital relationship on parenting. The 4th main effect is not considered here due to its highly sensitive nature. The remaining two aspects of Belsky's model have not been considered due to the writer's inability to define them or even separate them effectively. It should be noted however that the main emphasis has been placed on one aspect, namely, parenting effects on child behaviour. All other aspects are considered as peripheral to the main theme of the study.

The methods of measuring the main variables ('parenting'
or child rearing practices and ethnic identification in the child) have been discussed earlier. We should now consider the possible relations between variables.

**Parenting effects on child behaviour and development viz ethnic identity**

Mothers' child rearing practices as measured by sections A-D of the questionnaire may be related to the children's ethnic identity measures. It was assumed that there would be a positive relationship between Yoruba child rearing practices and Yoruba identity.

**Effects of child behaviour and development on parenting**

There were no relevant items included in the questionnaire which were supposed to tackle this problem as it would be more appropriate to use a longitudinal method. However, relevant information may be obtained from the informal interviews especially when rapport was satisfactorily established. At this stage it may be more useful to retain a simple two-tailed hypothesis such that child behaviour and development would affect parenting.

**Effects of the marital relationship on parenting**

Sufficient information may be obtained from section F of the questionnaire. Also, how well the mother is integrated into the extended family may be relevant (questions G1, G2, G4, and H9). In this respect one could relate integration/acceptance with child rearing practices for the two-culture families. It was hoped that there would be a positive relationship between extended family acceptance and Yoruba child rearing practices. This is because the greater the contact between the white mother
and the extended family (particularly the child's grandmother) the greater the likelihood of the mother being influenced towards using Yoruba methods of child rearing.

**HYPOTHESES**

Firstly, it was anticipated that the two comparison groups, Yoruba and Yoruba/Oyinbo families would differ in a number of ways:

1. Children of Yoruba parents would express a stronger Yoruba identity than interracial children.
2. Yoruba parents would use more Yoruba child rearing practices than interracial parents.

The second set of hypotheses were concerned with the family interactions model:

3. There would be a positive correlation between Yoruba child rearing practices and Yoruba identity.
5. The marital relationship would affect parenting in two ways, (a) the type of decision making regarding the child's upbringing would affect use of child rearing practices, and (b) extended family involvement would affect parenting such that there would be a positive correlation between extended family acceptance/involvement/contact and the mother's use of Yoruba child rearing practices (especially in the case of the white mother).

Finally, a number of hypotheses were formulated to address
methodological issues:
6. There would be a positive correlation between the different methods of measuring ethnic identity.
7. The race of the experimenter would affect the children's test results. A differential effect is expected such that the effect would be greater for Yoruba children than for interracial children.
8. There would be a positive correlation between the mother's and father's questionnaire responses. (See Postscript)

SUBJECTS

Intercultural families in Oyo State are fairly common. Oyo State boasts of two large universities employing expatriates, the Universities of Ife and Ibadan. Ife University to a large extent follows the American system of higher education. Ibadan University which was, in the past, allied to Oxford University, to a large extent follows the British system of education. In addition there are a considerable number of smaller colleges such as polytechnics, colleges of higher education, teacher training colleges, schools for nurses, and teaching hospitals all of which attract expatriate staff. However, interracial families, though by no means rare, are not so common. A considerable proportion of intercultural marriages are between Nigerians and black Americans, black Britons, West Indians and nationals from other African states, and not forgetting marriages between members of different ethnic groups within Nigeria. Consequently, to isolate a specific type of couple
(Oyinbo wife, Yoruba husband) may mean sampling from a very small population. Furthermore, the sample was limited to a greater extent by the requirement of a fixed age range for the child under study.

In the light of the above sampling limitations it is obvious that to apply random sampling techniques would have been difficult. Furthermore, the personal nature of some of the questions asked and the possibility of interpreting the testing of the children as in some way threatening might also have limited the available population. Benson (1981) found that subjects who were obtained through personal contacts were less likely to object to being studied and more likely to complete the series of interviews and observations she conducted. Wilson (1981a, 1981b) obtained her subjects through personal contacts and fully utilised the 'snowball' technique of sampling. Oppong (1981) also justified the use of non-random and possibly non-representative samples in her study of Ghanian civil servants. Her methodological framework consisted of both quantitative and qualitative methods with different subjects for each method of analysis. In both cases subjects were obtained through personal contacts. No attempt at random sampling was made.

In the present study, interracial couples were obtained through personal contacts and also through an organisation for foreign-born wives of Nigerians known as 'Nigerwives'. Some families were more well-known to the investigator than others. Yoruba families were matched as far as possible for age of child, sex of child and socioeconomic status of parents.
Occupation and age of parents and number of siblings were also taken into consideration. Hence the sample chosen was not selected for its random representativeness and thus cannot give a definitive account of interracial marriages in Nigeria (nor, for that matter, of Yoruba marriages in Nigeria). However, it was hoped that, as an in-depth study of a number of individuals, it will provide much heuristic material.

Twenty interracial families and 20 Yoruba families were studied. All families were monogamous. In the case of the interracial families the husband was a Yoruba and the wife was English-speaking. However, in addition to the core sample, a few interracial families were interviewed where the wife was a Yoruba. These additional subjects were not included in the main comparison but were interviewed in order to obtain a better understanding of the Nigerian interracial marriage.

As mentioned earlier, the two groups of children were of similar age and sex. A higher proportion of girls than boys appeared in each sample (12 girls and 8 boys). This sex ratio was dictated by the availability of interracial children within the specified age range. The distribution of age and sex of the children is presented in Table 5.1.
### Table 5.1
Age and sex of the Interracial and Yoruba children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The family size of interracial and Yoruba groups varied. The majority of interracial families (65 per cent) consisted of three children and a smaller proportion (30 per cent) consisted of four children. Family size of the Yoruba group was more variable and there were more large families comprising five and six children than was the case in the interracial group where a family size of four children was the largest (see Table 5.2).

The birth order of interracial and Yoruba subjects was quite similar for the two groups (see Table 5.3), the majority of children being the second or third born child in the family.
Table 5.2
Family size of Interracial and Yoruba groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3
Birth order of Interracial and Yoruba children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Order</th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The age of the mothers in the interracial and Yoruba groups was fairly similar (see table 5.4). However, the age of
the fathers in the two groups differed somewhat, the 'inter-
racial' fathers on the whole tending to be older than the
fathers in the Yoruba families. The majority of the fathers in
the Yoruba families were in the 31-40 years age range (55 per
cent) and a considerable number were in the 42-50 years age
range (45 per cent). The majority of fathers in the inter-
racial families were in the 41-50 years age range (75 per
cent) with a small number in the 31-40 years (15 per cent) and
50+ years (10 per cent) age ranges. This may reflect the
societal pressure to marry and to marry fairly young in the
Yoruba culture (see Chapter 4) to which the Yoruba fathers may
be exposed. However, as the fathers in the interracial group
were most likely to have met their wives while sojourning
abroad, they may not have been exposed to such societal
pressure or at least may have felt it to a lesser extent than
the fathers in the Yoruba families.

Table 5.4
Age of Interracial and Yoruba Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th></th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>Fathers</td>
<td>Mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 + years</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tables 5.5 and 5.6 present the occupations of the mothers and fathers respectively.

**Table 5.5**
Distribution of Mothers' occupations in the Interracial and Yoruba groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paediatrician</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartographer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businesswoman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursery Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.6
Distribution of Fathers' occupations in the Interracial and Yoruba groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Doctor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Technician</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magistrate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Salesman</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The samples seem to be somewhat biased towards academic occupations as indicated by the high frequency of lecturers in both samples. This may have been due, in part, to the method of sampling. However, the academic bias was equivalent in both interracial and Yoruba samples and a variety of non-academic occupations were also represented.

At this point it may be pertinent to discuss the social
class membership of the interracial families in the sample. As was anticipated, all the subjects may be categorised as middle class, comprising mostly of well-educated and/or professional individuals. This may be to some extent a function of the method of sampling, however, it is the researcher's opinion that the majority of black-white interracial couples in Nigeria are middle class. Among the association of 'Nigerwives' in Ibadan from which part of the sample was obtained and in which a wider variety of non-academic occupations are represented, no lower class families were found. Indeed the opinion was expressed by members of the 'Nigerwives' executive committee that foreign wives of unskilled Nigerians and foreign women not possessing a higher education quickly return to their home country (this was also noted in a case study by Benson, 1981).

PROCEDURE

The investigator visited each family personally to explain the purpose of the study and to seek the consent of both parents. The study was described as a study of child rearing methods in Nigeria and how these may affect the way the child sees himself/herself (e.g., as a boy/girl, as a Yoruba, a Nigerian, an European, etc). In the case of the Yoruba families little explanation was needed. In the case of the interracial families it was pointed out that the investigator was conducting a study of Nigerian families, had tested a number of Yoruba families and would now like to add to the study families where one partner was not a Nigerian in order
to obtain a better perspective of the Yoruba family. The anonymity of the respondents was assured and the personal interest of the investigator as an Oyinbo immigrant was stressed (that is, the study would help the investigator to cope with her own inevitable problems of adaptation and 'culture shock' by discussing with fellow immigrants).

The two slightly different methods of obtaining interracial subjects yielded different refusal rates. Of the families obtained through personal contacts three refused, their reason given (though none was asked for) being a reluctance on the part of the husband to take part in any research study. This was the reason offered in all three cases. In fact, one prospective respondent offered to take part in the study without the knowledge of her husband. This offer was politely declined. Of the families contacted through 'Nigerwives' only one declined. In this case the woman stated a dislike of such studies.

An appointment was made with the mothers to test the children and conduct the interview at any time convenient to the mother and child. This usually necessitated evening visits as all children were attending school.

Each of the two samples was randomly divided into two groups for the experimenter effects aspect of the study. A female Yoruba research assistant (psychology graduate) was engaged to conduct half of the studies in each sample.

Testing was conducted in the subjects' home and commenced with the children's tests. Draw-A-Person was the first test, followed by the doll play and finally the 'Tell me about
yourself' measure. This order of testing was deliberately chosen as it was felt that it followed the order of difficulty and also the order of intrusiveness or perceived threat. Full details of the children's tests are described above (pages 161 -163). The language of testing was English, the language of the school. However, when the child preferred to communicate in the Yoruba language this was not discouraged.

The mothers' and fathers' questionnaires were not as straightforward as the children's testing. The mothers' questionnaire was found to be too long for a single interview due to the busy lives and households of the Nigerian family. Often the privacy required was interrupted by visitors or by the presence of extended family members who may possibly influence the responses. Finally the procedure decided upon was to allow the mothers to complete the questionnaire in their own time. Some of the mothers were thus engaged while the children were being tested thus saving time. Others completed the questionnaire when they felt able to obtain sufficient privacy. These questionnaires were collected by the investigator at a later date. In all cases the investigator was able to clarify any ambiguous responses or to probe further when needed (and when allowed). Where rapport was established the investigator was invited to return at any time and was thus able to question further informally and to observe the family at home.

In the case of the fathers, the questionnaire was given either directly to the father himself or to his wife to pass on to him. It proved much more difficult to persuade the
fathers to complete a short set of questions than to persuade the mothers to complete a considerably longer set. However, after much persistence on the part of the investigator and the mother of the family a number of completed questionnaires were obtained. Only seven fathers in the interracial group and nine fathers in the Yoruba group completed their questions, the remaining fathers claimed to be too busy to take part in the research.

Reactions to the various tests and questions were generally favourable. One couple refused to answer the question regarding parental disagreements, stating that they did not think the information was necessary, otherwise there were no major omissions. The children's tests were generally quite popular with the children, in some cases playmates or children from neighbouring houses would hear about it and want to take their own turn. Some reluctance was displayed by one or two interracial mothers regarding testing though testing was finally completed after a good rapport had been established.

**Scoring procedure**

The mothers' questionnaires were used to establish the extent of use of Yoruba child rearing practices. A scale was developed based on previous research, the findings of the study on elite child rearing practices (see Chapter 4) and the Yoruba mothers questionnaire responses as follows.
Ordinal scale of elite Yoruba child-rearing practices
(based on mothers' questionnaire responses)

Each appropriate response was allocated one point unless otherwise indicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yoruba response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 3</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 4</td>
<td>with parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 5</td>
<td>either a, b, or c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 1</td>
<td>rudeness or disobedience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 9</td>
<td>praise and sweets or sweets alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 1</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 3</td>
<td>expect immediate obedience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 4</td>
<td>expect immediate obedience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 1</td>
<td>a, b, or c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 2</td>
<td>a, b, or c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 3 (self)</td>
<td>a, b, or c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 3 (husband)</td>
<td>a, b, or c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 3 (children)</td>
<td>a, b, or c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 4</td>
<td>a or b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 5 (self)</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 5 (husband)</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 5 (children)</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 8</td>
<td>a(I) = 2 points, a(II), a(III), a(IV) or a(V) = 1 point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 9 (father)</td>
<td>a = 2 points, c = 1 point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 11</td>
<td>a, b or c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So the maximum score possible was 22 points.
Questionnaire responses were also used to establish the amount of contact with the extended family. An ordinal scale was drawn up using Setion G of the mother's questionnaire. In the case of the white mothers, only the questions concerning the husband's extended family were used (questions G1 - G4). In the case of the Yoruba mothers questions regarding both sets of relatives (both husband and wife's relatives) were used (G1 - G8). The scale was devised so that the higher the score the greater the amount of contact, as follows:

Question G1, A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, D = 1  
G2, A = 1, B = 0  
G3, A = 1, B = 2, C = 3, D = 4, E = 5, F = 6  
G4, A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, D = 1, E = 0  
G5, A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, D = 1  
G6, A = 1, B = 0  
G7, A = 1, B = 2, C = 3, D = 4, E = 5, F = 6  
G8, A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, D = 1, E = 0

So the maximum possible score for interracial families was 15 and the maximum possible score for Yoruba families was 30.

The scoring of the children's tests was as follows.

The Draw-A-Person test was scored on five features, namely, colour of face, body and hair, type of dress and type of adornments. A number of factors were taken into account when choosing the features of the drawings to be scored. Firstly, all five features have significant interrater reliability (see pilot study). A second consideration was the validity of the features as determined by previous studies. Schofield (1978)
used colour and validated its use with the doll play method. Type of dress was considered important by Jahoda et al. (1972) and others. Adornments may also be considered as part of dress though may need to be considered separately as a naive coder may miss their significance. A final consideration is how often these features were used by the children in their drawings. Of the five features, colour of hair and adornments seem to have been well used in the pilot study subjects. The next problem then was to decide whether to draw up a scale including all five features as was originally done for the pilot study or to allow for greater flexibility and score any one of five features. It was decided to combine the two procedures in order to take into consideration individual differences in drawing skills and power of expression. Furthermore, the pilot study results and the drawings collected in the main study suggested that the children tended to use few of the features to express ethnicity and consequently scored very low on the scale. So the Draw-A-Person test was scored as follows. Each of the following features scored one point: brown or black body and/or face colour, dark hair colour, traditional Yoruba dress or adornments. The drawings were scored by the investigator and a research assistant who did not know the purpose of the study. Any differences between the two sets of scores were resolved by a third judge and two out of three judgements were used in the final analysis.

Regarding the doll play test, five of the questions were used to measure strength of Yoruba identity (questions 1., 2.,
The remaining questions were useful for comparison purposes. The five questions were scored as follows:

1. (Self-identification) 1 = white, 2 = brown, 3 = black;
2. (Day dress) 1 = European, 2 = Yoruba;
3. (Party dress) 1 = European, 2 = Yoruba;
8. (Greetings) 1 = Traditional greeting, anything else scores 0;
9. (Choice of friend) 1 = white, 2 = brown, 3 = black.

In this case the minimum score was 4 and the maximum was 11.

The 'Tell me about yourself' measure was scored as in the pilot study, that is, any mention of race, colour, nationality, ethnic group, ethnic subgroup, state of origin or town of origin were coded as ethnic responses.

The question regarding favourite foods was scored as follows: English/European = 1, mixed European and Yoruba = 2, Yoruba = 3.

Reliability of the children's tests

Six Yoruba children and six interracial children (30 percent of each sample) were retested approximately four weeks after the initial testing in order to calculate the test-retest reliability of the children's tests. Spearman's $r_s$ corrected for ties was used to calculate correlations between initial and later testing. Correlation coefficients are presented in Table 5.7.

In all cases, test-retest reliability was significant. In the case of Draw-A-Person, the coefficient of correlation was higher than that obtained in Schofield's (1978) study. Schofield obtained a test-retest reliability coefficient of...
0.53 though significant at the same .01 level of significance as in the present study. Schofield reported that the retesting situation was somewhat different to the initial testing. Furthermore, the present study used a simpler scoring system than did Schofield. One or two of the subjects in the present study stuck to the same style of drawing on both occasions producing a very similar drawing with the same style of dress, hair, stance, etc, as in the initial drawing. One Yoruba subject also appeared again in a later study using a random sample from her school and again produced the same style of dress, etc., for her figure.

In the Doll-Play test some variations were found between first and second testing for the self-identification, choice of dress (especially for every day wear) and choice of best friend questions. No variability was found for use of traditional greetings.

A positive correlation was found between first and second testings on 'Tell Me About Yourself'. Very few children in the entire sample (2 out of 20 in the interracial group and 2 out of 20 in the Yoruba group) made ethnic statements so it is not surprising that no ethnic statements were made on the second testing also.

For the food preference question Yoruba children did not vary on the second testing, all preferred Yoruba food on both occasions. In the interracial group, one or two children changed their choice on the second testing. It is by no means unusual for adults and children to change their preferences for specific dishes and children are often 'faddish' about food.
Possibly when Yoruba children change their preference it is more likely to be for another Yoruba food.

**Table 5.7**

Reliability of the children's tests (n=12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test</th>
<th>$r_s$</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doll play</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draw-A-Person</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food preference</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tell me about yourself'</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. In cases where it could be ascertained reliably, African hair style was also awarded one point (e.g., braided, beaded or weaved hair styles.

2. See note for Chapter 3.
CHAPTER 6

RESULTS
The results were analysed according to the eight hypotheses presented in chapter 5.

ETHNIC IDENTITY IN INTERRACIAL AND YORUBA CHILDREN

The first hypothesis concerned the ethnic identity of interracial and Yoruba children.

Hypothesis 1

Children of Yoruba parents would express a stronger Yoruba identity than interracial children.

The Mann Whitney U test was used to compare the two groups of children on the Doll Play responses and the Draw-A-Person test. There was an insufficient number of responses on the 'Tell Me About Yourself' test to merit statistical analysis. However responses to the food preference question were analysed using the Mann Whitney U test.

Doll Play

A significant difference was observed between the two groups of subjects such that the Yoruba children expressed a stronger Yoruba identity than interracial children (U = 131, P < .05, one-tailed).

Comparisons between the two groups on individual questions may be of interest (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2).

On the self-identification question (Question 1) the majority of interracial children (80 per cent) correctly
Table 6.1

Interracial children’s responses to the doll play test (min score = 4, max score = 11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>md</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1&amp;2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.2
Yoruba children's responses to the doll play test (min score = 4, max score = 11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 1 1 1 1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 2 1 1 1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 2 2 1 1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 2 1 1 1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 2 2 1 3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3 1 2 1 2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 1 2 1 1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 1 2 1 1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3 1 2 1 1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 2 2 1 1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2 1 2 1 2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3 2 2 1 3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1 2 1 1 2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1 2 2 1 2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>3 2 2 1 3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>3 1 2 1 1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>3 1 2 0 2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>3 1 1 1 2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>3 2 2 1 1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>3 2 2 1 2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

md 2.5 2 2 1 1.5 8
mo 3 2 2 1 1 8
identified with the brown doll. One child identified with the black doll and three children identified with the white doll. It is interesting to note that the mother of the child identifying with the black doll obtained a relatively high score (17) on the Yoruba child rearing practices scale. In the Yoruba group the responses were more mixed. Fifty per cent of Yoruba children identified with the black doll, 25 per cent with the brown doll and 25 per cent with the white doll. (The children's understanding of colour meanings and of the ethnic stimuli is discussed in a later section).

Questions 2 and 3 referred to preferred style of dress. Fourteen interracial (70 per cent) and nine Yoruba (45 per cent) selected European dress for everyday wear, only six (30 per cent) interracial children compared to 11 (65 per cent) Yoruba children selected traditional dress. However, 50 per cent of interracial children selected traditional dress for party wear compared to 75 per cent of Yoruba children.

Question 8 concerned traditional greetings. A slight majority of interracial children (60 per cent) stated that they greet their paternal grandmother in the traditional Yoruba manner compared to almost all the Yoruba children (90 per cent).

Question 9 concerned friendship choices. In the interracial group, 25 per cent chose the white doll as their best friend, 60 per cent chose the brown doll and 10 per cent chose the black doll (one child gave no response). In the Yoruba group, 50 per cent chose the white doll, 35 per cent chose the brown doll and only 15 per cent chose the black doll. These
results are very interesting and pose a number of problems. It may be that the Yoruba children's results reflect their true friendship choice or they may be reflecting their friendship preference. Alternatively, the results may be a function of the perceived race of the investigator. (See Postscript)

Colour meaning test

Four questions were included to check the children's understanding of the ethnic stimuli. All children in both groups gave the correct response to the first two questions ('Which is the white doll?' and 'Which is the black doll?'). The third question concerned the brown doll. All Yoruba subjects identified the doll in terms of colour ('its brown'). Interracial children's responses reflected race as well as colour. Seventy per cent of interracial subjects replied in terms of colour ('its brown') and 30 per cent replied in terms of race ('its half-caste').

The fourth question asked the subject to indicate the Nigerian doll. Of the interracial children, 95 per cent selected the black doll and 5 per cent selected both the black and brown dolls. In the Yoruba group, 70 per cent selected the black doll only, 25 per cent selected both the black and brown dolls and 5 per cent selected the brown doll only. It is possible that some Yoruba children may have perceived the brown doll as a light-skinned black child rather than as 'half-caste'. The interracial children, however, may possibly have perceived the brown doll more in terms with what the experimenter intended (that is, as an interracial child) as it
is a more salient issue to them.

Table 6.3
Interracial and Yoruba children's selection of 'Nigerian' doll.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doll choice</th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>19 (95%)</td>
<td>14 (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black and brown</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>5 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Draw-A-Person

Table 6.4 presents a summary of the Draw-A-Person test results.

Table 6.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\Sigma x$</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>md</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although Yoruba children's scores were slightly higher, no significant difference was observed between the two groups on the Draw-A-Person test \((U = 169.5, p > .05)\).

Scores on this test were generally low as observed by Pfeffer (1984). Although Draw-A-Person is thought to contain a projection of the self (Machover, 1949), possibly the results would be more meaningful if the instructions to subjects were more explicit, i.e., draw yourself. But then the test would lose one of its advantages, that of being less reactive in nature than some of the other tests.

**Tell Me About Yourself test**

This measure did not yield useful results for statistical analysis and therefore was not included in the composite (total) score. Only two ethnic statements out of a total of 101 statements were made by Yoruba children (two children) and three ethnic statements out of a total of 71 statements were made by interracial children (two children). This is not because the children were silent throughout (though some refused to make any response at all) as the total number of statements shows. Rather, it may reflect the low salience of ethnicity to the children. In support of this McGuire et al. (1978) found that spontaneous comments on race/ethnicity are least when the individual is in a majority and increases as the individual becomes more and more in the minority group. Of course, it may be argued that interracial children are in the minority in Nigeria. However, they may not feel that they are a minority group (at least at this age) as most attend the same
schools and most parents may ensure interracial contacts by their own 'interracial' friendship choices.

Food Preference

A significant difference was observed between interracial and Yoruba children's food preferences ($U = 76, \ p < .001$, one-tailed). Yoruba children were found to almost unanimously prefer Yoruba food (see Table 6.5). in comparison to interracial children whose preferences were fairly evenly spread between English/European food, Yoruba food and a mixed English/European and Yoruba choice. (Scoring procedure was as follows: English/European = 1, mixed European and Yoruba = 2, Yoruba = 3).

Table 6.5
Interracial and Yoruba children's scores on the food preference measure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\Sigma x$</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>2.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$md$</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It could be argued that Yoruba children are more likely to favour Yoruba food because of non-availability of European food at home. However, this may not be the case as most Yoruba families in the sample (17) stated that they eat European food
Composite ethnic identity score

It may be argued that each of the measures of ethnic identity used is measuring a different aspect of the same psychological concept (ethnic identity). For example, the doll play test is a fairly direct measure; the child is confronted with a choice of ethnic stimuli and is asked to slot himself/herself into the appropriate category. The draw-a-person test is more indirect, less reactive and a fair measure of the salience of ethnicity to the subject (Schofield, 1978). The food preference measure considers an isolated, though nevertheless important, aspect of ethnicity.

So, considering the test to be measuring different aspects of the same concept one may consider the sum of these different aspects to be a composite measure of ethnic identity. Table 6.6 gives the composite ethnic identity scores for both groups of subjects.

Table 6.6
Composite ethnic identity scores for interracial and Yoruba subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\Sigma x$</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$</td>
<td>9.65</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$md$</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A significant difference was found between the two groups (U = 55.5, p < .001, one-tailed test) such that Yoruba subjects showed a stronger Yoruba identity than interracial subjects.
The second hypothesis concerned the type of child-rearing practices used in interracial and Yoruba families.

**Hypothesis 2**

Yoruba parents would use more Yoruba child rearing practices than interracial parents.

The scores of the two groups of parents on the 'elite' Yoruba child rearing practices scale were compared using the Mann Whitney U test. In addition, the questionnaire responses of the two groups of mothers were compared for each individual question.

**The Yoruba 'elite' child-rearing practices scale**

Table 6.7 presents the scores of interracial and Yoruba parents on the Yoruba 'elite' child-rearing practices scale.

**Table 6.7**

Interracial and Yoruba parents scores on the 'elite' Yoruba child-rearing practices scale (maximum score = 22).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\Sigma x$</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\bar{x}$</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>18.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m_0$</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>18.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>range</td>
<td>4 - 17</td>
<td>11 - 22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As expected, Yoruba mothers were found to use significantly more Yoruba ('elite') child-rearing practices than interracial mothers ($U = 16.5, p < .001$, one tailed test).

**Comparison between interracial and Yoruba mothers**

**questionnaire responses**

The questionnaire responses were discussed according to the separate sections of the questionnaire.

**Section A: Caretakers**

The two groups were found to differ in their use of various family members for taking responsibility for the children when the mother is not at home (Table 6.8). The Yoruba mothers tended to rely more on their own mother than their husbands' mother. White mothers were found to rely more on their mother-in-law than did Yoruba women which probably reflects a difference in availability of the maternal grandmother. However, the majority of women in the interracial group relied on housemaids, nannies and other paid help. A large number of Yoruba women also relied on paid help but they constitute approximately half of the interracial number. Yoruba mothers also tended to rely on an assortment of relatives, many of which were not available to the white mother. It is interesting to note that husbands were rarely mentioned as secondary (or principal) caretakers, only once in each group.
Table 6.8
Child caretakers in mothers' absence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past*</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husbands's mother</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's mother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husbands' sibling</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's sibling</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's extended relative</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's extended relative</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid nursemaid/housemaid</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* refers to the time when the subject was a baby.

No Yoruba child in the sample had been separated from his/her mother for a length of time and only two interracial children had been separated from mother, both for fairly short periods of not more than one month. The majority of mothers in both groups did not approve of children being raised outside the parental home (see Table 6.9). Note that traditional custom does not disapprove of children living away from home (see Chapter 4).

Little difference was apparent between the two groups regarding separation from fathers. Seven interracial children and five Yoruba children had been separated from their fathers.
for a time. Of the interracial children, three were for periods of three months and under (during visits to the maternal home) and four were for periods exceeding one year during father's study leave. Fathers of Yoruba children were absent for periods ranging between nine months and two years for study leave purposes.

Table 6.9
Responses to: 'Do you believe that sending children away to live with others is a good practice?'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The principal caretaker in both groups was the mother, (Table 6.10), 14 interracial children and 18 Yoruba children were cared for mostly by their mother. However, four interracial children were looked after mostly by paid househelp compared to none in the Yoruba group. Four grandmothers in each group were strongly involved in child care.
Table 6.10
Responses to: 'When (subject) was a baby who took care of him/her mostly?'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid help</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the children slept in their parents' room in infancy though more interracial children (seven) than Yoruba children (one) slept in their own bedroom.

Relatively few interracial mothers (30 per cent) carried their infants on the back though a few grandmothers and paid caretakers in this group did so. In comparison, 65 per cent of Yoruba mothers 'backed' their children. Furthermore, 55 per cent of interracial children were not carried on the back compared to only 10 per cent of Yoruba children.
Table 6.11

Number of infants carried on the caretakers back

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carried by</th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marginally more fathers in the Yoruba group spent a fair amount of time with their children than did fathers of interracial children. Estimates based on number of hours rather than impressions of 'a little' or 'a lot' would have been more informative.

Father-child activities were varied including playing, talking, reading, doing homework, fishing, watching T.V., going to church, gardening, etc. White mothers more often noted their husbands talking to the children and watching T.V. with the children. Religion was more strongly featured in the Yoruba group than in the interracial group. More fathers in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group were involved in feeding the children (nine and six respectively) fewer were noted to play with the children (10 and 15 respectively) and more took them to and collected them from school (15 and 11 respectively).

White mothers more often bathed the children than Yoruba
mothers (19 compared to 15). In addition all foreign mothers reported putting their children to bed and telling them stories compared to 17 Yoruba women who took their children to bed and 18 who told them stories. The majority of mothers in both groups were involved in all the listed responsibilities. Table 6.12 presents parental child-care responsibilities for both groups.

Table 6.12
Mother and father's child care responsibilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother Interracial Group</th>
<th>Mother Yoruba Group</th>
<th>Father Interracial Group</th>
<th>Father Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bathing</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feeding</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dressing or changing</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putting to bed</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>playing</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taking to or collecting</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading or telling</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section B: Discipline

Rudeness was considered more often as behaviour to be disciplined by the Yoruba mothers (six) than by the white mothers (one). Similarly, disobedience was mentioned more often by Yoruba mothers (nine) than by white mothers (three). Also, using bad language was mentioned three times in the Yoruba group and not at all in the interracial group. These results may reflect the traditional Yoruba emphasis on obedience and good manners.

Traditionally, the Yorubas do not encourage their children to ask questions and this idea was reflected in the mothers' responses. Eighteen of the Yoruba mothers stated that their children ask too many questions compared to only seven white mothers. However, all said that they answer their children's questions. Some said that they answer and encourage more and no Yoruba mother said that she would try to stop this questioning in anyway. One foreign mother said that she would ask her child to stop his questioning.

Little difference was evident between the two groups regarding punishment for minor offences, the most frequently mentioned responses being verbal; i.e., scolding and warning (see Table 6.13). For more serious offences the most frequent discipline in both groups was scolding (see Table 6.14). For very serious offences spanking and corporal punishment were the most frequently mentioned in both groups (see Table 6.15). Other punishments, such as sending the child to the bedroom and denial of privileges and/or treats were less frequently mentioned in both groups.
**Table 6.13**

Types of discipline used for minor offences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verbal discipline</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(scold or warn)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mild slap</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isolate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ignore</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reasoning</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6.14**

Types of discipline used for more serious offences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verbal discipline</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slap/smack</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deny privileges</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reasoning</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6.15**

Types of discipline used for serious offences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>slap/smack/corporal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punishment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deny privileges</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isolate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reasoning</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of mothers in both groups (15 interracial and 13 Yoruba) felt that fathers can give more serious discipline than mothers. Reasons were that fathers spend less time with the children and are therefore more 'fear-inspiring' than mothers and that mothers are more likely to 'feel for' and sympathise with the child's discomfort.

In both groups the father was most often involved in any serious discipline. In the interracial group the father was solely responsible for serious discipline in 10 cases compared to 16 in the Yoruba group. He was also responsible for serious discipline sometimes in eight interracial families compared to three Yoruba families (see Table 6.16).

Table 6.16
Responses to: 'Would your husband usually discipline the children for a very serious offence?'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both groups, people other than the parents were involved in child discipline. The housemaid was mentioned in one family in each group. Grandparents and other relatives were
the most frequently mentioned (in 14 interracial families and 11 Yoruba families). Teachers were also listed in both the Yoruba and interracial group. In six interracial families nobody other than the parents was expected (by the mother) to discipline the child. In no Yoruba family was this the case. So, non-family members were more likely to be involved in correcting the child in the Yoruba families than in the interracial families. As mentioned earlier, in the traditional Yoruba family many people other than the parents are involved in the welfare of the child, including correction and punishment. People other than the parents are allowed (and sometimes expected) to correct the child when necessary. This may seem unacceptable to some Western parents and is, in fact, reflected in the results. When asked if they approve of other people correcting or punishing their children, only four foreign mothers replied that they do approve compared to 11 Yoruba mothers. However, white mothers did approve of other people correcting their children under certain conditions, 10 replied that certain people have their approval and four approved for exceptionally bad behaviour. Two foreign mothers did not approve of anyone else correcting their children. No Yoruba mother gave this response.

Behaviours which please parents were wide ranging varying from artistic pursuits to showing affection, being considerate and cooperative and the ubiquitous vague term 'good behaviour'. Little difference was evident between the two groups except marginal differences in expectations for good behaviour (two interracial, five Yoruba) and cooperative, considerate
behaviour (five interracial, no Yoruba).

Some difference between the two groups was evident in type of rewards given. In all the interracial families praise was the preferred reward and in one family sweets may be given in addition. Praise was given in 11 Yoruba families and sweets, treats and other material rewards were given in 10 families, in three cases in addition to praise. In two Yoruba families no rewards were given at all (see Table 6.17).

Table 6.17
Types of rewards given in the interracial and Yoruba families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Reward</th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>praise only</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praise and sweets/treats</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweets/treats only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section C: Responsibility

One or two differences between the two groups were evident in the child's responsibilities and tasks in the home. Twelve interracial children were expected to sweep the floor compared to all 20 Yoruba children, nine interracial children prepared food compared to only three Yoruba children and six interracial children might help with the shopping compared to only two
Yoruba children. In one interracial family the child was not responsible for any household tasks and in three interracial families only occasional help was expected. Table 6.18 presents the children's household responsibilities for both groups. It should be noted that some of the children may have been too young for some of the listed responsibilities, however, as the subjects were matched for age in each group the same number of children may be affected in each group.

Table 6.18
Children's household responsibilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sweep the floor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash plates</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prepare food</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash his/her own clothes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash the car</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go to market or store</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run errands</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look after younger siblings</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occasional duties</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of parents in both groups stated that they
expect immediate obedience from their children (see Table 6.19). All Yoruba parents stated that they expect immediate obedience from their children and only one foreign mother disapproved while four were unsure.

Table 6.19
Parents' expectations of immediate obedience from their children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interracial Group</td>
<td>Yoruba Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expect immediate obedience</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not expect immediate obedience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section D: The Home

Major differences between the two groups were evident in this section.

Table 6.20 presents the language(s) of the home. Surprisingly, only two Yoruba mothers spoke only Yoruba at home, and not surprisingly, no foreign mother spoke Yoruba only. Six Yoruba mothers spoke mostly Yoruba compared to only two 'interracial' mothers. The majority of mothers in the interracial group (11) spoke English only (compared to no Yoruba mothers) and only six spoke English most of the time.
Table 6.20
Languages spoken in the home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Yoruba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba and English about equal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly English</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When asked which language they use when speaking to the children the pattern of responses for the Yoruba group was much the same. However, for the interracial group the pattern was slightly different, with greater emphasis being placed on English (the language of instruction in school). Fourteen mothers spoke only English to their children, four spoke English most of the time, one spoke Yoruba and English equally and one spoke only Yoruba (see Table 6.21).

Similar differences were apparent between the two groups in type of dress normally worn (see Tables 6.22, 6.23 and 6.24). The majority (11) of foreign mothers stated that they wear mostly European dress, five wear only European clothes and four wear European and Yoruba dress equally often. None stated that they wear Yoruba dress very frequently. In the Yoruba group the most common responses were mostly Yoruba dress (seven)
Table 6.21
Language spoken by mothers to children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Yoruba</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba and English about equal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly English</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.22
Type of dress normally worn by mother

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Yoruba</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba and European about equal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly European</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European only</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.23
Type of dress normally worn by father

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Yoruba</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba and European about equal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly European</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.24
Type of dress normally worn by children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Yoruba</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba and European about equal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly European</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and Yoruba and European dress about equally (10) with none wearing only European dress and only one wearing only Yoruba dress. The husbands showed a similar pattern to the wives. The majority of husbands in the interracial group (11) were
reported to wear mostly European dress and the majority of husbands in the Yoruba group (15) were reported to wear European and Yoruba dress about equally. Results for the children were fairly similar though there was a slight shift to the European end of the scale in both groups.

Surprisingly, the two groups did not differ as much as might be expected regarding the type of food normally eaten at home (see Table 6.25). Only three Yoruba families ate only Yoruba food compared to one interracial family. Nine interracial families ate Yoruba and European food about equally compared to four Yoruba families. Of course factors such as availability and price of European food would be influential in determining what the family eats, but the fact that the Yoruba families did eat comparatively expensive European food almost as much as the interracial families is interesting.

Table 6.25
Kinds of food usually eaten by the interracial and Yoruba subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only Yoruba dishes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Yoruba dishes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba and English dishes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about equal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly English dishes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only English dishes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not surprisingly, more Yoruba (18) than interracial (five) mothers ate particular Yoruba foods with their hands in the Yoruba style in preference to using a knife and fork. Fathers in the interracial group seemed less decided, 10 used a knife and fork (compared to seven fathers in the Yoruba group) and 11 used their hands (one using either depending on the circumstances). The majority of children in both groups used their hands (12 interracial and 14 Yoruba).

The two groups were very similar in their hospitality towards visitors, in some cases visitors may be given food at any time, in other cases only if they arrive at meal times and in other cases only occasionally.

The majority of children in both groups were reported to greet visitors in the traditional Yoruba manner (see Table 6.26). Twelve interracial children were reported to do so (two without being specifically instructed to do so) and eight were not. Sixteen Yoruba children were reported to do so and four were not. The major difference occurs in the people to whom the greeting is directed (see Table 6.27). In most cases in the Yoruba group (13) all visitors were greeted in the traditional manner. In the interracial group only two children were reported to greet all visitors in such manner, the remainder doing so for specific people such as grandparents, relatives and friends of the family.

When asked whether the children greet their parents in the traditional way, the responses of the two groups differed, the majority of Yorubas greeting both parents in this way and the majority of the interracial children did not (see Table 6.28).
Table 6.26
Children's use of traditional Yoruba greetings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do not use traditional Yoruba greeting</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do use traditional Yoruba greeting</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.27
People towards whom the traditional greeting is directed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All visitors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends of the family</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparents only</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* old people
** only Yoruba visitors

Table 6.28
Responses to: 'Do your children greet their parents in the traditional way?'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interracial Group</td>
<td>Yoruba Group</td>
<td>Interracial Group</td>
<td>Yoruba Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most children in both groups were not expected to leave the room when visitors called though more Yoruba (five) than interracial (two) children did.

More Yoruba (13) than interracial (eight) children were told Yoruba folktales and proverbs though a considerable number were told African stories of one type or another. Considerably more interracial than Yoruba children were told Western folktales (12 interracial, one Yoruba) and fairy stories (18 interracial, two Yoruba), though a similar number of bible stories and family stories were told to both groups (see Table 6.29).

Table 6.29
Type of stories told to children in the interracial and Yoruba groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Stories</th>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba folktales and proverbs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Nigerian folktales</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stories about other African countries</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European/N. American folktales</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European fairy stories</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible stories or stories from the Koran</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family history</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stories about mother</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most popular books in the interracial group were European story books; 13 interracial children read European books compared to six Yoruba children. African story books
were also read by a few children (two interracial, three Yoruba). More Yoruba than interracial children did not have a favourite book (eight Yoruba, no interracial).

Types of playmates were similar for the two groups. Most children played with siblings (13 interracial, 16 Yoruba), school friends (12 interracial, 13 Yoruba) and other friends (16 interracial, 12 Yoruba). Other relatives may not have been available to both groups, only six interracial and seven Yoruba children played with other relatives, as most of the families may not be resident in the home town of either parent.

Types of games played by the children in both groups were varied but were predominantly those to be found in any Western playground. In only one case was there any traditional Yoruba element and this was an interracial child (who spoke only Yoruba) whose favourite pastime was imitating a babalawo, a traditional doctor and soothsayer-type figure. Probably the most noticeable difference between the two groups was in amount of adult role playing engaged in by the children. This was one of the favourite pastimes engaged in by eight of the interracial children compared to only two Yoruba children.

Favourite toys were similar for the two groups and were the type found in any Western play-box: dolls, teddy bears, lego sets, footballs, plasticine, bicycles, etc.

Section E: Sources of Influence

The majority of interracial (15) and Yoruba (13) mothers used books for advice in the upbringing of their children. Relatively few women in both groups took advice from their
mothers (five interracial, two Yoruba) and mothers-in-law (three interracial, two Yoruba). However, a considerable number of Yoruba mothers also took advice from older women (10). In contrast only two mothers in the interracial group did so.

Many interracial mothers (17) looked back to their own childhood and the methods of their parents when faced with child rearing problems. Few Yoruba mothers (four) did so. So interracial mothers probably did not take advice from their mothers because they were not available whereas Yoruba mothers probably did not do so because they might not consider their mothers' experience to be relevant. Continuing the same argument, the majority of Yoruba mothers (17) felt that their children were not brought up in the same way as in their own childhood whereas the interracial mothers were less decisive.

Section F: The Marital Relationship

In both groups the predominant mode of parental decision making was democratic, that is, both parents discussed all issues together then decided (14 interracial, 15 Yoruba) though in one Yoruba family the husband decided all the main issues. In six interracial and four Yoruba families the wife decided some issues and the husband others though it was not clear which issues.

However, the two groups differed in number of disagreements on how the children should be brought up. In only two Yoruba families had the parents disagreed compared to 13 interracial families.
Section G: The Extended Family

Slightly more husbands in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group were in daily or weekly contact with their brothers and sisters. Both groups had a family member living with them, either at the time of interview or in the past. In fact all subjects in both groups had a paternal relative living with them at some time. Similarly most Yoruba families had a maternal relative living with them at some point in time.

Fathers in both groups were fairly frequent visitors to their home town, seven fathers in the Yoruba group travelled home more than once a month compared to two fathers in the interracial group. Six 'interracial' fathers travelled home less than once a month (but more than three times a year) compared to only one father in the Yoruba group. Only one 'interracial' father never went to his home town (compared to no fathers in the Yoruba group). In half of the families in both groups the entire family accompanied the father to his home town sometimes, in approximately 25 per cent (six interracial, five Yoruba) the entire family accompanied the father not very often and in two interracial families never.

Yoruba mothers were not in frequent contact with their own siblings, seven seeing a sibling monthly and seven less than once a month, though the majority (nine) travelled home once a month. The entire family did not always accompany the mother on trips home, eight did sometimes, eight not very often and only three every time.

In the interracial group, most mothers travelled to their home country at regular intervals, eight once in two years, and
seven once a year. One mother travelled much more frequently (three times a year) and the remainder at less regular intervals. The majority (14) took their children home with them on every trip, none never took them or did not take them very often. The 'interracial' husbands were not such frequent travellers, only one accompanied his wife to her home country every time she went, though five husbands went to their wife's country with her most times, seven went sometimes, five went not very often and one never went.

In the majority of cases (12) the 'interracial' mothers' relatives had never visited them in Nigeria though five had relatives who visited them and three had relatives who visited them in the past.

The greatest number of interracial mothers had been in Nigeria between five and nine years (eight), four had been in Nigeria between 10 and 14 years, three for less than 5 years and five for 15 years and over (see Table 6.30).

Table 6.30
Interracial mothers' number of years of residence in Nigeria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intercultural Mothers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>less than 5 years</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 9 years</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 14 years</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 years and over</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In most cases, the families of the interracial couple did not initially approve of the marriage (13) though later they relented. In five cases the couple had their families approval and in two cases they did not (see Table 6.31).

Table 6.31
Family approval of interracial marriages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family approval/disapproval</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approval</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial disapproval, later approval</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapproval</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, it may be interesting to consider child rearing in 'black mother' interracial families in Nigeria.

Yoruba mother and English father interracial families

Three interracial couples in which the wife was Yoruba and the husband English were interviewed in addition to the main interracial sample. Unfortunately, all the children of these couples were too young to be included in the analysis. However, the parents' interview responses may be briefly discussed.

All of the mothers in this group stated that their children were looked after by a housemaid or other paid help when the mother was not at home. A similar response was obtained from both the Yoruba and the 'white mother' interracial group.
Husbands were also mentioned as caretakers in the 'black mother' interracial families.

One child in this group had been separated from father for a brief period of a few weeks and one child had been separated from mother for a period of one year. Two mothers agreed with the practice of sending children away to live with relatives and one mother did not.

Two respondents (66.66 per cent) in this group named their husbands as principal caretakers. We may recall that only one mother (5 per cent) in both the Yoruba and the interracial samples named their husband as a caretaker (and only in the mother's absence). Thus, in this respect the 'black mother' interracial couples differed from the other two groups.

In two of the 'black mother' interracial families the children had been carried on the mother's back and in one family the children had not been carried in this way by anybody.

Mothers in this group stated that fathers spent a fair amount of time with the children, thus resembling the Yoruba group in this respect. In addition all fathers in this group were reported to take part in all the listed child care responsibilities.

However, this group of interracial families differed little from the Yoruba and 'white mother' interracial families in relation to discipline. Discipline for serious offences in all cases involved smacking the child. For less serious offences discipline ranged from ignoring, warning or scolding to sending to bed. Behaviours which pleased mothers in this group were helping at home, showing intelligence and
affectionate behaviour. Rewards were showing affection, praise or sweets. Regarding immediate obedience, two mothers expected immediate obedience from their children and one did not. All mothers in this group reported that the fathers did not expect their children to obey immediately.

The 'black mother' interracial families resembled the 'white mother' interracial families on questions concerning the home (Section D). All families in the 'black mother' interracial families spoke mostly English at home and to the children. Also, in all families all members wore mostly European dress. Regarding food, all families in this group were reported to eat Yoruba and English food about equally, thus resembling the 'white mother' interracial group more than the Yoruba group. In one 'black mother' interracial family all family members ate particular Yoruba food with a knife and fork in preference to using their hand. In the remaining families only the husband used a knife and fork. Again, this group resembled the 'white mother' interracial families in this respect.

In all families in this group the children were not expected to greet either visitors or their parents in the traditional Yoruba way. In contrast, in the majority of 'white mother' interracial families children were expected to greet certain visitors in this way. However, the majority of 'white mother' interracial children were not expected to greet their parents in the traditional Yoruba way.

Stories told to children in the 'black mother' interracial families were varied, including Yoruba folktales and proverbs,
stories about other African countries, European or North American folktales and European fairy stories.

All women in this group reported that they used books when they needed advice in bringing up their children. It may be recalled that the majority of white and Yoruba mothers also used books for advice. The black 'interracial' mothers were divided as to whether their children were brought up in the same way as in their own childhood. One mother felt that her children were brought up in the same way as she was with respect to religion. The other mothers felt that their children's upbringing was different to their own.

The system of decision making in all three families was one in which the husband and wife discussed all main issues together before making a decision. This system was reported to operate in 70 per cent of 'white mother' interracial families and 75 per cent of Yoruba families.

When asked whether the parents have ever disagreed about child rearing, only one mother replied. She stated that she and her husband disagreed about the time the family would eventually settle in Britain particularly as it concerns the children's education. The husband wanted to move to Britain before the children started primary school and the wife felt that they should move when the children were older. She felt strongly that the children should have developed a good self-concept in Nigeria before being exposed to racism in Britain.
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILD REARING AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

The third hypothesis concerned the relationship between child rearing and ethnic identity.

**Hypothesis 3**

There would be a positive correlation between Yoruba child rearing practices and Yoruba identity.

Spearman's $r_s$ was used to correlate the mothers' score on the Yoruba child rearing practices scale with the children's ethnic identity scores for both the interracial and Yoruba groups. Tables 6.32 and 6.33 present the data for the interracial and Yoruba groups respectively.

In the interracial group a low though nevertheless significant correlation was observed between the mothers' responses and the composite ethnic identity scores ($r_s = .57$, $p < .01$).

Separate correlations were calculated for the individual measures of ethnic identity to establish which test results had the strongest association with child rearing practices. A significant correlation was found between the child rearing practices scale and the doll play test ($r_s = .45$, $p < .05$). No significant correlation was found between child rearing practices and the remaining measures of ethnic identity (for the draw-a-person test, $r_s = .32$; for the food preference measure, $r_s = .33$).

In the Yoruba group no significant correlations were
Table 6.32
Mothers' use of Yoruba child rearing practices and children's ethnic identity scores in the interracial group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Use of Yoruba child-rearing practices</th>
<th>Composite ethnic identity</th>
<th>Child Doll Play</th>
<th>Draw-A-Person</th>
<th>Food Preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.33
Mothes' use of Yoruba child rearing practices and children's ethnic identity scores in the Yoruba group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Use of Yoruba child-rearing practices</th>
<th>Composite ethnic identity</th>
<th>Child Doll Play</th>
<th>Draw-A-Person Food preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
found between the child rearing practices scale and the composite ethnic identity score (r_s = .26) and individual measures.

It seems that culture-specific (Yoruba) child rearing practices are more important in the development of Yoruba identity in the interracial than in the Yoruba group. Unlike the interracial children, Yoruba children may not need to be raised in a certain way in order to feel 'Yoruba'.

Effect of language use on the child's ethnic identity

The effect of language use (spoken at home and to the child) on the child's ethnic identity was examined in both the interracial and Yoruba groups. Slightly different methods of analysis were used for both groups due to the different patterns of language use in both groups as determined from the mothers' questionnaire (questions D1 and D2).

The interracial children were divided into two groups, those whose families spoke only English at home (response E to question D1) and those who spoke some Yoruba (responses A-D to question D1). It was predicted that children in whose homes some Yoruba was used would score a higher Yoruba identity than those in which only English was spoken (see Table 6.34). This prediction was supported by the results (Mann Whitney U = 23, n_1 = 9, n_2 = 11, p < .025, one tailed).

A similar procedure was used for comparing the children according to the language spoken to the child by the parents. In this case more marginal support was obtained for the prediction (Mann Whitney U = 17.5, n_1 = 6, n_2 = 14, p < .05,
one-tailed) considering the post hoc nature of the result analysis.

Table 6.34
Interracial children's composite ethnic identity scores according to language use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language spoken at home</th>
<th>Language spoken to children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>English only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Yoruba</td>
<td>Some Yoruba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n =</td>
<td>n =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.82</td>
<td>10.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.17</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Yoruba group were found to have a more even balance of responses to questions D1 and D2 than the interracial group thus the following comparison groups were obtained: children whose families used mostly Yoruba (responses A and B) and children whose families used an equal to large proportion of English (responses C - E).

It was predicted that children in whose homes mostly Yoruba was spoken and whose families spoke mostly Yoruba to them would have a stronger Yoruba identity than those whose families used a large proportion of English. These predictions were not supported by the results. For language spoken at home, \( U = 28, n_1 = 8, n_2 = 12, P > .05 \), one-tailed. For language spoken to child, \( U = 38.5, n_1 = 7, n_2 = 13, P > .05 \), one-tailed. Table 6.35 presents the means of the two comparison groups.
Table 6.35
Yoruba children's composite ethnic identity scores according to language use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language spoken at home</th>
<th>Language spoken to child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Yoruba</td>
<td>Mostly Yoruba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large proportion of English</td>
<td>Large proportion of English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n =</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\bar{x} =</td>
<td>19.25</td>
<td>17.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.43</td>
<td>17.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the results suggest that language use was not important for Yoruba children but may have influenced the ethnic identity of interracial children.
The effects of child behaviour and development on parenting.

Hypothesis 4

Child behaviour and development would affect parenting (use of culture-specific child rearing practices).

No direct measure of this hypothesis is available from the questionnaire data and the children's tests. However, in addition to the formal interviews, a number of informal interviews were carried out with respondents in cases where rapport between investigator and respondent was good. As the interviews progressed, various pieces of information given by the respondents have supported the use of an interactional analysis of family behaviour. Information from these interviews may be useful for discussion of this aspect of the interaction, the effect of child behaviour on parenting. The main emphasis was placed on interracial families as the main subjects of the study. A small number of case studies may be useful as illustrations.

To a large extent the foreign spouse forms the linchpin of the interracial family. It is she who will decide (either by open consensus or by indirect means) how far she will adapt to the host culture and thus, to a large extent, how far her children will be trained in the mores of the Yoruba culture.
The following illustrations may help to describe the families involved in this study. Examples have been chosen not only to reflect the effect of child behaviour on parenting but also to reflect the wide range of levels of adaptation to the Yoruba culture. Of course the names used in the descriptions are not the real names of the families involved.

The Ojo family

Mrs Ojo spoke fluent Yoruba and the children were fluent in Yoruba only. Consequently, the language of the household was Yoruba. Mrs Ojo learned to speak Yoruba fluently partly because of her child's development. The child was finding it difficult to cope with more than one language so the family decided to use only one language, which, for the benefit of the child, should be the local language. Mrs Ojo also discussed her children's sleeping habits. The children did not like going to bed alone, they preferred staying up until tired and dropping asleep on a chair. She compared this situation to the traditional Yoruba system of allowing children to sleep when they are ready instead of sending them to bed at a set time as is the usual practice in the 'West'. She found that she could not persuade them to go to bed at a set time and so adopted the traditional system she described.

The Salako family

Though not typical of all the respondents, a large number of relatives lived with the Salako family. The paternal grandmother, an aunt and a number of children lived with the
Salakos. Mrs Salako spoke basic Yoruba in order to communicate with her in-laws but felt that her knowledge of the language was not sufficient to get by outside the home. The children all spoke Yoruba though seemed to prefer using English.

Mrs Salako stated that she would like the children to be brought up in the Yoruba way but occasionally had difficulties in convincing the children of this. For instance, she believed that they should use traditional greetings but had difficulty in persuading them to do so. She herself did not use traditional greetings for her in-laws.

Although all the women interviewed recognised the difficulties their children may encounter in being raised according to two different cultures to a greater or lesser extent. Mrs Salako expressed the situation very clearly:

'with one child the African way works, with another the Western way is best'.

It is with this philosophy that Mrs Salako ran her family, trying to adapt her methods to suit the individual characteristics of the child.

Two respondents gave examples of what they have learned about parenting mixed-race children as their children have grown and developed.

Mrs A. felt that her children (particularly her older children) did not have any firm sense of belonging to either black or white cultures. She felt that it is important to keep their options open, to train them according to and teach them about both cultures. Her eldest child spent the first 11 years
of his life in Britain and, after completing his secondary education in Nigeria when the family finally came to settle, has since returned to Britain and, I believe, adopted British nationality. Mrs A. felt that her husband did not realise the importance of cultural training when resident in Britain and consequently never taught the children anything about the Yoruba culture nor told Yoruba stories, etc. Mrs A. felt that this may have contributed towards her son's feeling of alienation from his father's culture.

Mrs G. also mentioned difficulties in her children's adaptation to the Nigerian society (though not as serious as those of Mrs A.) which she felt may have been caused in part by parenting and in part by the society. Her own words may express the situation more appropriately:

"your questionnaire has made me realise just how 'Oyinbo' my children are. I would like to say in my defence, and I use the word 'defence' because I appreciate that they may have problems in the future, that my husband has never made a practice of speaking Yoruba to the children in spite of my requests. His family has never interfered in our lives. He could hardly be called a typical Yoruba himself. Society, by and large, only pays lip service to the fact that our children are Nigerian. They are instantly recognisable, by their appearance, etc, even by the contents of their lunch box at school. My daughter is currently having problems with her mates at school convincing them that she is Nigerian, if different in appearance from the majority."
The fifth hypothesis considered the effects of the marital relationship on parenting.

**Hypothesis 5**

The marital relationship would affect parenting in two ways:

(a) the type of decision making regarding the child's upbringing may affect use of child rearing practices;

(b) extended family involvement may affect parenting such that there would be a positive correlation between extended family involvement and the mother's use of Yoruba child rearing practices (especially in the case of the white mother).

(a) In the interracial group the main type of parental decision making was democratic in which both partners discussed all main issues together then decided. This occurred in 70 per cent of the interracial families. The remaining 30 per cent of families opted for a division of power in which the husband decides on some issues and the wife on others. In the Yoruba group 75 per cent of families used the 'democratic' type of decision making, in 20 per cent of cases the husband decided some issues and the wife others and in 5 per cent (one family) the husband decided all the main issues.

Thus two main types of decision making were evident. A comparison between these two types would be much more meaningful if it was clear exactly which issues were decided by husband
and wife in cases where joint decisions were not made. A more meaningful comparison would have involved cases where the husband makes all the major decisions regarding the children or cases where the wife makes all the major decisions, especially in the interracial group.

(b) This hypothesis was tested by drawing up an ordinal scale of the extent of contact with the extended family using responses to Section G of the mother's questionnaire (see Chapter 5). In the case of the white mothers, only the questions concerning the husband's extended family were used (questions G1 - G4). In the case of the Yoruba mothers, questions regarding both sets of relatives (both husband and wife's relatives) were used (questions G1 - G8). The scale was devised so that the higher the score the greater the amount of contact.

The maximum possible score for interracial families is 15 and the maximum possible score for Yoruba families is 30.

Results of the 'Extended family contact scale' were correlated with the 'Use of elite Yoruba child rearing practices scale' using Spearman's $r_s$ corrected for ties:

For the white mothers (see Table 6.36) a positive, though non significant, correlation was observed ($r_s = 0.328$, $p > .05$, critical value required for significance is 0.377). For the Yoruba mothers (see Table 6.36) a non significant correlation was also observed ($r_s = 0.13$, $p > .05$). However, it appears that the correlation between extended family contact and use of Yoruba child rearing practices was stronger for the white
Table 6.36

Scores on 'Extended family contact scale' and 'Yoruba elite child rearing practices scale' for Interracial and Yoruba groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial Extended Family Contact Scale G1-G4</th>
<th>Yoruba Elite Child Rearing practices Scale</th>
<th>Interracial Extended Family Contact Scale (G1-G4)</th>
<th>Yoruba Elite Child Rearing Practices Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 4 (12) 17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10 6 (11) 21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13 7 (9) 18</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 7</td>
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<td>9 10 (9) 20</td>
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<td>2 8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9 5 (9) 17</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7 5 (4) 8</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 9</td>
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<td>6 9 (3) 10</td>
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<td>9 6</td>
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<td>7 9 (12) 24</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>7 9</td>
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<td>12 16</td>
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<td>8 11</td>
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<td>8 11 (12) 19</td>
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<td>7 9 (7) 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9 11 (10) 20</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
mothers than for the Yoruba mothers.

The two groups were then compared on amount of contact with husband's relatives using the Mann Whitney U test to see whether they differed in this respect. No significant difference was found (U = 148, p > .05). So there is no basis for the commonly held belief that white women are not hospitable to their Yoruba in-laws. Incidentally, little difference was evident in the Yoruba group in the amount of contact with both husband and wife's relatives, contact with husband's relatives (X = 9.15) being marginally greater than contact with wife's relatives (X = 8.75) according to the scale.
The sixth hypothesis concerned the relationship between the three measures of ethnic identity.

Hypothesis 6.

There would be a positive correlation between the different methods of measuring ethnic identity.

Correlations were computed for the two groups separately using Spearman's $r_s$ corrected for ties.

In both groups no significant correlation was observed between any of the three measures. In some cases the correlation was slightly negative. Table 6.37 presents the correlations between different measures. (See Postscript)

Table 6.37

Correlations between the three measures of ethnic identity for interracial and Yoruba children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doll Play and Draw-A-Person</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doll Play and Food Preference</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draw-A-Person and Food Preference</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It seems that there is little association between the three tests which calls for caution when interpreting results. However, as mentioned earlier, it may be that the tests are measuring different aspects of the same concept. That is, ethnic identity may not be a single, simple construct, rather it may be a complex construct with many facets, some of which may be measured by the different tests.
EFFECTS OF THE RACE OF THE EXPERIMENTER ON ETHNIC IDENTITY

TEST RESULTS

The seventh hypothesis was concerned with the possible effect of the experimenter's race on the children's test results.

Hypothesis 7.

The race of the experimenter would affect the children's test results. A differential effect was expected such that the effect would be greater for Yoruba children than for interracial children.

In both groups of subjects 10 children were tested by the investigator (white) and 10 were tested by a Yoruba research assistant. Children interviewed by the white experimenter were compared with those tested by the Yoruba experimenter using the Mann Whitney U test for each of the three ethnic identity tests separately (see Tables 6.38, 6.39 and 6.40). The food preference test was omitted from the analysis for Yoruba subjects as 95 per cent of the subjects recorded the same score (three) therefore there were obviously no significant experimenter effects. Note that experimenters were assigned to subjects randomly. Subject number does not imply order of testing, rather, order in which the data was collated.
Table 6.38

Doll Play test results for interracial and Yoruba subjects according to race of experimenter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial White Experimenter</th>
<th>Yoruba White Experimenter</th>
<th>Yoruba Yoruba Experimenter</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject Score</td>
<td>Subject Score</td>
<td>Subject Score</td>
<td>Subject Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(10) 7</td>
<td>(1) 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(11) 8</td>
<td>(2) 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(13) 7</td>
<td>(3) 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(14) 8</td>
<td>(4) 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(15) 11</td>
<td>(5) 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(16) 8</td>
<td>(6) 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(17) 8</td>
<td>(7) 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(18) 8</td>
<td>(8) 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(19) 9</td>
<td>(9) 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(20) 10</td>
<td>(12) 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.39

Draw-A-Person test results for interracial and Yoruba subjects according to race of experimenter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Experimenter</td>
<td>Yoruba Experimenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Score</td>
<td>Subject Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) 0</td>
<td>(3) 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) 1</td>
<td>(5) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) 0</td>
<td>(7) 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) 2</td>
<td>(8) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) 0</td>
<td>(10) 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13) 0</td>
<td>(11) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14) 1</td>
<td>(12) 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16) 1</td>
<td>(15) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19) 1</td>
<td>(17) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20) 0</td>
<td>(18) 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.40
Food preference test results for interracial children according to race of experimenter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White Experimenter Subject</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Yoruba Experimenter Subject</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No significant experimenter effect was observed in either group for any of the tests. Table 6.41 presents the results of the statistical comparisons.

Table 6.41
Comparisons between white and Yoruba experimenters for the interracial and Yoruba groups using the Mann Whitney U test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interracial</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doll Play</td>
<td>U = 43</td>
<td>p &gt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draw-A-Person</td>
<td>U = 42.5</td>
<td>p &gt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Preference</td>
<td>U = 34.5</td>
<td>p &gt; .05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that experimenter effects were not observed in this study because the comparison was not a true test of effects of race of experimenter. That is, although the investigator was not present when the Yoruba experimenter was testing her subjects, all the children knew that a white person was involved. The investigator made prior visits to the home in order to seek parental consent after which parents may have informed their children that a white woman was coming to talk to them. This is a far different situation to a true test of experimenter effects in which the subjects are completely unaware of a second experimenter.
Hypothesis eight concerned the extent of agreement between mothers and fathers on related questionnaire items.

Hypothesis 8.

There would be a positive relationship between the mothers' questionnaire responses and the fathers' questionnaire responses on related questions.

A number of questions in the mother's questionnaire concerned the fathers' responsibilities and attitudes. These same questions were put to the fathers in order to check on the reliability and accuracy of the mothers' responses. Unfortunately the number of fathers willing to participate in the study was small. Only seven fathers in the interracial group and nine in the Yoruba group completed their relatively short interview schedule. The remaining 24 fathers claimed to be too busy to cooperate.

Thirteen questions contained in the mothers' questionnaire were repeated in the fathers' questionnaire.

Question A.6 of the mother's questionnaire and question 2 of the father's questionnaire (Question A.6/2) concerned the type of activities engaged in by father and children. Tables 6.42 and 6.43 show that all interracial parents were in agreement on at least one activity (underlined) whereas only five out of nine (55.55 per cent) parents in the Yoruba group were in agreement on one activity.
Table 6.42
Mother and father's descriptions of activities engaged in by father and child in the interracial group (cases of agreement between mother and father are underlined).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gardening; outdoor activities; fishing</td>
<td>gardening; talk together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk; tell stories; garden; fishing; draw and paint; read</td>
<td>painting; carving; telling stories; fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk; garden; fishing; tell stories; read</td>
<td>reading; fishing; story telling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>read; gardening; cleaning and preparing meat; dresses wounds</td>
<td>play; eat; gardening; hunting; food processing; discuss; joke; dress wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play indoors or play games outdoors</td>
<td>play and read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watch T.V.; practical jokes</td>
<td>play golf, tennis and badminton; talk; watch T.V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sits on his lap; reads and tells stories</td>
<td>read; play; pray; study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.43
Mother and father's descriptions of activities engaged in by father and child in the Yoruba group (cases of agreement between mother and father are underlined).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teach and play</td>
<td>play; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell stories; go to church; visit friends and relatives</td>
<td>tell stories; talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td>homework; watch T.V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>answer questions; teach maths</td>
<td>homework; teach maths and English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homework</td>
<td>eat together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joke</td>
<td>homework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discuss schoolwork and general knowledge</td>
<td>play; talk; eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discuss and pray</td>
<td>talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td>pray; homework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>homework</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question A.7/3 concerned the father's child care responsibilities. In only three families in each group were both parents in perfect agreement about the father's participation in child care. In almost all the remaining families the father claimed to do more than the mother gave him credit for (see Tables 6.44 and 6.45).

Table 6.44
Father's child care responsibilities as listed by mothers and fathers in the interracial group (cases of agreement are underlined).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feed; play; take to school;</td>
<td>feed; play; take to school;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>read</td>
<td>read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bath; feed; take to bed; play;</td>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take to school; read</td>
<td>play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed;</td>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play; take to school; read</td>
<td>play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed;</td>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play; take to school; read</td>
<td>play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>bath; dress; play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bath; dress; take to bed;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take to school; read</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.45
Father's child care responsibilities as listed by mothers and fathers in the Yoruba group (cases of agreement are underlined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed; play; take to school; read</td>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed; play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed; play; take to school; read</td>
<td>bath; feed; dress; take to bed; play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>bath; play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bath; take to bed; play; take to school; read</td>
<td>play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td>bath; play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take to bed; play; take to school; read</td>
<td>bath; play; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bath; dress; play; take to school</td>
<td>bath; dress; play; take to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play; take to school</td>
<td>take to school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take to school; read</td>
<td>take to bed; take to school; read</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question B.1/4 concerned types of behaviour disapproved of by parents. The mother was asked to describe the behaviours which might lead her to discipline her children and the father was asked which behaviours might lead him to discipline the children. Both sets of responses were compared in Tables 6.46 and 6.47.
Table 6.46
Behaviours leading to discipline in the interracial group
(cases of agreement between mother and father are underlined).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rudeness; unitidness</td>
<td>rudeness; quarrelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demanding attention too much</td>
<td>playing with knives; indiscipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncontrolled behaviour</td>
<td>playing with fire; not listening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breaking known rules; carelessness with a responsibility</td>
<td>to correction from parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misbehaving</td>
<td>rudeness; lying; laziness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'trying to get me to change my mind - to say yes when I have already said no'</td>
<td>standing on chair cushions; going out without permission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walking in the main road; not greeting someone; disobeying for a third time</td>
<td>disobedience; untidiness; strong-headedness; bullying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>using offensive language; fighting with friends</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.47
Behaviours leading to discipline in the Yoruba group (cases of agreement between mother and father are underlined).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>disobedience</td>
<td>disobedience; stubbornness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deliberate disobedience</td>
<td>failure to yield to correction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad behaviour; playing rough</td>
<td>rough play; noise making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talking rubbish</td>
<td>stealing and lying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disobedience</td>
<td>making too much noise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rude talk</td>
<td>stealing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naughtiness; disobedience</td>
<td>bad behaviour; rudeness; fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laziness; disobedience</td>
<td>rudeness; fighting; disobedience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>using abusive language</td>
<td>dirtiness and rudeness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In only one interracial family (14 per cent) and three Yoruba families (33 per cent) were the parents in agreement as to what they considered bad behaviour. It may be expected that more Yoruba than interracial parents would be in agreement as they share the same cultural mores.

Question B.2/5 concerned the children's asking of questions. Both parents were asked whether they think that their child asks too many questions, and if so, what they do about it. Most disagreements between parents on this question were in the interracial group (see Table 6.48). Only one Yoruba couple disagreed on this question (see Table 6.49). However, there may be a difference in understanding of the question as most Yorubas (including interracial fathers) answered that their children do ask too many questions (implying irritation) though all but one stated that they answer the questions (implying encouragement).

Table 6.48
Responses to 'Does your child ask too many questions sometimes? (If yes, what do you do about it?)' for the interracial group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes (ignore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.49
Responses to 'Does your child ask too many questions sometimes? (If yes, what do you do about it?)' for the Yoruba group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
<td>Yes (answer and encourage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
<td>Yes (answer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question B.3/6 concerned the types of discipline used by parents for different types of offence. For minor offences, little difference was evident between mother and father's choice of discipline in the interracial group (see Table 6.50). However, in the Yoruba group differences were apparent in five families (55.55 per cent). For more serious offences differences between parents were evident in three interracial families (42.8 per cent) and two Yoruba families (22.22 per cent) (see Table 6.51). For very serious offences differences were evident in two interracial families (28.57 per cent) and only one Yoruba family (11.11 per cent). It seems that there
was a lack of consensus between parents for some types of
discipline, particularly for offences of medium seriousness.
Parents in the Yoruba group were in greatest agreement for
serious offences and interracial parents were in greatest
agreement for minor offences.

Table 6.50

Types of discipline preferred by mothers and fathers in the
interracial group. Asterisk indicates difference of opinion
between parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minor Offences</th>
<th>Offences of Medium Seriousness</th>
<th>Serious Offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>warn</td>
<td>scold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>correct</td>
<td>slap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>scold*</td>
<td>talk*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>reprimand</td>
<td>restrict*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>raise voice</td>
<td>deprive of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>shout</td>
<td>deny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warn</td>
<td>warn or reprimand</td>
<td>scold*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>privileges</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.51
Types of discipline preferred by mothers and fathers in the Yoruba group. Asterisk indicates differences in opinion between parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minor Offences</th>
<th>Offences of Medium Seriousness</th>
<th>Serious Offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>scold</td>
<td>scold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warn*</td>
<td>spank*</td>
<td>scold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ignore*</td>
<td>warn*</td>
<td>correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warn</td>
<td>warn</td>
<td>scold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ignore*</td>
<td>warn*</td>
<td>warn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>send to* bed</td>
<td>warn*</td>
<td>scold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>reprimand</td>
<td>smack*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warn</td>
<td>scold</td>
<td>warn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shout*</td>
<td>slap*</td>
<td>spank*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which parent is the most effective disciplinarian was the subject of question B.4/7. Parents were asked whether they agree that the father can give more serious discipline than mothers. Most interracial mothers agreed with this statement (85.7 per cent) though fewer interracial fathers agreed (57.14 per cent) (see Table 6.52). In the Yoruba group only
four mothers (44.44 per cent) and four fathers (44.44 per cent) agreed with this statement (see Table 6.52).

Table 6.52

Responses to: 'Some people feel that fathers can give more serious discipline than mothers. What is your opinion?'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parents were also asked whether the father actually disciplined the children for serious offences (question B.5/8). All parents agreed that the father did mete out serious punishments. However, the relative frequency with which the father did so was agreed upon only in the Yoruba group. All parents in the Yoruba group were in perfect agreement on this question. In the interracial group two couples agreed that the father was usually responsible for serious discipline and a third couple agreed that the father was responsible for serious discipline sometimes. In the remaining four families fathers stated that
they were usually responsible for serious punishment whereas mothers stated that fathers took on this responsibility only sometimes.

Question B.7/9 asked whether mother and father approve of other people correcting or punishing their children. Only 44.44 per cent of parents in the Yoruba group and 28.5 per cent of interracial parents were in agreement on this question (see Table 6.53).

Table 6.53
Mothers and fathers' approval of other people correcting or punishing their children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>Disapprove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve certain people</td>
<td>Approve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve certain people</td>
<td>Approve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve certain people</td>
<td>Approve for very bad behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve certain people</td>
<td>Approve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve for very bad behaviour</td>
<td>'Not applicable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve certain people</td>
<td>Approve certain people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parents were asked to give examples of children's behaviour which pleases them. A higher consensus was obtained in the interracial group (57.14 per cent) than in the Yoruba group (11.11 per cent). Tables 6.54 and 6.55 present the responses of both parents in the interracial and Yoruba groups respectively.

Table 6.54
Types of behaviour which please mothers and fathers in the interracial group. Asterisk indicates agreement between parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Showing a willingness to learn; good behaviour</td>
<td>Interest in wildlife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting and drawing*</td>
<td>Interest in art and crafts*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection for wildlife*</td>
<td>Interest in nature*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most things he does</td>
<td>Creativeness; looking after younger siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping with housework</td>
<td>Telling jokes; intellectual progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being thoughtful and* considerate; being cooperative and wishing to please</td>
<td>Good behaviour*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning something nicely;*</td>
<td>Doing well at home and at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathing well; working well; putting toys away; learning something</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.55
Types of behaviour which please mothers and fathers in the Yoruba group. Asterisk indicates agreement between parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doing well at school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaving well</td>
<td>Showing a 'sense of imagination'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking notice of corrections</td>
<td>Good behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping to set the table for lunch; helping to carry mother's bag from the car when she returns from work</td>
<td>Creativity; good academic performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvements in his behaviour</td>
<td>Playing together with siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpful behaviour</td>
<td>Doing well at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping at home; looking after younger siblings</td>
<td>Good behaviour; doing well at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing well at school*</td>
<td>Doing well at school*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polite behaviour</td>
<td>Being neat and tidy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding types of rewards, three couples (33.33 per cent of parents in the Yoruba group and 42.85 per cent of interracial parents) in each group disagreed on types of rewards normally given (see Table 6.56)
Table 6.56
Types of rewards normally given by mothers and fathers in the interracial and Yoruba groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise &amp; Occasional sweets</td>
<td>Gifts; special times together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question F.1/12 was concerned with how decisions concerning the children were made. In the interracial group six couples (85.71 per cent) agreed that issues were discussed together before a decision is reached (including one couple who both agreed on this system and in addition both agreed that some issues were decided by the husband and some by the wife). In the Yoruba group only 55.55 per cent of parents were in agreement (also for a system of joint decision making). In three cases (33.33 per cent) the husband stated that he alone was responsible for major decision making whereas the wife in
all three cases stated that joint decisions were taken. Note that in no case was the wife said to be solely responsible for decision making regarding the children (see Table 6.57)

**Table 6.57**

Responses to how decisions are made concerning the children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother</strong></td>
<td><strong>Father</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss together</td>
<td>Discuss together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband decides</td>
<td>Discuss together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; husband decides</td>
<td>&amp; husband decides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some, wife decides</td>
<td>some, wife decides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother</strong></td>
<td><strong>Father</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss together</td>
<td>Discuss together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband decides</td>
<td>Discuss together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; husband decides</td>
<td>&amp; husband decides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some, wife decides</td>
<td>some, wife decides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In two interracial families (28.57 per cent) there was disagreement on the incidence of disagreements between husband and wife. In both cases the wife affirmed that she sometimes disagreed with her husband on how the children should be brought up, whereas the husband denied that there had been disagreement. In the Yoruba group, three couples (33.33 per cent) disagreed on this issue (see Table 6.58). Note that more parents in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group stated that they have disagreed.

Table 6.58
Reported incidence of disagreements between husband and wife on how the children should be brought up.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial Group</th>
<th>Yoruba Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have not disagreed</td>
<td>Have not disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
<td>Have not disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
<td>Have not disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have disagreed</td>
<td>Have not disagreed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, the parents were asked to give an example of something they have disagreed about. In two of the interracial families both parents related different examples. In the interracial group, mothers reports of disagreements were regarding religious education, church going, boarding school, corporal punishment, extra tuition for son and locking daughter in her bedroom as a punishment for bed-wetting. Fathers reports of disagreements were regarding giving a child too much freedom, intensity of discipline and amount of parental control. One couple refused to disclose the subject. In four families agreement was reached by discussion and compromise and in two families the wife declared that the husband won the argument. In the Yoruba group disagreements reported by the mother were regarding church going in which case the husband won the argument. Disagreements reported by the father were regarding outside influences on the children and passive obedience of instructions. In both cases it was reported that a compromise was reached.

To summarise, it seems that there was much disagreement between mothers' and fathers' reports of child rearing. This may mean that concentrating on only one respondent in a family may be unreliable, giving a distorted picture of parental behaviour. Or it may reflect a genuine lack of consensus between husband and wife. Probably what was occurring is a combination of the two suggestions. Some distortion may be evident in factual information, for example, the difference in mothers and fathers' reports of fathers' child care activities. A lack of
consensus may be reflected in the information regarding parental attitudes and opinions, for example, preferred discipline or approved behaviour.
EXTENT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN MOTHER AND CHILD’S RESPONSES TO RELATED QUESTIONS

As a further methodological exercise, a comparison was made between the mother and child’s responses to related questions. Both mother and child were independently asked whether traditional greetings were used by the child. In the interracial group, 12 mothers and 12 children stated that traditional greetings were used. However, in only 16 cases (80 per cent) were the mother and child in agreement. In the Yoruba group, 16 mothers and 18 children stated that traditional greetings were used; agreement occurred in 14 cases (70 per cent). (See Postscript)

Mother and child were independently asked about the types of games engaged in by the child. A broad interpretation of descriptions of games was used. For instance terms such as catch, running and chasing were all interpreted as constituting one type of game. This method was adopted as it is possible that mothers do not use the same names for games as children do, or that mothers do not always understand the game that the child is playing. Using this fairly liberal method of comparison, agreement between mother and child was reached on at least one game by only 11 families in each group.
SUMMARY OF RESULTS

On the doll play test, Yoruba children expressed a stronger Yoruba identity than interracial children. Eighty percent of interracial children identified with the brown doll, 5 percent with the black doll and 15 percent with the white doll. In the Yoruba group, 50 percent identified with the black doll, 25 percent with the brown doll and 25 percent with the white doll. Seventy percent of interracial and 45 percent of Yoruba children preferred European dress for everyday wear and 50 percent of interracial and 75 percent of Yoruba children selected traditional dress for party wear. Sixty percent of interracial children and 90 percent of Yoruba children used traditional greetings for their grandmother. In the interracial group 25 percent chose the white doll as their best friend, 60 percent chose the brown doll and 10 percent chose the black doll (5 percent gave no response). In the Yoruba group, 50 percent chose the white doll as their best friend, 35 percent chose the brown doll and 15 percent chose the black doll.

All Yoruba subjects interpreted the brown doll in terms of colour. In the interracial group, 70 percent interpreted the brown doll in terms of colour and 30 percent in terms of race. When asked to identify the Nigerian doll, 95 percent of interracial subjects selected the black doll and 5 percent selected both the black and brown doll. In the Yoruba group, 70 percent selected the black doll as being the Nigerian doll, 25 percent selected both the black and brown dolls and 5 percent...
selected the brown doll.

On the Draw-A-Person test no significant difference was observed between the two groups though the Yoruba children's scores were slightly higher than the interracial children's scores.

On the 'Tell Me About Yourself' test, only two ethnic statements out of a total of 101 statements were made by Yoruba children and three ethnic statements out of a total of 71 statements were made by interracial children.

A significant difference was observed between interracial and Yoruba children on the food preference test. Yoruba children almost unanimously preferred Yoruba food to European food though they were exposed to European food (17 mothers stated that they prepare European food at home). Interracial children's preferences were more evenly spread between European food (40 per cent), Yoruba food (35 per cent) and a mixed European and Yoruba choice (25 per cent).

Considering the different tests to be measuring different aspects of the same concept, the sum of these different aspects was taken to form a composite measure of ethnic identity. Yoruba subjects were found to have a stronger Yoruba identity than interracial subjects on the composite measure.

Regarding the mothers' use of Yoruba child rearing practices, Yoruba mothers were found to use significantly more Yoruba child rearing practices than interracial mothers as measured by the Yoruba elite child rearing practices scale.

The questionnaire responses of the two groups of mothers
were compared. The majority of mothers in both groups were found to rely on paid househelp to care for the children when the mother was not at home. The majority of mothers in both groups did not approve of children being raised outside the parental home. Seven interracial and five Yoruba children had been separated from father for a period of time mostly for study leave purposes.

The principal caretaker in both groups was the mother. The majority of children slept in their parent's room in infancy though more interracial than Yoruba children slept in their own bedroom. Almost one third (30 per cent) of interracial mothers carried their infants on the back compared to 65 per cent of Yoruba mothers who did so. Slightly more fathers in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group were involved in feeding the children, fewer were noted to play with the children and more took them to and collected them from school. The majority of mothers in both groups were involved in most child-care responsibilities.

Rudeness, disobedience and using bad language were more often mentioned as behaviours to be disciplined in the Yoruba group than in the interracial group. Little difference was evident between the two groups regarding punishment for minor offences, the most frequently mentioned responses being verbal. For more serious offences, the most frequent discipline in both groups was scolding. For very serious offences, spanking and corporal punishment were the most frequently mentioned in both groups.

The majority of mothers in both groups felt that fathers
can give more serious discipline than mothers. In both groups, the father was most often involved in any serious discipline. In both groups people other than the parents were involved in child discipline, mostly the grandparents and other relatives.

Little difference was evident between the two groups in behaviours which please parents. Behaviours ranged from artistic pursuits to showing affection, being considerate and cooperative and good behaviour. Some difference was evident in types of rewards given, praise being preferred in the interracial families and a combination of praise and sweets in the Yoruba families.

Major differences between the two groups were evident in the home environment. The majority of interracial mothers speaking only English at home and the majority of Yoruba mothers speaking English and Yoruba about equally. The majority of foreign mothers wore mostly European dress and the majority of Yoruba mothers wore mostly Yoruba dress. The husbands showed a similar pattern to the wives. Results for the children were fairly similar though there was a slight shift to the European end of the scale in both groups. The two groups did not differ so much regarding the type of food normally eaten at home. The majority of Yoruba families ate mostly Yoruba food, the modal responses for the interracial group were mostly Yoruba dishes and Yoruba and English dishes about equal. More Yoruba than interracial mothers ate particular Yoruba foods with their hands in preference to a knife and fork. The majority of children in both groups used their hands.

The majority of children in both groups were reported to
greet visitors in the traditional Yoruba manner. The majority of Yoruba children were reported to greet their parents in the traditional Yoruba way and the majority of interracial children were not.

More Yoruba than interracial children were told Yoruba folktales and proverbs though a considerable number were told African stories of one type or another. The most popular books in the interracial group were European story books. African story books were also read by a few children. More Yoruba than interracial children did not have a favourite book.

Types of playmates were similar in both groups. Most children played with siblings, school friends and other friends. Types of games played by children in both groups were varied but were predominantly those to be found in any Western playground.

The majority of mothers in both groups used books for advice in the upbringing of their children. Relatively few women in both groups took advice from their mothers and mothers-in-law.

In both groups, the predominant mode of parental decision making was democratic, that is, both parents discussed all issues together before deciding. However, the two groups differed in number of reported disagreements on how the children should be brought up. In only two Yoruba families had the parents disagreed compared to 13 interracial families.

Slightly more husbands in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group were in daily or weekly contact with their brothers and sisters. Both groups had a family member living with them at some time. Fathers in both groups were fairly frequent
visitors to their home town. Yoruba mothers were not in frequent contact with their own siblings though the majority travelled home once a month. In the interracial group most mothers travelled to their home country at regular intervals, the majority taking their children with them on every trip. In the majority of cases the white mothers' relatives had never visited them in Nigeria though five had relatives who did visit them and three had relatives who had visited in the past.

In most cases, the families of the interracial couple did not initially approve of the marriage though later they relented.

The mothers' scores on the Yoruba child rearing practices scale were correlated with the children's ethnic identity scores. In the interracial group a low though significant correlation was observed between the mothers' responses and the composite ethnic identity scores. A significant correlation was found between the child rearing practices scale and the doll play test. No significant correlation was found for any of the remaining measures.

In the Yoruba group no significant correlations were observed between the child rearing practices scale and any of the ethnic identity measures.

So it seems that Yoruba child rearing practices were more important in the development of Yoruba identity in the interracial than in the Yoruba group.
A small number of case studies were presented to illustrate the effects of child behaviour and development on parenting in the interracial group.

The relationship between contact with the extended family and the use of Yoruba child rearing practices was examined in the two groups. No significant correlation was observed in either of the two groups.

No significant difference was observed between the two groups on the amount of contact with husband's relatives.

No significant correlation was observed between any of the three methods of measuring ethnic identity.

No significant experimenter effect was observed in either group for any of the tests.

A number of questions were put to both parents independently and their responses compared. Only seven fathers in the interracial group and nine fathers in the Yoruba group cooperated.

More parents in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group were in agreement about the types of activities engaged in by father and children. In only three families in each group did both parents agree about the father's participation in child care. In almost all the remaining families the father claimed to do more than the mother gave him credit for.

In only one interracial and three Yoruba families were the
parents in agreement as to what they considered bad behaviour.

There seems to be a lack of consensus between parents as to choice of discipline, particularly for offences of medium seriousness. Parents in the Yoruba group were in greatest agreement for serious offences and interracial parents were in greatest agreement for minor offences.

Most interracial mothers and some interracial fathers believed that the father is the most effective disciplinarian. Less than half the mothers and fathers in the Yoruba group shared this belief.

All parents agreed that the father was responsible for serious punishments. However the relative frequency with which the father gave serious punishment was agreed on only in the Yoruba group.

Few parents in both groups were in agreement as to whether other people should discipline their children, the amount of agreement being greater in the Yoruba group.

A higher consensus between parents was observed in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group as to which child behaviours they found pleasing. Three couples in each group disagreed on types of rewards normally given.

Eighty-five per cent of interracial couples agreed on the type of decision making in the home whereas only 55 per cent of Yoruba couples were in agreement.

Amount of consensus between husband and wife on whether they have disagreed on child rearing issues was found to be similar in the two groups.

Overall, there seems to be much disagreement between mothers' and fathers' reports of child rearing.
CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS
Before discussing the results of this study we may consider its limitations.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study of ethnic identity in Nigeria has several limitations. Foremost among them is the problem of defining the basic concepts of ethnic identity and culture. The measurement of ethnic identity is fraught with difficulties even in cases where there is much related research on which to base one's study. The psychological study of ethnic identity in Nigeria (and for that matter, in most of Africa) is a relatively untouched area and therefore there is little relevant literature to guide the research. The measures employed in this study were adapted to be relevant to the investigator's perception of the culture of the subjects.

According to Verma and Bagley (1984) culture is not static, rather it changes with time. Thus the investigator attempted to outline the contemporary 'elite' Yoruba culture and also the traditional Yoruba culture on which it is based. Comparisons between the Yoruba culture and the 'Western' culture were made in order to remind us of the culture of the Oyinbo mother. However, because of the relative lack of relevant African research, this study was largely exploratory in nature.

There are various factors mitigating against academic research in developing countries, factors which may be very familiar to cross-cultural psychologists. This study was to
some extent hampered by a lack of suitable research materials in Nigeria and up-to-date library facilities. Most materials and references had to be imported. In addition, when problems arose, swift supervisory advice was impossible to obtain due to a poor communication network.

Other problems have been mentioned earlier (see Chapter 5). Among these was the inability to sample randomly. However, efforts were made to match subjects on as many relevant variables as possible in order to control extraneous subject variables. Butcher (1966) suggested that:

"Even an 'accidental' sample, or one that is chosen because it is the only one available may yield information of considerable value." (p.28)

Though the sample size was quite small this may not necessarily detract from the usefulness of the study. It was felt that an in-depth study of a small number of people would be considerably more useful than the more superficial analysis often resulting from large samples.

Another limitation of this study involves the use of correlation to study child rearing and ethnic identity. Correlational studies are useful for indicating the extent of a relationship between variables but do not give any information as to the effects of one variable on another. To examine directly the effects of specific child rearing practices on ethnic identity, at least two clearly distinguishable comparison groups would be needed. These comparison groups should differ considerably in their use of specific child rearing practices. The two comparison groups in
this study, Yoruba and Yoruba/Oyinbo were not found to differ markedly in child rearing practices. Furthermore, clear comparison groups within the interracial and Yoruba samples were not available. Therefore a correlational approach was considered more appropriate. However, one particularly important variable, language use, was examined for each group separately by comparing English language dominant families with predominantly non-English language families.

In summary, while it was realised that this study has several limitations, considerable efforts were made to ensure that these were overcome or accounted for when interpreting the results.
DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

It may be useful at this juncture to reconsider the aims of this study. The first aim was to study the development of ethnic identity from the perspective of the family. The second aim was to examine the social and cultural context of this study. The third aim was to examine the relationship between culture-specific child rearing practices and ethnic identity. The fourth aim was to examine the mode of operation of interracial families. Finally, the fifth aim was to consider methodological issues in measuring ethnic identity and culture-specific child rearing practices.

The development of ethnic identity from the perspective of the family

The methodological framework underlying this study was the family interactions model proposed by Belsky (1981) applied to the development of ethnic identity. The model had several aspects, some of which guided the hypotheses suggested in this study. The three main aspects considered in this research were the influence of the parents on the child's behaviour and development, the influence of the child's behaviour and development on the parents, and the influence of the marital relationship on parenting.

The influence of the parents on the child was examined by relating the use of culture-specific child rearing practices to ethnic identity in the child. This aspect is discussed more fully later. However, it would appear that this aspect of the
model was useful for the interracial group but not for the Yoruba group.

The influence of the child's behaviour and development on parenting was examined in several 'interracial' case histories. This aspect of the model was useful in considering the interracial families, particularly the mother. Some mothers were clearly influenced by their child's development.

The influence of the marital relationship on parenting was examined in two ways. Firstly, the type of decision making in the family was examined. The influence of the type of decision making was not found to be a useful aspect for analysis as no clear comparison groups were evident. The predominant types of decision making in both the interracial and Yoruba groups involved both parents. A more useful analysis (especially for the interracial group) would have involved comparing families in which one partner is responsible for decision making regarding the child. In this case the influence of either the Yoruba culture or the 'oyinbo' culture would be more easily outlined.

The second aspect of the influence of the marital relationship on parenting was a consideration of the extended family involvement in the nuclear family. It was assumed that the extended family may influence the type of child rearing practices used by the parents. A stronger relationship between extended family involvement and use of Yoruba child rearing practices may be expected in the interracial group. This is because the difference in opinion between mothers and extended family members may be greater in the interracial group. Thus the influence of extended family members would be more
strongly felt. However, this would altogether depend on the extent to which extended family members were allowed by both husband and wife to influence the affairs of the nuclear family, which in turn, depends on the type of marital relationship. In this study, the relationship between the extent of extended family involvement in the nuclear family and the use of Yoruba child rearing practices was found to be slightly stronger in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group. However, in neither group was this relationship significant.

The family interactions model was useful, especially when considering the interracial families. As mentioned earlier, it is often essential to consider the functioning of the entire family when examining child development. In the case of the interracial families an interactional element was frequently evident in which the mother's behaviour and opinions were influenced by the child. There was no reason to suppose that the child would not also influence the father's child rearing behaviours and opinions.

The influence of the mother on the father may also have been evident in some cases. Several differences in behaviour between fathers in the interracial and Yoruba groups were found. For example, differences between the fathers in the two groups were found in the type of dress normally worn and in types of child care activities. It is possible that fathers were influenced by their wives on some of these aspects. Of course, an alternative explanation may also be applicable. For instance, there may be fundamental differences between the
fathers in the interracial and Yoruba groups that led them to marry accordingly.

In addition, the greater number of disagreements about child rearing reported in the interracial group may reflect a stronger interactional effect. Resolutions of disagreements may give some indication of the amount of influence each marital partner had on the other. For example, a two-way or mutual influence may be in operation in cases where a compromise is reached. A one-way influence may be in operation when one partner wins the argument.

Finally, although the family unit is a useful unit for analysis, it may be difficult to consider it in isolation. The socialization process involves many varied influences on the child including the school, peer groups, the community, etc. Thus, while the family interactions framework was useful in this study, its usefulness was limited. The development of siblings was not considered in this study. Furthermore, external influences impinging on the child and on the family should also be considered.

The social and cultural context of the study

One of the aims of this study was to outline the social and cultural context in which the Nigerian interracial family operates. One aspect of this was an examination of the attitudes of the community, one type of external influence affecting the family. It was found that attitudes of the elite and wider community towards Europeans were generally more favourable than their attitudes towards other African (Nigerian
and foreign) groups. Furthermore, the results of this aspect of the study would seem to suggest that interracial marriage is more likely to be condoned than inter-ethnic marriage.

Popular beliefs about interracial marriage were mentioned in Chapter 4. Popular beliefs about inter-ethnic marriage are also fairly widespread.

Among the popular opinions about inter-ethnic marriage known to the investigator are opinions surrounding the dowry system still in operation in some Nigerian ethnic groups. Briefly, it is believed that the dowry may be a financial burden to the young couple. In addition, it is believed that the Yoruba woman who marries into another ethnic group will thus distance herself from her family as she is expected to reside in her husband's home region. If she encounters any problems in her marriage she may thus find it difficult to seek assistance from her parents or other family members.

Among the popular beliefs about interracial marriage is the belief that the white spouse will encounter problems in adjusting to the Nigerian way of life. It is also believed that the Nigerian spouse may be distanced from his extended family because the foreign wife and the husband's relatives may not be willing to accommodate each other. These popular beliefs were dispelled to some extent by the results of the mothers' questionnaires. Generally, the mothers in the interracial sample did adjust, to some extent, to the elite Nigerian way of life. It was noted that interracial and elite Yoruba mothers questionnaire responses were fairly similar in many respects. Furthermore, contact with the husband's extended family was by
no means less in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group.

The finding of generally favourable attitudes towards white people shown by Yorubas has some implications for the development of interracial children and also for their parents. Though not empirically tested, it is possible that Nigerian interracial children may have a more positive self-concept than interracial children in countries where racial discrimination is more strongly evident. As will be discussed more fully later, problems more often reported to be encountered by interracial children in Nigeria stemmed from culture-conflict and identity development rather than from racial hostility. Parents of interracial children in Nigeria may not face problems of racial discrimination as often as interracial parents in some other countries. For instance, Porterfield (1973) and Wilson (1981b) reported instances of racial hostility in the United States and Britain. Racial discrimination in housing policies, verbal and physical abuse in the form of spitting at the children and physical attack of mother (white) and children were reported. Reports of racial hostility were not made by mothers in this study.

Another function of the study of the social and cultural aspects of these families was to assist in the development of culturally appropriate methods of measurement. The study of traditional and elite Yoruba child rearing practices was used to develop the mothers' and fathers' questionnaires including the elite Yoruba child rearing practices scale. Furthermore, some of the questions in the doll play test were drawn from the
research on the elite Yoruba culture. Finally, information about the Yorubas reported in Chapter 4 was very useful for interpreting the children's test results.

Child rearing and ethnic identity

Before discussing the relationship between child rearing and ethnic identity it may be useful to consider the children's test results and their interpretation in terms of ethnic identity.

Generally, the majority of children in both the interracial and Yoruba groups displayed correct self-identification according to skin colour on the doll choice test. Eighty per cent of interracial children identified with the brown doll and 50 per cent of Yoruba children identified with the black doll. It would seem that Yoruba children gave less correct responses. However, when one considers the colour meaning aspect of the test the results may be given a more appropriate interpretation.

All Yoruba subjects interpreted the brown doll in terms of colour rather than race whereas almost a third of the interracial subjects interpreted the brown doll in terms of race (that is, as 'half-caste', etc). When asked to indicate the 'Nigerian' doll, a total of 30 per cent of Yoruba children indicated the brown doll (some in combination with the black doll) whereas almost all the interracial children (19 out of 20) selected the black doll as being Nigerian and one selected both the black and brown dolls. This suggests that interracial children interpreted the brown doll in the terms intended by
the investigator (i.e., as interracial, mixed-race, 'half-caste', etc.) whereas the Yoruba children may have been seeing the brown doll as a light-skinned black doll. The fact that Nigerian children do perceive differences in skin colour was noted by Olowu and Pfeffer (1985) who found a considerable number of comments referring to 'light complexion', 'dark complexion', etc., in the spontaneous self-concepts of Nigerian adolescents. Skin colour is a familiar method of description in Nigeria. One hears references to 'black', 'light' and even 'yellow' used to describe individuals all of whom are black Africans.

So the Yoruba children's self-identification as brown may be interpreted as being correct. However, there still remains 25 per cent of Yoruba children who identified with the white doll. There are several possible interpretations which could be given to this finding. Firstly, the 'wish to be white' phenomenon may be operating. This idea was suggested by a number of researchers (e.g., Clark and Clark, 1947) to explain similar findings with black children living in societies in which they may encounter race prejudice (e.g., many 'Western' countries and South Africa). While it may be true that Yorubas prefer the 'Oyinbo' to other Nigerians or Africans as found in Chapter 4, this does not necessarily imply that they prefer 'Oyinbos' to their own ethnic group. Note that the results of the attitude survey reported in Chapter 4 found a strong own-group preference followed by a preference for Oyinbos, then finally other Nigerian and African groups. All subjects in the attitude survey without exception preferred their own group.
So, the argument is that although Yorubas have been found to like white people this does not imply rejection of their own group. Hence, the 'wish to be white' idea may not explain the quite large amount of misidentification in the Yoruba children's doll-choice results.

A second suggestion is that the children may have wished to please the investigator by selecting the investigator's own group. At this point it may be pertinent to note that, generally, the interracial children were more at ease than the Yoruba children with both the black and white investigators. This does not imply that the Yoruba children were not willing participants as many of them were reported by their parents to be excited before the experimenter arrived. Friends and neighbours of the subjects were in some cases waiting outside to take their own turn (though not included in the analysis). However, possible differences in socialization may have an effect. For instance, Yoruba children are expected to behave with some reserve in the presence of elders and authority figures (for instance, traditionally they are not expected to look an elder in the eye when speaking to him/her and are not expected to ask questions). Though not empirically measured or tested, the experimenters gained the impression that the interracial subjects talked more during testing, chatting to themselves or the experimenter while making their choices in which case any misunderstandings could be cleared up. Though some Yoruba subjects were very much at ease, others were more restrained. It is a possibility that some Yoruba subjects may have wished to please the white investigator who may have been
perceived as an authority figure (some of the subjects at the time of testing had a white headmistress). However, no significant differences were found between results obtained by a white and a Yoruba experimenter. Though, as was mentioned in Chapter 6, many of the Yoruba subjects were aware of the white investigator even when not actually tested by a white experimenter.

So, to summarise, the self-identification results as measured by choice of ethnic stimuli (summing black and brown choices for the Yoruba group) were similar to those found by other investigators for black and interracial subjects. A high proportion of own-group identification has been found by several investigators for black children (e.g., Davey, 1983) and for interracial children (Wilson, 1981b).

Ethnic preference was not directly measured, being outside the immediate scope of the study. However, the choice of best friend item may possibly be considered as an indicator of ethnic preference. The majority of interracial children selected a brown doll whereas the majority of Yoruba children chose the white doll. Similar caution should be used when interpreting this result for the Yoruba subjects as in the self-identification item. Furthermore, it is not clear whether the item should be interpreted in terms of real friendship choice, preferred friendship choice or a desire to please the investigator. Whichever way the item responses are interpreted it is evident that the interracial children were found to be more satisfied with an interracial self-concept than the interracial children studied by Benson (1981) in London.
Benson's Brixton sample displayed a fairly high rate of dissatisfaction with an interracial self-concept. Many of them rejecting their colour or any reference to black features in preference for a white self-concept. This tendency was not found in the Nigerian interracial sample.

The Draw-A-Person and 'Tell me about yourself' measures did not prove to be very useful indicators of ethnicity. Both groups of subjects obtained very low scores on the Draw-A-Person measure of ethnic identity and interpretations given to it have been discussed by Pfeffer (1984). The investigator proposed that the under-usage of dark colours in Nigerian children's human figure drawings does not necessarily imply a white identity, a white preference, or ambivalence about being black. Schofield (1978) suggested that black American children avoid colouring their human figures black because of ambivalent attitudes towards their ethnic group membership. Pfeffer (1984) argued that a similar interpretation of essentially similar findings in Nigeria may be inappropriate. The investigator argued that Nigerians generally are proud of their race and colour and furthermore, they are not likely to suffer from racial discrimination at home. Therefore, it is not likely that they will display a preference to be white as Schofield (1978) argued for her American subjects. Pfeffer (1984) did note African facial features and clothing in the Nigerian children's drawings, features which one would expect to be absent if the children were trying to project a white self-image. Pfeffer argued that some other explanation should be sought to explain the findings, such as preferred style of
drawing, use of colour in Nigerian children's school books, or possibly, the simple fact that it is very difficult to indicate facial features if the face is coloured black. A similar lack of facial or body shading or colour has been observed in other collections of Nigerian schoolchildren's drawings in studies not primarily concerned with ethnicity (Pfeffer and Olowu, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c). It is possible that race is not a salient issue to these children.

The use of 'Tell me about yourself' as a measure of ethnic identity was also not very informative. Very few items concerned with race, ethnicity, colour, area of origin, etc, were given. However, a similar technique was found to be useful with older subjects (Olowu and Pfeffer, 1985) in which adolescents were asked to write an essay entitled 'Myself'. Such techniques may be more useful with older subjects due to more sophisticated verbal abilities. It is pertinent to indicate that the 'Tell me about yourself' technique has been found to work with British (Jahoda et al., 1972) and American (McGuire et al., 1978) primary school children of a similar age to the present sample. Also, the method of Olowu and Pfeffer's (1985) study, the written rather than oral form, may have influenced results. That is, the written form is more anonymous than the oral form. In their study, Olowu and Pfeffer (1985) found few direct references to race and ethnicity, rather items were more concerned with area of origin in terms of state, town and village. It may be that ethnicity per se is not especially salient to Nigerian children unless they are in a situation where they are
directly confronted with ethnicity. In support of this, Olowu and Pfeffer (1985) found that state of origin was mentioned more by subjects from states other than the one in which the school sampled was located and similarly with town of origin. Furthermore, any type of comment concerned with area of origin was mentioned more in an urban sample than in a rural sample. It was suggested that urban school students are more likely to encounter natives of other areas and are therefore more likely to notice and to think in terms of ethnicity than rural school students. A final comment on this measure concerns the form of language used. It is the investigator's impression that the Yoruba language is primarily an oral language and that the English language is used in Nigeria as a written language. This point might help to explain the discrepancy in findings between the present study and the study conducted by Olowu and Pfeffer (1985). In the present study English was used as an oral language. For the Yoruba subjects at least, Yoruba would have been a preferrable oral medium of communication. However, this suggestion does not account for the interracial results as the common oral language among interracial subjects was English. Also, if the language of communication was a problem then the number of comments of any type made by the subjects on the 'Tell me about Yourself' (other than ethnic statements) would be very low and this was not the case.

The idea that salience of ethnicity is not important to Nigerians unless they are confronted with it is given support by McGuire et al. (1978) who found that ethnic terms were used
more by American minority group children as they became more and more in the minority. That is, ethnic statements were seen as a function of the minority group children's distinctiveness in the social environment. A decrease in minority group size was associated with an increase in ethnic statements. The idea of salience also suggests a reason for the discrepant findings of the three major ethnic identity measures used in the present study. The doll choice technique was more successful as a measure of ethnic identity as it shoved the notion of ethnicity under the children's noses, so to speak, something which the other measures did not do.

In summary, it would seem that the majority of Yoruba and interracial primary school children studied were able to classify themselves correctly in terms of ethnicity when the issue was put to them directly.

Having examined the children's test results we may now consider the relationship between child rearing and ethnic identity.

The major finding regarding the relationship between child rearing practices and ethnic identity was that the child rearing practices measured in the present study were of little importance for Yoruba children but seemed to be of some importance for interracial children in forming a 'Yoruba' identity. A significant correlation was observed in the interracial group. An increase in the use of Yoruba child rearing practices was associated with an increase in Yoruba identity as measured by the children's tests. No such correlation was observed for the
Yoruba subjects.

One particular variable considered to be of some importance, language use (Giles, 1977), was examined separately. A similar result was obtained to the overall child rearing and ethnic identity relationship. Language use was found to have a significant effect in the interracial group but not in the Yoruba group. Interracial children who heard some Yoruba language in the home obtained higher 'Yoruba' identity scores than interracial children who heard almost no Yoruba at home. No such finding was observed for the Yoruba group.

So it seems that in the Yoruba group some factors other than the child rearing practices measured here may be operating. Possibly, Yoruba children do not need to be brought up in a certain way in order to 'feel' Yoruba. It may be that some other factors, such as identification with the parent may be more important. In this respect a comparison between 'elite' and 'traditional' children may be enlightening. As elite children are believed to have, to some extent, a more 'Westernised' upbringing than children from lower-income, more traditionally oriented homes (Lloyd, 1966) there may well be a difference in extent of identification with the Yoruba ethnic group. If such a difference exists, then some aspects of child rearing practices may be found to be implicated. However, this is merely conjecture and awaits empirical evidence in support.

In the case of the interracial children, there is no parental model of the same ethnic group with which to identify, in which case certain features of the way they are brought up may be important. Parents may possibly make the
child feel closer to the Yoruba or 'Oyinbo' group by certain features of home life, behaviours, attitudes, etc.

In some respects, the 'interracial' parents in the sample may well have succeeded in their child rearing practices in imparting an interracial identity to the child. It may at this point be pertinent to compare Benson's (1981) London study with the present study. Benson (1981) gained the impression of an English mode of family life in her sample. She further reported that white respondents felt that the onus was on their black spouses to adapt to the English culture. In the present study, though some of the respondents showed a fairly low level of adaptation to the Yoruba way of life in some respects (for instance the predominant language of communication was English), nevertheless, they seemed to show more equality between the two cultures than did Benson's subjects. For instance food in the Nigerian interracial sample was mostly Yoruba whereas in Benson's study non-English food was very rare in interracial homes. Furthermore, most Nigerian interracial children had heard folktales from their fathers' culture. This was rare in Benson's sample. In the present study, differences between interracial and Yoruba mothers' responses to the questionnaires were not great, the largest differences being in the section concerned with the home. In fact, differences between the Nigerian interracial families and the Yoruba families were probably less than the differences between the Nigerian interracial families and Benson's British mixed-race families. Comparing the ethnic identities of Benson's subjects with the subjects of the present study, although she did not measure
ethnic identity directly, Benson (1981) gained an impression of a predominantly white identity in her subjects. This may be a result of a predominantly 'white' cultural upbringing.

**Interracial families**

The interracial families were found to differ from the Yoruba families in a number of ways. These differences have been discussed fully in Chapter 6. Generally they were found to use less Yoruba child rearing practices than the Yoruba families. Also there were differences in the home environment, type of food eaten, type of dress worn, the language spoken, etc. However, many similarities in behaviour and opinions were also found between interracial and Yoruba parents, for example, regarding child discipline.

One of the most notable differences between interracial and Yoruba families was in the number of incidents of disagreement between husband and wife regarding the children. The subject of disagreement varied from family to family, covering such topics as education, religious instruction and discipline. An obvious explanation for the greater number of disagreements between husband and wife in the interracial group is the difference in cultural background of the interracial parents which may lead to differences in expectations of child training and behaviour. However, the amount of consensus between mother's and father's questionnaire responses for similar items was not noticeably less in the interracial group than in the Yoruba group. This would imply that interracial parents did have similar expectations about child rearing, at least for some aspects.
Thus, it may be that interracial parents disagreed about subjects on which there was no consensus between them because of cultural differences. A lack of consensus between husband and wife's questionnaire responses in the interracial group was found for choice of discipline (except for minor offences), whether other people should discipline their children, and what they considered to be bad behaviour. Thus, the subject of discipline may be one area in which disagreements were likely to occur. Another explanation may be that disagreements took on greater significance for the interracial mothers because of cultural differences, and thus were more readily remembered than they were by the Yoruba mothers. What this means is that all parents may have disagreed at some time about their children's upbringing. However, the Yoruba mother may not consider the disagreements to be of much significance and thus readily forget. Whereas, to the interracial mother a single disagreement may have great significance, she may even feel shocked that her husband should express an opinion which is very different to her own. Similar findings were reported by Benson (1981) in her British interracial sample. Thus, while it may be the case that interracial parents disagreed about child rearing more frequently than parents in the Yoruba group, it may also be that interracial mothers remembered disagreements more readily as they may have been of more significance to them than to Yoruba mothers.

Some differences between the Nigerian interracial families and Benson's (1981) British interracial sample have been mentioned above. A notable difference between Benson's subjects
and the Nigerian interracial families in this study involved the father's participation in child care. In Benson's study, child care was left almost entirely in the hands of the mother whereas in the Nigerian study most fathers participated in some aspects of child care. Also differences can be seen in the languages used. As mentioned above, the predominant language of communication in the Nigerian interracial homes was the English language. However, some interracial mothers were able to understand a small amount of Yoruba and one or two were fluent in the Yoruba language. The fathers in the Nigerian interracial families may have used Yoruba to communicate with their children occasionally. Furthermore, even when not instructed in the Yoruba language at home most interracial children understood some Yoruba, mostly from what they had heard in school and the community. The majority of British interracial families in Benson's study did not understand the black parent's language at all. Though some white mothers did attempt to learn their husband's language they seemed to have received little assistance from their husbands. Most of the few mothers who did try to learn their husband's language gave up the attempt.

Language is just one example of behaviours which the Nigerian interracial children may learn from the community if not from their home. The investigator has observed many interracial girls carrying dolls or toy animals on their backs in the traditional Yoruba manner of carrying infants. Some of these children may not have been carried that way themselves or seen their mother carrying younger siblings on the back. Rather, they may have observed people outside the home and
copied their behaviour. In contrast, most of the interracial children in Benson's sample may not have had the opportunity to observe behaviours in the community appropriate to their black parent's culture. As the culture of the home was predominantly 'white' in the 'white mother' interracial families and the culture of the community was predominantly 'white', then it is not surprising that Benson gained an impression of a predominantly 'white' identity in the (white mother) interracial children she studied.

Nigerian interracial families in which the mother was Yoruba and the father English were also included in this study. Some differences were found between these families and the 'white mother' interracial families. Differences were also found between the 'black mother' interracial families and the Yoruba families. For instance, fathers were mentioned as principal or secondary caretakers in the 'black mother' interracial families. In contrast, fathers were rarely mentioned as major caretakers (in the mother's absence or otherwise) in both the 'white mother' interracial and Yoruba groups. Furthermore, traditional Yoruba greetings were not used at all by the 'black mother' interracial children. In contrast, the majority of 'white mother' interracial children and Yoruba children did use traditional Yoruba greetings (though in most interracial families their use was limited to certain people and were not used to greet the parents).

In some respects the 'Yoruba mother' interracial families were found to be more similar to the 'white mother' interracial families than to the Yoruba families. This was most notable in
the home environment, for example, in the food usually eaten, language spoken, dress worn, etc. Thus, it would seem that the white partner had more influence in the home environment.

Differences observed in this study between the 'black mother' and 'white mother' interracial families may have implications for the study of interracial children. It may be important to consider the cultural background of the parents of each interracial child rather than categorising children as a single interracial group. Even in cases where interracial children share similar cultural backgrounds as in this study, it may be important to consider which of the parents is from which cultural group.

Although none of the interracial children involved in this study appeared to have any serious problems of identity development, some had experienced conflict between the different cultural expectations of their parents or of the home and the community. For instance they may be expected to behave in a certain way by their parents and in a different way by their peers or school teachers. Or, the extended family or members of the community may expect certain behaviours of the children which the parents do not encourage (the use of traditional greetings is an example). Most of the examples given to the investigator by the respondents were of conflict between the home and the community. Another type of conflict which was reported to occur by most of the respondents was in the child's ethnic identity as perceived by outsiders. In Nigeria, an interracial person may be referred to as 'oyinbo', that is as white. However, when the same person travels to his/her white
parent's home country he/she is often referred to as black. This may be quite confusing for the interracial child, though the confusion may be limited to the period of foreign travel. Most of the parents involved in this study were aware of possible problems and tried to give their children their support.

A final point to note is that problems of adjustment or of culture-conflict may not be limited to the mother and child. The interracial father may also face related problems. For instance, family members, friends or associates may be observing the interracial father in order to detect changes in his behaviour. He may feel under pressure to convince people that he has not become 'oyinbo' just because he has married an 'oyinbo' woman. Some mothers and a few fathers reported that the father tried in the initial stages of marriage or settling in Nigeria to avoid any criticism from fellow Yorubas. However, they added that they tried to reach a stage in which they could attain a balance between the demands of the home and the demands of the community.

The findings of this study of interracial families seem to emphasize the importance of considering the functioning of the entire family not just the individual child.

Methodological Issues

A number of methodological issues were examined in the present study.

Firstly, a number of different measures of ethnic identity were used for reasons outlined earlier. It was felt that most methods of measuring ethnic identity have particular
problems inherent in them. For instance, the commonly used doll-choice technique may be influenced by the construction of the stimuli, the range of choice of stimuli, and the forced-choice nature of the task among other factors. Three different measures were selected for their different methods of approaching the problem. 'Doll play' is fairly direct, that is, subjects are confronted by ethnic stimuli and expected to define themselves in those terms, terms laid down by the experimenter. In contrast, 'Draw-A-Person' may give a more accurate measure of the salience of ethnicity to the subject. However, in cases where ethnicity is not particularly salient (as in the present study) 'Draw-A-Person' may not be a useful measure of ethnic identity other than its use as a measure of salience. In this case instructions to 'Draw yourself' may possibly yield better results. The same argument may apply to the 'Tell us about yourself measure'. However, a food preference measure was taken from the 'Tell me about yourself' test, a measure of a small but not insignificant part of ethnicity.

The relationship between the three tests as measured by correlation was found to be non significant. This does not necessarily imply that the tests were not measuring the same concept but that they were measuring different aspects of the same concept, a 'forced-choice' self-concept (doll-choice), a 'spontaneous' self-concept (Draw-A-Person) and an inferred self-concept from a preferred cultural behaviour (food preference). (See Postscript)

The effect of the race of the experimenter on the children's ethnic identity responses was found to be non
significant in this study. As mentioned in Chapter 6, some of the Yoruba children may have been aware of the presence of a white investigator though not actually tested by the white experimenter. In this case, the comparison may not yield a true indication of the effect of experimenter's ethnicity. However, various investigators (e.g., Vaughan, 1963; Jahoda et al., 1972) have suggested that experimenter effects are more important for measures of ethnic preference than for measures of ethnic identity. As the present study was concerned with identity rather than preference, experimenter effects may actually have been negligible as was indicated.

A third methodological issue was the extent of agreement between parents' reports of behaviour. Although relatively few fathers in both groups responded, it would appear that there was considerable disagreement between parents' reports of child rearing. Differences between fathers and mothers' reports were evident in both the interracial and Yoruba groups, sometimes for similar items and sometimes for different items. However, both groups of parents seemed to disagree with approximately equal frequency. This finding is particularly important when questions are asked of one partner concerning the other partner's opinions, attitudes and behaviours. It may, therefore, be better to consider both parents' opinions when conducting research related to parental behaviour, etc., and to obtain information directly from the person to whom the question is referring rather than relying on second hand information.

Furthermore, mothers' and children's responses to similar questions were compared. Both were asked whether the child used
traditional greetings and both were asked to describe the type of games enjoyed by the child. Agreement between mother and child was greater for the first question (80 per cent in the interracial group and 70 per cent in the Yoruba group) requesting for-factual information than the second question asking for preferred behaviour (11 families in each group agreed). This finding may suggest either that mothers are not always the best persons to ask about the child's behaviour or that the child may be misrepresenting his/her behaviour.

A final methodological consideration involved the ability to measure 'cultural adaptation' in the interracial family, particularly as it applies to the mother in the present study. The questionnaire method or even behavioural observation may measure a superficial level of adaptation, that is, an outward adaptation. But it is possible that adaptation can occur on more than one level. From discussions with the interracial mothers in the sample the investigator perceived three different types or levels of adaptation by the mothers to the Yoruba culture. The first type is no adaptation, or rather, minimal adaptation. The second is considerable adaptation in behaviour, that is, outward adaptation which may be accompanied by 'inward reticence', that is, without really assimilating the culture. The third is considerable adaptation accompanied by assimilation of the Yoruba culture. Few, if any, of the small sample of cases described here seemed to the investigator to display the third type of adaptation. Most fell into the first and second categories. The problem is how to measure extent of assimilation rather than outward behaviour and what effect this has on identity
development in the child. It is likely that the method adopted in this study measures only the outward manifestations of adaptation rather than the inner feelings, the sense of belongingness of the subject. It is the inner feelings of the mother in the interracial family which may actually be more important than outward displays of behaviour. Davies (1969) underlines the importance of the mother's feelings for a country or culture in his discussion of national identity in the immigrant child:

"The child, as his earliest piece of social knowledge, drinks in the mother's own sense of the fittingness and security of her surroundings. If, as may happen, she hasn't her heart in it, or falters, the child already has, in outline form, the project of moving on."

(Davies, 1969, p. 121)

This idea may be equally applicable to the mother in the interracial family. Furthermore, the idea that the interracial mother may not be fully integrated into either her own or her husband's culture does not imply that the child will necessarily feel a misfit or even 'marginal'. Rather it is the mother's 'interracial' behaviour, and possibly also that of the father, that may be influencing the child towards an interracial identity.
IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research findings may have implications for several areas including the study of child development, the development of ethnic identity generally, ethnic identity in interracial and other minority group children, interpretations of cross-cultural research and research methodology.

The implications of the research findings for the study of child development are based on the use of a family interactions model. As mentioned in Chapter 3, early studies of socialization tended to focus on the effects of the mother's behaviour on child development. More recently, the influence of the father on child development, the influence of the child on the parents, and the influence of the child on the marital relationship have been studied. This study provided evidence of the influence of three family members, mother, father and child, on each other. It provides evidence of the interactive nature of socialization. Thus, the study gives support to the fairly recent trend towards considering triadic and tetradic interactions (between mother, father, child and sibling) in child development (e.g., Kreppner et al., 1982).

The implications of the results for the development of ethnic identity involve the relationship between particular child rearing practices and ethnic identity. As mentioned earlier, the study of the development of ethnic identity has tended to concentrate on fairly global aspects. Researchers have concerned themselves with the influence of such variables as age, sex and demographic factors. The effects of socializ-
atation and the individual's experience has been recognised to be important (Milner, 1983). A few researchers have studied the effects of parental attitudes towards ethnicity on the development of ethnic attitudes in the child (e.g., Davey, 1983) and on the development of ethnic self-concept (e.g., Young and Bagley, 1979). However, few researchers have examined socialization and ethnic identity according to detailed parental behaviours. This study attempted to establish a link between specific child rearing behaviours and ethnic identity in the child. A number of behaviours specific to the Yoruba culture were studied rather than more global impressions. The investigator attempted to examine family life and training in the code of conduct as well as attitudes of a particular culture and how they relate to ethnic identification in the child. As an exploratory study it has attempted to identify which particular aspects of a child's socialization may affect how he/she comes to see himself/herself in terms of ethnicity. A number of parental behaviours working together were found to be related to ethnic identity in the interracial children. A single variable, language use, was found to have an individual effect on ethnic identity. Hence, it may be useful to consider parental behaviour in detail as specific parental behaviours may have individual or contributory effects on the child's self-concept.

The finding that particular child rearing practices were not related to ethnic identity in the Yoruba children but were related to ethnic identity in interracial children may be important. In this study the way the child was socialized
seemed to be important for ethnic identity in the minority group (interracial) but not in the majority group (Yoruba). This study suggested that an 'interracial' socialization may be related to an 'interracial' identity. This finding may have implications for the socialization of interracial children in other countries and for other ethnic groups. The socialization of minority group children may be related to their ethnic identity; the way in which they are raised may determine how they see themselves. Thus it may be important to pay particular attention to the socialization of minority group children. The absence of a significant relationship between the majority Yoruba children's socialization and ethnic identity is also interesting. Although the Yoruba children expressed a stronger Yoruba ethnic identity than the interracial children and the Yoruba mothers used more Yoruba child rearing practices than the interracial mothers, the two variables did not seem to be significantly related. Possibly, socialization is not an important factor determining ethnic identity in these children. Other factors such as perceived similarities to the Yoruba group may be more important for these children. It may be interesting to discover whether these findings are also relevant to other majority groups in other countries.

The results of this study may have implications for interpretations of cross-cultural studies. The importance of considering the social and cultural background of the subjects was emphasised in this study. The information obtained from preliminary studies of the Yoruba culture and attitudes towards the Yoruba, white and other ethnic groups was useful in
interpreting the results. The finding that Yorubas generally prefer their own ethnic group to others and especially to whites was useful in interpreting the children's test results. It was found that the Yoruba children generally expressed a low Yoruba identity in their drawings and three Yoruba children selected the white doll on the self-identification aspect of the doll play test. These findings could have been interpreted in terms of a 'wish-to-be-white' phenomenon. However, the finding that Yorubas prefer their own group to the white group would suggest that some other explanation should be sought. Possibly race is not a salient issue to these children (Pfeffer, 1984). It is suggested that an understanding of the culture of the subjects be used when interpreting results of cross-cultural studies.

The findings of this study may have implications for research methodology. Firstly, the results of the children's tests suggested that there was little relationship between three different measures of ethnic identity. It was suggested that ethnic identity may not be a single unitary concept but made up of different aspects. The different methods used may be measuring different aspects of ethnic identity. Thus, it may be important to use more than one measure of ethnic identity in order to obtain not a single response, but a range of responses covering different dimensions of ethnic identity. Secondly, a discrepancy was found between mothers' and fathers' responses to similar questionnaire items. Of particular interest were discrepancies between mothers' reports of fathers' opinions and behaviours and fathers' reports of their own opinions and
behaviours. In some cases fathers reported a greater involvement in child care than mothers gave them credit for. Though, the mothers may be under-representing the fathers behaviour and the fathers may be over-representing their own behaviour, the truth lying somewhere between the two. What this may imply is that first hand information from the subject of the question may be preferable to second hand information from another source.

Having examined the implications of this study we may now consider suggestions for further research.
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Suggestions for further research include the use of alternative methods, the examination of variables outside the family, a consideration of other aspects of the ethnic self-concept, and expanding the work to include other interracial groups and other ethnic groups.

The first suggestion for further research is to use alternative methodological approaches. For instance, a large scale survey could provide materials for a standardised child rearing practices scale. This would enable extensive rather than intensive research to be carried out on child rearing variables and ethnic identity thus using a larger sample size. A larger sample size may permit the study of the effects of individual variables in preference to a correlational study.

Furthermore, different methods of measuring identity could be incorporated into the study either as alternatives or as additions to the methods used in this study. A possible inclusion would be an 'identikit' method as used by Jahoda et al. (1972). Jahoda et al. presented children with an 'identikit' set in which a variety of different faces, hair-styles, eyes, noses, lips, etc. were presented to the child and the child was asked to build a face which looked like himself/herself. This method works on a similar principal to the doll choice method in that the child is expected to define himself/herself according to the materials presented by the investigator. However, a wider choice of expression is available for the child. It may be interesting to compare this
type of method with the doll play method to find out whether it yields different results. In addition, it may also be useful to consider possible differences between the type of doll choice offered in the present study and other types of doll choices. In this study, it was attempted to make the dolls as equivalent as possible by using schematic figures varying on only one feature, namely colour. Other studies (e.g., Milner, 1983) have attempted to make the dolls as racially representative as possible, overlooking possible differences in attractiveness, etc. A comparison between these different doll play methods would be interesting. The picture or photograph choice method may also be a useful addition as it offers the child a choice between real people. However, problems of controlling differences in attractiveness may affect this method. Comparisons between the results of the photograph choice method and other methods may be interesting.

Another suggestion regarding methodology would be to use a longitudinal approach. Children could be studied from a very early age, say three years or less, and their development studied over a number of years. A family interactions model could also be useful in a longitudinal study. Continuous interactions and their effects on the development of ethnic identity in the entire family could be examined.

Comparisons between different age groups would also be very useful particularly in the interracial group where research studies are few in number. It is suggested that adolescence may be an interesting period for the study of interracial individuals. Adolescence has been suggested to be
a period in which young people become more concerned with identity (Meyer and Dusek, 1979). Thus, this period may be quite crucial to interracial children.

The second suggestion for further research is to expand the study to include the examination of variables outside the family. Other possible factors which may influence ethnic identification have been mentioned earlier. They include the peer group, the school and the community. Certainly, the peer group has been found to be important for the development of ethnic identity (Bochner, 1982). Ethnic attitudes of the peer group may be important. Also, providing 'interracial' contacts for interracial children may be important in that an appropriate social group with which to identify is made available to them. In addition, interracial children who are exposed to people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds may come to see themselves as being one of a variety of different types of peoples rather than as being different to the majority.

Furthermore, the interactional framework could be expanded to include interactions of the family and the community. The community may affect individual family members differently, they in turn, may affect the family according to their different experiences. Effects of the community on the child through peer groups, friends and schoolmates has been considered above. The effects of the community on the interracial father have also been considered earlier. We may recall that the father's behaviour may have been affected by perceived criticisms from members of the community. The effects of
extended family members on the mother's behaviour were also considered in Chapter 6. These are three examples of possible influences on the family from external sources. This aspect of the study could be expanded to examine complex interactions between family members and external influences and how these affect interactions within the family.

A third suggestion for further research is to consider other aspects of the self concept and the child's perceptions of ethnicity. This study did not examine self-esteem in the interracial or Yoruba children. It would be interesting to study the self-esteem of both the Yoruba and the interracial children. Young and Bagley (1979) suggested that ethnic self-esteem may be higher in West African children than in other 'black' ethnic groups, such as West Indians in London and Jamaica. Further empirical study on this suggestion would be useful. Furthermore, it may be interesting to consider the self-esteem of interracial children in Nigeria where it has been suggested there is little apparent racial hostility. Evaluations of their own and other ethnic groups by Yoruba and interracial children would also be interesting.

A fourth suggestion is to expand the work by including interracial children in other countries, particularly Western countries and including other ethnic or cultural groups. This study suggested some differences and also some similarities in the socialization of interracial children with black mothers and those with white mothers. It was not possible to compare the children of these two different types of families as the children with black mothers were too young to be included in
TEXT BOUND INTO THE SPINE
the analysis. Such factors as identification with same-sex parent may possibly influence ethnic identification in interracial children. Comparisons between these two types of interracial families may assist in identifying possible sex-identification effects. A comparison between interracial children in Nigeria or other African countries and interracial children in Western countries may be interesting. The effects of the race attitudes of the society on the child's ethnic identity and ethnic self-esteem could be directly compared. Furthermore, it may be interesting to compare the different types of social influences which may be brought to bear on the parents and different types of adjustment problems encountered by both African and Western interracial parents.

Studies of 'inter-cultural' children would also be interesting. A number of different cultural combinations are evident in Nigeria. Marriages occur between members of different Nigerian ethnic groups, between Nigerians and 'black' Amerindians, West Indians, Asians, Filipinos, etc. Varied interracial inter-cultural unions are also evident in other societies. The relationship between socialization and ethnic identity in children of such inter-cultural families would also be very interesting.

Finally, differences in socialization have been found between 'elite' and more 'traditional' Yorubas (see Chapter ... It would be interesting to examine whether such differences in socialization result in differences in strength of Yoruba identity.
CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study suggested that the ethnic identity of children of black-white mixed marriages was related to socialization within the family. Certain aspects of family life were suggested to influence ethnic identification in interracial children. It was hoped that the findings would have implications for the development of interracial children both within and outside Africa and for the socialization of other minority group children.


Coles, R. (1965). It's the same, but it's different. Daedalus, 94, 1107-1132.


Helgerson, E. (1943). The relative significance of race, sex, and facial expression in a choice of playmate by the preschool child, Journal of Negro Education, 12, 617-622.


Machover, K. (1949). Personality Projection in the Drawing of the Human Figure. Springfield, Ill.: Thomas.


POSTSCRIPT

Additions

However, the existence of objectively different races can be refuted to some extent. Racial groups are not always mutually exclusive. However, writers have argued that they can be defined according to physical characteristics (see Banton, 1979 for a review of the concept of race).

Differences in culture are also thought to involve differences in cognitive strategies (Irvine, pers. comm. 30th August, 1985).

The model of ethnic identity used in this study was a developmental model. Efforts were made to outline possible causal elements in the development of ethnic identity within the family, especially in the interracial family.

The choice of methods used in this study is discussed in Chapter 3.

Piagetian stage theories of identity development have influenced this study in choice of age group (6 - 9 years). This is discussed more fully in Chapter 3.
There are different types of validity, e.g.,
external validity, internal validity, predictive
validity, construct validity. However, in this research
we have been concerned with construct validity.

No attempts were made to validate the scores of
items. However, validity can be ascertained by correlat-
ing the item scores with doll play as assessed by

In addition, the validity of the doll choice test
could be greatly improved by introducing a measure of
the children's understanding of the dolls, such as a
colour meaning test.

The Ibo ethnic group was chosen in preference to
Hausa, Fulani, etc., as being the ethnic group with
which Ife school children would be most likely to come
into contact.

Hypothesis 1 was examined by comparing the Yoruba
and interracial children's ethnic identity test scores.
Hypothesis 2 was examined by comparing the Yoruba and
interracial mothers' questionnaire responses.
Hypothesis 3 was examined by correlating the mothers'
questionnaire responses with the children's test result
Hypothesis 4 was examined by informal interviews and the presentation of case studies.
Hypothesis 5 (a) was considered by comparing Section F of the mother's questionnaire with other sections.
Hypothesis 5 (b) was examined by correlating the extended family contact scale with the child rearing practices scale as described on pp. 179-180.
Hypothesis 6 was examined by correlating the three measures of ethnic identity.
Hypothesis 7 was examined by comparing the responses of children tested by a white examiner with the responses of children tested by a Yoruba examiner.
Hypothesis 8 was examined by considering similarities between mothers and fathers' questionnaire responses.

Chi-squared tests were carried out on the results of Questions 1, 2, 3, 8 and 9 of the doll play test. Expected frequencies for the results of Questions 1, 8 and 9 were too small for the requirements of the chi-squared test. Results of Question 2 ($X^2 = 2.56$) and Question 3 ($X^2 = 2.67$) were non-significant.

Furthermore, as the variability of the scores on the three measures of ethnic identity was generally low (especially for the food preference measure), correlations between the measures were therefore low.
p265 One question regarding these figures is how much confidence can be placed in them. The percentages seem large but it should be remembered that 70% of subjects is only 14 out of 20. This emphasises the need for replication with a larger sample.

p299 Correlations between the three measures were probably low due to the low variance in the scores. However, the children did show some understanding of ethnic differences as shown by the colour meaning test.

Limitations

It should be pointed out that the instruments used in this study have no cross-cultural norms and were not validated for use with Nigerian samples. However, this study was not based entirely on such instruments. Observation techniques were also utilised therefore some confidence can be placed in the results. Furthermore, in previous studies some of these techniques have been used cross-culturally. However, because of the size of the sample caution should be taken about generalization of the results without replication of the study. More rigorous analysis of the results was not carried out due to the small sample and uncertain validity of the methods.
Studies of ethnic identity in North American children have been conducted by LeVine and Ruiz (1978) and George and Hoppe (1979).

LeVine and Ruiz (1979) examined ethnic identity in Anglo, Black and Chicano children using a photograph choice technique and a sociometric test involving the names of classmates. All children were from the lower socio-economic group and all ethnicities were equally represented in the population. Two age groups were examined (2nd and 5th grades). Results indicated that ethnic identity was stronger for Blacks than for Anglos and Chicanos on both tests. Ethnic preference was found to be stronger for Blacks than Anglos and Chicanos on the sociometric test but not on the photograph test. No age differences were noted. Finally, examiner ethnicity did not affect Anglos but did affect Blacks and Chicanos. Black children showed more own-group choice with the Black examiner on the photograph test. However, Black and Chicano own-group choices were higher with the Anglo examiner for the sociometric test.

LeVine and Ruiz concluded that the results obtained from the combined photograph and sociometric measures lead to 'sharper' conclusions than results obtained from separate instrumentation analyses, thus demonstrating the need for multi-instrumentation in ethnic choice research.
George and Hoppe (1979) examined ethnic identity in Canadian Indian and White school children in the 2nd, 4th and 6th grades. A picture preference and a "Who am I?" test were used to test identification, preference and rejection. Correlations between the two tests were significant at the 2nd grade level and (for preference measures only) at the 4th grade level, but not at the 6th grade level. Race was mentioned rarely on the "Who am I?" measure (19 statements out of a total of 101 or 18.8%). George and Hoppe (1979) concluded that race was probably not a big enough part of the children's self-appraisal to be mentioned on the "Who am I?" measure, though the children did correctly identify themselves on the picture test.

Berry (1980) argued that there are at least three validity issues which have been considered in the cross-cultural literature. These are issues concerned with biases, communication and validation techniques.

He maintained that the bias problem concerns observations of phenomena in one culture being made by an investigator from another culture. He argued that observations or measures of phenomena in culture B by a scientist from culture A are 'inherently ambiguous'. He suggested that the measures may be a function of the real phenomena in culture B or a function of the observer bias derived from culture A. The solution he suggested to this problem would be to conduct a single research study four times, twice in
culture B (once with an observer from culture A and once with one from culture B) and twice in culture A (also with two different observers). In this way it may be possible to draw out the relative contributions to the data from the 'real phenomena' and from 'observer bias'.

According to Berry, a second validity issue is how cross-cultural researchers can be sure that the task that is communicated is the task that is responded to. Berry's solution is to provide 'comprehension checks' which are composed of stimuli which almost certainly evoke no variation in response cross-culturally.

Finally, according to Berry, construct validity may be examined cross-culturally by checking correlation matrix similarity, or by estimating factor structure and individual test loading constantly from culture to culture.

References:


SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

Sex: Female/Male Age: .................. Ethnic Group: ..............

I would like to know how you feel about different people and the kind of people you would like to be with. Read the example given to you. Suppose that you would like a Yoruba person to be a close friend of yours then put a circle around number 1:

I would like this person 1 — 2 — 3 I would not like this person to be a close friend

If you would partially like a Yoruba person being married to your relative put a circle around number 2:

I would like this person 1 — 2 — 3 I would not like this person to marry my relative

If you would not like being married to a Yoruba person at all put a circle around number 3:

I would marry this 1 — 2 — 3 I would not marry this person

Do you understand? Then continue by yourself and complete the statements for each of the different people. Try to give your honest opinion. Do not ask your classmate. This is not a test, your name will not be taken and your teacher will not read what you have written.
(The following scale was presented for Yoruba, Ibo, Chanian and Oyinbo).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I would like this person</th>
<th>1 — 2 — 3</th>
<th>I would not like this person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to live in my country</td>
<td></td>
<td>to live in my country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like this person</td>
<td>1 — 2 — 3</td>
<td>I would not like this person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to visit my town</td>
<td></td>
<td>to visit my town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like this person</td>
<td>1 — 2 — 3</td>
<td>I would not like this person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to live in my town</td>
<td></td>
<td>to live in my town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like this person</td>
<td>1 — 2 — 3</td>
<td>I would not like this person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to work in my business</td>
<td></td>
<td>to work in my business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like this person</td>
<td>1 — 2 — 3</td>
<td>I would not like this person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be a neighbour in my</td>
<td></td>
<td>to be a neighbour in my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>street</td>
<td></td>
<td>street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like this person</td>
<td>1 — 2 — 3</td>
<td>I would not like this person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to visit my house</td>
<td></td>
<td>to visit my house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like this person</td>
<td>1 — 2 — 3</td>
<td>I would not like this person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be a close friend</td>
<td></td>
<td>to be a close friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like this person</td>
<td>1 — 2 — 3</td>
<td>I would not like this person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to marry my relative</td>
<td></td>
<td>to marry my relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would marry this person</td>
<td>1 — 2 — 3</td>
<td>I would not marry this person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MOTHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

I am interested in getting a general picture of how different Nigerian families bring up their children. For certain questions I will ask you to tell me about ____ (name of subject)

A.

A1. Who would usually look after ____ when you were not at home?

When he/she was a baby: Nowadays:
(a) husband's mother (a) husband's mother
(b) wife's mother (b) wife's mother
(c) husband's sibling (c) husband's sibling
(d) wife's sibling (d) wife's sibling
(e) husband's extended relative (e) husband's extended relative
(f) wife's extended relative (f) wife's extended relative
(g) paid nursemaid/housemaid (g) paid nursemaid/housemaid
(h) other (please specify) (h) other (please specify)

A2. Has ____ been with you all his/her life or have you been separated for a time?

(a) Yes (separated for a time)
(b) No

If yes: For how long? ............................................................

Why? .................................................................

With whom did he/she stay? ........................................

Do you believe that sending children away to live with others is a good practice? ........................................
A3. Has ____ been with his/her father all of his/her life or have they ever been separated?
   (a) Yes (they have been separated)
   (b) No

   If yes: For how long? ............................................................
   Why? ...............................................................

A4. When ____ was a baby who took care of him/her mostly?

   Where did he/she sleep?

A5. When ____ was small did you or anyone else carry him/her on your back?
   (a) mother
   (b) grandmother
   (c) other (please specify)
   (d) none

A6. When your husband is at home does he spend much time with ____?

   What sorts of things do they do together?
A7. Are there any things your husband does to help look after the children? Does he do any of the following?
(a) bath the children
(b) feed the children
(c) dress the children or change their clothes
(d) put the children to bed
(e) play with the children
(f) take the children to or collect them from school
(g) read to them or tell them stories
(h) other (please specify)

A8. Now would you describe your own child care responsibilities. Which of the above do you do?
B.

I would like to know some of the things that children of ___'s age do which you would disapprove of.

B1. In general, what does ___ do which might lead you to discipline him/her?

B2. Does he/she ask too many questions sometimes?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No
   If yes, what do you do about it? ..............................................

B3. What sorts of discipline might you use when ___ misbehaves?
   (i) What do you do when he/she irritates you just a little?

   (ii) What do you do for something more severe?

   (iii) For something really serious?

B4. Some people feel that fathers can give more serious discipline than mothers. What is your opinion?
B5. Would your husband usually discipline the children for a very serious 
offence?
(a) Yes
(b) Sometimes
(c) No
What discipline might he use? ..............................................

B6. Are there any other people who might discipline your children?

B7. Do you approve of other people correcting or punishing your children?
(a) Yes
(b) Yes, but only certain people (please specify)
(c) Yes, but only for exceptionally bad behaviour
(d) No

B8. We have mentioned things that might bother you, now are there some 
    things which does that please you particularly? (Give examples)

B9. Do you reward him/her in any way?
C1. What sorts of things does ___ do to help you? Does he/she do any of the following?
   (a) sweep the floor
   (b) wash plates
   (c) prepare food
   (d) wash his/her own clothes
   (e) wash the car
   (f) go to the market or store
   (g) run errands
   (h) look after younger brothers and sisters
   (i) other (please specify)

C2. Are there other tasks you might expect him/her to do when he/she gets older?

C3. Some parents expect their children to obey immediately when they are told to do something, other parents leave it to the child to do things when s/he can. How do you feel about this?

C4. How does your husband feel about immediate obedience?
I would like to have an idea of some of the things you all do at home.

D1. What language do you speak at home?

(a) Yoruba only
(b) Mostly Yoruba
(c) Yoruba and English about equal
(d) Mostly English
(e) English only

D2. What language do you speak to the children?

(a) Yoruba only
(b) Mostly Yoruba
(c) Yoruba and English about equal
(d) Mostly English
(e) English only

D3. What type of dress do the following normally wear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yourself:</th>
<th>Your husband:</th>
<th>Your children:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Yoruba only</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Mostly Yoruba</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Yoruba and European about equal</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Mostly European</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>(d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) European only</td>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>(e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now can you tell me about meal-times at your house?

D4. What kinds of food do you usually eat?
   (a) Only Yoruba dishes
   (b) Mostly Yoruba dishes
   (c) Yoruba and English dishes about equal
   (d) Mostly English dishes
   (e) Only English dishes
   (f) Other (please specify)

D5. If a, b, c, or d:
   Do the following prefer to eat amala, iyan, eba, etc., with a knife and fork or with their hand?
   Yourself: Your husband: Your children:
   (a) knife and fork (a) (a)
   (b) hand (b) (b)

D6. Does the family eat together?
   (a) Yes
   (b) Sometimes
   (c) No

D7. Do visitors eat with you?
   (a) Yes, at any time
   (b) Yes, but only if they come at meal times
   (c) Occasionally
   (d) No

D8. Do you insist that your children greet visitors in the traditional way?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No
D8. (continued)

If yes: which visitors?

(i) all visitors
(ii) relatives
(iii) friends of the family
(iv) grandparents only
(v) other (please specify)

D9. Do your children greet their parents in the traditional way?

Mother:  Father:
(a) Yes  (a) Yes
(b) No  (b) No
(c) Occasionally  (c) Occasionally

D10. Are the children instructed to leave the room when visitors call?

(a) Yes
(b) No
(c) Sometimes (please specify)

D11. Now can you tell me about the sort of stories you tell your children and the sort of books they read?

What sort of stories do you tell your children?

(a) Yoruba folktales and proverbs
(b) Other Nigerian folktales
(c) Stories about other African countries
(d) European/North American folktales
(e) European fairy stories
(f) Bible stories or stories from the Koran
(g) Family history
(h) Stories about yourself
(i) Other (please specify)
D12. Does ___ have a favourite book? ..................
What sorts of things does he/she like reading? ...........

D13. Who does ___ usually play with?
(a) Brothers/sisters
(b) Other relatives
(c) School friends
(d) Other friends

D14. What kinds of games does ___ like to play?

D15. What are his/her favourite toys or playthings?
I would like you to tell me a little bit about yourself and your husband.

E1. When you needed advice in bringing up _____ where did you get most of your advice from?
   (a) Books
   (b) Your own mother
   (c) Your husband's mother
   (d) Older women
   (e) Other

E2. Sometimes when faced with problems in bringing up children people look back at their own childhood and the methods of their parents. Have you ever done this?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No

   If yes, about what sorts of things?

E3. Would you say that _____ is brought up the same way as in your childhood?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No
   (c) Yes in some things (please specify)
F1. How do you and your husband reach major decisions concerning your children?
   (a) Both discuss all issues together then decide
   (b) Husband decides some, wife decides others
   (c) Husband decides all main issues
   (d) Wife decides all main issues
   (e) Other (please specify)

F2. Do you ever disagree on how the children should be brought up?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No
   If yes: can you give me an example of something you have disagreed about?
   How did you resolve it?
G1. How often does your husband see one or more of his brothers and sisters?
   (a) Daily
   (b) Weekly
   (c) Monthly
   (d) Less than once a month

G2. Do any members of his family live with you?
   Now? (a) Yes In the past? (a) Yes
   (b) No (b) No

G3. How often does he travel home?
   (a) Once a year
   (b) Twice a year
   (c) Three times a year
   (d) Less than once a month
   (e) Once a month
   (f) More than once a month

G4. When he travels home do all the family go together?
   (a) Every time
   (b) Most times
   (c) Sometimes
   (d) Not very often
   (e) Never
(For white mothers only)

G5. How often do you travel home?
   (a) Once in two years
   (b) Once a year
   (c) Twice a year
   (d) Other (please specify)

G6. How often do your children accompany you?
   (a) Every time
   (b) Most times
   (c) Sometimes
   (d) Not very often
   (e) Never

G7. How often does your husband accompany you?
   (a) Every time
   (b) Most times
   (c) Sometimes
   (d) Not very often
   (e) Never

G8. Do your relatives visit you in Nigeria?
   (a) Yes
   (b) Yes, in the past
   (c) No

G9. How long have you been in Nigeria?

G10. How much of your married life have you spent in Nigeria?
G11. Did your families approve of your marriage?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No, not at first, but they did later
   (c) No
   (d) Other (please specify)
(For Yoruba mothers only)

G5. How often do you see one or more of your brothers and sisters?
(a) Daily
(b) Weekly
(c) Monthly
(d) Less than once a month

G6. Do any members of your family live with you?
Now: (a) Yes (b) No
In the past: (a) Yes (b) No

G7. How often do you travel home?
(a) Once a year
(b) Twice a year
(c) Three times a year
(d) Less than once a month
(e) Once a month
(f) More than once a month

G8. When you travel home do all the family go together?
(a) Every time
(b) Most times
(c) Sometimes
(d) Not very often
(e) Never
To help me to understand the child rearing practices you have described, I would like to get some idea of your family background.

H1. How many children do you have?

H2. What birth order is _____?

H3. What is the age group of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>20-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
<th>50+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your husband</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yourself</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thank you very much for helping me. If you have any comments to make about any of the questions please feel free to make them.
The mother's questionnaire was influenced by the study of child-rearing practices among the Yoruba elite reported in Chapter 4. It was also influenced by the work of Lloyd (1970) and Oppong (1981).

The following questions were derived from the work reported in Chapter 4:
- A5, A7, A8, B7, C1, all of Section D
- G2, G4, G5 - G11, all of Section H

The following questions were derived from Lloyd (1970):
- A1 - A4
- A5
- B1 - B6
- B8, B9
- C2, C3, C4
- E1 - E3
- F2

The following questions were derived from Oppong (1981):
- F1
- G1
- G3
FATHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

I am interested in getting a general picture of how different Nigerian families bring up their children. I would like to ask you a few questions on the sorts of things you and your children do together and the types of discipline you might use.

1. When you are at home how much time do you spend with your children?

2. What sorts of things do you do together?

3. Are there any things that you do to help look after the children? Do you do any of the following?
   (a) bath the children
   (b) feed the children
   (c) dress the children or change their clothes
   (d) put the children to bed
   (e) play with the children
   (f) take the children to or collect them from school
   (g) read to them or tell them stories
   (h) other (please specify)

4. I would like to know some of the things that children do which you would disapprove of. In general, what do your children do which might lead you to discipline them?
5. Do they ask too many questions sometimes?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No

   If yes, what do you do about it? ..............................................

6. What sorts of discipline might you use when your child misbehaves?
   (i) What do you do when he/she irritates you just a little?

   (ii) What do you do for something more severe?

   (iii) For something really serious?

7. Some people feel that fathers can give more serious discipline than mothers. What is your opinion?

8. Would you usually discipline your children for a very serious offence?
   (a) Yes
   (b) Sometimes
   (c) No

   If (a) or (b), what discipline might you use?

9. Do you approve of other people correcting or punishing your children?
   (a) Yes
   (b) Yes, but only certain people
   (c) Yes, but only for exceptionally bad behaviour
   (d) No
10. We have mentioned things that might bother you, now are there some things which your children do that please you particularly? Can you give me some examples?

11. Do you reward them in any way?

12. How do you and your wife reach major decisions concerning your children?
   (a) both discuss all issues together then decide
   (b) husband decides some, wife decides others
   (c) husband decides all main issues
   (d) wife decides all main issues
   (e) other (please specify)

13. Do you ever disagree on how the children should be brought up?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No

14. If yes, can you give me an example of something you have disagreed about?

   How did you resolve it?