

INTERPERSONAL TRUST BETWEEN
NATIVE AND WHITE CHILDREN

BY

CARRIE LEE CERDA ©

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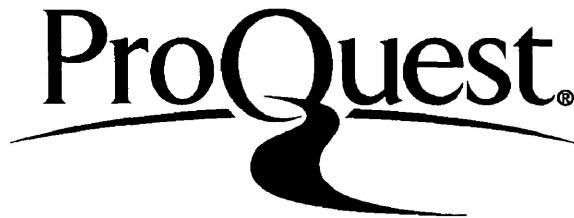
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Abstract

The thesis concerns the interpersonal trust between Native and Non-Native cultures/races as potentially manifested in their children. Four groups of children were tested: 35 Native children from segregated Native schools, 48 Non-Native children who attended a predominately Non-Native school, 48 Non-Native children and 30 Native children who attended mixed race schools. The children were presented with a brief description of a hypothetical child who was depicted in a photograph as having mixed Native and White features. For half of the group of children, the hypothetical child was identified as Indian (Native) and for the other half, the child was identified as White. The children judged the extent to which the Native or the Non-Native child would tell the truth, fulfill promises and keep secrets. A same race pattern of trust expectancy was found, in which Native children expected that the Native child would be more likely to keep rather than break promises, keep rather than break secrets and tell the truth rather than lie, compared to the Non-Native child. The Non-Native children demonstrated the opposite pattern of expectations. Consistent with the social contact hypothesis, the same-race pattern expectations of promise keeping was less evident in mixed than same race schools.

Various theorists and researchers have proposed that interpersonal trust is essential for cooperation among members of a society and, as a consequence, critical to the survival of society itself (Rotter 1971, 1980). In this same vein, interpersonal trust between different cultural groups must play a similar role in survival of society, at least in Canada and the United States and other countries (e.g. Britain) which are multicultural in nature. It is critical that the different cultural groups hold fundamental trust in each other in order for cooperation to prevail and the society to continue. The present thesis concerns such an issue, specifically the interpersonal trust between Native and Non-Native cultures/races, as potentially manifested in their children.

The issue of interpersonal trust was addressed with respect to the Native culture/race for a number of reasons. The Native American culture is an unique culture in our society which is faced with many problems due to acculturation of the Non-Native society. The Non-Native and Native cultures are so different, that many conflicts occur due to these differing values of each society. Dulicai (1984) comments on how the Native culture focuses more on group reliance and survival through the tribe while the western emphasis is on

independence and self-reliance. It is suggested that due to these different customs, the Native culture is incapable of coping with the new realities of the Western culture due to its excessive trust and innocence. These cultural differences and the role of acculturation can potentially lead to prejudice and a lower trusting expectancy. There is also a historical base to why Natives may not trust Non-Natives as much as they would trust each other. Many of the promises made to Natives have not been kept. Today, there are many disputes between Natives and Non-Natives, usually over these promises which were made but have since been broken (Swankey, 1980; Clark, 1987).

These potential trust problems may be conveyed to the next generation of Native and Non-Native children. The process of socialization will occur in which Natives and Non-Native children will develop their racial attitudes from significant others. Studies have examined the learning of racial attitudes from parents (Rosenfield & Stephan, 1981; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978). The researchers found that by the age of 5 years most children have begun to develop their racial attitudes and they will imitate the racial attitudes and behaviors displayed by their parents and others who are liked

and powerful. The researchers report that prejudice in children has been shown to be correlated with their parents' level of prejudice. Children will learn to distrust other races from their parents, internalize these racial attitudes and display them, later as adults.

Katz's (1976) review of racial attitudes in children, suggest that by the age of three or four children show evidence of racial attitudes. The most obvious determinant of prejudice would appear to be parent's attitudes however, the author argues that research on children learning prejudice from their parents is overemphasized. Katz offers other explanations of how children learn prejudice. These include positive reinforcement of the child's expression of negative attitudes by peers or adults in the child's environment. Personality variables and childrearing techniques have received attention as sources of racial prejudice. Cognitive and perceptual components of children's prejudice have also been examined in that children learn, through development, the differences between themselves and other races. Children experience the "strangeness" of other races by observation or through the media and consequently develop negative attitudes towards other races. The present thesis will address this issue of

childhood interpersonal trust between Native and Non-Native cultures.

Conceptualization and Definition of Interpersonal Trust

Interpersonal trust was treated in this present thesis, largely in terms of Rotenberg's (1991) approach to the topic. Rotenberg (1991) defined trust as "a child's confidence that a person's verbal and nonverbal communications accurately represent, or correspond to, internal states and external events" (p. 2). Children's interpersonal trust included their sensitivity to lying, deception and promise violations. Also, secret-keeping is considered to be a part of trust in so far as the keeping of a secret explicitly conveys to the other person the promise to keep the information revealed a secret.

Research on Children's Interpersonal Trust

There has been an increasing interest in interpersonal trust in children. The research on the three themes; as well as secret-keeping; which Rotenberg (1991) proposed will be described.

Lying and Deception. Peterson (1991) examined what it means to tell a lie both by lexical and moral perspectives. The lexical dimension describes the individual's answer to the question "What is a Lie?" The moral perspective examines

lying by evaluating cognitions about how right or wrong it is to deceive and the relative goodness or naughtiness of various untrue statements. Peterson concluded that the moral and lexical meanings of telling a lie does vary with age.

Children's ability to understand lying, specifically in the form of deception, has been examined in the literature.

Chandler and Hala (1991) investigated children's use of deception guided by the notion that different types of behavior can create false beliefs in others. In one study, Chandler, Fritz and Hala (1989) asked children ages 2 and a half to 5 years to hide a "treasure" in one of the coloured containers they had on a large playing board by using a puppet who left behind foot marks. The researchers propose that if children understand false beliefs they can engage in deception such as laying down false tracks, wiping away tracks or lying about the true location of the treasure. The researchers found that 80% of the subjects were able to mislead others and that there was no difference across ages. The researchers concluded that before the age of 2 and 3 years children lack the capabilities to understand false beliefs. After this age, children are more able to recognize dishonesties and deceitful practices.

Researchers have examined the types of cues children

use to help them decide whether a person is lying or not.

Rotenberg, Simourd and Moore (1989) asked children to predict the facial expressions a speaker would show if he or she were telling the truth or lying. The researchers found that children use the inconsistency between verbal and nonverbal cues to reveal lying and that this increased with age.

Bugental, Kopeikin and Lazowski (1991) examined children's responses to authentic versus polite smiles by adults. The researchers found a significant difference in the way children respond to authentic or polite smiles. The children showed higher levels of sustained gazing to the authentic smiles than they did to the adults with the polite smile. They also examined the difference between children from abusive and nonabusive families and their responses to authentic versus polite smiles by adults. Children from nonabusive families showed an increased sophistication with age in their understanding of the subtle implications of facial displays compared to children from abusive families. At all ages, the children from abusive families showed strong eye aversion to the polite smile. Bugental, Kopeikin and Larowski (1991) suggest that children from dysfunctional families maintain their social disadvantage by showing an avoidance

pattern to other individuals in that they responded to an individual's polite smile with visual withdrawal.

Rotenberg (1991) investigated children's cue use and strategies for detecting deception. The subjects were presented with a series of statements from other children and then asked questions designed to assess reference to visual-facial, visual-body and vocal-paralinguistic cues. This investigation indicated that children use more visual-facial cues than other types of cues.

Promise-Violations. Rotenberg (1980) investigated children's interpersonal trust in terms of whether others fulfil their promises. The children were presented with a series of stories with actors varying in the amount of helping they promised to do and whether they did help or did not help. The children then judged how much they trusted the actor and gave reasons for that judgment. The subjects were then asked what their favourite toy was and to which actor they would prefer to lend their toy to. It was found that kindergarten children based trust on the helping behaviour and that with increase age children increasingly base their trust on the consistency between promises and behaviour.

Secret-Keeping. Secret sharing, secret keeping and

promise fulfillment are behaviors that affect friendship (Rotenberg, 1991). Rotenberg further proposes that these behaviours will affect children's perceptions of trust and their attributions of trustworthiness. In one study, Rotenberg (1986) examined children's friendships and attributed trustworthiness to peers as well as whether these are correlated with the extent to which the peers keep secrets and fulfill promises. The children reported the number of secrets they told their peers, the number of secrets their peers kept, the number of promises their peers made and the number of promises their peers kept. The children also rated how much they trusted their peers and how good or bad a friend each classmate was. The researcher found that the girl's and boy's attributed trustworthiness was correlated with the proportion of promises kept by peers and the proportion of secrets kept by peers.

Rotenberg (1991) examined whether children based their friendship preferences on trust-value which reflects whether children prefer peers who keep secrets and promises. The children were presented with four pairs of stories. One story depicted the protagonists as varying in food desire, the second story depicted the protagonist as having lots of toys to play

with or not having any toys to play with. The third and fourth story was designed to depict the trust value. One set of stories examined secret sharing in which the protagonist never told the secret to another child or where the protagonist told the secret to another child. The other pair of stories showed promises-behavior consistency in whether or not the protagonist would carry out some kind of helping behaviour. It was found that the trust-value did have an effect on all friendship preferences. Subjects had higher friendship preferences for the protagonist who kept secrets than the one who broke secrets and for the protagonist who kept promises than the one who broke promises.

Cross-Cultural Research between Native and Non-Natives

Before examining the issue of differences between Natives and other cultures, it should be pointed out that there are different tribes of Native Americans. The United States government for example recognises 478 different tribes (Lazarus, 1982). Of course, each of these tribes considers themselves to be different from each other. Despite the diversity, however, there are several cultural qualities common to Native Americans (Bryde, 1972; Zintz, 1963; Hynd & Garcia, 1979). Some of these values common to Native

Americans are the values of harmony with nature, sharing and cooperation and that an individual is judged by his or her contribution to the group. There is also a general, over all tendency for Native Americans to be more orientated to the present and to be less concerned about planning for the future. Further, they demonstrate respect for the elderly as well commitment to the generational transmission of their culture, in the form of teaching their children ancient legends and cultural traditions (Lazarus, 1982).

Cross-cultural studies between Natives and Whites have examined these different values and differences in cross-cultural values have been found in children as well as adults. A cross-cultural comparison of the self-concept in American Native and White children has been examined by Rotenberg and Cranwell (1985). The researchers found that the Native children placed more importance on family ties, traditional customs and beliefs, and on moral worth with less emphasis on formal education and possessions than the White children. Another cross-cultural study compared the delay of gratification between Native and White children (Rotenberg & Mayer, 1990). The researchers found that the acquisition of the delay of gratification increased with age and at approximately

the same rate in the Native and White children. However, the Native children did show a less delay of gratification than did the White children.

Other cross-cultural studies have examined self-esteem between Native and Non-Native children. It has been found that there is little difference between the level of self-esteem between Native and Non-Native children during the preschool years (Bruneau, 1985). However, it has been found that after a Native child enters school then the level of self-esteem decreases for him/her (Soldier, 1985). This decrease continues through high school, accompanied by other problems such as low motivation, absenteeism, and disciplinary problems.

Trust as a Value in the Native Culture

Research has revealed that trust is an important value in the Native culture. Trimble (1976) states that "Indians tend to value trust and understanding more than almost any other attribute" (p. 92). He further purposes that they are more sensitive to distrust than to trust. Some evidence for Native American's concern over trust is provided by Trimble and Richardson (1982) who examined the locus of control using different measures with American Indians. Cluster analysis on the locus of control items revealed one particularly

interesting cluster; trust as measured by the faith in people scale was strongly related to personal control, race ideology, ideological control and a residual fate ideology.

Dulicai (1984) comments on how the Native culture focuses more on group reliance and survival through the tribe while the western emphasis is on independence and self-reliance. Due to these different customs, it is suggested that Native's are faulted for their excessive trust and innocence leaving the Native culture incapable of coping with the new realities of the Western culture.

The role of trustful communication is undoubtedly crucial to any counseling relationship (Fong & Cox, 1983). Research indicates that trustworthiness is critical to counseling involving Non-Native individuals (Merluzzi & Brischetto, 1982; Lee, Uhlemann & Haase, 1984). It appears that trust is important in counseling relationships for Native people. Research on counseling with Native's has shown that trust is the most important variable in how a Native American evaluates a potential helper, and that counseling a Native American is more effective if done by another Native (Dauphinais, Fromboise & Rowe, 1980; Gordon & Grantham, 1979). Murphy and Deblasse (1984) suggest that a

counselor must gather data about the culture and the system utilized by the client in learning about the client's culture and this must be acceptable to the Native client or a lack of trust emerges. The counselor must prove that he/she is trustworthy. Therefore, a counselor must be aware of their own values and biases and learn to separate them from their Native clients.

Value Conflicts and Acculturation: The Promoting of Distrust

The Native people of North America have to face acculturation which occurs when culturally diverse persons have to acquire the behaviours of another cultural group in order to gain access to and function within that group (Soldier, 1985). Before there were any tribal schools on reservations, this acculturation process usually occurred when the Native children began school. For many Native children they would leave for school at only 6 years of age. They would leave their parents and family until Christmas break and then again until summer. They have been shown to exhibit depression, anxiety and a poor self-concept during this acculturation process. Other symptoms included feeling powerless, meaningless, social isolation, hopelessness, a lack of self control, frustration, low self-worth and hostility towards the White culture (Mitchum, 1989). However, since the late 1970's and to

the present time there are more and more tribal schools on Indian reservations (Labrasseur & Freark, 1982). However, usually the Natives will later have to leave their reserves in order to further their education, typically to attend high school.

The values, attitudes and behaviours of the Native American will conflict with the dominant society. Many of these values and behaviours have been studied by Anthropologists and Sociologists. Psychologists have begun to examine these values in terms of the counseling process (Lazarus, 1982). Research on these conflicts between the Native and Non-Native cultures will be mentioned. However, it is important to recognize that the values are comparative differences. They consist of the following:

First, in comparison to Non-Native people, Native's show more of tendency to share, cooperate and work successfully in groups than the competitive Non-Native individuals. For Native people the value of cooperation in a group is so strong that being better than other children is extremely uncomfortable to the Native child. (Mitchum, 1989).

Second, at home, Native children are not encouraged to ask questions. They are expected to learn by observation and to

be patient in contrast to Non-Native children who are more curious and have a lot of questions.

A third conflict occurs when a Native is expected to look directly at another individual but instead would look down. This glancing away to the Native culture is a sign of respect and compliance.

Fourth, the status of the Western society is based on the job you have, how much money you make, the car you drive and which part of the city you live in. However, in the Native culture, status is based on who you are rather than what you have.

Fifth, traditional Natives do not live by time, it is viewed as a continuum with no beginning and no end. The Western society places great value on punctuality. The Native's world is "now" orientated and they may have difficulty relating to future goals (Trimble,1981).

The acculturation of the North American Native causes stress and anxiety due to these conflicts between the Native and Non-Native cultures. As the Native people begin to assimilate many of these different values, which the Western culture possesses, the result is a detrimental effect on their self-concept (Lazarus, 1982). This stress often leads to

dropping out of school (Herring, 1989) and suicide, which is the leading cause of death among Natives between the ages of 15 and 19 years of age (Herring, 1988). Substance abuse among Native people has also shown to be high which may be due to this acculturation (Murphy & Deblassie,1984).

Trimble (1981) states that contact groups often seek feedback concerning out-group expectations and attributions. Natives may conform to these out-group expectations and may assume roles which are different than their typical behaviours in an effort to compromise. In doing so, they may just be reinforcing the general Native stereotypes. When Natives face acculturation, they are subjected to many value and culture conflicts with the dominate White society. The value conflicts mentioned and acculturation may all result in a lower trust expectancy. When Natives are subjected to value and cultural conflicts, hostility may increase towards the dominate society.

Prejudice and Distrust Between Other Cultures or Groups

One theory which may have guided this thesis is the Social Group Hypothesis (Linville, Salovey & Fischer,1989; Schaller & Maass,1989). When we form groups we immediately create us (ingroup) and them (outgroups) groups. This theory

indicates that a member of a certain group, whether it is a culture group, religious group, sex or age group, will prefer other members from that same group (ingroup) and perceive members from other groups (outgroup) more negatively and to possess undesirable traits. Individuals will view members of their own group more favourably than individuals who are not a part of their group.

This Social Group Hypothesis has been applied to different culture groups. Prejudice between Black and White individuals have been examined in the literature more than any other cultural groups. These studies on prejudice can apply to the Social Group Hypothesis.

The Social Group Hypothesis can be seen in a study by Brand, Kopeikin and Larowski (1974). They found that ethnic awareness emerges at age 4 and that White children show more other-group rejection and own-group preference than Blacks and that once these attitudes are formed they tend to increase with age. The researchers also found that White children between the ages of 4-7 expressed the feelings that Blacks "are bad". The research examining prejudice between Whites and Blacks do show that both groups prefer their own group but, Whites tend to be more prejudiced.

While there is little research available which addresses the Social Group Hypothesis with respect to trust, one exception is the work of Rotenberg (1984). The Social Group Hypothesis would predict that during childhood, girls develop same sex social groups and enhance trust in girls and minimize trust in individuals who are not members, such as boys. Boys will develop same sex social groups that enhance the trust of boys and minimize the trust of girls. Each subject was asked to judge how much she/he trusted each classmate on a trust scale. Rotenberg (1984) found no differences in kindergarten aged children on the same sex pattern of peer trust but the pattern increased with age and was evident in fourth and second grade children. The boys trusted boys more than they trusted girls and girls trusted girls more than they trusted boys. The same sex pattern of peer trust is consistent with the Social Group Hypothesis.

The Social Group Hypothesis can be applied to Natives and Non-Natives in respect to their trusting expectancies in terms of whether they expect that others will keep secrets, keep promises and tell the truth. Specifically, it would be expected to be a same race pattern of trusting expectancy, in that Natives would trust Non-Natives less than Natives and

Non-Natives to trust Natives less than Non-Natives. It should be pointed out that there are other conditions which may predict similar patterns of trust expectancy, such as value conflicts, historical factors and to some extent acculturation. The purpose of this present study is to examine this hypothesis.

Racial Identity, Attitudes and Preferences among Native and Non-Native Children

Contrary to the Social Group Hypothesis is research examining the development of Native and Non-Native childrens reaction to their own ethnic group and to the other ethnic group. Rosenthal (1984) examined the development of the identification of the self, self-evaluation and the correct recognition of the Chippewa Natives and the White ethnic groups. In order to determine the preference of White and Native individuals, picture tests and interviews were used. Results showed that the Chippewa child evaluates himself more negatively than he does the White child. They also found that the Chippewa child is very slow in achieving accurate self-identification: i.e. recognition that they are Native. The Chippewa children appear to be the most self-depreciative and the most perceptually distorted in terms of self-recognition

of race than any other culture previously studied.

Hunsberger, (1978) investigated White and Native childrens attitudes towards self and others, as well as racial awareness and identification. Children between the ages of 5 and 9 years were tested using the technique of doll choices. Results showed that the White and Native children preferred a White doll when asked which doll they would like to play with and which doll looks nice. When asked which doll “looks bad” preference was to the Native doll. The author concludes that racial awareness was present and that White and Indian children seemed to have negative images of Indians and positive images of Whites.

In a similar study, Native and White children were asked by a Native and White experimenter to indicate their preference for either a White or Native doll, a white or brown rabbit, and a white or brown cup (Corenblum & Wilson,1982). Results showed that both of the subjects choose the lighter of the objects. However, subjects responses were influenced by race of experimenter. When asked to choose the doll which looked most like them both subjects chose the White doll more frequently with a White than a Native experimenter. Native children chose the Native doll more when asked by a Native

experimenter. The Native children were able to identify the race of the two dolls but tended to misidentify which doll looked most like them. The authors suggest that for Native children racial identity may lag behind racial preference and discrimination.

Corenblum and Annis (1987) also examined self-identification and racial preference among White and Native children. White and Native children were asked by a White or Native experimenter to answer questions about their racial identity and preferences by pointing to a picture of a White boy, a White girl, a Native boy or a Native girl. Subjects of both races made more accurate self-identifications when tested by a Native experimenter, this effect being greater for Native children. However, both races preferred the picture of the White boy or girl. These results are consistent with other studies showing that Native childrens self-identification increases with age but, at the same time, prefer the out-group to the in-group.

These results conflict with the Social Group Hypothesis, at least for Native children. Corenblum and Annis (1987) offer three explanations to account for the findings. The psychodynamically-based escape hypothesis suggests that the

Native child may wish to escape minority status and be White.

The light colour bias hypothesis assumes that young children learn that light colours are associated with all that is good and clean and dark colours with being bad, dirty and strange.

The cognitive explanation derived from the construct accessibility theory suggests that an experimenter who is racially distinct will make the race construct more accessible for encoding race-related information and, once accessible, subjects are more likely to attend to and process stimuli in terms of race rather than other constructs.

Desegregation and Social Contact

One of the foci of this present study is, in addition, on the potential effects of social contact on the same race pattern of trust expectations. This focus was guided by the issue of school desegregation and the social contact hypothesis. The expectation of a same race pattern of trust expectancy may be modified due to school desegregation and the social contact hypothesis. School desegregation attempts to eliminate racial segregation in schools in order to integrate racial groups. Recently, desegregation has become one of the most promising developments in American education (Hochschild, 1984). The goals of desegregation includes

enhancing minority academic achievement, self-esteem and improved inter-ethnic relationships between majority and minority children (Rich, 1987). The effects of desegregation have been examined in many different studies.

Researchers have examined certain factors to determine whether school desegregation produces prejudice or not. For example, Miller (1975) found that in a desegregated school minority students who were accepted by Whites did perform better in school than peers who were not accepted. Results from Maruyama, Miller and Holta, (1986) showed that academic achievement did not flow from social acceptance but academic achievement affected subsequent social acceptance.

Other factors were examined by Miller (1990) who suggested that community affluence has an effect on desegregation. Miller (1990) examined the impact of community affluence on desegregation in five high schools. Results demonstrated that the more affluent the community the less welcome the minority students were. Powell (1986) examined the effects of school desegregation on the self-concept of Black adolescents. The researchers found that the Blacks from the racially isolated minority schools had similar scores for self-satisfaction compared to the norm group of

adolescents, although their identity score was significantly below those for the norm group.

Braddock, Crain and McPartland (1984) have found positive, long-term academic and social effects for minority pupils educated in desegregated schools. Other research (Crain, Mahard & Narot, 1982; Miller & Brewer, 1984) on the effects of desegregation have not found much change in social relationships between minority and majority pupils. Similar results were recorded for self-esteem. Improved academic achievement has been found for minority students if desegregation begins early.

Stephan, (1986) reviewed studies on the effects of desegregation on prejudice, self-esteem, and achievement. According to this review, desegregation does work to decrease prejudice among blacks. However, desegregation is more likely to increase than to decrease prejudice for White students. The studies also showed that desegregation sometimes decreases self-esteem and rarely increases it. In terms of achievement Black students sometimes showed a small increase and White students rarely showed a decrease. According to the research, desegregation has not been found to have either a positive or negative impact. However, it is important to note that these

studies examine the short-term effects rather than the long-term effects of desegregation.

Stephan (1986) found long-term effects for minority students who attended desegregated schools. They were more likely to complete high school and less likely to drop out of college than those from segregated schools. They were also more likely to work in a wide range of jobs in an integrated environment and were more likely to live in integrated neighbourhoods than adults who attended segregated schools. Thus, the long-term effects of desegregation do promote desegregated schools compared to the short-term effects.

The long-term effects of desegregation do contrast with the research on acculturation. Integrating children together may enhance minority academic achievement, self-esteem and improved inter-ethnic relationships but, in the process, acculturation does occur. As has been described, there are many value conflicts and problems which arise due to acculturation. In the process of desegregation, the acculturation can bring about hostility towards other out-group members due to these conflicts. Therefore, there is a conflict between integrating children and the effects of acculturation.

The effects of desegregation depends on how it is implemented in the context of the schools. Effective desegregated schooling should adopt a multicultural perspective, encourage positive interracial contact, and avoid rigid forms of educational ability grouping (Rich, 1986). If desegregation is not implemented in specific ways then it will not be as beneficial.

The research on desegregation has examined social acceptance, self-esteem, academic performance and better relationships between culture groups. The issue of trust has not been examined. Minorities in an desegregated school may also show a higher level of trust expectancy if desegregation is done effectively.

Desegregation is based on the social contact hypothesis in that the social contact hypothesis assumes that increased interaction between groups will enhance more favourable attitudes towards other groups (Clement, Garder & Smythe,1977). This group interaction should disconfirm the negative stereotypes associated with the out-group. The individual's interaction with the group should reduce prejudice to the extent that the behavior they encounter disconfirms the negative stereotypes they hold. Researchers who have

examined the social contact principle have argued that the extent to which the social contact principle will work depends on the extent to which the children observe these stereotype behaviors, as well as the extent of contact (Rothbart & John, 1985). The social contact hypothesis states that intergroup contact will increase favourable attitudes but there are factors which may undermine this from occurring.

The present study is designed to test this hypothesis. According to the social contact hypothesis, the Native and Non-Native children in the mixed schools should trust each other more than the children in the same race schools. Certain domains of trusting behavior should be more likely to be susceptible to disconfirmation than are others. Specifically, it is more likely for an individual to disconfirm an expectation that others do not keep their promises than for others not to keep their secrets or others to lie. In the case of promise keeping the individual encounters directly that the promise is kept. If Native and White children keep their promises at a reasonable rate then in terms of disconfirmation, a same race pattern of trust expectancy would be less evident when children have contact with each other and when it pertains to promise keeping.

Method

Subjects

The Native and Non-Native children were solicited by a letter as shown in Appendix A. The Native and Non-Native children in desegregated schools, were from public schools in Thunder Bay, Ontario. The Native children were from four Native segregated schools located on the Whitefish Bay reserve, 230 miles Northwest of Thunder Bay; Whitedog reserve, 290 miles Northwest of Thunder Bay; Heron Bay reserve, 150 miles Northeast of Thunder Bay; and Pic Mobert reserve, 185 miles Northeast of Thunder Bay. All of the reserves were Ojibway communities. There were four groups of children consisting of boys and girls in grades 4 and 5. The four groups consisted of 35 Native children (19 girls and 16 boys) from the segregated Native schools, 30 Native children (17 girls and 13 boys) who attended four mixed schools in Thunder Bay, Ontario (the majority of these children were bused from an Ojibway reserve located right outside of Thunder Bay, Ontario), 48 Non-Native children (29 girls and 19 boys) who attended these mixed schools, and 48 Non-Native children (31 girls and 17 boys) from a school where mainly Non-Natives attended in Thunder Bay, Ontario.

The mean age for the Native children from the segregated Native school was 10 years and 3 months with a range of 9 years and 3 months to 11 years and 2 months. The mean age for the children from the predominately Non-Native school was 10 years and 1 month with a range of 9 years and 3 months to 10 years and 9 months. The mean age for the children from the mixed school was 10 years with a range of 9 years and 3 months to 10 years and 7 months.

Stimulus and Scales

The subjects were tested in small group settings but, answered individually. The subjects were presented with a brief description of a hypothetical child (shown in Appendix B) accompanied by a photograph of a child who had Native and White features. (The photograph was obtained, with the permission of the parents as shown in Appendix D). The description and photograph of the hypothetical child was accompanied by a questionnaire consisting of 12 questions (The questions are shown in Appendix C). The subjects were required to answer these 12 trust expectancy questions which reflect the degree to which the children believe that the hypothetical child would keep promises, keep secrets and tell the truth. The questions for expected promise keeping were 1,

3, 5, and 11, for secret keeping the questions were 6, 8, 10, and 12, questions 2, 4, 7, and 9 made up telling the truth. The questions were derived from Morgan (1992) and Johnson and Swap's (1982) scale for measuring interpersonal trust.

Procedure

Before administrating the questionnaire the children were told the voluntary nature of participating in the study, their right to withdraw from the testing session at any time and the anonymity of participation (the instructions are shown in Appendix E).

Half of the subjects from each of the schools were randomly assigned to judge the hypothetical child as an Indian and the other half to judge the child as White. Restrictions were made in the mixed school, in that half of the Native children were randomly assigned to judge the hypothetical child as an Indian and the other half judged the child as White. This same procedure was done with the Non-Native children from the mixed school. Each subject judged the hypothetical Indian or White child as the same sex as themselves. The questionnaire took approximately 10 minutes for the children to complete.

Results

Separate scores were derived for trust expectancy, consisting of expectations of promise keeping, secret keeping and telling the truth. These consisted of the four questions for each domain which were scored such that greater scores corresponded to expectations of greater promise keeping than breaking, secret keeping than breaking, and telling the truth than lying. The scores were subjected to a 2 sex of subject (male versus female) x 2 type of school (same race versus mixed Native and Non-Native) x 2 race of subject (Native versus Non-Native) x 2 race of target (Native versus Non-Native) Multivariate Analysis of variance. Corresponding ANOVAs were used to examine significant interactions yielded by the MANOVA with the exception of specific hypotheses. Also, Tukey a posteriori comparisons were used to test for significant differences between the means.

Internal Consistency of the Trust Scale

An analysis was done on each of the three domains to test for internal consistency. Questions 1, 3, 5, and 11 made the promise scale, and the Cronbach alpha was .85. The Cronbach alpha for secret-keeping was .74 and was made up of questions 6, 8, 10, and 12. Questions 2, 4, 7, and 9 made up the

items for the Truth scale and yielded an Cronbach alpha of .72.

MANOVA

The Pillais, Hotellings and Wilks all yielded identical findings and therefore, only the Wilks will be reported. The MANOVA analysis yielded main effects of Race of Subject, $F(3,143) = 2.69, p < .05$ that was qualified by the Race of Subject x Race of Target interaction, $F(3,143) = 30.13, p < .001$. The ANOVAs indicated that the interaction was evident for each of the three trust expectancy scales: $F(1,145) = 52.53, p < .001$ for telling the truth, $F(1,145) = 27.27, p < .001$ for secret keeping and $F(1,145) = 61.87, p < .001$ for promise keeping. The corresponding means are shown in Table 1. The eta values for each of these three interactions are .06 for telling the truth; .21 for secret keeping, and .23 for promise keeping. A same race pattern emerged for each of the three trust expectancy scales; Native subjects judged the Native target as more likely to keep promises, keep secrets and tell the truth than the Non-Native target, while the opposite pattern of expectations was shown by Non-Native subjects ($p_s < .01$).

The MANOVA main effects of school, $F(3, 143) = 5.22, p < .01$ and the ANOVA yielded this main effect for promise keeping, $F(1,145) = 15.45, p < .001$. Subjects from the mixed

school displayed greater expectations of promise keeping than did those from same race schools (the means were 16.13 and 14.25 respectively). One pattern that provides an interpretation of this effect and which bears directly on the hypothesis, is the three-way race of subject x race of target x school interaction yielded by the ANOVA on expectations for promise keeping, $F(1,145) = 3.95$, $p < .05$. The eta value for this interaction is .48. The corresponding means are shown in Table 2.

There was a same race pattern of trusting expectancy for the same race schools and the mixed schools ($p_s < .05$). However, this pattern was less evident in the mixed school than in the same race school. The Natives from the same race school had lower trust expectations than the Natives from the mixed school. The Natives from a same race school judged the Non-Native child to be less likely to fulfill promises than did Natives from the mixed race school ($p < .01$). Also, Non-Native children from the same race school judged the Native child to be less likely to fulfill promises than did the Non-Native children from the mix race school ($p < .05$).

TABLE 1

Means of Expectations for Promise Keeping, Secret Keeping and Telling the Truth as a function of Race of Subject and Race of Target

RACE OF SUBJECT	RACE of TARGET	
	Native	Non-Native
	Promise Keeping	
Native	16.84a (n=31)	11.94c (n=34)
Non-Native	14.33b (n=48)	17.19a (n=48)
	Secret Keeping	
Native	16.45a	14.38b
Non-Native	14.62b	17.29a
	Telling the Truth	
Native	17.74a	14.06b
Non-Native	14.16b	17.25a

Note: Different letters denote significant differences.

The sample sizes are indicated in brackets.

Table 2

Means of Expected Promise Keeping as a Function of Race of Subject, Race of Target and School

School	Race of Subject	<u>RACE of TARGET</u>	
		Native	Non-Native
Same	Native	15.94 (n=17)	9.94 (n=18)
	Non-Native	13.42 (n=24)	17.12 (n=24)
Mixed	Native	17.93 (n=14)	14.19 (n=16)
	Non-Native	15.25 (n=24)	17.25 (n=24)

Note: The sample sizes are indicated in brackets.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine interpersonal trust between Native and Non-Native children. The present findings yielded support for the hypothesized same race interpersonal trust pattern. On average, Native children demonstrated lower trust in a Non-Native than a Native child, in the form of expecting that a Non-Native child would be less likely to keep promises, keep secrets and tell the truth than a Native child. Similarly, Non-Native children demonstrated lower trust in a Native than a Non-Native child in the form of expecting that a Native child would be less likely to keep promises, keep secrets and tell the truth than a Non-Native child.

As described in the introduction, there are various accounts of this same race pattern of interpersonal trust. First, conflicts between the Native and Non-Native races across history could promote low trust between Natives and Non-Natives, particularly promoting the perception of promise breaking and lying, (Swankey, 1980; Clark, 1987). In the context of the present research, Native and Non-Native children may acquire such beliefs through various socializing agents such as parents, media, reinforcement from peers and

adults. As well, through personality variables, child-rearing techniques and cognitive and perceptual components which they acquire through development. Children may then begin to see the differences between races and as a consequence develop negative attitudes towards each other (Katz, 1976).

Second, according to the Social Group Hypothesis, individuals are more inclined to attribute undesirable traits, such as untrustworthiness (including promise breaking, secret breaking and lying), to members of the out-group than to members of the in-group (Linville, Salovey & Fischer, 1989; Rotenberg, 1984). Consistent with this principle, Native children held greater expectations that the out-group member (Non-Native child) would break a promise, break a secret and lie than would the in-group member (the Native child).

Third, the degree of acculturation could also be a potential factor in how much Natives and Non-Natives trust each other (Soldier, 1985; Mitchum, 1989; Labrasseur & Freak, 1982; Murphy & Deblassie, 1984). Through acculturation, Natives and Non-Natives experience conflicting values that in turn results in hostility and low trust towards the other race; hence a same race pattern of interpersonal trust emerges. Children may be most vulnerable to this because of their direct

involvement in acculturation. In the future, researchers should examine the factors that determine observed same race patterns of interpersonal trust and specifically to the low trust between Natives and Non-Natives. It should be emphasized that the observed pattern may not be simply attributed to one mechanism or factor, rather that the phenomena may be a product of multiple mechanisms or factors.

It is important to note, that the same race pattern of promise keeping was evident in the mixed race schools even though it was attenuated in them. Also, students in both the same race and mixed race schools equally demonstrated the same race trust pattern with respect to the expectancies of secret keeping and telling the truth. These findings are consistent with researchers who suggest that other methods besides simple desegregation and corresponding increases in social contact are needed to promote better race relations when races or other minorities are integrated in schools (Rich, 1986). These include adopting a multicultural perspective and encouraging positive interracial contact.

It is interesting to consider the present findings in light of current changes in social policy. There is a movement

towards more segregated schools for Natives in the form of increases in the number of schools on Native reserves (Labrasseur & Freak, 1982). It may well be that Native children increase their self-esteem and increase their awareness of their culture, as a result of attending an all Native school. However, as suggested by the present findings, attending segregated schools may result in Native children adopting somewhat lower trust in Non-Natives, specifically in terms of lower expectations of promise keeping. By the principle of exclusion, there may be a corresponding decrease in the number of Native children who attend Non-Native schools and hence Non-Native children may have less direct contact with Native children and therefore, may display low trust in Natives.

There are some limitations of the present study that warrant consideration. First, there are limitations regarding the extent to which one can infer that desegregation caused a decrease in the same race pattern of trust. For example, the children were not randomly assigned to attend the same race versus the mixed race schools. Hence some qualities of the the sample could account for the differences, such as the tendency for less prejudiced parents to send their children to mixed

schools. However, the finding that the same race trust pattern was less evident for expectancies of promise keeping in particular was consistent with the behavioral disconfirmation hypothesis and lends support for the position that social contact accompanying desegregation was responsible for the differences.

Second, the sample used for this research was limited. This research was conducted with Ojibway Natives and may not generalize to other Native tribes. Third, the present study addressed whether Native and Non-Native children displayed a same race pattern of trust in judgments of a hypothetical child who was identified as Native or Non-Native. In the future, researches should examine how much this same race pattern of trust generalized to children's interactions with their peers. For example, researchers may wish to examine Native and Non-Native children's perceptions of, or behavior interactions with, their Native and Non-Native peers.

Interpersonal trust between different cultures/races is essential for cooperation and critical for the survival of our society. This research shows lower levels of interpersonal trust between the Native and Non-Native cultural groups. This allows for many other problems between the cultures which is

very evident in our society today. Presently, there are so many disputes between Natives and Non-Natives in North America. How can these disputes be solved if these two cultures show low trust towards each other. Other cultures in Canada, United States and many other countries around the world also face conflicts with the White majority culture. If cultures cannot trust each other how can our society continue to function effectively. This low trust and prejudice may be past on from generation to generation through socialization and has been shown to be evident in our children.

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Appendix A

Parent Letter and Consent Form

Dear Parent/Guardian:

We would like to ask you to permit your child in a study that we, Dr. Ken J. Rotenberg and Carrie Cerda from the Psychology Department at Lakehead University are conducting. The purpose of the study is to examine Native and Non-Native children's general feelings of trust towards Native and Non-Native children. In the study, participating children will be presented with a brief story of a hypothetical (make-up) child who will be a Native or Non-Native boy (or girl). The participating children will judge the hypothetical child in terms of how likely he/she will fulfill promises, tell the truth and keep secrets.

The children will be tested in a classroom in the school, which will take approximately 15 minutes. It should be emphasized that we are interested in the overall pattern of children's feelings of trust. As such, the children's names will not be connected in any fashion with their answers. All the data will be reported in terms of groups of children only. Also, the children will be given the opportunity to withdraw from

the study at any time. We foresee no physical or psychological risks to children if they participate.

Please fill out the attached consent form if you are willing to let your child participate in the study. Send it with your child to his/her school. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to call either Dr. Ken J. Rotenberg at 343-8694 or Carrie Cerda at 343-0445. Please note that a general summary of the study will be available for you after the study has been completed.

Sincerely,

Carrie Cerda, M.A. Candidate

Ken J. Rotenberg, Ph.D.

Associate Professor

Consent Form

This is to indicate that I give my permission for my
child-_____ - to participate in
(print child's first and last names)

the study by Ken J. Rotenberg and Carrie Cerda.

My child is a: Male Female (circle one)

His/her birth date is:_____

His/her grade is:_____

By signing this I understand that:

1. The purpose of the study is to examine children's general feelings of trust in Native and Non-Native children.
2. My child can withdraw from the study at any time.
3. There is no foreseeable physical or psychological harm for my child if he/she participates.
4. My child's name will not be linked to his/her answers and the data will be reported in terms of groups of children only.

Signature of Parent or Guardian

If you would like a summary of the findings please print your name and address below.

Appendix B

Brief Description for Boys

John is a Canadian Indian (White) boy. He is in Grade 4 and does all right in school. He has some brothers and sisters. He enjoys doing activities with his family. John likes to watch T.V., play hockey and go fishing. Pretend that you and John were hanging out and the following events happened (By hanging out we mean doing things/activities together).

Brief Description for Girls

Mary is a Canadian Indian (White) girl. She is in Grade 4 and does all right in school. She has some brothers and sisters. She enjoys doing activities with her family. Mary likes to watch T.V., play with her pets, and listen to music. Pretend that you and Mary were hanging out and the following events happened (By hanging out we mean doing things/activities together).

Appendix C

Questionnaire for Boys

1. If John told you he would meet with you after school. To what extent do you think he would show up.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

2. If John says he won't be out on the playground at recess because he has to go the doctor. To what extent would you believe John that he had to go to the Doctor.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

3. If John was supposed to play with you. To what extent do you think he would change his mind and not play with you.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

4. To what extent would John brag and boast to appear better than he really is.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

5. If John borrowed something of value from you and says he'll bring it back the next day. To what extent do you think he will bring it back.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

6. If you told John that you liked a girl as a secret. To what extent do you think he would tell others that you like the girl.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

7. If John told you that you looked nice. To what extent would you think that he meant what he said.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

8. If you told John what you are going to give your mother for Christmas. To what extent do you think he would keep it a secret.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

9. To what extent do you think John would accuse you of things you actually did not do.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

10. If you told John something personal about yourself. To what extent would he use this against you to hurt your feelings.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

11. If John promises you that he will come over to play with you. To what extent do you think he would come over to play with you.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

12. If you told John something embarrassing that you did. To what extent do you think that John would tell someone.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

Appendix C

Questionnaire for Girls

1. If Mary told you she would meet with you after school. To what extent do you think she would show up.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

2. If Mary says she won't be out on the playground at recess because she has to go the doctor. To what extent would you believe Mary that she had to go to the Doctor.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

3. If Mary was supposed to play with you. To what extent do you think she would change her mind and not play with you.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

4. To what extent would Mary brag and boast to appear better than she really is.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

5. If Mary borrowed something of value from you and says she'll bring it back the next day. To what extent do you think she will bring it back.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

6. If you told Mary that you liked a boy as a secret. To what extent do you think she would tell others that you like the boy.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

7. If Mary told you that you looked nice. To what extent would you think that she meant what she said.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

8. If you told Mary what you are going to give your mother for Christmas. To what extent do you think she would keep it a secret.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

9. To what extent do you think Mary would accuse you of things you actually did not do.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

10. If you told Mary something personal about yourself. To what extent would she use this against you to hurt your feelings.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

11. If Mary promises you that she will come over to play with you. To what extent do you think she would come over to play with you.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

12. If you told Mary something embarrassing that you did. To what extent do you think that Mary would tell someone.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		some what		very much

Appendix D

Parental Consent Form for Use of Child's Picture

This is to acknowledge that I give my permission for the picture of my child_____to be used in the study undertaken by Carrie Cerda and Dr. Ken Rotenberg. I realize that the purpose of the study is to examine Native and Non-Native children's general feelings of trust towards Native and Non-Native children. This entails: (1) a picture being taken of my child; (2) the viewing of this picture by other children; and (3) the identification of my child as either a Non-Native or an Indian child.

Finally, although I realize the importance of the continued participation of my child's picture once begun, I can withdraw my child's picture from the study at any time.

Signed_____

(Parent or Guardian)

Signed_____

(Witness)

Appendix E

Instructions to children

Boys and Girls:

Today I am asking you to take part in a study. In the study, you will read a short description about boys or girls who live around, or in, but differ in some ways. Afterward, you will be asked to show me what you think about the boys or girls. There are certain things that you need to keep in mind. First, that you don't have to take part: it is up to you. Second, that you don't have to answer questions that you don't want to. Actually, you can stop at any time. Third, do not place your names on your answer sheets. Afterward, no one will know how you answered.