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## Racial Awareness, Preference and Self-Identification in Negro and Caucasian Early Elementary School Children (Grades Kindergarten, One and Three)

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RACIAL AWARENESS, PREFERENCE AND SELF-IDENTIFICATION  
IN NEGRO AND CAUCASIAN EARLY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL  
CHILDREN  
(Grades kindergarten, one and three)

by

JEAN MARIE LeFORGE

A Thesis submitted to the Department of  
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

Waterloo, Ontario

Canada

December, 1974.

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Appreciation is further expressed to the Fairfax County Board of Education for allowing the study to be done within that system. A special and warm-hearted thank you is given to John Randall, the principal of Bailey's Elementary School, for his enthusiastic support of the entire project.

## DEDICATION

For Dad, Mom and Rollie.



## ABSTRACT

Pictures of three identical faces differing only in skin colour were shown to 88 Negro and Caucasian subjects in grades kindergarten, one and three and questions about the pictures were asked. The procedure was designed to measure racial preference, awareness and self-identification and social awareness on the part of the subjects. Male subjects saw pictures of male faces and female subjects saw female faces. An experimental group of approximately one-half of the subjects saw a fourth pictured face, which represented a novel stimulus and which was included to probe the reaction of the subjects to novelty.

In addition, a warm-up task of size-brightness discrimination was administered to all subjects, in an effort to compare those children who exhibited a strong preference for size or brightness with those who showed the ability to see both dimensions equally well, on the subsequent racial and social attitude measures.

Results showed few differences either between subjects of each race or among subjects within each race. Supporting an historical trend in the literature, both races in the present study were ethnocentric in their preferences -- i.e. blacks and whites alike preferred their own race picture. There were no significant differences between size-brightness preferrers and non-preferrers on the racial and social awareness measures.

All subjects were quite aware of racial labels and were able to properly apply them to appropriate faces; they were also accurate on the self-identification measure. Results in respect to the social awareness

measure revealed no significant differences among the present subjects. These results led the investigator to suggest development of a more detailed and direct means of measuring social awareness.

It was suggested that the study of racial awareness and attitudes is an important area of research and questions for future investigation were presented.

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## INTRODUCTION

Modern civilization is advanced in many ways -- scientific knowledge of and control over aspects of the physical world such as energy, matter, space, the oceans; mathematical knowledge, computer science, probability predictions; medical knowledge with its ability to provide better health for more people and to cure suffering and disease; concern for our natural environment, ecological movements, pollution control, population control, to name a few. However, one area in which modern civilization is "prehistoric" is the area of human relationships, particularly relationships among persons of different religions, ethnic groups, beliefs, and races.

Prejudices, defined by the sociologist, Schermerhorn as irrational attitudes for or against something which imply prejudgement, (Schermerhorn, 1949, pp. 482-483) have existed for centuries and have been based on many factors. According to Allport, racial prejudice is a fairly recent type of prejudice, being only about a century old. Skin colour is "visible" and therefore becomes an easy basis for discrimination.

Allport sums the meanings and implications of racial prejudice into the following definition:

Racial prejudice "is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group." (Allport, 1958, p. 10).

In the field of human relationships, social science lags behind other phases of science, which are technologically advanced and practically applied for the betterment of our physical world. In an effort to understand more about the forerunners and mechanisms of prejudice, numerous studies have explored the perceptions of young children regarding racial differences. Among others, the following questions have been asked by the researchers. At what age do children begin to perceive skin colour differences? What meaning do children attach to

such differences as they perceive? At what age and how do children begin to learn stereotypes? Is there a link between type of home atmosphere and the extent to which prejudice develops in a child?

The answers to these and other questions are the first step in a better understanding and have enabled a classification by Allport of the stages of "ethnocentric learning", the process of the learning of stereotypes and the development of prejudices by children. Young children seem to be aware of skin colour differences as early as age 2-1/2, but for several years, they attach no connotative meaning to them. For example, Allport writes of a small boy whose mother was reminding him not to play with "niggers". He replied, "No, Mother, I never play with niggers. I only play with white and black children." (Allport, 1958, p. 290). He also cites the case of Janet, age 6, who is attempting to integrate obedience to her mother with her school social contacts. She asked, "Mother, what is the name of the children I'm supposed to hate?" (Allport, 1958, p. 292). Both of these children exhibit, according to Allport, linguistic precedence in learning -- they have acquired the emotional meaning of the terms without the referent. These children are classified within the first stage of ethnocentric learning, termed by Allport the pregeneralized learning stage, which occurs, roughly, between the ages of four and ten. By ages four to five, children have an awareness of racial differences and are beginning to become familiar with the terms and/or with the emotional meanings, but without the appropriate referents.

Studies of older children (ages ten to twelve, grades four and five) show that these children progress into the next stage, that of total rejection of the out-group. They have become aware of the stereotypes associated with certain groups in essence, but not in complexity. They attribute only negative items to the out-group and omit any more positive elements of the stereotype. Older children (grade twelve) reach the third stage of ethnocentric

learning, differentiation, and are able to apply the stereotypes in full, including negative and positive elements. (Allport, 1958, pp. 294-295).

Further study of children at all stages of ethnocentric learning is warranted. However, it is the first stage which seems to this investigator to be the most important. If further knowledge is gained about this stage of ethnocentric learning, perhaps it will eventually be possible to alter the outcome of the stage and to eradicate prejudice.

Many investigations have been done with preschool children, in the very early years of this stage, but not as much is known about the children in early school grades. Allport reports that children in grades one and two are fairly accepting of the other race. They are aware of skin colour differences but have, as yet, attached no connotative meanings to the labels. (Allport, 1958, p. 294, citing Criswell). It was the intention of the present study to explore in further detail the responses of some children in the early elementary grades. These are the years after the "dawn" of racial awareness, but before the assimilation of stereotypes and firm connotative meanings. These children are aware of differences in skin colour among people, but do they have preferences for one colour over another? What are their feelings and opinions about skin colour differences? How accurately can they use the labels which have developed? What do they think about themselves? Can they classify themselves into the proper "categories"? Do they do so? Previous research has shown that, for the most part, children younger than this age can classify themselves properly, but exhibit an unwillingness to do so.

This investigator was particularly interested in the responses of the black subjects in the present study and wished to discover whether the recent Black Pride movements have had any effect on the self-image and preferences of



black children. For example, were the black subjects in the present study more accurate in self-identification than those in earlier studies? Did they prefer their own race more than previous subjects did? How did their feelings and responses compare with those of the present white subjects?

Previous research has also been done with regard to children's perception of form, colour and size. It is documented that they change from a preference for matching on the basis of colour to matching on the basis of form between the ages of four and seven. At that time, size is third in order of preference for the basis of matching. (Spellman, 1969; Seitz, 1969). The present author hypothesized that a link might exist between preference for one dimension over the other on a size-brightness discrimination task and a social preference for one skin colour over the other. A size-brightness warm-up task was therefore included in the present study to test the hypothesis of such a link.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Previous studies of young children in the area of racial awareness have examined such factors as racial preference, racial awareness and application of labels, self-identification, connotations of colour names, effect of handicap on racial preferences, and social awareness of the subjects. Also, the influence of the race and sex of the subjects has been investigated. Numerous materials and approaches have been used and a variety of results have been obtained.

The following studies primarily examined racial preferences of the subjects. Clark and Clark (1947) employed four dolls representing male and female, black and white, to examine the racial preferences and awareness of Northern and Southern Negro children. The Clarks had developed eight questions to ask each subject, and the subjects were to choose a doll in response to each question. The first four questions were designed as a measure of racial preference:

1. Give me the doll that you like to play with.
2. Give me the doll that is a nice doll.
3. Give me the doll that looks bad.
4. Give me the doll that is a nice colour.

The next three were a measure of racial (label) awareness:

5. Give me the doll that looks like a white child.
6. Give me the doll that looks like a black child.
7. Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child.

The last question was designed to measure self-identification:

8. Give me the doll that looks like you.

The majority of the subjects preferred the white doll in the preference questions and rejected the black doll as "bad". A significantly higher number of Northern than Southern children thought the brown doll looked "bad", but there were no other North-South differences.

The subjects were fairly accurate in label use, but showed some confusion with the term "Negro". When asked for the white doll, 94% showed the correct one; when asked for the coloured doll, 93% showed the correct one; but when asked for the Negro doll, only 72% showed the correct one.

Two drawbacks in the Clarks' study were that the questions were not open-ended and may have implied a correct answer, and that the race of the subjects was not varied.

Horowitz (1947) found rejection of the Negro in both Northern and Southern subjects. He also found that Negroes in racially mixed schools showed evidence of acceptance of white standards, a finding in conflict with that of Hraba and Grant (1970), who said that such children are not necessarily white-oriented. However, there is a difference of 23 years in the dates of these two studies, which could account for the varying results.

Ammons (1950) used a doll-play interview technique to study the reactions of 40 White male children, aged two through five, to differences in skin colour. Sixty per cent of the subjects stated differences in skin colour and facial features. Five of the subjects showed definite negative feelings toward the black doll. Ammons also found an increase with age in the number of children who had seen or played with Negroes. Negative responses to the black doll also increased with age.

Radke and Sutherland (1950) used a Projective Picture Test comprising four slides of eight children each, sociometric data regarding the pictures, and sociometric data regarding neighbourhood friendships, in their study of White and Negro subjects aged six through thirteen. In the Projective Picture Test, a majority of children of both races assigned negative traits to the Negro pictures and positive traits to the Whites. In not one case was a positive trait assigned more frequently to a Negro than to a White. In the picture

sociometric part, both older and younger White subjects preferred Whites as friends; older Negro subjects preferred the Negro friends, but younger Negro subjects preferred the White. Negro subjects gave more like-sex than like-race responses, while White subjects preferred either sex within their own race. The neighbourhood sociometric data revealed that the answers to the picture sociometric test were on a "wish" level; in reality, the White subjects had more Negro friends than they wished to have and the Negro subjects had more Negro friends than they wished to have. The finding in this study that older Negro subjects preferred the Negro friends was an interesting variation from previous findings.

Landreth and Johnson (1953) tested the reactions of 228 White and Negro three- to five-year-olds to a picture and inset test designed by them to reveal reactions to persons of different skin colours. The subject was presented with a picture and a pair of insets for it and was asked to choose which inset he wanted to put in the picture. The authors found that among three-year-olds, there was little awareness of the racial significance of skin colour, but by age five, the children perceived skin colour with racial and social significance. White subjects preferred the white insets; Negro subjects preferred the white inset over the brown and black ones, and preferred the brown one over the black. Age differences were less marked among the Negro subjects than among Whites, suggesting, possibly, attention to skin colour at an earlier age for the Negro group.

In 1958 Stevenson and Stewart used a variety of tests of racial attitude and awareness with Negro and White children aged three through seven. Their discrimination test consisted of cards with line drawings or pictures depicting objects and/or people. Each card consisted of three objects or people and the subject was asked which of the three was unlike the others. On tests in which the subject could match on the basis of either race or sex, there were

no significant differences between the answers of the Negro and White subjects. On tests where the subject was forced to match on the basis of skin colour only, White subjects chose the unlike figure a significantly greater number of times than Negro subjects, and there was a consistent rise in the number of these responses as age increased for both races. This finding is in contrast to that of Landreth and Johnson (1953) who found that subjects as young as the ones in this study were able to match accurately on the basis of skin colour. Four two-dimensional dolls representing each race and sex were used in the doll assembly test, in which the unassembled dolls, each divided into three pieces, were placed in front of the subject, who was asked to assemble them to make four children, one of each race and sex. White children were consistently better at this task than Negroes, although both races again exhibited an increase with age in ability to correctly assemble the four dolls. Results of preference questions revealed that at all ages, the proportion of own-race choices was higher for White subjects than for Negro subjects. The replies of the subjects to the incomplete stories test revealed that for positive situations, both Negro and White subjects made own-race choices, although Whites did so somewhat more frequently. Negro subjects were more likely than Whites to assign own-race figures to negative roles.

McCandless and Hoyt (1961) did an observational study of Oriental and Caucasian children in Hawaii. Fifteen five-minute observations were made over a three-month interval. Both sexes showed like-sex preferences for play companions. Cleavage by race was found in that both races preferred their own race as playmates. However, no verbal or physical rejection accompanied these preferences. The authors concluded that the preference may have been due to a feeling of "comfort" which the subjects got from playing with other children of their own race. They also pointed out the similarity of language, back-grounds, etc. which occurred among same-race children and which were absent among different-race groups.

Morland (1962) studied the reactions of 407 Negro and White subjects to four pictures of Negro and White children engaged in various activities. Answers were rated on two scales: Acceptance and Preference. Results showed that a majority of subjects of each race accepted the other race, although more Negroes than Whites did so. No Negro rejected the White on verbalized racial grounds, but 3.9% of the Whites rejected the Negro on verbalized racial grounds. Lower class Whites appeared more accepting of Negroes than upper class Whites. On preference, the majority of both races preferred Whites. The decrease of this tendency with age among Negroes was not significant. The author concluded that preference on the part of both races for the White was a reflection of society, but he stated that preference for one race did not necessarily imply rejection of the other. Racial attitudes seemed to be derived indirectly through learning; these children were from racially separate environments, so had had no direct contact with children of the opposite race.

Morland (1966) employed six pictures to study 82 children from Boston, Massachusetts in comparison to the same number from Lynchburg, Virginia. Subjects were scored on four categories: racial acceptance; preference; self-identification; and recognition ability, according to their answers to questions about the pictures. Nearly all children accepted the Whites; and a majority accepted the Negroes, although the percentage was smaller. Southern White subjects were significantly lower on acceptance of Negroes than on acceptance of Whites, and nearly 10% of them rejected the Negro for verbalized racial reasons. On the preference measure, the majority of subjects preferred Whites; the Southern Negroes were least likely and the Southern Whites most likely, to prefer their own race. The self-identification measure comprised three questions: 1) Which figure does subject look like? 2) Which would

you rather be? and 3) Which one looks the most like your mother? The question about the subject revealed that Whites were more likely to say they were White than Negroes were to say they were Negro. The second question showed that over 75% of the Whites preferred to be White, while only 50% of the Negroes preferred to be Negro. On the third question, Whites identified their own race more than Negroes did. Identification with Whites was significant in both regions, but more pronounced in Lynchburg. For recognition ability, the subject was given 12 opportunities to correctly designate the race of pictured figures. Southern Whites had a significantly greater ability for this task. The author concluded that across regions, Whites preferred their own race and Negroes preferred the other race. He attributed this to "bias for Whites across American society" and stated that Negroes were identifying with the dominant race.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) used Clarks' doll method as a basis for their study of racial preferences of Northern Negro and White children. They used three instead of two dolls of each sex, adding a mulatto doll, and the dolls were identical except for skin colour. Their questions were open-ended e.g. "Is there a doll that..." rather than "Give me the doll that..." as Clark and Clark had used. The children were contacted individually and later invited into a separate room to play with the dolls. Two white experimenters judged each subject for family status and skin colour so that self-identifications could later be evaluated. These authors found that both Negro and White children rejected the coloured dolls. Also, they found numerous self-misidentifications among both races of subjects.

Asher and Allen (1969) employed hand puppets and Clarks' questions in their investigation of the preferences of Negro and White subjects aged three through eight, who were divided into social class (low and middle) according to parents' occupations. Subjects were shown one of three sets of puppets,

according to their age, and were asked Clarks' questions with respect to the puppets. The majority of subjects preferred the white puppet and rejected the brown one.

Koslin, Koslin, Cardwell and Pargament (1969) used a quasi-disguised measure in investigating the attitudes of White and Negro subjects in segregated and integrated schools. Subjects were shown and asked to rank by preference, 18 sketches of six classroom groups engaged in three different activities. The six groups were: White class, White teacher; White class, Black teacher; mixed class, White teacher; mixed class, Black teacher; Black class, White teacher; and Black class, Black teacher. White subjects preferred all-White classes; first grade Negro subjects showed no preference, but third grade Negroes preferred all-Black classes. Integration and segregation appeared to have no effect on preference. The advantageous group administrability of this test was pointed out by the authors. This study showed the same reversal of previous all-White preference in older Negro subjects as was found by Radke and Sutherland (1950).

Hraba and Grant (1970) did a replication of the Clark's doll study, using the same questions as the Clarks used. The White subjects in this study were highly ethnocentric on questions of preference. On the question about which doll was a nice colour, the Black subjects were ethnocentric. This finding represented a variation from findings of some previous studies. On the label identification questions, a majority of the subjects correctly identified all three labels. The authors felt that the results showed that Blacks in an interracial setting are not necessarily white-oriented.

Crooks (1970) investigated the effects, if any, of an interracial preschool program to teach cooperation and "brotherhood" on the racial awareness and preferences of four- and five-year-olds. He compared an



experimental group of participants in an interracial program to a control group of children with no preschool experience. His method was the Clarks' doll procedure, with the same questions used as the same measures. Results indicated that the program had a moderating effect on the attitudes of the participants. The majority of control subjects of both races preferred the white doll and rejected the brown one. In the experimental group, a greater number of both White and Black subjects preferred the brown doll. On the questions regarding the doll of a nice colour, the majority of Black experimental subjects preferred the brown doll. On the questions regarding labels, the experimental subjects exhibited more accuracy than control subjects. The self-identification question revealed a difference among Black subjects. In the control group, only 24% of the Black subjects identified with the brown doll, while in the experimental group, 59% of the Black subjects identified with the brown doll. Crooks evaluated the preschool program as being of some value in breaking down negative feelings toward the opposite race on the part of the participants.

Harris and Braun (1971) studied self-esteem and racial preference in Black children ages seven and eight using the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale and a variation of the Clarks' doll test. These experimenters found a significant effect between self-concept and Negro preference: those subjects who preferred the black puppet had a higher self-concept score than the subjects making fewer Negro-preference choices. An interesting finding of this study was that the majority of subjects preferred the black puppet -- a dramatic change from previous findings. The authors suggested the existence of a new "spirit of dignity" among Black children and also pointed out that middle class Black children as well as lower class ones were ethnocentric.

The results found by McAdoo (1971a) were in contrast to those of Harris and Braun. McAdoo employed measures of racial attitude and sex-role, and a self-concept scale in her study of Northern and Southern subjects, all enrolled in Head Start programs. A polaroid picture of each subject was given him to help in his answers. The author had four main hypotheses. The first was that there would be a relationship between better racial attitude to Blacks and higher self-concept. Findings revealed no correlation between self-concept and attitude toward Blacks. The second hypothesis was that children in the South would have a better self-concept than those in the North. Results showed that the Southern children did have a better self-concept, but there was no difference in racial attitudes. A third hypothesis was that subjects with a higher I.Q. would have a better self-concept and a positive attitude toward Blacks. Once again, there was no correlation between I.Q. and the two other variables. The last hypothesis was that children from intact families would have a higher self-concept and a more positive attitude toward Blacks. Differences were not significant, but subjects from non-intact families had better self-concepts and attitudes toward blacks, a tendency in the opposite direction from the expected trend. The author also found that boys had a better self-concept than girls, but there were no significant differences between the sexes in attitudes toward Blacks.

McAdoo (1971b) investigated the effects of positive and negative reinforcement (behaviour modification) and of a Black Consciousness curriculum on the racial attitudes of Black preschool children, in his study of 65 subjects aged three through five from integrated nurseries. The groups received differential treatments over a six-week period. Results showed that racial attitudes could be changed in a positive and in a negative direction. There were no sex differences and no differences between children from intact

vs. non-intact homes. These subjects preferred the brown puppet more frequently than the subjects in Clarks' (1939) study and those studied by Asher and Allen (1969). The author felt that his evidence indicated a possible shift in the Black child's feelings for his own ethnic group.

Porter(1971) studied Negro and White subjects aged three through five. Stories were told using the dolls and stage settings, and the subject was asked to help complete the stories by answering questions asked by the experimenter. The questions probed the racial attitudes, preferences, and social awareness of the subjects, as well as subjects' feelings of self-esteem. Results indicated that both Negro and White subjects preferred white dolls. By age five, subjects had a clear knowledge of racial differences and their racial attitudes were sophisticated; at age four subjects had internalized the connotations of colour and had begun to generalize these meanings to people; at age three, Black subjects knew vague social meanings of racial differences but White subjects did not yet seem to have this knowledge. Porter also found that class, contact, shade of skin and sex of subject had some effect on the development of children's racial attitudes. White lower class subjects preferred white more than middle class subjects did, and segregated Whites were more racially aware than their desegregated counterparts. Negro lower class subjects preferred the brown doll more than did middle class Negroes and the lower class subjects were also more hostile toward Whites. Negro girls rejected their own-race dolls more than Negro boys did. Among White subjects, girls favoured their own race more than the boys did. The author was able to conclude that White doll selection measured racial feeling for the majority of the subjects in her study.

Storm (1971) studied 72 White and Negro preschool children divided into groups of nine, stratified for race, sex, socio-economic level and

school. Each subject was individually given a racial image and preference measure, then was tested as a part of a group of between four and six subjects on a self-concept instrument. Results indicated that Negroes showed a more distorted racial image than Whites, and that Negroes made significantly more "other race" preference choices than did Whites.

Adair (1973) studied 72 Black, preschool three- to five-year-old children from low-income families. He used four sets of eight pictures and for each of twenty questions, the subject ranked four pictures of the eight. The responses were used as measures of salience of sex over race and race over sex in the judgments of children. Adair found indications that salience of race identity over sex was not dependent on age, although it was stronger in boys. He also found that the salience of sex over race did increase with age and girls showed a stronger sex identity than boys. Attitudes and preferences of the subjects became more favourable to White with increasing age, although the race dimension was never used more frequently than by chance. Both sexes showed a greater awareness of girls playing a female role than of boys playing a masculine role. The author concluded that the pro-White attitudes of his subjects did not seem as extreme as in some previous literature. He inferred that this could be an indication that the Black Pride theme has had some impact on the self-image of the Black race.

In a study by Datcher, Savage and Checkosky (1973), five Black and five White female experimenters interviewed a total of 240 children in grades kindergarten, three and five. The children were from three types of schools, black monoracial, white monoracial and multiracial in the Chicago suburbs. The Clarks' questions were used to obtain information from the subjects, who saw four dolls, all identical except for colouring. Four dolls were used instead of only two, in order to reduce left to right ordering effects.

Results indicated that the majority of the Black subjects preferred the black doll, a finding in contrast to many earlier studies. On racial identification the subjects were fairly accurate -- 94% of the Black subjects were correct on identification of white; 92.5% were correct on identification of black; and 69% were correct on identification of Negro. On the self-identification question, 88.3% of the Black subjects identified with the black doll. Overall, Black subjects were significantly more black-preferring than White subjects. Also, for Black subjects, type of school made no significant difference in the extent to which they preferred the black doll, but for White subjects, those in the multiracial schools were significantly more favourable to the black doll than those in monoracial schools.

Kircher and Furby (1971) interviewed thirty Black and White children aged three through five from racially mixed preschools in their examination of the children's preferences for four features, including skin colour, eye colour, hair colour and hair type. Scores were the percentage of typically Negroid characteristics chosen by the subjects. Hair type and skin colour were the two features on which selection was significantly different from the chance level. In both cases, it was the typically White characteristic which was preferred by subjects of both races. There was a slight interaction of race with feature. Negro subjects showed significantly more preference for black hair than did White subjects; while Whites showed more preference for white skin. Both races of subjects preferred straight hair over curly. While four-year-old Negroes showed preference for white skin, Negro subjects aged five showed no preference. The authors interpreted this result as a reversal of the previous data and inferred that it might have been an indication of the influence of the Black Pride movement.

Hamm, Williams and Dalhouse (1973) examined the skin colour preferences of 24 adult Black male subjects. They used a face construction method, in which the subject was asked to choose his real -- the one most like his own -- and his ideal -- the nicest one -- from eleven faces, all varying in shades of skin colour from light to dark brown. Next, subjects were asked to choose a person, from twenty in a picture, in response to each of five questions designed to probe stereotyped ideas and preferences. Results indicated that on the faces task the subjects were realistic -- the darker subjects chose darker faces and the lighter ones chose lighter faces. The younger adults in the present study were more positive to darker skin than the older subjects and were also more positive than subjects in some previous studies.

A study by Erman (1973) was one of two which introduced a new variable in the form of Chicano subjects in addition to Whites and Blacks. Erman explored the preferences of Black, White and Chicano children in grades two, four and six, for friendly and unfriendly Black, White and Chicano teachers of both sexes. The measure used was the placement of decals representing the subject in relation to pictures. Results showed clear preference for friendly over unfriendly regardless of ethnic group or sex. Each ethnic group preferred the teacher of its own group but Black and Chicano subjects preferred the White teacher as much as White subjects did. Most subjects preferred teachers of their own sex. Girls placed themselves closer to teachers than boys did.

The second study which also included Mexican-American children in addition to Blacks and Whites was done by Rohrer (1973). This author examined the racial preferences and identification of four-year-olds in Head Start programs in California, using colour photographs of the three groups. Results showed that White subjects surpassed minority subjects in correct

group identification. There were no significant sex differences within groups. The introduction of Mexican-American subjects changed the previous pattern for all-White preference; both minority groups in this study tended to prefer the Mexican-American group over the White. The author concluded that her findings merited further study in the area, and stressed the importance of including other minority groups besides Blacks in future studies of racial preferences and group identification.

Hohn (1973) studied the effect of two treatment groups on White subjects' preferences regarding race. The kindergarten subjects were divided into a treatment group which received training on Piagetian tasks, a treatment group which received role-taking training, and a control group which had social studies discussions. Hohn's preference measure used a semantic differential and the scores were based on a range from pro-White to pro-Black, according to the answers given by each subject. The main dependent variable was change in racial preference score. Pre-test scores for all subjects were pro-White and there were no significant differences between the three groups. Post-test scores revealed that both treatment groups had changed in the positive direction while the control group changed in a negative direction after training. The author concluded that these kindergarten children possessed marked racial preferences which were measurable and which could be modified through training. The fact that the subjects showed no guilt about their feelings of racial preference led Hohn to infer that racial preference is largely perceptual in nature. However, it is the opinion of this investigator that it is possible that the children in Hohn's study were too young to have yet developed feelings of guilt.

A chronological trend seemed present among these preference studies. Earlier studies showed that White and Black subjects alike preferred the

White picture or doll. However, in the more recent studies, the Black subjects were significantly more ethnocentric in their responses. Further investigation may help clarify whether this trend is a result of the influence of the recent Black Pride movements.

Several studies included subjects who were from minority groups other than Black, notably Mexican-American and Hawaiian Oriental. One such study found a middle ground of preference in that both minority groups preferred the minority group over the White choice. These investigators pointed out the importance of including such minority groups in future studies.

Examination of the influence of various treatments or programs on the racial preferences of the subjects was carried out in some studies. Several found that the programs had had a positive influence on the preferences later expressed by the subjects who had participated in the programs. These studies revealed that racial preferences can be modified or altered through training procedures and educational experiences. Implications of these findings for education are yet to be fully investigated and utilized.

#### Racial awareness and self-identification

The following studies concentrated mainly on awareness of racial differences and the ability of the subjects to appropriately apply racial labels. The results from these studies were varied with some indicating general awareness and accuracy and others revealing numerous self-misidentifications.

Horowitz (1939), in her study of self-identification in 24 White and Negro nursery school children, found that a few White subjects identified themselves with a Negro picture, but no Negro subject identified himself with a White picture. Thirty-three percent of the Negro subjects and twenty percent of the Whites were consistently correct in their answers. Most subjects gave evidence of awareness of group identification as the basis of



their choices, and they showed the ability to identify their own skin colour and to differentiate between colours.

Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) investigated the social interactions of Negro and White subjects in an interracial nursery school through observation of their play, habits, etc., using shorthand records of what was seen. They also employed interviews with the mothers in order to learn as much as possible about each child. The observations were made at the beginning of the school year and at the end. The majority of subjects showed an indication of racial awareness; some verbalized the differences or categorized other children by race, some distinguished features of their own race without noting differences, and only two children indicated no racial awareness whatsoever. Indications of racial awareness did not appear until the children had been in attendance at the school for several weeks, and did not result in negative behaviour towards members of the other race. Most children showed some interest in their own racial status.

Goodman (1952) studied both Negro and White children in depth using several materials, including jig-saw puzzles, dolls, and pictures. She noted that at age three, children began to be aware of racial differences although at this age the basis for their differentiation was mainly colour. At ages four and five this general awareness became firmly established and was connected by the child with self-awareness. Goodman defined three categories of racial awareness: low -- those children who had little or no racial vocabulary; medium -- those who were inconsistent or infrequent in their use of race-linked vocabulary; and high -- those who had and consistently used vocabulary in connection with the appearance of people.

Like Goodman, Landreth and Johnson (1953) found awareness of skin colour differences in children aged three, but without any racial connotations

being linked to these perceived differences. They found the beginnings of connotations attaching to skin colour in children aged five. Negro subjects were more accurate at identification than Whites, which led these authors to infer that Negro children seemed to pay greater attention to skin colour at an earlier age than White children did.

Morland (1958-59) tested the relationship of age, sex, race, and family status to the ability of nursery school children in Lynchburg, Virginia, to recognize Negroes and Whites. His investigation assumed that this process of awareness is a socially-learned phenomenon. The subjects were shown eight pictures and asked about each picture: "Do you see a coloured person?" and "Do you see a white person?" After answering, the subject was asked to point to the person he had identified. Each subject had 16 opportunities to give a reply, and was scored according to the number of correct replies. After the picture test each subject was asked "Are you white or are you coloured?" Finally, he was asked whether the experimenter was white or coloured. At age three, no differences between Negro and White subjects were evident, but at ages four and five, White children seemed to have a better recognition, a finding which conflicts with that of Landreth and Johnson (1953), who found that Negro children seemed to be more accurate at skin colour identification at an earlier age than Whites.

Morland (1966) also found that Whites were more accurate on label identification than Negroes. The Southern Whites in his study were the most accurate.

Gregor and McPherson (1966) studied Negro and White children in the deep South using a variation of the Clarks' doll test, and interviewing each subject by an experimenter of his own race. Both Negro and White subjects showed an ability for correct self-identification and an awareness of racial differences. However, when asked to identify a "bad" doll, there was a sig-

nificant variation among subjects. Ninety-three percent of the White subjects answered the question willingly, but less than eight percent of the Negroes would answer it.

Renninger and Williams (1966) investigated 129 White subjects, aged three through five, in North Carolina to see the level of their awareness of connotative meanings of white as good and black as bad and also to determine if this awareness of colours developed prior to, concurrent with, or subsequent to awareness of racial differences in people. Picture cards were used to study colour meanings, a picture puzzle to study racial awareness. Overall, subjects were classified into four categories of awareness. Twenty and two-tenths percent were unaware of either colour or race; 25.5% were aware of colour but not of race; 14.7% were aware of race but not of colour, and 39.5% were aware of both colour and race. These results indicated that White children learned colour connotations at an early age. The authors inferred that colour meanings generalize to people, as the subjects appeared to know colour meanings somewhat earlier than they were aware of racial differences. It is unfortunate that no Negro subjects were included in this study, as it would have been very interesting to compare the responses of the two races of subjects.

Williams and Roberson (1967) showed their White subjects, aged three through six, three sets of pictures to measure colour meaning, racial awareness, and, as a control, sex-role behaviour. In the colour meaning test, the majority of the subjects attributed the negative adjectives to the black figures and the positive adjectives to the white figures. In the test for racial awareness, the majority of subjects attributed the positive adjectives to the white figures and the negative adjectives to the black figures. The control test of sex-role behaviours was to give the investigators an idea of the degree of social awareness possessed by the subjects. Results showed that the majority of subjects assigned male figures to the "masculine" activities

and female figures to the "feminine" activities. From these findings, the authors inferred that the subjects had a strong concept of social roles. As a measure of racial identification, the subjects were asked to point out a picture of a White person, a Negro person and a coloured person. A majority of the subjects were correct on all three identifications, but there was evidence to show that children of this age were more familiar with the term coloured than with Negro. The inclusion of Negro subjects in this study would have provided further information and could have improved the study.

Hraba and Grant (1970) and Porter (1971) found knowledge of the labels, proper application of them, and accurate self-identification among the Negro and White subjects interviewed in their studies.

Clark and Clark (1939) examined self-identification in 150 Negro subjects in segregated Washington, D.C. schools. More subjects identified with the Negro boy than with the White boy, and the ratio of selection of the Negro boy increased with age. Irrational choices were found among some three-year-olds but had disappeared by age four.

Clark and Clark (1940) did a further study with 150 Negro subjects who were divided into three groups according to their skin colour -- light, medium, and dark brown. The darker the skin colour of the subject, the more likely he was to identify with the Negro picture. The authors stated that "Race" was a concept too complex for these children, but that they were aware of their own skin colour and seemed to use it as a basis for self-identification and definition.

In a study by Clark and Clark (1950) Black subjects were given two pictures of faces the same sex as they were and were instructed to colour the first face "like you are" and colour the second face "like you would like him/her to be". The frequency of realistic responses on the first question increased with age. Among five-year-olds, 80% gave realistic responses, while among

seven-year-olds, 97% were realistic. On the second question 48% of the subjects preferred the face black or brown, while 52% coloured it a 'fantasy' colour. The authors concluded that by age seven, Negro children seemed to have ceased "escaping" from realistic self-identification.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) found evidence of self-misidentifications among subjects of both races.

Crooks (1970) found self-misidentifications among his Negro subjects in the control group to a far greater extent than among those in the experimental group. In the control group 24% identified with the Negro, while in the experimental group 59% did so.

Gitter and Satow (1969) used pictures to investigate both colour and physiognomy as variables in racial misidentifications. The subjects were 80 Black and White children aged four through six. The three variations of colour used were light, medium brown and dark brown and the three variations of physiognomy were thick lips, wide nose at base, and coarser texture of hair. The subject was shown six colour slides and asked to choose which person in the picture looked most like him. Racial misidentifications were measured by verbal answers to the questions, colour discrepancy score and physiognomy discrepancy score. A discrepancy score was the difference between the reply of the subject and the opinion of the judges. Results showed that Blacks misidentified significantly more than Whites on all three measures. Among Blacks, darker subjects misidentified more than lighter subjects on the colour and physiognomy measures. Males misidentified more than females on colour but not on physiognomy. These findings supported previous findings of misidentifications among Blacks. The authors suggested that physiognomy appeared to be an important variable in self-identification, and recommended that future studies include measures of both colour and physiognomy.

Gitter, Mostofsky and Satow (1972) did a study very similar to that of Gitter and Satow (1969). They examined the effect of skin colour and physiognomy on the racial identifications of 80 Black and White children, aged four through six. Three shades of colours and three variations of physiognomy were used on slides. A similar procedure was used and, as in the previous study, racial misidentifications were measured by verbal responses, a colour discrepancy score and a physiognomy discrepancy score. Results showed that the Black subjects misidentified significantly more than the Whites, on all three measures. Among Blacks, darker subjects misidentified more than lighter ones on colour and physiognomy and males misidentified more than females on the colour measure only. These results were very similar to those of the Gitter and Satow study and again, pointed out the importance of examining other factors in addition to skin colour.

Stevenson and Stewart (1958) found that Negro subjects misidentified more than Whites.

Self-misidentifications on the part of Black children have been thought by some investigators to be deliberate. These examiners argued that the Black children have learned the negative social connotations associated with dark skin and were showing their desire not to be Black by misidentifying themselves. However, the finding by Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) of misidentifications on the part of subjects of both races would tend to discredit this theory. Further research is needed to attempt to finally explain this phenomenon of self-misidentification.

### Social Awareness

Social awareness of the subjects was an additional factor included in a few studies of racial awareness. Social awareness was defined as knowledge

on the part of the subjects of the standards or defining terms used in society in reference to persons of different races.

Radke, Trager and Davis (1949) studied the social perceptions of children using pictures and scales. Note was taken of the number of children who mentioned race before and after it was mentioned by the experimenter. Fewer Negro than White subjects mentioned race. Also, more Negroes than Whites gave irrelevant or illogical responses to questions asked of them. The authors suggested that these results were due to fear or inhibition on the part of the Negro subjects to discuss race. A majority of both White and Negro subjects thought that a Negro child would rather be White than Negro. Black was frequently associated by the subjects with dirt, suntan, germs and diseases, fights, and being "not as pretty" as White. Comments made spontaneously by the children showed that they were aware of the cognitive value of race and had internalized the attitudes of the culture enough to value white and reject black.

Radke and Trager (1950), in their study of the role of awareness of social differences in Northern Black and White children's attitudes toward race, used formboard dolls with changeable clothes. Female subjects played with female dolls, males with male dolls. Subjects played with the dolls, dressed them, and selected houses for each of them while the experimenter asked questions. The responses of nearly all subjects reflected assignment of Negro dolls to menial job roles and to sub-standard houses.

Coyle and Eisenman (1970) asked their Black and White subjects, aged four through eight, to draw and colour pictures of the face of Santa Claus.

This task was used as a measure of the awareness of colour and of cultural stereotypes on the part of the subjects. Findings revealed that both groups drew Santa with Caucasian features and that Negroes used different colours than Whites in colouring the faces. Negro subjects used colours associated with skin such as white, brown and black, while Whites used reds and brighter colours. The authors concluded that the subjects of both races showed an awareness of the cultural stereotype of Santa Claus.

Many more aspects of the social awareness of children could be investigated, but the studies reviewed above have provided initial information and have given a glimpse to investigators of the early opinions of young children.

#### Influence of sex of the subject

Previous studies have provided confusing evidence with respect to sex differences among subjects. Sex differences appeared in an early study by Clark and Clark (1947), which reflected a preference for White in females which was significantly more pronounced than in males. However, it should be noted that Clark and Clark were interviewing only Black subjects and that their study was done at a time when White was the preferred race and when there was no such movement as Black Pride. More recent studies by McAdoo (1971a) and McAdoo (1971b) have revealed no evidence of sex differences among subjects.

#### Influence of grade of the subject

Older children, in higher school grades, have had more time for learning experiences and more exposure to society than younger children. Logical inference would therefore lead one to expect differences in the responses of older and younger children with respect to racial and social awareness, preferences and identification. Evidence for age/grade differences



is varied, however. Differences have been found by several investigators, including Goodman (1952), Renninger and Williams (1960) and Porter (1971), who all found that younger children knew colour meanings and that older children attached these meanings to people and reflected them in their racial attitudes. On the other hand, Palmer (1971) postulated the existence of preference (colour meanings) in younger subjects and prejudice (attitudes generalized to people) in older subjects, but his results did not confirm his expectations.

The conflicting evidence from previous studies regarding the variables sex of subject and grade/age of subject, points up the need for further information about these factors. Obtaining this needed information is the challenge to future researchers.

#### Connotations of colour names

Several studies by Williams and his associates have examined the connotations attached by subjects to colour names. These investigators had postulated that a person's attitude towards the colour names used to designate races, such as black, white, red and yellow, would influence that person's attitude toward the race. These studies were thus designed to discover whether there was an influence of connotations of colour names on racial attitude.

Renninger and Williams (1966) found that children aged three to five were aware of the connotations of white as good and black as bad before they had generalized these feelings to people of the Black and White races. The investigators inferred from these findings that children acquire colour meanings first and then generalize those meanings to people.

Williams and Roberson (1967) found that the majority of their three- to six-year-old subjects attributed negative adjectives to black objects and people and positive adjectives to white objects and people. Thus, it was concluded that the subjects were generalizing their colour connotations to attitudes toward people.

In a study by Williams and Rousseau (1971), 89 Negro preschool subjects were compared to the subjects of Williams and Roberson (1967). On the self-identification questions, there was a significant tendency for younger subjects to identify with the white and there was some evidence of a decline of this tendency with age. On the colour identification measure, 83% of the youngest group responded correctly and 100% of the other two groups responded correctly. The colour meaning measure indicated that the tendency to evaluate white as positive and black as negative was significant across all groups. These findings were compared with the responses of 111 Caucasian subjects in the study by Williams and Roberson (1967). The Negroes in the present study responded to 11 of 12 adjectives the same way as did the Caucasian subjects. The only exception was "kind", which was associated equally often by the Negro subjects with the black and white figure. This study revealed a tendency for Negro preschool children to attach positive value to white and negative value to black. There was a significant increase of this tendency from the youngest group to the middle one; but a decrease (not significant) of the tendency from middle group to oldest children. The authors speculated that this may have been evidence of the beginning impact of the black identity movement on young Negro children.

Stabler, Johnson, Berke and Baker (1969) studied 67 White and Negro subjects who evaluated 40 objects by placing them near a smiling or a frowning face, then guessed whether each of the objects was in a black or a white box. The 40 objects were presented to the subjects one at a time and the subjects classified them as "good" or "bad" by placing them near one of the two faces. Only 22 of the objects were clearly negative and positive, so it was those which were used in the second presentation of objects to the subject, where he had to guess which objects were in a black box and which were in a white one. This was designed as a disguised measure of racial attitude and was

verified as such by the spontaneous comments of the subjects. Both groups tended to guess that the positive objects were in the white box and the negative objects were in the black box. White subjects did this more frequently, but the difference between races was not significant. =

Lerner and Karson (1973) used 48 evaluative items (24 positive and 24 negative) with 140 eighth-grade and 266 ninth-grade White, lower-middle class subjects. The subjects attributed each of the 48 items to a picture of a Black or a White male. Findings indicated that most positive items were attributed to the White figure while most negative items were attributed to the Black figure. Thus, these subjects held a predominantly unfavourable view of the black and favourable view of the white. Two possible problems with this study were the lack of Black subjects and the lack of female figures.

Williams, Morland and Underwood (1970) had six groups of college students rate colour names as positive and negative. The students were American Caucasian, American Negro, German, Danish, Hong Kong Chinese and Asian Indian. Across groups, white was rated positive by most students while black and brown were rated negative.

A later study by Williams, Tucker and Dunham (1971) employing the same methods, revealed that for Negro subjects, black had become more positive. There were no changes among ratings of colour names by Caucasians. The changes for Negro subjects were attributed to effects of the Black Pride movement.

Stabler, Johnson and Jordan (1971) interviewed 60 Black and White subjects in their measurement of the connotations of colour. Numerous statements were evaluated by the subjects' pointing to a smiling or a frowning face. The statements were then re-broadcast to the subjects so that the sound originated with equal intensity from each of two loudspeakers in boxes decorated to

suggest facial features. Each subject heard three neutral statements, 16 positive and 16 negative self-statements, and was asked to indicate from which of the two boxes he thought the sound had come. Results indicated that White subjects heard more positive than negative statements from the white box and that Black subjects heard more negative statements from the white box than White subjects heard. These data supported the hypothesis about White subjects associating positive value with white. This tendency to evaluate white as positive and black as negative also existed among Black subjects, but was not as extreme.

Palmer (1971) used a colour preference test because of his belief that colour preference was more fundamental than racial preference. He had hypothesized that colour preference, not racial preference, would be prevalent in all three- and four-year-olds regardless of race or neighbourhood, but that racial preference would be developing in the eight- to ten-year-olds. His results did not completely confirm the hypothesis; both Negro and White three- and four-year-olds from mixed neighbourhoods exhibited racial cross-preference in trials with Palmer's "men" figures. This was in the opposite direction from racial preference or, as Palmer called it, "colour prejudice".

Williams and Edwards (1969) hypothesized that if modification of the colour connotations of subjects could cause modification in their racial attitudes, then the link between the two would be shown much more positively. They used 84 Caucasian preschool children in North Carolina to test this hypothesis. The subjects had a total of 24 opportunities to respond to black and white pictures with positive or negative evaluative adjectives. The subjects were divided into three reinforcement groups -- positive, negative, and positive and negative, and a control group of no reinforcement. The reinforcement was designed to teach the subjects to give the uncustomary response, evaluating black as positive and white as negative. The data revealed that experimental subjects gave significantly more uncustomary responses

than control subjects. Thus, the reinforcement procedures seemed to bring about a significant and persisting change in the tendency to associate white with good and black with bad. The authors said that this finding represented the first demonstration of laboratory modification of a naturally-learned association, and that it supported the hypothesis of a link between colour connotations and racial attitudes, because subjects whose colour attitude was weakened showed less tendency for the customary racial associations.

Palmer (1973) differentiated between the terms colour prejudice and preference, on the basis of use of men-shaped wooden blocks and rectangular blocks of different colours. Palmer had expected preference responses in the younger group of subjects and prejudice responses in the older ones. Results did not confirm the hypotheses. In fact, among younger subjects, a reversal of the expected result was found in the second set of trials. The author pointed out the need for further research to examine the effects of age of subject, family background, neighbourhood, etc. on the preferences of the subject.

An article by Williams and Stabler (1973) reviewed much of the research by Williams and his associates in the area of colour connotations. The authors pointed out that American cultural stereotypes of black as bad and white as good span other cultures and continents. In Africa "black magic" means bad magic, and anthropologists have found that North American and European Indians used a black and white symbolism wherein black was evil and white good. According to the authors, two theories of the origin of this colour connotation tendency have arisen. One suggested that children learn the symbolism of their culture and begin at an early age to make these associations. A second theory suggested that the evaluative tendency may be an extension of the innate human fear of the darkness of night. Williams and Stabler speculated further that during the course of evolution it was

fear of the dark which increased the likelihood of survival.

In a study using the Colour Meaning Test (CMT) with Black six-year-olds, it was found that 80% of the children exhibited the white is good, black is bad tendency. Researchers have given the CMT in various regions of the United States and no regional differences have been found. By the age of six, it was a very rare child who did not display some degree of the white is good, black is bad tendency. These authors speculated that evaluative meanings of black and white probably become linked with racial differences in two ways. First, skin colours are noticeably different, and it may be that the brown skin of Blacks (these authors prefer the term "Afros") evokes the memory of darkness in children. Secondly, language designates racial groups according to colour names and this practice might condition the connotations of the colour names to the racial groups designated. The authors pointed out that the link between colour connotations and racial attitudes has been demonstrated in various studies. Also, the possibility of modifying the latter by first modifying the former has been shown. Williams and Stabler concluded their review by making several suggestions for reducing the white is good, black is bad tendency. They suggested changing the designations of racial groups to names such as "Euro" and "Afro", rather than using colour names. They also suggested omitting use of the black and white symbolism in T.V., speech, the written word, etc. The third suggestion depends on the outcome of research into the origin of the black and white symbolism. If the early experience theory proves correct, these authors say that it may be necessary for parents to provide their children with positive experiences involving darkness and dark colours in order to overcome the early negative experience.

## Influence of handicap

Two studies introduced the variable of handicap in addition to colour, to see whether subjects attended more to one than the other. Richardson and Emerson (1970) studied children in New York and in a southern city to learn the influence of skin colour and physical handicap on children's preferences for other children. The subjects, both Negro and White in New York, but Negro only in the southern city, as permission to test Whites was unobtainable, were presented with four sets of pictures of children, some of whom were Negro and some White; some handicapped and some normal. In each set, the subject ranked six pictures in order of preference. Among subjects in New York, handicap masked colour; however, among the southern subjects, colour was the most dominant cue and there was a strong preference for White over Black.

Richardson and Green (1971) replicated the Richardson and Emerson study in London, England, using both Black and White subjects. Once again, each subject was shown six pictures of children with and without handicaps and was asked to rank them according to preference. The White child with no handicap was most-liked for Black and White subjects alike. For all but the English-born White males, the second most-liked was the Black child with no handicap. Thus, White was preferred to Black, but handicap masked this preference, as it did for New York subjects in the previous study. In these two studies, handicap had a similar effect to the effect of unfriendliness in the study by Erman (1973). In all studies, subjects of both races preferred non-handicapped and friendly regardless of race.

## Summary

Previous studies have confirmed that young children possess racial awareness. They can differentiate between skin colours and can properly apply

the labels, Black, Negro or coloured and White to appropriate figures. Studies have also shown that young children possess preferences for one skin colour over another. A recent change in the preferences of Negro subjects from other race to own race was found in several later studies and was attributed to the influence of Black Pride movements. White subjects have consistently preferred their own race or skin colour in all studies. Studies of unfriendliness and handicap showed that these traits were judged by the subjects as even more undesirable than black skin -- these variables masked race for nearly all subjects. Studies of the connotations of colour names revealed that nearly all subjects judged black as bad and white as good and that they generalized these attitudes to people. Studies of different types of training procedures and experience programs demonstrated the ability of such programs to modify or alter the subjects' racial attitudes.

The studies in this area of investigation have obtained fascinating results and have opened the door to a better understanding of the origin and development of racial attitudes. Much has already been learned and much remains for future research to learn.



## Summary of the Literature

RACIAL PREFERENCE		RACIAL AWARENESS		SOCIAL AWARENESS
<u>All prefer White</u>	<u>All ethnocentric</u>	<u>Correct Identification</u>	<u>Mis-identification</u>	<u>Accurate</u>
Clark & Clark ('47)	Radke & Sutherland (1950)	R. Horowitz (1939)	Clark & Clark(1940)	Radke, Trager & Davis (1949)
E. Horowitz ('47)	McCandless & Hoyt (1961)	Stevenson & Stevenson, (1960)	Stevenson & Stewart, (1958)	Radke & Trager (1950)
Ammons (1950)		Clark & Clark (1939)	Morland (1966)	Williams & Roberson (1967)
Landreth & Johnson ('53)	Koslin, Koslin, Cardwell & Pargament (1969)	Clark & Clark (1950)	Greenwald & Oppenheim (1968)	Coyle & Eisenman (1970)
Stevenson & Stewart('58)		Goodman (1952)	Gitter & Satow(1969)	
Morland (1962)	Hraba & Grant (1970)	Morland (1958-9)	Crooks (1970)	
Morland (1966)	Harris & Braun(1971)	Gregor & McPherson (1966)	Gitter, Mostofsky & Satow (1972)	
Greenwald & Oppenheim (1968)	Datcher, Savage & Checkosky (1973)	Renninger & Williams (1966)		
Radke, Trager & Davis (1949)	Hamm, Williams & Dalhouse (1973)	Williams & Roberson (1967)		
Asher & Allen (1969)	Erman (1973)	Hraba & Grant (1970)		
Richardson & Emerson (1970)	Rohrer (1973)			
Richardson & Green (1971)				
Porter (1971)				
Storm (1971)				
Kircher & Furby ('71)				
Adair (1973)				

TABLE I. - Continued

## Summary of the Literature

SEX OF SUBJECT	GRADE OF SUBJECT	COLOUR CONNOTATIONS		TRAINING/PROGRAMS
<u>Effect</u>	<u>Effect</u>	<u>Standard Connots.</u>	<u>Non-customary re- sponses</u>	<u>Successful</u>
Clark and Clark, (1947)	Goodman (1952)	Renninger & Williams, (1966)	Williams, Tucker & Dunham (1971)	Williams & Edwards, (1969)
<u>No Effect</u>	Renninger & Williams (1966)	Williams & Roberson, (1967)	Stabler, Johnson & Jordan (1971)	Crooks (1970)
J. McAdoo (1971)	Porter (1971)	Stabler, Johnson, Berke & Baker (1969)	Palmer (1971)	J. McAdoo (1971)
H. McAdoo (1971)	<u>No Effect</u>	Williams & Rous- seau (1971)	Palmer (1973)	Hohn (1973)
	Palmer (1971)	Lerner & Karson (1973)		<u>EFFECT OF HANDICAP</u>
		Williams, Morland & Underwood (1970)		Richardson & Emerson (1970)
		Williams & Stabler, (1973) - review		Richardson & Green, (1971)

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The main purpose of the present study was to investigate racial/colour awareness, preference, self-identification and social awareness in Negro and Caucasian children in grades kindergarten, one and three. The link between racial awareness and preference and racial prejudice was defined by Allport (1958) as he traced the development of prejudice. A closer examination of the nature and extent of this link is a matter for further study. However, the present study concentrated on awareness and preference in an effort to gain further knowledge of the age at which these appear in children and the manner in which they are revealed.

Racial awareness was here defined as the ability to distinguish between the terms "Black" or "Negro" and "White" and to apply the proper term to self. Racial preference was the more frequent favourable choice of one race over another. Pictures were used as the bases for choices made by the subjects, who responded to questions asked of them by an adult female experimenter.

A further purpose was to determine whether or not a link existed between perceptual preference and race/colour preference. It was hypothesized that there might be a connection between perceptions on a size-brightness discrimination task and perceptions of racial differences, for reason that both are perceptions requiring awareness of black and white colour differences. It was therefore deemed appropriate to include a size-brightness discrimination task, similar to the form, colour, size matching tasks in Seitz (1969) and Spellman (1969), as a warm-up in the present study, with a view to comparing preferrers and non-preferrers with respect to their responses regarding racial differences on the second part of the study. The size-brightness task thus served the dual purpose of a warm-up, to accustom the children to making choices and giving responses, and as a basis for testing a new hypothesis.

The size-brightness task was comprised of both free choice and forced choice questions on the subject's opinion about the two dimensions. The task enabled classification of the subjects, based on their responses, into colour-preferring, size-preferring, and non-preferring. Some children, on this task, prefer one dimension to the extent that they refuse to or are unable to see the opposite dimension during the free or open choices. These are the children classified as preferrers. Non-preferrers exhibit the ability to change dimensions, giving the correct responses regardless of the dimension. It was hypothesized, as previously stated, that children who have a very strong preference for one dimension on this task, defined as all choices of the preferred dimension during the free choice cards, both before and after the forced choice cards, and at least four failures (incorrect responses) on the non-preferred dimension, might also have strong racial preferences on the picture portion of the study. This task was therefore included in the study to test such an hypothesis.

Early studies were consistent in their finding that both races of subjects preferred the white and rejected the black. Exceptions to this trend appeared in several later studies, such as the study by Hraba and Grant (1970) which showed Black subjects to be more ethnocentric -- i.e. more preferring of their own race -- than subjects in previous studies. McAdoo (1971b) also found Black subjects more ethnocentric than previous Black subjects. Harris and Braun (1971) found Black subjects to be more ethnocentric in their answers to preference questions and suggested that perhaps the Blacks were developing a "spirit of dignity". Kircher and Furby (1971) found that although younger Negro subjects, aged three and four, showed some preference for white, the older subjects, aged five, showed no preference.

They interpreted this finding as reflecting the influence of Black Pride on the five-year-old subjects, who were beginning to accept the "black is beautiful" slogan. Adair (1973) found a less extreme preference for white among Black subjects than had been found in previous studies. Hamm, Williams and Dalhouse (1973), in their study of adult male Negro subjects, found more positive attitudes toward darker skin on the part of their subjects than had been seen in previous studies. Datcher, Savage and Checkosky (1973) found ethnocentrism among their Black subjects and inferred that the "black is beautiful" slogan had affected the self-identification of young Blacks to be more positive. The present study was designed to discover whether the present subjects behaved like those in earlier or more recent studies. That is, were subjects of both races ethnocentric in their answers to preference and rejection questions, or did they all tend to prefer the white and reject the black?

A further aim of the present study was clarification of ambiguous findings regarding what previous experimenters called "self-misidentification", defined as an inappropriate racial assignment or identification of self. There had been some evidence to suggest that racial "self-misidentifications" on the part of Black subjects were a deliberate result of the learning of prejudicial connotations (Clark and Clark, 1947; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Morland, 1966; Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1969; Gitter and Satow, 1969; and Crooks, 1970). The present investigation included a question on self-identification in order to examine the trend in the present subjects, who were older than the subjects in many previous studies, and who had been exposed to Black Pride movements.

In addition to racial awareness and preference and self-identification, the investigator intended to note the connotations, if any, which were linked by children to the terms "Black", "Negro" and "White". This was to be done

through examination of the spontaneous remarks of the children and their replies to a question about the types of differences among the pictures.

An examination of the social awareness of the children was also included as part of this study, using pictures of houses and relevant questions. The measure was the extent to which the children reflected their society in the placement of pictures of Black and White children in houses.

There has been conflicting evidence regarding the influence of the sex of the subject. Clark and Clark (1947) found a slightly significant effect while McAdoo (1971a) and McAdoo (1971b) found no effect. The present study was designed to examine the variable of sex of the subject to see whether it had an effect on the responses of the present subjects.

The present study also included children at varying grade levels to enable examination of grade differences, if any, in the data. Again, previous studies had revealed varying results. Goodman (1952), Renninger and Williams (1966), and Porter (1971) found a significant difference between subjects of different grade levels (ages) while Palmer (1971) found no differences.

A question was raised by a Committee member as to whether or not previous findings regarding the negative reactions of Black and White subjects to the opposite race were affected by the novelty to the subjects of the opposite-race stimulus. In order to examine the effect, if any, of a novel stimulus on the subjects, a novel face, coloured bright orange with green hair, was included in the present study. An experimental group of approximately one-half of the subjects saw the novel face together with the other three faces. The responses of this group were then compared with those of the control subjects, who saw only the three faces.

Black as well as White subjects were included in the study in order to examine the differences, if any, in the responses of subjects of different races.

The present study was thus designed to probe the feelings and thoughts of young children in regard to race/colour awareness, racial preference, self-identification and social awareness.

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

- (a) Warm-up: A majority of both races of subjects will have the ability to change dimensions and match on either size or brightness, whichever is appropriate.
- (b) Preferrers: Those subjects defined as preferrers on the warm-up task will show more awareness of race.
- (c) Awareness: Subjects of both races will exhibit racial awareness.
- (d) Preference: Subjects of both races will be ethnocentric in their preferences (i.e. will prefer own race).
- (e) Rejection: Subjects of both races will reject other race.
- (f) Self-identification: Subjects of both races will be accurate in self-identification.
- (g) Social awareness: Subjects of both races will exhibit social awareness.
- (h) Sex of subject: There will be no significant differences in the responses of males and females.
- (i) Grade of subject: Subjects in higher grades will be more aware of racial differences and more extreme in their preferences.
- (j) Novel stimulus: The novel stimulus will be a negative one and will therefore be rejected by the majority of the subjects.

Operational Definitions

Awareness - the ability to distinguish between the terms Black, Negro and White and to properly apply such terms to faces when asked to do so. Also, the more frequent mention of race or colour as a basis for differences between the pictured faces.

Preference - the choice of a picture in response to the two preference questions.

Rejection - the choice of a picture in response to the two rejection questions.

Self-identification - classification of self according to the labels Black or Negro and White.



Social awareness - the placement of the white picture in the suburban house and the black picture in the slum house.

## METHOD

### Subjects

The subjects, 21 kindergarten, 38 first grade and 29 third grade children with mean ages for each grade of 5.66, 6.39 and 8.32, respectively, were chosen from Bailey's Elementary School, a public school in Fairfax County, Virginia, U.S.A. The children all lived in neighbourhoods near the school, which is located in a lower-middle income section of the suburban Washington, D.C. area. They were therefore informally judged to be from approximately equivalent environments. The distribution of subjects was as presented in Table 2.

The Fairfax County Board of Education stipulated that parental permission had to be obtained for each S participating in the study, so only those children who had returned permission slips were interviewed.

This study was carried out in the United States because it was desirable to interview both Black and White subjects, and it was felt there would be a larger population from which to draw Black subjects in the United States than in Canada.

### Materials

The materials are divided into two categories -- those used for the warm-up task and those for the questionnaire portion of the study. For the size-brightness warm-up task, 24 nine-inch square medium gray coloured cards were used. Each card had on it three squares, each of which was either black or white and large (two inches square) or small (one inch square). These three squares were arranged one at the top and two at the bottom of the gray card so as to represent either an open choice, when either square at the bottom matched the one at the top, or a forced choice for one of the two dimensions, when only one square at the bottom matched the top one and

TABLE 2.

Distribution of subjects interviewed in  
present study

Grade of <u>Ss</u>	Sex of <u>Ss</u>	White <u>Ss</u>	Black <u>Ss</u>
Kinder- garten	F	7	3
	M	8	3
1	F	21	2
	M	12	3
3	F	11	2
	M	11	5

N = 88

selection of the other bottom square was illogical and incorrect. There were eight cards for each kind of choice, open, forced for size and forced for brightness, and these were staggered in their order of appearance. A sample drawing of a card for each type of choice is presented in Figure 1.

An individual "Preference Assessment" sheet was used to record the responses of each subject to this task. A sample of this sheet is presented in Appendix "A", page 1.

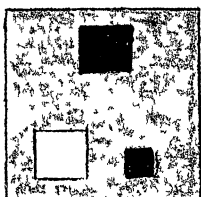
The materials for the questionnaire portion of the study were pictures, a questionnaire, and candy. The pictures were of children's faces and of houses. There were eight children's faces, four girls and four boys. Pictures of the girls were nearly identical except for skin, eye and hair colour, as were all pictures of the boys. One girl and one boy each represented a brown (Negro) face with dark brown eyes and black hair, a light brown (Mulatto) face with brown eyes and black hair, a white (Caucasian) face with blue eyes and brown hair, and an orange (novel stimulus) face with blue eyes and green hair. Figure 2 presents the four girls' faces and Figure 3 presents the four boys' faces. There were four pictures of houses, all approximately the same size and positioned similarly on the page, but representing various types of environment, including slum, suburban, urban and rural. Examples of the pictures of houses are presented in Figure 4. Pictures were selected for use in this study rather than dolls, as in some previous studies, because it was felt that pictures were a more appropriate instrument for use with the older subjects, particularly the males, who might be averse to "playing" with dolls.

The questionnaire contained twelve questions designed to probe the racial and social awareness, the preferences, and self-identification of

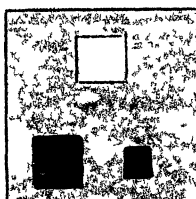
FIGURE 1.

Sample drawing of cards used in  
the size-brightness warm-up task

Open choice



Forced choice - size



Forced choice - brightness

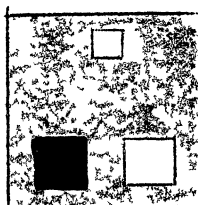


FIGURE 2.

Pictures of female faces

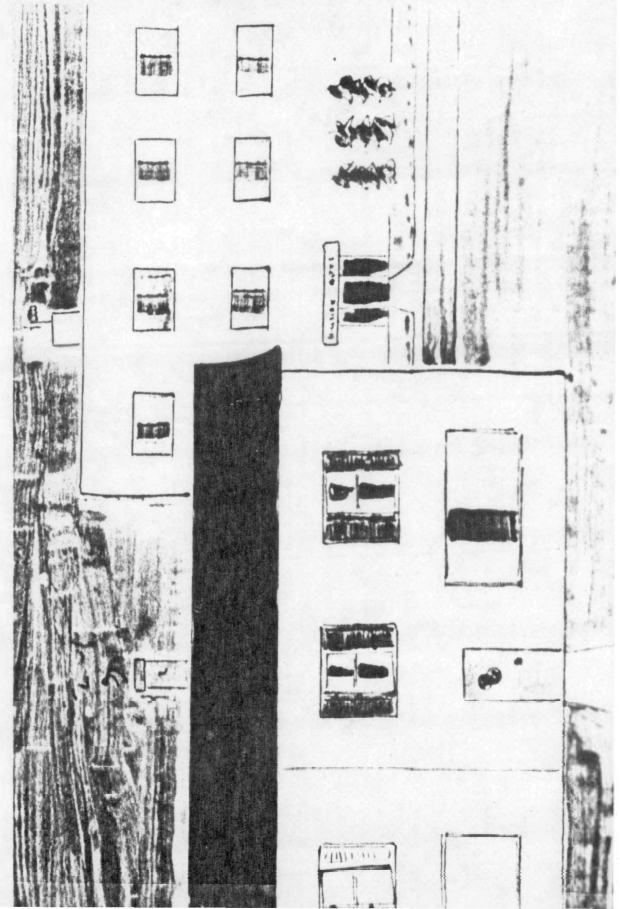
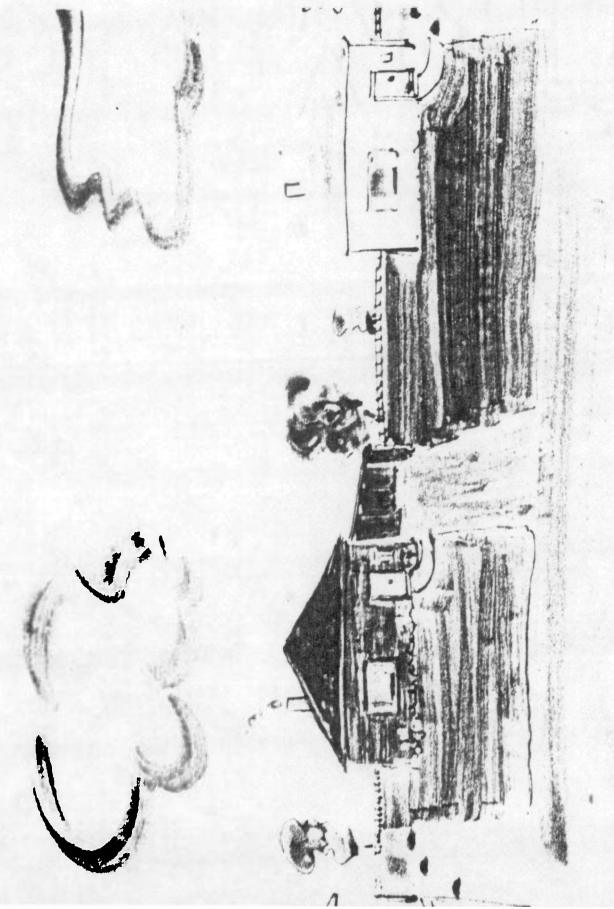
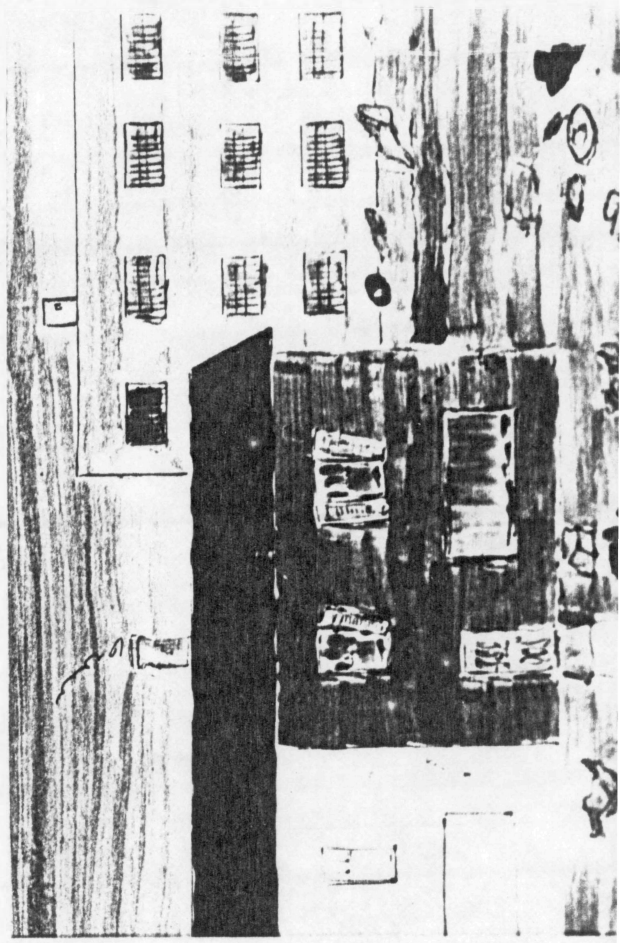
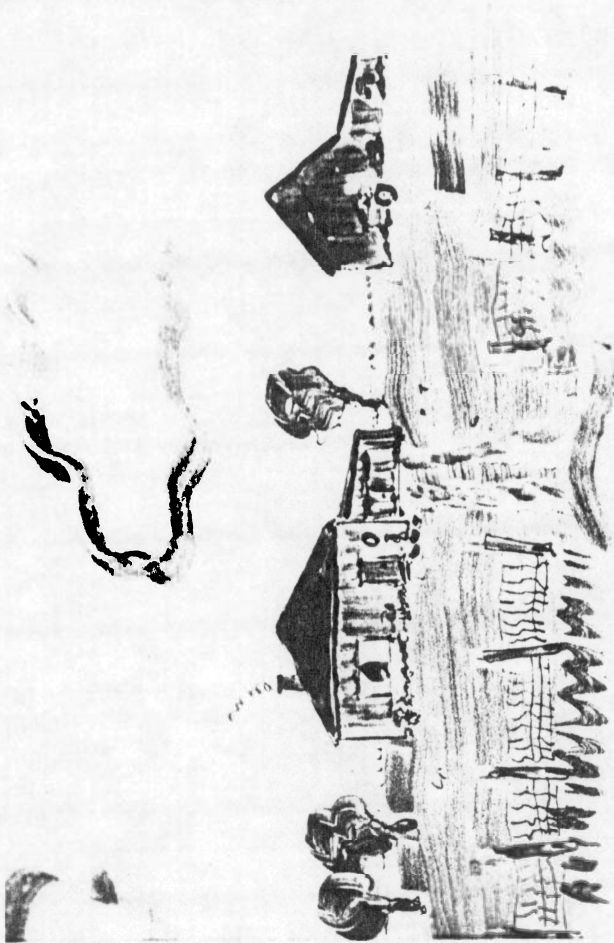


FIGURE 3.

Pictures of male faces



FIGURE 4.  
Pictures of houses





the children. There were spaces beside each question for the experimenter to record each subject's response. There was also room to note any spontaneous remarks made by the subjects. The questionnaire is presented in Appendix "A", page 2.

One piece of chocolate candy was given to each child at the close of the interview as a reward and a "thank you" for his or her participation.

### Procedure

The experimenter was introduced to the children as a class by their teacher. At the time of the introduction, the experimenter gave a brief description of the study, calling it a "picture game" which she wished to play with the subjects. It was emphasized that in order to participate, the child had to first return the permission slip previously sent home with him or her. A sample of the letter and permission slip sent home with each child is presented in Appendix "A", page 3. It was further explained that the subjects would be called out of the classroom individually and would accompany the experimenter to the testing room.

Each subject was interviewed by a White, female, adult experimenter in a small room at the front office area of the school. First the warm-up task of size-brightness discrimination was administered. The experimenter held up the first size-brightness card and explained the warm-up task this way: "See these two things at the bottom and this one thing at the top? Well, I would like you to point to the thing at the bottom which looks the most like the thing at the top. Okay?" When the subject (S) understood, the task began, with the experimenter (E) showing each card to S and recording his or her responses. Each subject saw three open choice cards first, then intermittently was presented with forced choice cards for each of the two dimensions. The order of appearance of all cards was the same for each subject.

A preference for one dimension over the other on this task was defined as all choices of the preferred dimension during the open choices, both before and after forced choices, and at least four failures (incorrect responses) on the non-preferred dimension.

For the questionnaire portion of the interview, all questions utilized the pictures of children's faces; the question about the houses used the four pictures of houses as well. Female Ss saw pictures of girls' faces; male Ss saw boys' faces. The order of appearance of all the pictures was the same and was based on the order of the questions, but the placement of pictures in front of the S was random.

After the warm-up task was completed, E explained that S was to look at some pictures and answer some questions. The experimenter spread the pictures out in front of S so that S could see all of them and began asking the questions. As the subject answered each question, E recorded his or her reply on the data sheet and noted any spontaneous comments.

After all questions were answered, S received a piece of chocolate candy and then E took him or her back to the classroom and called the next child. Caution was used throughout the interview to assure that E gave S no cues (either positive or negative) as to E's personal opinions, or to a "right" or "wrong" answer to any question.

Racial preference was determined by the S's responses to the first two questions on the questionnaire and was defined as a more frequent favourable choice of one race over another. Rejection was determined by responses to the third and fourth questions and was defined as the more frequent negative choice of one race over another. Racial awareness was determined by a question about what kind of differences S saw among the pictured faces and by a question requiring S to properly apply the terms "Black" or "Negro" and

"White" to the pictured faces. Self-identification was determined by the question "Which one looks the most like you?" Social awareness, defined as the extent to which S reflected society's standards, was investigated by question number eight, which required the S to choose a house for each pictured face. Questions about whether the pictured children were friends and where S thought they lived were used as fillers.

Fifty-four control Ss saw the three pictures of children of their own sex, of different skin colours, representing a Negro, a Mulatto and a Caucasian child. Three colours were used instead of two, to avoid the problem found by some previous experimenters, of the lighter-skinned Negro Ss identifying with the white doll or picture. An experimental group of 34 additional Ss saw a fourth picture of an orange face with green hair, which represented a novel stimulus and was used to examine S's reaction to novelty.

### Analysis

The formal statistical analyses necessitated by the hypotheses are outlined below. Chi square was used exclusively for each variable across all hypotheses.

Warm-up: A chi square was performed on the number of Ss who were able to change dimensions compared to those who could not do so. Ability to change versus inability to change was compared for Black and White Ss, across grades and across sexes.

Preferencers: Chi square was used to compare preferencers to non-preferencers on three measures: correct identification of Black/Negro; correct identification of White; and mention of race or colour as a basis for differences among the pictured children.

Awareness: A series of chi squares compared the proportion of Ss correct on Black/Negro, correct on White and mentioning race or colour differences across race of S, grade of S and sex of S.

Preference: A series of chi squares compared preference for own race, other race, novel stimulus and none across race of S, grade of S, and sex of S.

Rejection: A series of chi squares compared rejection of own race, other race, novel stimulus and none across race of S, grade of S, and sex of S.

Self-identification: A series of chi squares compared the proportion of Ss correct versus those incorrect on self-classification across race of S, grade of S, and sex of S.

Social awareness: A series of chi squares compared the proportion of Ss who placed White in the suburban house with those who placed it in any other house and compared those who placed Black in the slum house with those who placed Black in any other house across race of S, grade of S, and sex of S.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY:

Race of E: A series of chi squares compared 18 Ss interviewed by a Black E to a random sample of 18 interviewed by the White E on the following variables: awareness, preference, rejection, and self-identification.

## RESULTS

### (a) Warm-up:

Analysis of the warm-up data revealed that 61% of the Black Ss and 64% of the Whites exhibited the ability to change dimensions and perform matching on the basis of either size or brightness, depending on which was appropriate for any given choice. The slight difference between races was not significant ( $\chi^2 = .062$  1 df, n.s.).

It can be inferred from these results that these Ss had the ability to see both dimensions in the size-brightness warm-up task.

Although there were no significant differences among Ss of different grade levels, it was interesting to note that it was the children in kindergarten who were the most successful in this task. Seventy-one percent of the kindergarten Ss changed dimensions, while only 61% of those in grade one and 62% of those in grade three did so. The fact that kindergarten Ss were so accurate precluded any doubt as to whether Ss that young would have such an ability.

### (b) Preferrers:

Analysis of the three tasks used to distinguish racial awareness revealed that there were no significant differences between those Ss designated as preferrers and those designated as non-preferrers on any of the following:

1. Identification of black - Ninety-seven percent of the preferrers were correct while 86% of the non-preferrers were. This difference was in the predicted direction, but was not significant. ( $\chi^2 = 2.763$ , 1 df, n.s.).
2. Identification of white - Eighty-four percent of the preferrers were correct while 88% of the non-preferrers were. This difference was

in the direction opposite to that predicted, but was not significant. ( $X^2 = .169$ , 1 df, n.s.).

3. Mention of race or colour differences - Forty-four percent of the preferrers and 36% of the non-preferrers mentioned race or colour differences among the pictured children. This difference was in the expected direction, but was not significant. ( $X^2 = .555$ , 1 df, n.s.)

Thus, it can be inferred that the prediction of differences between preferrers and non-preferrers in racial awareness was incorrect. Preferrers were no more racially aware than those children who had the ability to see both dimensions on the size-brightness discrimination task.

(c) Awareness:

Analysis of the black and white identification of all Ss revealed that a majority of each race of Ss exhibited a high degree of awareness on both black and white identification. Among Black Ss, 83% were correct on black and 72% were correct on white. Among White Ss, 93% were correct on black and 89% were correct on white. The differences between races were not significant for either black identification ( $X^2 = 1.571$ , 1 df, n.s.) or white identification ( $X^2 = 3.04$ , 1 df, n.s.). Therefore, it can be inferred that, as predicted, a majority of both races were aware of the labels and their application.

Analysis of all Ss' responses to the question "What are the main differences among pictured faces?" revealed that 71% of all children gave responses unrelated to race or colour, while only 29% gave race or colour responses. Among Black Ss, 11% mentioned race or colour, while among Whites

the percentage of Ss who mentioned race or colour was 34%. These differences were not significant, however ( $X^2 = 2.51$ , 1 df, n.s.). The only significant difference in respect to the naming of differences occurred between male and female Ss. Only 13% of the males named race or colour as a basis for differences, while 43% of the female Ss did. This difference was highly significant ( $X^2 = 8.425$ , 1 df,  $p \leq .01$ ). Figure 7 shows the proportion of males and females who mentioned race or colour.

(d) Preference:

Subjects of both races preferred own race picture as a friend more than any other choice and differences between Black Ss (61%) and White Ss (56%) were not significant ( $X^2 = .148$ , 1df, n.s.). This result was as predicted and was interesting because for Black Ss, it represented a change from previous studies, in which Black Ss preferred the other race.

It was also interesting to note that the second choice preference for Black Ss was orange, while for White Ss it was Black, and orange was least-preferred. The difference in Black and White Ss' preferences for orange was significant ( $X^2 = 5.652$ , 1 df,  $p \leq .02$ ). The preference for orange on the part of Black Ss could possibly be explained two ways. It could be that Blacks view the orange as intermediate between black and white and therefore prefer it less than black but more than white. Perhaps the Black Ss are more open than the Whites to novelty, and for that reason, prefer the orange as a friend significantly more than do Whites. Further study could provide other explanations for this result, and is definitely needed.

Differences between Black and White Ss on the choice of other race were not significant ( $X^2 = .147$ , 1 df, n.s.) nor were differences on the choice of "none" ( $X^2 = .204$ , 1 df, n.s.). Figure 5A presents the proportion of Ss of each race who selected orange as a friend.

On the preference for which picture they would like to look like, 56% of the Black Ss and 33% of the Whites preferred their own race. This difference was significant ( $X^2 = 4.096$ , 1 df,  $p \leq .05$ ), and was probably due to the great percentage of White Ss (40%) who said "none". Only 17% of the Black Ss said "none", but this difference was not significant ( $X^2 = 2.469$ , 1 df, n.s.). Differences between Black and White Ss on preference for orange and for other were not significant ( $X^2 = .332$  and  $X^2 = .154$ , respectively, both 1 df and n.s.). Preference for own race on this item was in the predicted direction, but was not as strong as expected. Also, very few Ss said they would want to look like the orange face, a result which indicates that they viewed that novel stimulus as a negative one. Figure 5B shows the proportion of Black and White Ss who chose own race to look like.

(e) Rejection:

On rejection as a friend, 47% of the White Ss and only 22% of the Black Ss rejected other race, but this difference was not significant ( $X^2 = 2.701$ , 1 df, n.s.). However, the Black Ss rejected own race more than they rejected other (28% vs. 22%), while the White Ss rejected own very seldom (only 11% did so). The difference between Black and White Ss on rejection of own race was not significant ( $X^2 = 1.878$ , 1 df, n.s.), although for Black Ss it was in the opposite direction from the expected. The reaction to the orange face revealed significant differences. Thirty-three percent of the Black Ss rejected orange as a friend, while only 6% of Whites did so. This difference was significant ( $X^2 = 8.675$ , 1 df,  $p \leq .01$ ). There were no significant differences in preferences for "none" ( $X^2 = 1.309$ , 1 df, n.s.). Fig. 6A shows this data.

On rejection of a picture they did not want to look like, Black Ss rejected own more than other, and rejected other far less than White Ss did. While 50% of the Whites rejected other race, only 28% of the Blacks did so.



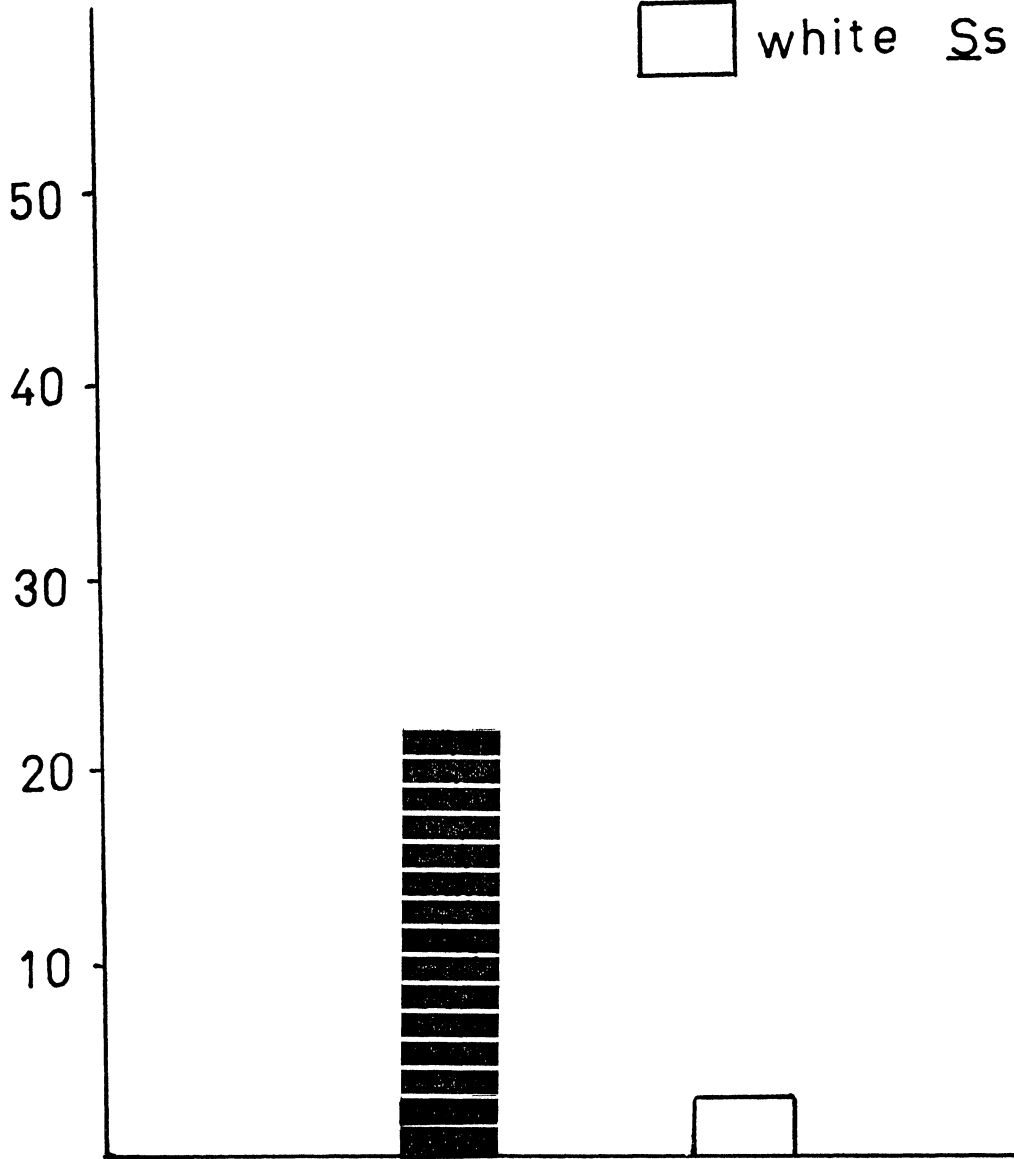
FIGURE 5A.

PROPORTION OF PREFERENCES FOR ORANGE - Q1

LEGEND:

 black Ss

 white Ss



RACE OF SUBJECTS

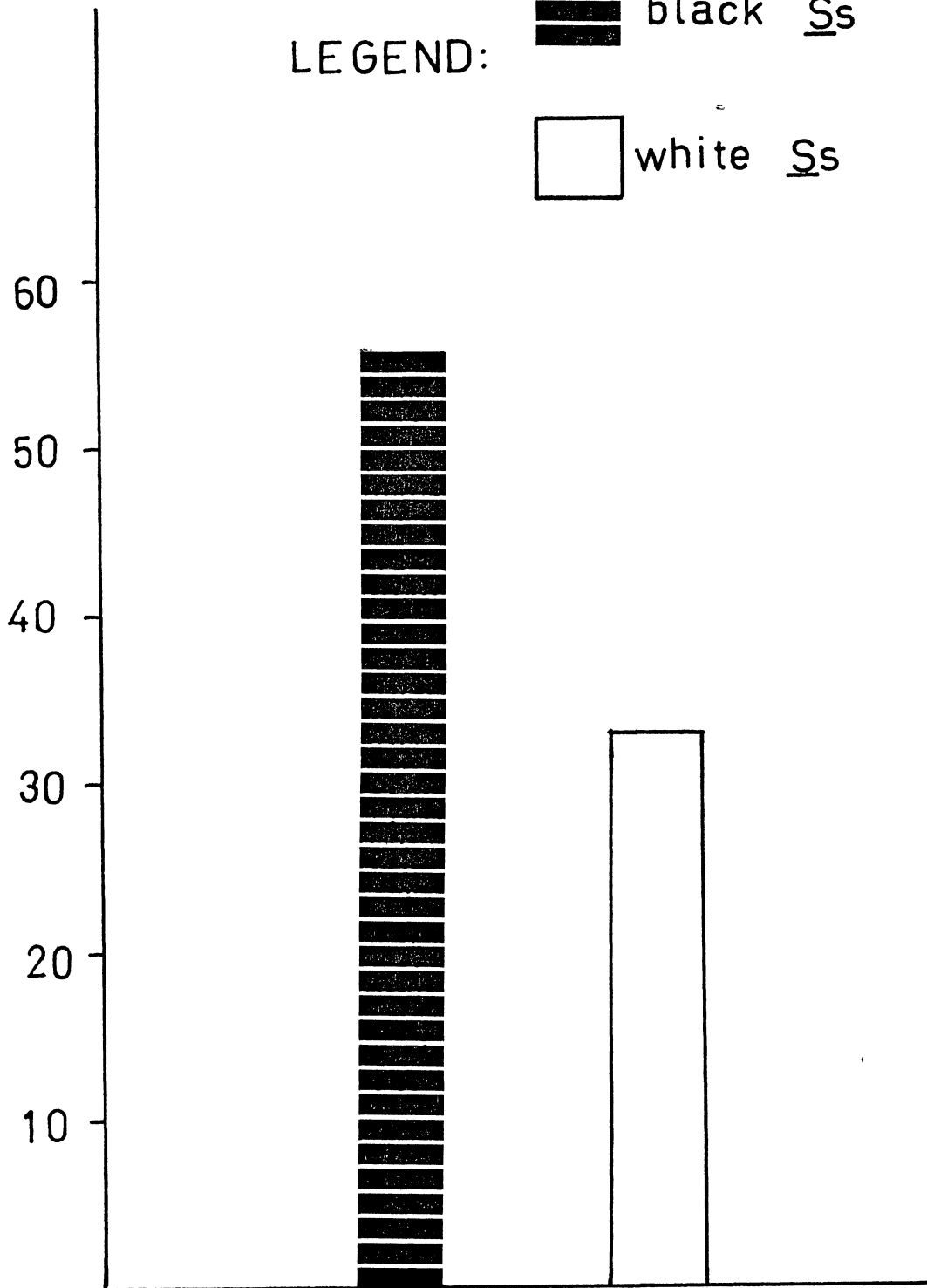
FIGURE 5B.

PROPORTION OF PREFERENCES FOR OWN - Q2

LEGEND:

 black Ss

 white Ss



RACE OF SUBJECTS

This difference was not significant, however ( $\chi^2 = 2.023$ , 1 df, n.s.). Thirty-nine percent of the Black Ss rejected own race while only 13% of the White Ss did so. This difference was slightly significant ( $\chi^2 = 4.901$ , 1 df,  $p \leq .05$ ). Neither race of Ss rejected orange or "none" particularly often, and there were no significant differences between the races on these items ( $\chi^2 = .140$ , and  $\chi^2 = .372$ , respectively, both 1 df, n.s.). Figure 6B presents the proportions of Black and White Ss who chose own race on this rejection question.

These results, for Black Ss, are in the opposite direction from that predicted. The Black Ss were saying, in other words, that they would prefer to look white rather than black.

(f) Self-identification:

Analysis of the self-identification data revealed that 94% of the Black Ss and 77% of the White Ss were correct on this task. The difference between Blacks and Whites was not significant ( $\chi^2 = 2.75$ , 1 df, n.s.). One factor which would partially account for this difference between Black and White Ss was the fact that when asked "Is there a picture of a child who looks like you?" 7% of the White Ss said "none", while no Black S said "none". This result, of accuracy in self-identification, was in the predicted direction and revealed another difference between Ss in the present study and those in some earlier studies. The present Black Ss were not exhibiting the phenomenon of "self-misidentification", which had been prevalent among some Black Ss in earlier studies. In the present study, the Black Ss were extremely accurate at self-identification.

(g) Social awareness:

Analysis of the social awareness results revealed that neither race of Ss placed the black in the slum house or the white in the suburban house a majority of the time, as predicted. Twenty-eight percent of the Black Ss

FIGURE 6A.

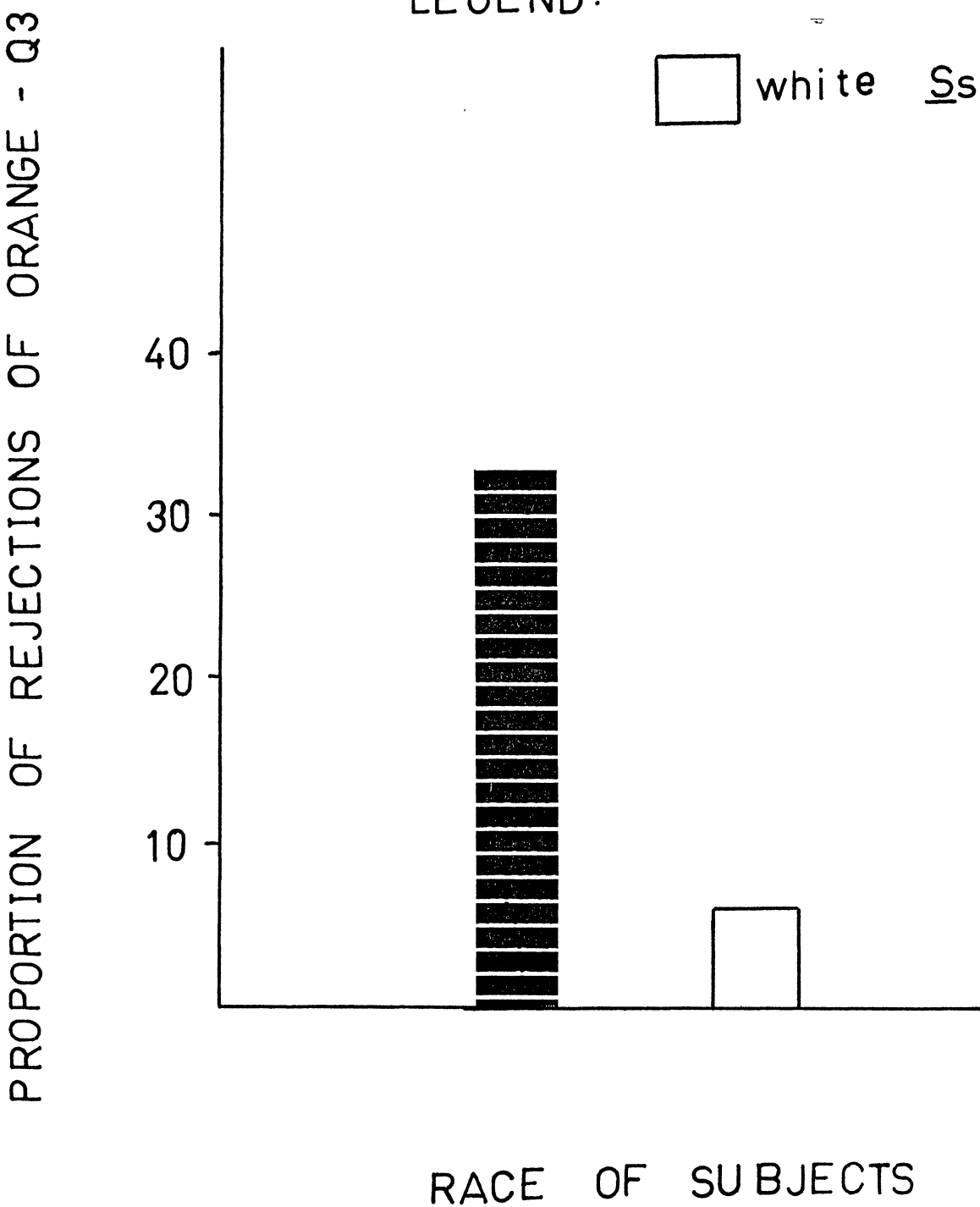
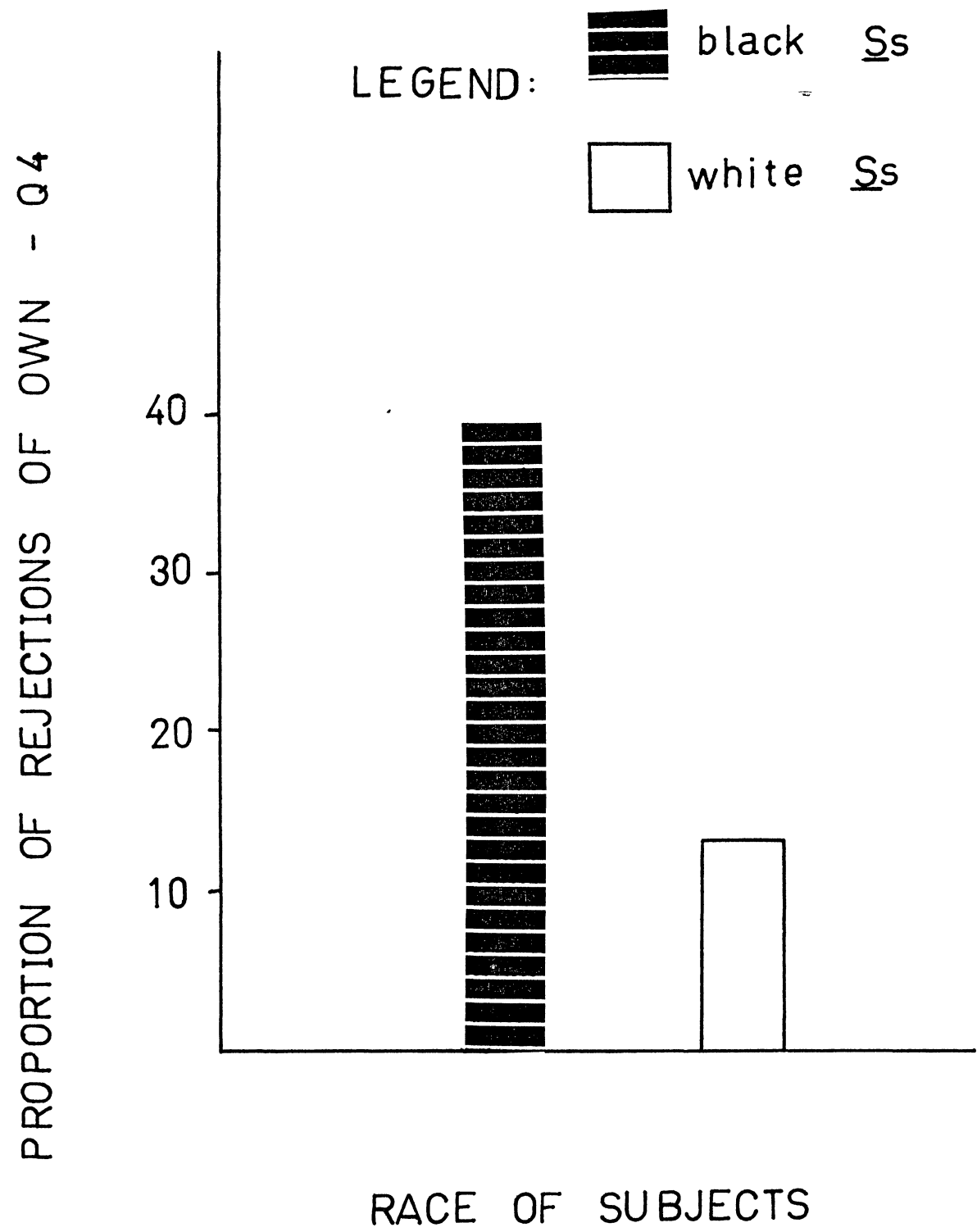


FIGURE 6B.



and 31% of the White Ss showed social awareness by this measure; the remaining Ss did not. There was no significant difference between the number of Black and White Ss who exhibited awareness ( $X^2 = .090$ , 1 df, n.s.). Placement of pictured faces in all houses revealed that all houses were nearly equally used by the Ss, so perhaps this measure needs to be altered in order to be a better reflection of social awareness. At any rate, further study is warranted.

(h) Sex of Ss:

The analysis of the data across this variable revealed that the only significant difference between males and females was in the naming of race or colour as a basis for differences among the pictured faces. Thirteen percent of the male Ss and 43% of the female Ss named race or colour differences. The difference between these two proportions was significant ( $X^2 = 8.425$ , 1 df,  $p \leq .01$ ). Figure 7 shows the difference between males and females.

(i) Grade of Ss:

There was no significant effect of grade of Ss for the preference measures, but there were significant differences on the two rejection measures. On rejection of a friend, grade kindergarten Ss and grade one Ss rejected other the most (43% and 58%, respectively), while grade three Ss rejected "none" the most (52%). These differences were slightly significant ( $X^2 = 14.669$ , 6 df,  $p \leq .05$ ). Figure 8 presents the proportion of Ss in each grade who rejected each of the choices.

On rejection of a picture they wanted to look like, kindergarten Ss rejected other 52%, 58% of the grade one Ss rejected other, while only 24% of the grade three Ss rejected other. Grade three Ss rejected "none" the most (41%). These differences were significant ( $X^2 = 19.410$ , 6 df,  $p \leq .01$ ). Figure 9 presents the proportions in each grade and their choices on each of the items.

FIGURE 7.

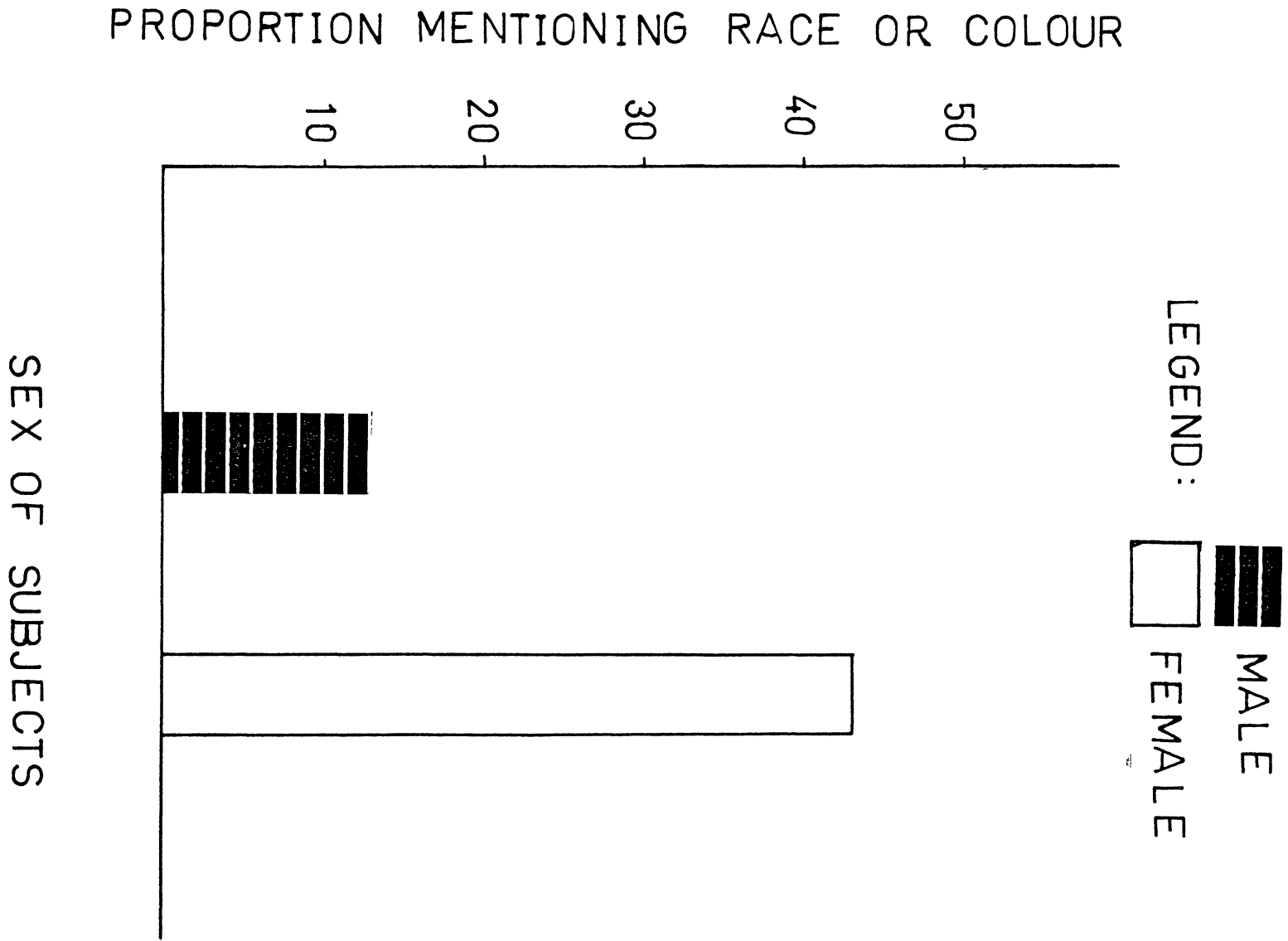
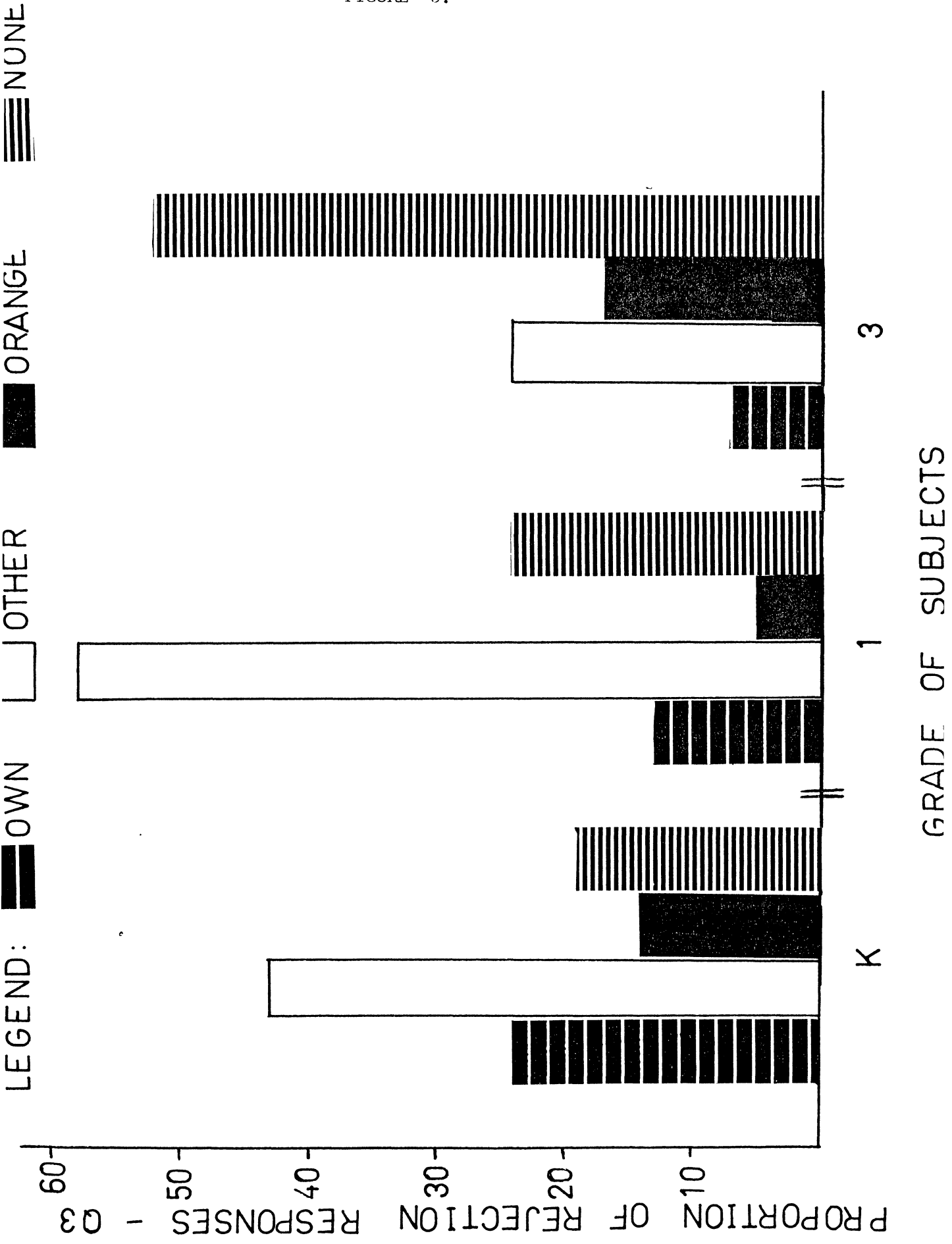


FIGURE 8.





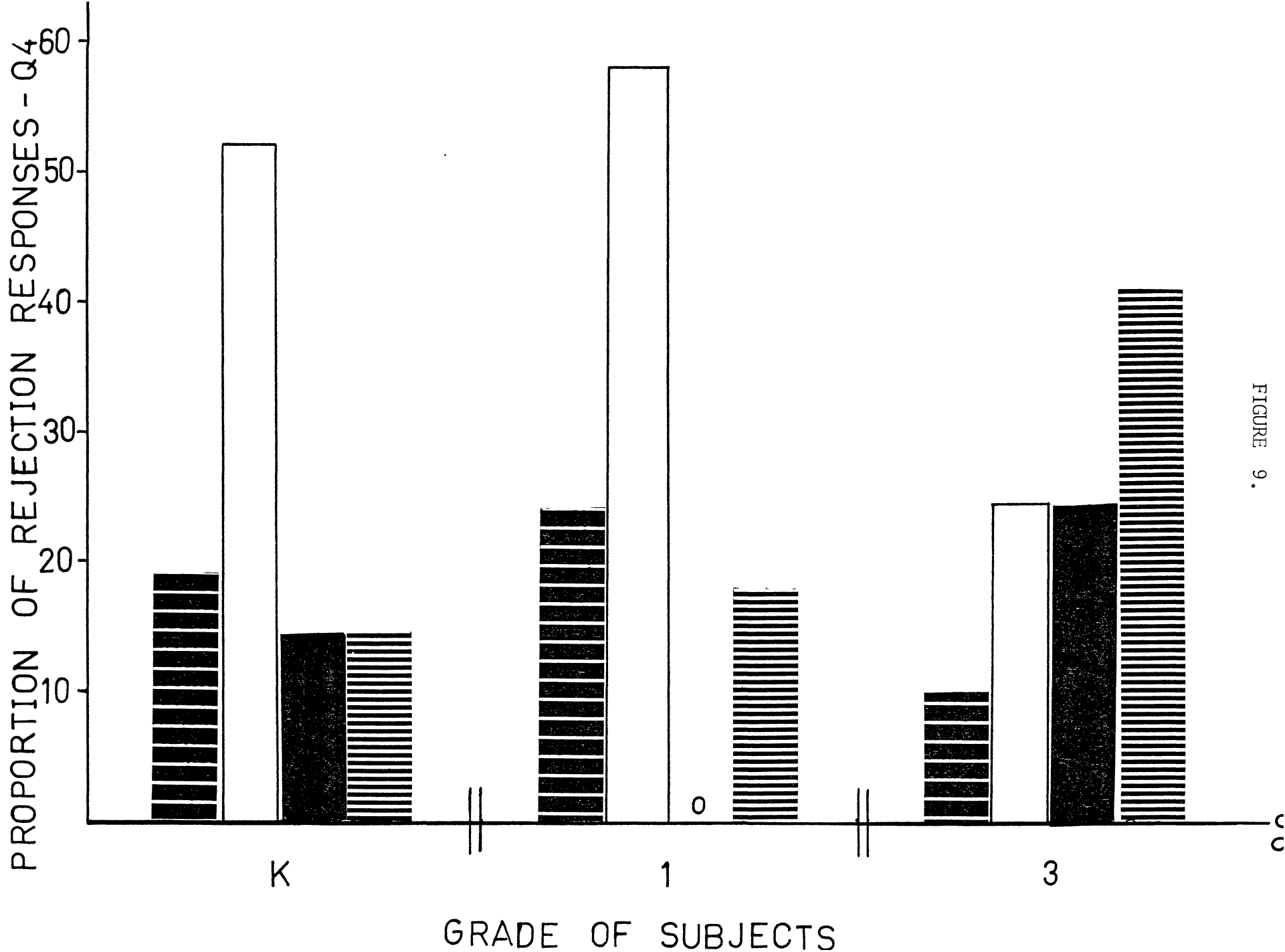


FIGURE 9.

SUPPLEMENTARY:(j) Race of E:

This factor was examined only as supplementary data, and for this purpose the 18 Ss interviewed by a Black experimenter were compared to a random sample of 18 of the 88 Ss interviewed by the White experimenter. The results indicated no significant differences in preference but a minor significant difference on one rejection measure, selection of a pictured face as a friend. With the White E, 44% of the Ss rejected other race and 39% rejected "none", while with the Black E 56% rejected orange and 28% rejected other race. These differences were slightly significant ( $\chi^2 = 8.626$ , 3 df,  $p \leq .05$ ). Thus, in the presence of the White E, a majority of Ss of both races rejected other race, while with a Black E, both races mostly rejected orange. The difference between the groups was due mainly to the differences in rejection of the orange. Figure 10 shows the proportion of Ss with each E who chose each of the four pictured faces.

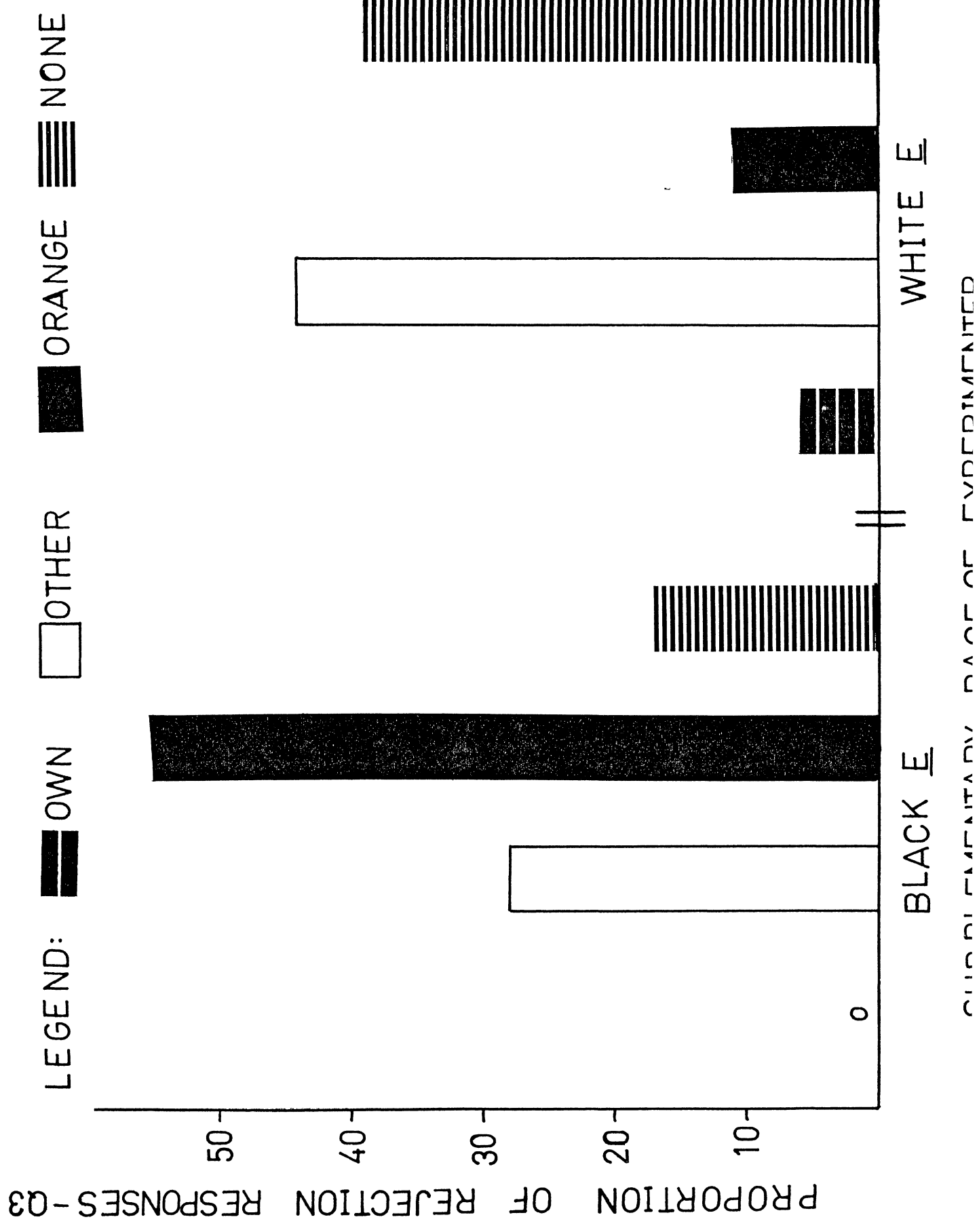
TABLE 3.

Distribution of subjects interviewed  
by Black experimenter in com-  
parison to random sample inter-  
viewed by White experimenter

Grade of <u>Ss</u>	Sex of <u>Ss</u>	<u>E<sub>b</sub></u>		<u>E<sub>w</sub></u>	
		Black <u>Ss</u>	White <u>Ss</u>	Black <u>Ss</u>	White <u>Ss</u>
1	M	1	3	2	3
	F	3	4	2	4
3	M	--	2	--	2
	F	2	3	2	3

N = 36

FIGURE 10.



CHILDREN'S REACTION TO PAGES OF HYPERIMMUNIZED

## DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the racial preferences, awareness, and identification and the social awareness of early elementary Negro and Caucasian children. As an information gathering project in that regard, it was successful. It answered some questions and it raised many others.

### Warm-up and Preferrers

The size-brightness discrimination task used as a warm-up confirmed that these children had the ability to distinguish between the two dimensions and perform matching on either dimension, depending on which was the appropriate one for any given problem. Results regarding the comparison of the replies of the children designated preferrers and those designated non-preferrers did not confirm the expectation of more attention to racial differences on the part of the preferrers. Rather, both groups were equally accurate in recognizing racial differences. Thus, it appears that the hypothesis of a link between strong preference on the warm-up task and more attention to racial differences was a faulty one. Further data on this question could be provided by further study.

### Awareness and Connotations

The questions on racial awareness and application of racial labels again revealed accuracy on the part of the subjects. Very few children gave incorrect replies on the application of labels, and very few exhibited confusion with the term "Negro", as had been found by some previous investigators. This evidence conforms with Allport's theory that children of this age, at the first stage of "ethnocentric learning", have knowledge of the

linguistic labels used to designate race.

Informal examination of the spontaneous remarks of the subjects revealed that some of them were immediately and acutely aware of the skin colour differences among the pictured children. These subjects made verbalizations such as "I don't like him; he's a Nigger." Other children noted the skin colour differences but were very casual and natural in their verbalizations. For example, noting differences, one subject said, with a smile, "One is black, one is white and one is brown." Further investigative probing is necessary to learn more about the connotations which children attach to different skin colours.

### Preference and Rejection

Racial preference and rejection were measured by the first four questions of the questionnaire. Preference was operationally defined as the answers to the questions which pictured child would S like as a friend and which picture would he or she prefer to look like. Rejection was operationally defined as the answers to the questions which pictured child did S not want as a friend and which did he or she not care to look like. Preference and rejection were considered separately, according to Morland (1962), who said that preference for one race does not necessarily imply rejection of the opposite race. The results of the preference questions revealed no significant differences for each race. Both Black and White Ss were ethnocentric, preferring their own race over any other choices. However, on the rejection questions, some differences were significant. Black Ss rejected themselves more than others, while the White Ss rejected the Blacks much more than they rejected their own race. This result was the same one that Stevenson and Stewart (1958) found. They pointed out that in positive situations Blacks were more likely to assign their own race to positive roles, as were Whites

to assign their race to positive roles. But in negative situations, Blacks assigned their own race to negative roles while Whites did not do so. Unfortunately, Stevenson and Steward failed to give any explanation for this phenomenon. This investigator's explanation is that both races were giving their concept of reality. Whites in the real world are glad they are White (prefer their own race and prefer to look White) and reject people of the opposite race. It could be that due to Black Pride and other recent educational movements among Blacks, more and more of them are coming to accept their blackness and to be proud of it; thus, the Black Ss could have been saying the truth: that they are Black and prefer their own race as friends. However, when they have the opportunity, in a hypothetical situation, they too reject Blacks, because that is what the world does. In a sense, perhaps, they were saying that they realized the world still rejects Blacks, and they would not prefer a rejected people as friends, if they had the choice. Morland (1962) found that both races preferred to associate with the White race and inferred that it was because that is the race which is more readily accepted in the world.

### Self-identification

The self-identification measure revealed that these Ss were extremely accurate in classifying themselves by skin colour. There were very few self-misidentifications such as had been found by previous investigators. This result, again, confirms Allport's theory that children of this age are aware of the linguistic labels which are used to designate race. It was interesting to note that the Black Ss were more accurate than Whites on this task -- a result which may seem somewhat surprising. However, a possible explanation of this result may be that the Blacks were considered correct if they identified themselves with either the Black or the Mulatto picture, which procedure, in essence, gave the Black Ss two opportunities out of four to be correct, while

White Ss had only one opportunity out of four. This inequality could be eliminated from future studies if each Black subject was judged on skin colour and then considered correct on only one of the four pictures, depending on which is judged the closest to his own colour. This judging technique has been used successfully in several previous studies.

### Social Awareness

The social awareness questions revealed little awareness on the part of these Ss as defined by placement of the white and black pictures in houses and no significant differences between Black and White Ss. The results on this measure seemed to indicate that it was not an accurate measure of the children's social awareness. Perhaps it could have been made more specific by the inclusion of only two types of houses, suburban and slum. Results revealed that all four houses were used by the children nearly equally. The suburban house was used 96 times; the urban 91 times; the rural 89 times; and the slum 83 times. More detailed questions about the children's perceptions regarding the houses might shed light on this area, and enable development of a better measure of social awareness for children the age of these subjects.

### Grade of Subjects

The only significant grade differences were on the two rejection questions, where grade three Ss rejected "none" and kindergarten and grade one Ss rejected other race more frequently. These results did not support the hypothesis that children in higher grades would exhibit a greater degree of awareness and stronger preferences; rather they seemed to indicate a trend in the direction opposite to that expected. Informal examination of the data sheets revealed that children in grades kindergarten and one made

more mention of racial differences and more race-related spontaneous remarks than children in grade three, although this difference was not significant. These results were similar to those found by Palmer (1971), who had predicted the existence of racial "prejudice" in his older subjects but found no supporting evidence for that prediction. The present study revealed no greater degree of awareness and no stronger racial preferences on the part of the older Ss than on the part of the younger ones. Instead, it seemed that the younger children showed more evidence of strong preferences than the older children. This finding was in conflict with Allport's theory regarding the progressive nature of ethnocentric learning. Children of this age group are at the pregeneralized stage of ethnocentric learning and if ethnocentric learning is a progressive process, then it would be a logical inference that older children would be farther along that progression, and would therefore have stronger preferences than younger children. However, the present results, which revealed that older children had no stronger preferences than younger ones, seemed to indicate that these children were learning a form of tolerance rather than ethnocentric attitudes. Further study of grade differences among children could perhaps shed further light on this question.

#### Sex of Subjects

The expectation of no differences between the sexes appeared to be supported by the results of the present study in all but one measure. Naming differences among the pictures revealed a difference between the responses of males and females. A significantly larger percentage of



girls named race or colour as a difference. Two possible explanations for this result come to mind. It could be that girls are more open about race and freely mention the skin colour differences, while the boys are attending to the details of the eye colour, hair colour, wrinkles in the shirt, etc. and are avoiding the race issue. The second possible explanation deals with the attitude of the subjects in approaching the experience. The boys seemed to attend more to details, and it could be that they were looking at the pictures as pictures and searching for perceptual differences beyond the obvious ones. The girls, on the other hand, may have been approaching the experience as more of a game. They were willing to pretend that the pictures were real people and looked at the overall differences between skin colours. Both of these explanations are merely speculation and further study is needed to confirm either one or, perhaps, to provide new explanations.

#### Novel stimulus

The orange face which was included as a novel stimulus appeared to be perceived negatively by the subjects. Orange was rejected more than it was preferred. There were no significant differences on any measure between those Ss who saw the orange stimulus and those who did not, so it can be concluded that orange had no effect except to be perceived as a negative stimulus.

#### Consistency of subjects in their replies

An interesting and important observation was that most Ss were logically consistent in their responses to the questions. For example, if they said that they would not like a certain picture for a friend, they did not then say that they would like the same one for a friend. Their answers reflected logical thought patterns, and showed that they remembered previous answers.

Consistency was determined by an informal check of the data sheets for all subjects.

### Miscellaneous

For the 88 Ss interviewed by the White E, the experimental condition was known to be the same and it was therefore thought to be appropriate to examine the data for all 88 Ss together, although only 18 of those 88 were Black. Permission slips were required by the Board of Education from the parents of each child before he or she could be interviewed. For some reason, parents of Black children at that particular school are notoriously unmindful of permission slips and any other written material sent home from the school. Due to this unfortunate phenomenon, relatively few Black children returned their permission slips and relatively few could therefore be included in the study. This condition necessitates caution in drawing inferences from the results obtained, but does not invalidate the study. Fortunately, chi square is based on cross-tabulations and is unaffected by unequal samples, so it was, in fact, possible to compare 18 Black Ss to 70 White Ss.

The parental permission requirement of the Fairfax County Board of Education caused a further minor problem in the study. Having to first obtain a signed permission slip for each S who was interviewed caused a built-in "bias" in the sample of Ss because only some parents were in the habit of returning such slips to the school. Because of limited time, the investigator was not able to wait any longer than two weeks for "straggling permission slips" to come in; therefore there were numerous children who were not able to be interviewed.

A question about which the investigator could not help wondering was whether the purpose of the study was too obvious to the Ss and the questions were therefore not measuring the true feelings and opinions of the Ss, but were telling how good the Ss were at giving the responses which they thought were "socially desirable." Children are generally honest, however, and from the responses given, it was concluded that they gave their opinions, even if the purpose and/or subject matter were clear to them. To avoid doubt in this regard, however, perhaps a method could be designed which utilizes an apparatus similar to that of Palmer (1971), where choices are in a sliding tray, a drawer, or some other device and the purpose of the study is somewhat disguised.

An aspect which could have been a problem, but about which the present investigator was extremely cautious, was "self-fulfilling prophecy" in the results acquired. Every precaution was taken in dealing with the Ss not to give them any type of feedback in either the warm-up task or the picture questionnaire. What was sought was their opinions, not the answers that they thought were wanted by the investigator. The risk of this "self-fulfilling prophecy" occurring could be reduced by the use of independent experimenters who are unaware of the purpose of the study and the expectations and predictions.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY - Race of Experimenter

Eighteen Ss interviewed by a Black E were used for supplementary comparison with a random sample of 18 of the 88 Ss interviewed by the White E. Thus, race of E was investigated in a supplementary manner. The results obtained provided little evidence of any influence of the race of E on the responses of the Ss. This finding makes it even more important to

design future studies which carefully and adequately examine this factor, because the literature contains conflicting evidence about the influence, if any, of the race of the experimenter.

### Conclusion

The present study was not problem-free, but as an exploratory investigation of this age group of children, it had merit and its findings were of interest. Suggestions for future research have included examination of the influence of the race of the experimenter, development of a more thorough measure of social awareness, use of disguised measures, and further comparison of Black and White subjects.

The method used in the present study showed promise and was successful. The materials were less complex than some previous apparatus used and they were more easily transported. The procedure took only 10 to 15 minutes for each subject, so was not an enduring disruption to the subject's classroom work. Pictures appeared to be an appropriate material for use with subjects the age of those in the present study. Dolls might have been too childish for the boys in this age group, but the pictures held the attention of all of the subjects.

The children in this study exhibited racial awareness and definite preferences in regard to racial differences. Age five is therefore not too early for children to begin to learn positive attitudes toward persons who are different from themselves.

In conclusion, it can be said that the present study answered a number of questions concerning racial awareness, preference and identification and social awareness. As is frequently the case in research, however, this study also raised many additional questions. Investigation of these questions could be of interest to researchers and of value to society. Continued research in the entire area of racial attitudes may someday provide a fuller understanding of the mechanisms leading to prejudice and of ways to deal with them for the betterment of our world.

## APPENDIX "A"

## PREFERENCE ASSESSMENT

RACE: B W

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

 $E_b$   $E_w$ 

<u>Card</u>	<u>Choice</u>		<u>Card</u>	<u>Choice</u>	
5A	lg wh	sm bl	3A	sm wh	sm bl
1	sm wh	lg bl	6A	sm wh	sm bl
12	sm wh	lg bl	2A	lg bl	sm bl
2	sm bl	lg bl	9	sm bl	lg bl
3	sm bl	sm wh	10A	lg wh	lg bl
6	sm bl	sm wh	8A	lg wh	sm bl
12A	lg bl	sm wh	4	sm wh	lg wh
11A	lg wh	sm wh	11	sm wh	lg wh
5	sm bl	lg wh	7	lg bl	lg wh
7A	lg wh	lg bl			
10	lg bl	lg wh			
9A	lg bl	sm bl			
4A	lg wh	sm wh			
8	sm bl	lg wh			
1A	lg bl	sm wh			

RACE: B W Experimenter: E<sub>b</sub> E<sub>w</sub>

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Is there one of these boys/girls you would like to have as a friend more than the others?

Which one? m b w o Why? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Is there one of these you would like to look like?

Which one? m b w o Why? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Is there one of these boys/girls you would not like to have as a friend?

Which one? m b w o Why? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Is there one of these you would not like to look like?

Which one? m b w o Why? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Do you think all of them are friends? YES NO Why? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Is there a picture of a child who looks like you? Show me. m b w o

7. Do you think these boys/girls live near each other? YES NO  
If NO, Do you think that they would like to live near each other? YES NO

8. See these pictures of houses? They are houses that the children live in. Move each child's picture near the house you think he/she lives in.

rural m b w o; urban m b w o; slum m b w o; suburb m b w o

9. Do you see any differences between these children? YES NO

10. If YES, What are the main differences you see? Reply: \_\_\_\_\_

11. Is there a picture of a black or Negro child? Show me. m b w o  
Is there a picture of a White child? Show me. m b w o

12. Is there a picture of a child who looks like you? Show me. m b w o

This question was asked only if S gave a wrong answer or no reply to question 6.



# WATERLOO LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY

Waterloo Ontario Canada Telephone (519) 744-8141

Department of Psychology

February 5, 1973

Dear Parent or Guardian:

A fellow-worker and I are conducting a study for a Master's thesis in your child's school and would like to request the cooperation of you and your child. We hope to interview approximately 120 young people in grades one and three and we would like your child to be a participant.

The children will participate in a picture game in which they will be shown pictures and asked simple perception questions about them. There is no right or wrong answer to any question; we only want to know each child's response.

Once a child is interviewed, his answers will be added to and merged with all others, and no one will know nor be concerned with which answer was given by which child. Thus, the concern of the study is what the various answers are, not who gives them.

One of the requirements of Fairfax County is written parental permission for each child participating. We would therefore appreciate it if you would complete the form at the bottom of this page and return it to school with your child.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Jean LeForge

Approved:

Vernon H. Schaefer, Ph.D.  
Chairman, Psychology Department

JL: jk

To Whom It May Concern:

\_\_\_\_\_ has my permission to participate in the  
(Name of Child)  
study being conducted at his/her school by Jean LeForge.

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature of parent or guardian)



2

APPENDIX "B"

Chi square values across variables race of S,  
grade of S, and sex of S

Measure	Race of S	Grade of S	Sex of S
Warm-up task	.062	---	---
Awareness - white	3.040	.788	.015
- black	1.571	.268	.770
Mention of race or colour	2.510	.0035	8.425***
Preference - friend	10.366*	4.115	2.479
own	.148		
other	.147		
orange	5.652**		
none	.204		
Preference - look like	5.687	7.329	3.990
own	4.096*		
other	.154		
orange	.332		
none	2.469		
Rejection - friend	15.950***	14.669*	.897
own	1.878		
other	2.701	7.635*	
orange	8.675***		
none	1.309	7.933*	
Rejection - look like	8.081*	19.410***	.957
own	4.901*		
other	2.023	8.114*	
orange	.140		
none	.372	6.312*	
Self-identification	2.75	.450	.004
Social Awareness - W	.090	4.789	.003
- B	.034	1.502	.434

\* =  $p \leq .05$

\*\* =  $p \leq .02$

\*\*\* =  $p \leq .01$

TABLE II.  
Chi square values across variable  
race of E

Measure	Race of E
Awareness - Black	1.125
- White	.148
Preference - friend	3.360
- look like	4.840
Rejection - friend	8.626*
- other	.428
- orange	3.126
- none	1.246
Rejection - look like	4.800
Self-identification	.148

\* =  $p \leq .05$

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