

Self-Evaluation among Jamaican High School Girls

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Social and Economic Studies, *Vol. 22, No. 4 (December 1977)*,
pp. 407–26. Reprinted by permission.

Introduction

The present writer, Miller (1971), has postulated that one of the legacies of colonialism, slavery, and the adoption of British social philosophy in Jamaican society is that members of the society are socialized to habitually evaluate worth according to three major criteria:

- (a) *The racial criterion*: White persons, Caucasian physical features, and Western culture and customs are evaluated as being of higher status, greater value, greater worth, and more significant than persons of other racial types, of other physical features characteristic of other races, and of cultures and customs characteristic of other races.
- (b) *The Creole criterion*: Jamaica, Jamaicans, and things of Jamaican origin are evaluated as being of less worth and significance than those of other nations, especially when compared to Western nations.
- (c) *The class criterion*: People born in certain families, who attend certain schools, who speak Standard English with a particular accent, who hold certain jobs, who live in certain areas, and who attend certain churches are perceived as being of greater worth, value, and significance than other persons.

This habitual mode of evaluation is applied to other persons and to self in the same way. These three criteria constitute the main elements of the social frame of reference within which self is perceived, conceived, and evaluated. The conflicts and crises resulting from this mode of self-evaluation and self-conception have been labelled the self-worth evaluation problem of Jamaican people.

Although this mode of self-evaluation is evident in all sections of Jamaican society to some degree, it is very marked among the “middle classes” and among the “lower classes” when they evaluate themselves in the context of middle-class norms. It is most marked among lower-class members who are afforded the opportunities of social mobility.

The purpose of the investigation reported here, is to test empirically the validity of this theoretical position. It will examine self-evaluation of Jamaican subjects with reference to the criteria of colour and class.

In order to test any theory empirically it is necessary to translate its propositions into operational forms. It is necessary to operationally determine

- (a) the context and the subjects, Ss, which will meet the specifications of the theory and
- (b) what measurable indices will be used to represent the major theoretical constructs. The task here is to find
 - (i) a “middle-class institution” in which Ss of different colours and class backgrounds are meaningfully engaged in some common activities and
 - (ii) measurable indices of self-worth evaluation.

King (1972) has shown that high schools in Jamaica were established in the 1880s primarily and specifically as a middle-class institution which should function to keep the social distinction between the “middle classes”—less affluent whites and browns—and the “masses”—blacks. In other words high school education was designed primarily for a class of Jamaican society

and only secondarily as for a particular stage of human development. Its primary socializing function was that of confirming and conferring social status—middle class at least—on those who attended.

While the evolution of high schooling since its inauguration has brought alterations, it remains middle class in orientation and style. It continues to confer middle-class status on all its members. However, at the present time its constituents are from a much wider social background than was the case at its inception. Miller (1971) has shown

1. that Ss in Government-aided high schools come from all the ethnic groups present in the society;
2. that although approximately 60 percent of high school Ss come from the upper and traditional middle classes, approximately 28 per cent come from the artisan class—a class growing rapidly in size as a result of technological and industrial developments—and about 12 percent from the traditional lower classes.

Government-aided high schools do appear to meet the specifications of “middle class institutions in which Ss of different colours and class background are meaningfully engaged in some common activities.”

Turning to the question of measurable indices of self-worth evaluation, there are at least two measurable types of self-regarding attitudes which could represent the individual's assessment of himself.

1. *Self-Esteem*: This is usually defined as the individual's perception of his worth (Coppersmith 1967; Ziller et al. 1969). It is “the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy.” Self-esteem is a direct indicator of self-worth evaluation.
2. *Self-Disparity*: This is the degree of discrepancy between the individual's conception of himself ideally and his perception and conception of himself actually. The greater the discrepancy between the Ideal Self and the Cognized Self, the less

significance, worth and satisfaction the individual would attribute to himself. This index of self-evaluation has been extensively used by Rogers (1951) and other phenomenological theorists.

In addition to self-esteem and self-disparity it was decided to include two related indices: manifest anxiety and teacher's perception and evaluation of students. In any institution in which the socializing influences are such that it differentially imposes favourable and unfavourable self-images on its members, it is not unreasonable to expect that the level of manifest anxiety evident among its members will be inversely related to the thrust of the socializing influences. Although manifest anxiety cannot be regarded as a self-evaluation construct it is an index that one would expect, and that has been found to be related (Lipsett 1958; Mitchell 1959; Coppersmith 1959; and Miller 1967), to measures of self-evaluation.

Again, if one postulates that high schooling socializes its student members in particular ways then it is not unreasonable to assume that teachers in such schools are important agents in this socializing process and consequently would be expected to perceive and evaluate students in ways that are consistent with the ethos of the institution. Although teachers' perception and evaluation of Ss is not a self-evaluation index, it should provide useful evidence in this study.

In operational terms this study seeks to investigate self-esteem and self-disparity among Jamaican high school students of different colours and classes. In addition it will look at levels of manifest anxiety among these students, and teachers' perception of them.

In accordance with the theory being tested by this investigation the following hypotheses were formulated:

Hypothesis 1

White Ss will report higher self-esteem than Brown Ss who in turn will report higher self-esteem than Black and Chinese Ss.

Hypothesis 2

White Ss will manifest less self-disparity than Brown Ss who in turn will manifest less self-disparity than Black and Chinese Ss.

Hypothesis 3

White Ss will express less manifest anxiety than Brown Ss who in turn will express less manifest anxiety than Black or Chinese Ss.

Hypothesis 4

Teachers will perceive White Ss in more favourable terms than Brown Ss whom in turn they will perceive more favourably than Black and Chinese Ss.

Hypothesis 5

Ss from higher socio-economic categories will express higher self-esteem than Ss from lower socio-economic categories.

Hypothesis 6

Ss from higher socio-economic categories will express less self-disparity than Ss from lower socio-economic categories.

Hypothesis 7

Ss from higher socio-economic categories will be less anxious than Ss from lower socio-economic categories.

Hypothesis 8

Teachers will perceive Ss from the higher socio-economic positions in more favourable terms than Ss from the lower socio-economic categories.

Methodology

Design

Although a cross sectional study of self-evaluation among high school Ss in different forms—at different stages—of high school would provide useful indications, such data would not be conclusive. Similarly a longitudinal study tracing changes in self-evaluation among the same group of high school Ss as they move up in school would provide useful data but one would not be able to differentiate between the idiosyncratic patterns of that particular group and high school Ss in general.

It was decided therefore to use a Cross Sequential design. In this design self-evaluation would be investigated in the following ways:

1. among one group of Ss at two different times
2. among two groups at same stage but at different times
3. one group just before entry to high schools

Figure 1

Times	Stages		
	Before Entry	Forms 1-3	Forms 3-5
1968-9	—	A	—
1970-1	C	B	A

By the analysis of self-evaluation of Ss in the various groups and by comparison between groups it should be possible to conclusively test the hypotheses that have been postulated.

The data reported in this paper represent the self-evaluation of Ss of Group A in 1968-69. In this respect it is a first report and also a cross sectional study. Any and all the inferences made, though useful, must be regarded as tentative. The analysis of the

1970–71 data will add the cross sequential dimension and provide conclusive evidence.

Instruments

Self-esteem was measured by a general self-concept rating scale developed by the writer. It required subjects, Ss, to evaluate Self in the cognized dimension. It consisted of 32 items, 16 positive and 16 negative. These items were simple statements about Self and Ss were required to rate themselves on a five-point scale—Always to Never, or True to Untrue. The following are examples of the items included in the scale: *I have many friends, I am good looking, I do well in school, I am often left out of things, I cry easily, and I am a dunce.* The items in the scale were selected from a pool of 100 after appropriate pre-testing and item analysis. The split half reliability obtained for the scale was .91—after correction for attenuation by the Spearman-Brown formula—and the test-retest reliability .96 after 8 weeks.

The ideal self-concept consisted of 32 items exactly similar to the items in the rating scale except that instead of “I am,” items were prefaced by “I would like to be” or “I wish to be.” The split half reliability for this scale was .93, after correction for attenuation by the Spearman-Brown formula. Self-disparity scores were obtained by subtracting the individual’s total score on the cognized self-rating scale from the total score on the ideal self-concept scale.

Manifest anxiety was measured by a scale also developed by the writer. The item pool from which the scale was finally constructed consisted of items used in scales developed by Castaneda et al. (1969); Sarason et al. (1960); and Miller (1967). The item pool consisted of 84 items which were all included in the first draft of the scale which was administered to 326 high school girls ranging in age from 11 to 15 years. After item analysis 32 items were selected for inclusion in the final form of the scale. The items in the scale consisted of questions asking Ss about

things they were “worried” about, “nervous” about, and “afraid” of. It also included statements concerning impulsive action or indecision. Examples are: *Do you worry that you may get hurt in some accident? Are you afraid of lizards? Sometimes I feel like shouting. I have trouble making up my mind, I wish I could be far from here. I get nervous when somebody watches me work.* Ss were required to reply “Yes” or “No” to each question or statement. The split half reliability coefficient obtained after correction was .80 and the test-retest reliability coefficient was .87 after 12 weeks.

The teacher’s checklist used was the one developed by Quay and Quay (1965). It is purported to measure the personal adjustment of the student as perceived by the teacher. It consists of 28 items, all of which are negative. Examples of items are: Restless, Attention Seeking, Self-Conscious, Disruptive, Daydreamer, and Passive. Form teachers were required to record their perception of each girl in her form by underlining the items that characteristically described the behaviour of the girl. Teachers were instructed that if no item described the behaviour of the girl, they should return an unmarked sheet for the girl and that they should only underline an item if it was characteristic and true of the behaviour of the girl. The score on the checklist was simply the sum of the number of items underlined. The most favourable score that could be obtained was zero and the most unfavourable score was 28.

Parental occupation was used as the index of socio-economic status. Smith (1967) points out that in some sections of West Indian society a person’s occupation does not convey his socio-economic status. He states that this is particularly true in rural areas. However, he observed that occupation can be a useful index of socio-economic status especially in large urban areas. It is assumed here that the city of Kingston and its suburbs with a population of nearly 600,000 is one such area in which occupation can be reliably used as an index of socio-economic status.

Occupations were classified by the coding scheme used by Miller (1967) which had been adapted from Graham and Beckles (1968)¹. This coding scheme is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Categories	Examples of Occupations
1. Higher Professional and Managerial	Farmers and land proprietors of more than 500 acres, and university professors and senior lecturers, doctors, lawyers, high court judges, engineers, owners of large commercial and industrial enterprises, directors and managers of large enterprises, chief of police and army, head and assistant heads of government departments.
2. Lower Professional and Managerial	Senior civil servants, headteachers of large secondary schools, magistrates, farmers with 100–499 acres, superintendents of police, senior officers of the army, assistant managers of large establishments, managers and directors of medium size establishments, university lecturers, heads of large denominations.
3. Highly Skilled	Teachers, nurses, druggists, salesmen, ministers of religion, junior officers in army, inspector of police, other civil servants, stenographers, accountants, typists, owners of small enterprises, farmers with 54–99 acres, secretaries, clerks, highly skilled technicians.
4. Skilled	Carpenters, plumbers, cabinet makers, drivers, bus conductors, policemen, corporals, soldiers (private), farmers with 10–49 acres, dress-makers, tailors, masons, tilers, curio workers, etc.
5. Semi-skilled	Factory workers, waitresses or waiters, bartenders, porters, office maids, postmen, machine operators, etc.
6. Unskilled	Domestic workers, watchmen, peddlars, casual workers, portworkers, fish vendors, higglers, etc.

The classification of occupation was based on the following six criteria:

- (i) Prestige and status derived from the job.
- (ii) Income derived from the job.
- (iii) Responsibility required by the job.
- (iv) Educational standard needed for the job.
- (v) Competence required on the job, and
- (vi) The size of the establishment where this was relevant.

It is important to note that on face validity the classification scheme could be trusted far more to differentiate between categories wide apart than between any two adjacent categories. It is a moot point whether an engineer should be placed in category (i) or (ii) or whether an office maid should be in category (v) or (vi). Nevertheless, there is no question that the engineer and the office maid belong towards opposite ends of the continuum. This classification scale of occupations then is a very crude measure of socio-economic status.

Similarly it is difficult to establish an exact correspondence between the six socio-economic categories and the social stratification of the society in terms of class. Any class correspondence given must at best be very arbitrary. With these reservations the following correspondences are suggested. The higher professional and higher managerial categories would include occupations of upper-class and upper-middle-class status. The lower professional and lower managerial and highly skilled categories would encompass occupations normally associated with the middle class of traditional fame. The skilled category is difficult to place. In some societies, the artisan is classified as upper lower class. In the Jamaican society this category would be more correctly classified as lower middle class. Categories (v) and (vi), semi-skilled and unskilled, comprise lower class occupations.

Data concerning the occupation of parents of Ss were obtained from the schools records. The writer found the records to be satisfactory in five schools. However, in two schools the records were

incomplete. In these, the writer attempted to obtain the information by other means which included asking teachers and administrative personnel who knew the parents of the particular girls concerned. Information about parents' occupation was missing from schools' records far more often for girls in the lower socioeconomic categories—(iv), (v), and (vi)—than for girls belonging to categories (i), (ii), and (iii).

Information concerning the race and colour of the Ss was obtained in an exercise during which Ss were weighed and measured. The writer acted as the sole judge of this characteristic. Ss were classified White, Chinese, Indian, Jet Black, Dark, Sepia, Clear and Fair. It is necessary to explain three points:

- (a) Girls of Chinese and Negro, and Indian and Negro were classified Chinese and Indian respectively.
- (b) Jet Black and Dark are shades of colour characteristic of Negroes, the former being more black than the latter.
- (c) Sepia, Clear, and Fair are shades of colour associated with individuals resulting from White-Negro unions and unions between such hybrids and either White or Negro. Persons of these shades of colour are commonly called Brown or Mulatto in the society and will be referred to as such in this paper. These shades are well recognised and valued in the society (Miller 1969).

The Sample

Although the hypotheses being tested make no distinction between male and female and would be expected to apply equally to both sexes, it was decided to limit the sample to female Ss only for certain operational reasons. The writer did not have the resources to include an adequate sample of male and female Ss in high schools in Kingston. Several researchers including Zahran (1967) have warned that "sex differences are sometimes so large that one cannot defend mixing the sexes in Self-Concept studies." Not wishing to introduce an uncontrolled factor which could

influence the results obtained or at least bring them into question, and not being able to select a sample large enough to control for this factor, it was decided to limit the sample to females only.

The sample was a stratified random one drawn from seven of the eight² girls' high schools in the city of Kingston. At each school, one first, one second and one third form was selected at random. Once a class was selected, all Jamaican Ss in it were automatically included in the sample. By this definition the total size of the sample was 721 girls.

Table 2
Subjects in the 21 Classes of the 7 Schools

Forms	Schools							Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
First	33	37	39	30	33	35	32	239
Second	32	41	38	35	33	37	26	242
Third	32	42	38	30	32	36	30	240
Total	97	120	115	95	98	108	88	721

Administration

The writer personally administered the various scales in each school. The following represents the opening remarks used to get the Ss cooperation and help.

My name is Errol Miller. I am a lecturer in the Department of Education at the University. At the moment I am doing research which should help us to understand our Jamaican teenagers better. What I am going to do is to ask you some questions about yourself. I want you to tell me how you think and feel about yourself and feel about certain things about yourself. Whatever you say will be treated with the greatest secrecy. It will be just between you and me. It is very important that you tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing

but the truth. If you don't want to tell the truth then do not bother to answer any of the questionnaires. Are you prepared to tell the truth whatever it is? [Pause for response.] Okay, please pay attention to these instructions. First, do not talk to anyone while answering these questions. If you discuss your answers with each other they will be of no use to me. I want to know what you personally think and feel on these matters. Second, please answer each question on each sheet of paper. Do not leave any unanswered. The computer is going to analyse your answers; if you leave answers out it will confuse the computer. Third, I am going to give you several sheets of paper. Please write your name on each sheet so that I can put all of your sheets together. Remember that what you write will be a secret between us. I won't tell anyone, neither will the computer.

After this introduction the Ss were given the scales in the following order: cognized self-rating scale, ideal self-rating scale, and the manifest anxiety scale. Ss were then weighed and measured during which time the writer assessed colour.

In one school in which the headmistress and staff were extremely cooperative they arranged to have their termly exercise of weighing and measuring Ss coincide with the study. They supplied this information, which in itself was not relevant to this study, and so the opportunity was denied to assess the colour and race of the Ss in that school. This together with Ss who were absent from school when the scales were administered and those for whom parents' occupation could not be ascertained or was given as "housewife" effectively reduced the sample from 721 to 544 Ss for whom complete data were ascertained. This sample contains only 8 Indian Ss. Since this is too small a group for inclusion in the statistical analysis, they were excluded from the sample. The sample was therefore reduced finally to 536 Ss. The data were collected in December 1968.

Analysis

The results obtained were analysed with respect to the eight hypotheses by employing single classification analysis of variance.

Results

Hypothesis 1

White Ss will report higher self-esteem than Brown Ss who in turn will report higher self-esteem than Black and Chinese Ss. The data relating to this hypothesis are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 shows that there are differences between the colour groups in their cognized self-rating—self-esteem. These differences are significant beyond the .01 level. From inspection of the means it can be seen that White Ss rate themselves higher than Brown Ss who in turn rate themselves higher than Black and Chinese Ss. These results are consistent with the hypothesis and confirm it.

Table 3

Comparison of the Cognized Self-Rating of Ss in the 7 Colour Groups

Colour Groups	Cognized Self-Ratings		
	<i>N</i>	Mean	S.D.
White	53	122.30	10.81
Fair	47	119.32	11.86
Clear	71	117.15	11.98
Sepia	118	116.30	13.98
Dark	152	113.78	12.05
Black	15	113.27	9.01
Chinese	66	110.71	12.08

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	F-Ratio	Significance
Between	5710.00	6	951.66		
Within	77986.00	515	151.43	6.28	.01 Level
Total	83696.00	521	1103.09		

Hypothesis 2

White Ss will manifest less self-disparity than Brown Ss who in turn will report less self-disparity than Black and Chinese Ss. Data testing this hypothesis are reported in Table 4.

Table 4
A Comparison of the Mean Self-Disparity Scores of Ss
in the Seven Colour Groups

Colour Groups	Self-Disparity Scores		
	<i>N</i>	Mean	S.D.
White	53	26.89	12.54
Fair	47	26.26	10.65
Clear	71	30.21	10.62
Sepia	118	29.94	13.51
Dark	152	33.40	10.92
Black	15	31.67	12.10
Chinese	66	31.92	11.29

Sources of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	F-Ratio	
				Value	Significance
Between	4030.44	6	671.74	4.81	.01 level
Within	71993.44	515	139.75		
Total	76003.88	521			

Table 4 shows that there are significant differences between the mean self-disparity scores of Ss in the seven colour groups. The F ratio is significant beyond the .01 level. Inspection of the means shows that White and Fair Ss reported the least self-disparity, Clear and Sepia Ss next, and Black-Dark and Jet Black and Chinese Ss most. These results confirm the hypothesis except

that the lightest shade of Brown Ss—Fair—reported self-esteem in a manner very similar to the White Ss.

Hypothesis 3

Table 5

Colour Groups	Anxiety Scores		
	<i>N</i>	Mean	S.D.
White	53	15.91	4.80
Fair	47	17.06	5.47
Clear	71	18.90	6.13
Sepia	118	19.08	6.06
Dark	152	19.45	5.47
Black	15	18.26	5.36
Chinese	66	19.09	5.86

Sources of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	F-Ratio	
				Value	Significance
Between	656.56	6	109.43	3.34	.01 level
Within	16878.13	515	32.77		
Total	17534.69	521			

White Ss will be less anxious than Brown Ss who in turn will be less anxious than Black and Chinese Ss. Data testing this hypothesis are shown in Table 5.

Table 5 shows that the mean anxiety scores of Ss in the seven groups are significantly different from each other. The F-ratio of 3.34 is significant beyond the .01 level. Inspection of the means

shows that White Ss are least anxious, Fair Ss next, but Clear, Sepia, Black and Chinese Ss report about the same level of anxiety. These results partially confirm the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4

Table 6
A Comparison of the Mean Teacher Ratings of Ss
in the Seven Colour Groups

Colour Groups	Teacher Ratings		
	N	Mean	S.D.
White	53	2.08	3.52
Fair	47	1.31	1.84
Clear	71	1.56	2.21
Sepia	119	1.41	2.03
Dark	155	1.96	2.29
Black	17	1.29	1.27
Chinese	74	1.30	1.77

Sources of Variance	Mean Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio	
				Value	Significance
Between	48.37	6	8.06	1.57	Not Significant
Within	2742.07	529	5.14		
Total	2790.44	535			

Teachers will perceive White Ss in more favourable terms than Brown Ss who in turn will be perceived in more favourable terms than Black and Chinese Ss. Data testing this hypothesis are shown in Table 6.

Table 6 shows that there are no significant differences in the mean ratings of each colour group. Neither are the non-

significant differences between the means consistent with the direction suggested by the hypothesis. Hypothesis 4 is not supported and therefore has to be rejected.

Hypothesis 5

Table 7
A Comparison of the Mean Cognized Self-Rating
of Ss from the Different Socio-economic Groups

Socio-economic Groups		Cognized Self-Ratings		
		N	Mean	S.D.
Higher professional and managerial		61	122.02	12.28
Lower professional and managerial		54	114.22	12.00
Highly skilled		227	115.16	12.58
Skilled		142	113.95	12.36
Semi-skilled		37	116.68	13.80
Unskilled		15	111.53	13.32

Sources of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	F-Ratio	
				Value	Significance
Between	3339.00	530	667.80	4.20	.01 level
Within	84290.00	5	159.04		
Total	97629.00	535			

Ss from the higher socio-economic categories will report higher self-esteem than Ss from the lower socio-economic categories. Data testing this hypothesis are shown in Table 7.

Table 7 shows that there is a significant difference in the way in which Ss in the 6 socio-economic groups rate their cognized self. The F-ratio of 4.20 is significant at the .01 level. Ss in the higher professional and managerial group rate themselves high-

est, while Ss in the unskilled group rate themselves lowest and the other groups have means which lie between these two extremes.

Table 8
A Comparison of the Mean Self-Disparity Scores of Ss
from the Six Socio-economic Groups

Socio-economic Groups				Self-Disparity Scores		
				<i>N</i>	Mean	S.D.
Higher professional/managerial				61	27.11	12.94
Lower professional/managerial				54	31.43	11.94
Highly skilled				227	31.43	11.52
Skilled				142	32.17	12.23
Semi-skilled				37	29.62	13.25
Unskilled				15	32.80	10.80

Sources of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	F-Ratio	
				Value	Significance
Between	1283.81	5	256.76	1.76	Not Significant
Within	77510.25	530	146.25		
Total	78794.06	535			

Hypothesis 6

Ss from the higher socio-economic categories will report less self-disparity than Ss from the lower socio-economic categories. Data testing this hypothesis are shown in Table 8.

Table 8 shows the comparison of the mean self-disparity scores of Ss from the six socio-economic groups. The F-ratio of 1.76 is not significant. There is no overall difference in the mean

scores of the six groups. The mean score of the higher professional managerial group is the lowest, and those of the unskilled and skilled group are the highest. The differences between the means of the former and latter groups, however, are not significant.

Although these differences are not significant at the .05 level, they are in the direction postulated by the hypothesis. It would appear that a Type 1 error would be made if the hypothesis were rejected on the basis of the non-significant result.

Table 9
A Comparison of the Mean Anxiety Scores of Ss
from the Six Socio-economic Groups

Socio-economic Groups	Anxiety Scores		
	<i>N</i>	Mean	S.D.
Higher professional/managerial	61	15.77	5.64
Lower professional/managerial	54	18.02	5.46
Highly skilled	227	18.48	5.76
Skilled	142	19.33	5.15
Semi-skilled	37	20.95	5.75
Unskilled	15	21.33	6.32

Sources of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	F-Ratio	
				Value	Significance
Between	901.50	530	180.39	6.73	.01
Within	16683.31	5	31.48		
Total	17584.81	535			

Hypothesis 7

Ss in the higher socio-economic categories will be less anxious than Ss in the lower socio-economic categories. Data testing this hypothesis are shown in Table 9.

Table 9 shows the results obtained when the mean anxiety scores of Ss from the six socio-economic groups are compared. The variance ratio of 5.73 is significant beyond the .01 level. Inspection of the table shows that the mean score of the higher professional/managerial group is the lowest, that of the unskilled group highest, and those of the other groups are intermediate

Table 10
A Comparison of the Mean Teacher Ratings of Ss
in the Six Different Socio-economic Groups

Socio-economic Groups	Teacher Ratings		
	N	Mean	S.D.
Higher professional/managerial	61	1.33	1.81
Lower professional/managerial	54	1.67	3.25
Highly skilled	227	1.58	2.07
Skilled	142	2.17	2.88
Semi-skilled	37	2.50	3.28
Unskilled	15	2.60	3.35

Sources of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Sum of Squares	F-Ratio	
				Value	Significance
Between	82.85	530	16.57	2.50	.05
Within	3881.50	5	6.64		
Total	3964.35	535			

between these two extremes. Actually, the means become

increasingly larger as one goes from the highest socio-economic group to the lowest.

Hypothesis 8

Teachers will perceive and rate Ss from the higher socio-economic categories in more favourable terms than Ss in the lower socio-economic categories. Data testing this hypothesis are shown in Table 10.

Table 10 shows that there are significant differences between the mean teacher rating scores of Ss in the six socio-economic groups. The F-ratio of 2.50 is significant at the .05 level. Inspection of the table shows that the mean teacher ratings are lower in groups 1, 2 and 3, than they are in groups 4, 5 and 6. Since high teacher ratings indicate maladjustment, this trend means that teachers rate Ss in the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled groups to be more poorly adjusted relative to Ss in the higher and lower professional/managerial and highly skilled group.

Discussion

Generally speaking, the data obtained provide strong support for the theory being tested. Looking at the results from the point of view of the racial criterion enunciated by the theory it is reasonable to infer that whether self-worth evaluation is measured from the point of view of self-esteem or self-disparity, White Ss evaluate self to be more worthy and significant than Brown who in turn evaluate self to be more worthy than Black and Chinese Ss. These results are completely consistent with the postulates of the theory which states that in Jamaican society in the context of "middle class" audiences and institutions, race and colour are important criteria by which self-worth is evaluated and assessed. And that in this context the social frame of reference within which worth is ascribed is such that Caucasians are afforded the highest and most worthy status and value, and people of other races are afforded inferior status, value, and worth. Also that within the context of "middle-class institutions" individuals will

evaluate themselves and estimate their own self-worth in accordance with the social frame of reference described, and ascribe to themselves differing degrees of worth and value according to their race and colour.

It is interesting to observe that the Chinese girls evaluated themselves, both with respect to self-esteem and self-disparity, in the least favourable and most unworthy terms of all the colour and racial groups in the sample. This result was not predicted by the theory nor was it anticipated. The explanation for this relatively low evaluation of self may be that the Chinese are the latest racial group in the society to begin to use the high school as a broker institution and as a means of acculturation into the higher social classes. It is very likely that the majority of these Chinese Ss are either first or second generation high school students in their families. It could be that the recency of this contact with this type of institution could be a factor contributing to the relative low evaluation of self-worth by these Chinese Ss.

The results show the levels of anxiety in the various racial and colour groups and corroborate the evidence obtained with respect to straightforward self-evaluation. Ss who evaluate self in more favourable terms are less anxious than those who evaluate self in less favourable terms. That is, White and Fair—nearly white—Ss are less anxious than are Ss of other races and colours. This is as predicted and expected. Individuals who conceptualize and evaluate self as being adequate and worthy in a particular environment will not be as anxious or as tense as persons who conceptualize and evaluate self as being less worthy and somewhat inadequate. The fact that White and Fair Ss are less anxious in the context of high school than Ss of other races and colours further underscores the significance of race and colour as determinants of self-conceptualization, evaluation, and interaction in this context. The results give further support to the theory.

Despite the predictions, teachers do not appear, at the present time, to be agents in the process socializing Ss to evaluate self according to the racial criterion. This is the only hypothesis

which is not supported and has to be rejected. No significant or consistent differences were observed between the race of the Ss and the ratings of the teachers. Teachers rated White and Dark Ss with about equal disfavour. While it may be argued that high school teachers in the past perceived and evaluated Ss according to race, the evidence here suggests that teachers in girls' high schools in the city of Kingston are not now perceiving and evaluating Ss according to this criterion.

These data present an interesting situation in that the girls are definitely evaluating self according to the racial criterion, but the teachers do not appear to perceive or evaluate the girls in these terms. The question arises, if the teachers are not agents to such a process, what other socializing agents could be responsible for such a mode of self-evaluation? There are a number of influences that suggest themselves: the images portrayed in books used in schools, authority figures established in various subject areas, images portrayed in films and other visual aids, the influences of the older members of families of the Ss as they interpret the meaning of high school education to them, the school tradition as it projects the heroes of the past, and peer group influence as it is handed down from one generation of students to the next. Further investigation in this area is of great urgency.

Turning to the class criterion one finds similar general support for the theory test. All four hypotheses are confirmed. Whether one views self-evaluation from the point of view of self-esteem or self-disparity, Ss in the higher socio-economic categories evaluate self in more favourable and worthy terms than Ss in the lower socio-economic categories. The only inconsistency in the data obtained was that Ss of semi-skilled parents rated their cognized self at a higher level than those of the other categories, except the higher professional and higher managerial. Similarly they revealed lower self-disparity than Ss of other categories again except those of the higher professional and managerial categories. The self-evaluation of these Ss of semi-skilled background is not consistent with the prediction of the hypotheses

being tested. However, since this is the only category of Ss whose self-evaluation is inconsistent with the predictions based on the hypotheses, one may quite likely commit a type one error if the hypothesis is rejected on this single inconsistency.

From the results one would therefore infer that in the context of high schooling, Ss evaluate themselves within the social frame of reference which ascribes greater worth and value to Ss belonging to the higher social classes than those of the lower social classes. In other words the evidence obtained supports the theoretical position that class is an important criterion of self-worth evaluation.

The evidence obtained concerning levels of manifest anxiety existing among Ss belonging to the various socio-economic categories strongly corroborates the inference made concerning the significance of the class criterion. Ss in the highest socio-economic category reported the lowest level of anxiety, Ss in the lowest category the highest level of anxiety, and those in the intermediary categories intermediary levels of anxiety between these two extremes. This includes Ss of semi-skilled parents who are only slightly less anxious than Ss of unskilled parents. This suggests that a very strong inverse linear relationship exists between socio-economic status and anxiety among Ss in high school.

These results are perfectly consistent with those obtained for self-evaluation. If high school girls of the higher socio-economic status evaluate self in more adequate and worthy terms than their peers from the lower socio-economic categories, then it is to be expected that girls from the latter background will be more anxious than the former. These results further confirm the theory that class is an important variable, in the context of high school, in determining both self-evaluation and manifest anxiety.

Teachers, it would appear, perceive and evaluate Ss in the context of the class criterion. They perceive Ss in the higher professional/higher managerial, lower professional/lower managerial, and highly skilled categories in significantly more favourable

terms than Ss belonging to the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled categories. Ss belonging to the former categories could be said to belong to the upper and traditional middle classes, who have been the traditional consumers of high school education since its inception in the 1880s. However, Ss belonging to the latter categories could be correctly called the newcomers to high school education. Their emergence in the high school population in appreciable numbers is a recent phenomenon. By and large these girls would be first generation high school students in their families. It is interesting to note that these girls evaluate Ss in less worthy terms than their peers in the higher socio-economic categories and that their teachers perceive them in a less favourable light than their peers in the higher categories. It would appear that teachers in girls' high schools in Kingston are agents in the process of socializing the Ss to evaluate self in accordance with the class criterion.

Overall the data obtained support the various hypotheses, except Hypothesis 4, giving general support to the assertion that Jamaican high school girls evaluate self according to certain socio-economic and colour criteria. However, because this first study is cross sectional it cannot be established unequivocally that such evaluative modes are fostered by high schools, since there is the possibility that this could be a pattern of self-evaluation independent of their socializing influence. While these findings are very suggestive they must be only tentatively accepted for the time being.

Implications

Accepting the twin reservations that these are preliminary findings which will be followed by more conclusive results later, and that they are findings for girls' high schools in the Corporate Area of Kingston and as such should not be generalized out of context, the fundamental nature of the questions being asked and

the positive preliminary findings would indicate that at least educators should begin to think seriously of the issues involved.

The theory that was tested in this investigation is predicated on the assumption that the social frame of reference and habitual mode of self-evaluation, characteristic of members of the society, has not been fundamentally altered by any recent developments in the society.

Referring specifically to high schooling, the change in the outlook of Government and the liberalization of high school entry has not apparently resulted in a fundamentally different pattern of socializing effects in terms of the self-concept development of high school students. High schooling conceived by the Government as education for a stage of human development has not significantly altered its socializing function as being for a particular class of society. Hence Black and Chinese and lower socioeconomic background adolescents afforded the privilege of social mobility, actually pay a heavy psychological price for this opportunity. It would appear, from this study, that they have come to undervalue and underestimate their own worth and significance.

Whilst politicians, educational planners and administrators, teachers, and the general citizenry would admit that in the past they would suspect that the socializing effect was of this manner, all would agree that it is unhealthy, undesirable, and certainly not intended at the present time.

The basic question is how can high school education be reformed so that these socializing effects are eradicated? This question cannot be ignored or sidetracked because the forces impelling the development of the society are of such that high schooling must be expanded further. If the present situation remains unchanged then further expansion will mean larger numbers of adolescents being affected. It would seem that gradual evolution alone will not erase the former pattern and that fundamental rethinking and creative and deliberate action are necessary.

NOTES

1. Information was obtained by personal communication before the publication of the study.
2. The eighth school was not included because at the time of the investigation major construction work was taking place, which had dislocated the running of the school, hence they were reluctant to release their girls to participate in the study.

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Gender and Democratization of Caribbean Education

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Caribbean Journal of Education, *Vol. 18, No. 1 (April 1996)*, pp. 11–44.

In the Commonwealth Caribbean, on average, girls start schooling earlier, attend school more regularly, repeat fewer grades, are less likely to drop out and therefore stay in school longer, and achieve higher standards of educational performance than boys. In the adult population more women are literate than men. Girls are more highly represented in those sections of the secondary and tertiary levels of the education system which enhance the prospects of upward social mobility. In a real sense girls and women constitute the first sex in Caribbean education. The Caribbean is one of the few areas of the world where this is the case. The data to support these assertions are not in question. They are routinely reported and confirmed by the annual education statistical reports of all the countries in the sub-region. The issue at hand is their explanation.

At the same time a simple explanation is not readily at hand. Several complicating factors compel more than superficial answers. First, while it is correct that Caribbean girls and women have had equitable access to education at all levels, and have been highly successful in making full use of these educational opportunities, boys and men are not without strongholds in the school system. Males are more numerous in the sciences and science-based options. They also hold a disproportionate number