RACIAL PREFERENCES, RACIAL AWARENESS, AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN

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AMERICAN CHILDREN

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The American Indian today is in a period of transition. He/she is becoming a Native American. There is a new attitude emerging which conveys the message: "We were here first and this is our native land". After centuries of silence and passivity, the Native American people are now refusing to be treated as intruders in the American system. The American Indian culture had begun to blend into the American melting pot due to intermarriage and pressures to conform to White standards. In response the Native American today is reviving many of the old customs in order to rejuvenate his heritage and cling to a racial identity. Just as the Blacks adopted the slogan "Black is Beautiful", the Native Americans today want to insure that "Red is Not Dead".

Less than three generations ago an American Indian would deny, if possible, his/her racial identity. Those who did claim their Indian blood often did so in order to qualify for government money or land allotments. Many of these claimed only the percentage of blood necessary to qualify. This attitude evolved out of disgrace and dishonor bestowed upon the Indians by Whites through discrimination and prejudice. This is exemplified best by the astonishing fact that American Indians were considered wards of the court until 1924 when they were granted U. S. citizenship by an act of Congress.

Recently, the Native American's racial identity has developed into something more positive and worthy. There are, however, continuing ramifications for those of Native American descent. Notwithstanding the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964, the Supreme Court decisions on school segregation in 1964 and 1965, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, as well as the American Indian Education Act of 1972 and other equal rights legislation, racial discrimination and stereotypic ideas of the drunken and faceless Indian still exist (Witt, 1974). These social attitudes and preferences, unfortunately, cannot be legislatively abolished. Consequently, the young Native American today is to be proud of his heritage and racial characteristics and at the same time suffer the social injustices these afford. So, although his history is different, the Native American finds himself in a situation not unlike the Black in many respects. For several years social scientists have studied the psychological consequences of segregation and have found it to be a source of frustration which engenders feelings of inferiority and low self-esteem. Pecoraro (1970) examined the effect of introducing curriculum designed to promote ethnic relations and to present a more positive review of history, contributions and culture for the Native American child. Findings indicated that the self-concepts of the Native American children improved as well as the interracial attitudes of both Native American and non-Native American children.

Moving into the American mainstream and accepting social and cultural integration also creates problems for the Native American. Tribal ties are weakened: becoming acculturated and educated tends to lead to rejection from many of those tribal members suspicious of White

man's ways. Pace (1968) found an inverse relationship between acculturation and tribal identity. In addition, in the White man's world the Native American meets with communication, economic, and, particularly, social difficulties. He is unequipped for the "every man for himself" attitude of the White man's world since he is coming from an environment and social network of the extended family with communal support and sharing. A study by Dreyer and Havinghurst (1970) indicated that the Native American youth sees himself as fairly competent and self-assured within his own social world, however, he can be expected to show doubts about himself in the non-Indian world. Consequently, the Native American of today must choose to remain in the poverty strickened and uneducated realm of his tribal community in order to keep his social supports or must venture out into the urban society and attempt to gain educational or economic success. The ideal situation for the modern day Native American would be to achieve acculturation without abandonment of traditional values and social contacts. Thus, one might conceive of individuals versed in both the Indian and White cultures who could maintain a Native American identity yet have a White orientation. Such a model of acculturation is proposed by McFee (1968) who views acculturation as an individual and situational process of assimilating both new and old ways rather than a replacement of old by new. According to McFee's system, an individual might score 60 percent on Indian orientation and 90 percent on White orientation and consequently be "The 150 Percent Man", the title McFee chose for his article. McFee found a number of such Blackfoot males scoring high on both percentage of "White orientation" and "Indian orientation".

This study is designed to investigate the emergence and development

of racial identification, racial awareness, and racial preferences of Native American children. This involves not only the child's ability to identify his/her own race but the ability to discriminate racial characteristics in Blacks, Whites, and Native Americans. Also, the child's preferences with regard to these races will be examined. By shedding light upon the development of racial preferences, racial awareness, and racial identification in Native American children, some understanding may be reached about the mechanism for developing such an essential part of the self concept in the Native American today.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Racial identification and preference has been of interest to experimenters since the early twentieth century. The early studies were anthropological in nature focusing on geographical distribution, origin, classification, physical characteristics, and culture that distinguished the different races. With regard to the Native American, the flow of progress in psychosocial research lost its momentum at this point. As the research of several decades reflects, researchers became engrossed in the predicament of the Black American. As a consequence, the majority of the following review of literature concerns itself with minority groups other than the Native American.

Several different basic designs have been employed in the past to investigate ethnic attitudes and preferences. For example, the eight designs listed below were suggested by Brand, Ruiz, and Padilla (1974):

(1) survey of verbalized attitudes as measured by ranking scales,

(2) preferences of photographs or line drawings of individuals from varied ethnicities,

(3) choice of dolls of varied skin and hair colors,

(4) cross-ethnic comparisons on personality assessment devices,

(5) analysis of sociometric interaction,

(6) observation of intergroup behavior,

(7) attitude bias in disguised measures,

(8) measurement of autonomic changes.

In their review of the literature on the ethnic attitudes and preferences of both adults and children, Brand et al. (1974), concluded (1) that multiple measures of ethnic preference should be employed, (2) that other minorities besides Blacks should be investigated, and (3) that description and/or control of factors that appear to influence the subjects' preferences should be established.

In studying the development of ethnic identification of children the two most common methods employed have been the choice of ethnic dolls and preference for photographs representative of various ethnic groups. The most popular stimuli used have been dolls (Clark and Clark, 1940; Radke and Trager, 1950; Goodman, 1952; Gregor and McPherson, 1966; Werner and Evans, 1968; Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968; Asher and Allen, 1969; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Kline, 1970; Ward and Braum, 1972). Such studies present serious problems. Pictorial stimuli may have specific advantages in correcting these problems. In these previous studies, skin color was most commonly the only distinguishable variable of the stimuli. Consequently, one might view these results as representative only of color discrimination with regard to minority status. With Native Americans, Mexican American, Orientals, and even light-skinned Blacks, skin color discrimination, when looked at exclusively, may be of little value in identifying racial members. Results of such studies are difficult to interpret. Werner and Evans (1968) conducted a study of racial identification with Mexican American children using black and white dolls. They found that Mexican American children tend to identify increasingly with the white doll following exposure to school. The fact that these children were not given a

brown-skinned doll to choose, a doll more realistically representative of a Mexican American, would render any interpretation questionable. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) introduced a mulatto doll in addition to a black and a white doll and found that only 13 percent of the Black subjects chose the white doll as being the one most like themselves. The mulatto doll was chosen by 38 percent of the Black children. They concluded that more information may be necessary to perceive racial classification differences than skin color alone. These conclusions are highly relevant for studies of Native Americans. Native Americans vary in skin color according to the degree of Indian blood, tribal, and individual differences. Facial features and physical characteristics, however, tend to be relatively highly distinguishable. Consequently, the choice of photographs, representative of different ethnic groups, was seen to be advantageous with this target group. In this way both physiognomy and color can be realistically represented.

In general, the results of past doll studies and photographic studies have been in agreement. Recognizing one's own race or racial identity (racial identification) may require different attitude dynamics than discriminating ethnicities (racial awareness) (Brand, Ruiz, and Padilla, 1974). Racial awareness was found to appear consistently before the age of five (Clark and Clark, 1939; Horowitz, 1939; Springer, 1950; Ammons, 1950; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Moreland, 1958; Vaughan, 1963; Goodman, 1964). Springer (1950) found that Hawaiian children were able to make perceptual differentiation between Orientals and non-Orientals as early as three years of age. Racial awareness may require less personal, affective responses than "racial identity" or self-identification, according to Porter (1971).

The recognition of one's own racial identity may occur before, after, or concurrently with "racial awareness" (Brand et al., 1974); but most experimenters concur both are usually present by the age of seven. Although recognized as separate phenomena, few investigators have used more than one measure to assess both "racial awareness" and "racial identity". The investigations of the past have also assessed "racial preference", or the desirability of one race over another, by the same measure. An attempt to separate these phenomena occurred in one of the earliest investigations utilizing pictorial stimuli. Horowitz (1936) developed a three-part picture preference test for Black and White preschoolers. This test consisted of three subtests. The child was asked to (1) identify himself from line drawings, (2) order drawings according to preference, and (3) choose whether or not he would like to participate in illustrated social situations. The results of the last two subtests indicated that both Black and White children preferred drawings of White children. This has been a common finding by the majority of previous investigators (Morland, 1958; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Clark and Clark, 1965; Asher and Allen, 1969; Porter, 1971). Awareness of one's racial classification (racial identification), as indicated by the first subtest, was, however, higher for Black than White subjects but was clearly present in both groups by the age of five. The majority of investigators following this early investigation found higher and earlier racial awareness for minority children than for White children (Horowitz, 1939; Clark and Clark, 1949; Trager and Yarrow, 1950; Stevenson and Stevenson, 1960; Goodman, 1964; Williams and Roberson, 1967; Morland, 1969).

In a study using Horowitz's basic design, Clark and Clark (1939)

found that Black children attending elementary school in Washington, D. C., selected line drawings of light-skinned children over line drawings of dark-skinned children in response to questions of preference. The Black children in this study displayed a stronger ability to recognize Blacks (racial awareness) than to identify their own race (racial identification). In contrast, Vaughan (1963), in a study with Maori (brown-skinned) children and Pakeha (white-skinned) children of New Zealand, found the ability to classify one's own race accurately appeared before the ability to discriminate racial differences among group members from figure drawings.

The differences in development of racial attitudes found in the above studies are not easily explained. There are a multitude of factors that may influence the emergence of racial preferences, racial awareness, racial identity. Among these factors are: (a) age, sex, and intensity of skin color of subject; (b) geographical residence of subject; (c) proportion of children of each ethnic group in subject's classroom or neighborhood; (d) subject's level of cognitive development; (e) parental attitudes; (f) socioeconomic level; (g) personality factors; (h) examiner's ethnicity and sex; and (i) sex and facial expression represented in the experimental stimuli. Obviously, control of all factors that appear to influence the subject's preference, as suggested by Brand, Ruiz, and Padillia (1974), would be relatively impossible. Experimental control should, obviously, be exercised whenever possible. However, factors such as parental attitudes and the subject's personality are somewhat unmanageable even though important. Racial attitudes are assumed by some investigators to be handed down from parents to children (Horowitz and Horowitz, 1938). According to

Allport (1954), authoritarian parents produce prejudiced children by teaching that power and authority dominate human relationships. Rejective, neglectful, and inconsistent styles of training are also felt to contribute at least to the atmosphere conducive to the formation of prejudiced attitudes. Gouch, Harris, Martin, and Edwards (1950) found several personality factors that were held in common by prejudiced fourth, fifth, and sixth graders. Intolerant children were found to be more fearful, cynical, suspicious, constricted, ethnocentric, and less confident and secure than the more tolerant children.

Another factor which has proven to have strong influence in determining the attitude patterns found in past studies, has been the sex of the ethnic stimuli as well as the sex of the subjects. Abel and Sahinkaya (1962) found four-year-old males and females preferred photographs of children of their own sex regardless of ethnic cues. In the same study it was noted that by the age of five, females still chose photographs of their own sex while males chose photographs of their ethnic group. Evidence has been offered by several investigators which indicates that the development of ethnic awareness occurs at an earlier age in males than females. Goodman (1952), in contrast, reports earlier and better ethnic discrimination in females than in males. Porter (1971) hypothesized a stronger emotional reaction of females to ethnic stimuli and a subsequent attempt to identify themselves with the more favorable white stimuli, rather than a slower development of ethnic awareness. Sex of stimulus figures, subjects, and experimentor are all factors which should be considered and controlled if possible.

In the only study of this type involving Native American children, Simon (1974) examined racial preferences and attitudes of children

adopted by White parents. Subjects were divided into three groups: (1) White children who were either adopted or born to families with minority siblings, (b) Black children adopted by White parents, and (3) Native American or Asian children adopted by White parents. Simon adopted the original Clark and Clark (1947) design and added a lighter brown-skinned doll to the black and white dolls used by the Clarks. The children were asked by the interviewer to answer each of the following questions by pointing to the appropriate doll:

(1) Which doll do you like to play with the best?
(2) Which doll is a nice doll?
(3) Which doll looks bad?
(4) Which doll is a nice color?
(5) Which doll looks like a white child?
(6) Which doll looks like a colored child?
(7) Which doll looks like a Negro child?
(8) Which doll looks like you? (Simon, 1974)

The first four items were assumed to measure racial preferences, the next three to measure racial awareness, and the last, a measure of racial identity. From this study Simon found that Black children reared in multi-racial families do not acquire the same ambivalence toward their own race as reported in the findings of the greatest majority of studies in this area. No one group of children made more accurate race classifications (i.e., demonstrated greater racial awareness), and the white doll was not preferred over the black or brown one as reported in other studies. The majority of findings of past research indicated that White children are significantly more accurate in identifying their own race (racial identification) than minority children. Simon (1974) found, however, that the Black and the White children were equally accurate with 76 percent of each group correctly selecting the doll that looked like them. The group with the largest

percentage of misidentification was the Native American-Asian group. The white doll, the light brown doll, and the black doll were chosen by 41 percent, 21 percent, and 38 percent of the children in this group, respectively. In other words, the Native American and Asian children identified less frequently with the doll included to represent their racial groups than any other. Simon's results indicate that Black and White children adopted by White parents into multi-racial families do not form ethnocentric attitudes. These results could be interpreted to support the assumption that non-prejudiced parents produce non-prejudiced children as these parents who adopt children from a different ethnic background are generally felt to be less biased and more accepting of other racial groups. The results with regard to the Native American and Asian children are, however, somewhat unclear. Several inherent problems are found in Simon's treatment of the Native American and Asian subjects. As mentioned previously, Simon replicated the questions used by Clark and Clark (1947) in their classic study of racial preferences and perceptions of Black and White children by choice of ethnic dolls. These questions were designed for use with Black and White children and were unmodified by Simon for use with Native American and Asian children. In the present author's opinion, this procedure used by Simon differentially affected the Native American and Asian children. All children in the study were asked to identify a white, colored, and Negro doll before indicating their own racial classification. No analogous questions were asked of the Native American and Asian children requiring them to select a doll of their own racial group prior to self-identification. The present study proposes an alternative method to minimize this biasing effect. Also,

Simon combined the results of the Native American and Asian subjects making it relatively impossible to interpret the results as race specific behavior. As this is the only study found in which Native American children served as subjects, little can be deduced as characteristic of this racial group.

Another measure of racial identification involves asking the child to color a figure the same color as him/herself and has been used by a limited number of experimenters. Clark and Clark (1950) used this method with a group of Black five, six, and seven year olds. The children were instructed by the investigator to color a first figure the same color as themselves and a second figure the color they would like to be. On the first drawing 90 percent of the children chose a dark color, thus, correctly identified their own racial pigmentation. Only 50 percent of the children, however, responded to the second figure by using a black or brown color. The Clarks postulated that this clear difference between the reality of self-identification and preference for white skin color was based on the emotional conflict involved of belonging to a racial classification suffering from social disapprobation. Butts (1963) tested the hypothesis that lower self-esteem may produce misperception of skin color with Black subjects. Using a similar coloring test, Butts found that children with low self-esteem not only misidentify their own racial classification but prefer lighter or white skin color. This method may have a high emotional component, but it does force a more active and concrete selection on the part of the child than doll preference or photographic preference methods. When used in combination with a more passive doll choice or photograph choice task, a more comprehensive and thorough view of

self-identification and racial attitudes may be obtained.

The present investigation represents an effort to examine the development of racial awareness, racial preferences, and racial identification in Native American children. With the exception of the study by Simon (1974) involving Native American children adopted by White parents, no research of this type was found in the literature. This study was designed to explore whether findings on Black and other minority children can be replicated utilizing Native American children. More specifically, the purpose was to determine at what age racial awareness emerges in Native American children; what preferences they have toward Blacks, Whites, and their own racial members; and, lastly, at what age and with what accuracy could they identify their own race. A factor examined in addition to those investigated by previous experimenters was degree of Indian blood in relation to the development of racial awareness and identification. Sex differences were also explored.

Because of the current trend of popularity and interest in Native American heritage and rejuvenation of pride in Native American identity, it was hypothesized that these children would have a more positive view of their race and would exhibit racial awareness as well as racial identification earlier and with greater overall accuracy than White children. Racial awareness and identification were predicted to develop earlier in full-bloods and decrease in significance with a decline in degree of Indian blood. Racial preferences toward the White majority were expected to occur less frequently with these children than with Black children as indicated from past studies. It was predicted that the opposite may be found, that Native American children would

attribute more negative qualities to the Whites than to their own racial members, due to the suspicion and mistrust of Whites often instilled in them by their parents. It was predicted that sex difference found with other minority children would also be found with Native American children. Native American children were predicted to show preferences for their own sex and were expected to display significantly correct sexual identification.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects were 64 children (31 White, 33 Native American) from Headstart programs in Pawnee, Hominy, and Pershing, Oklahoma.[1] Subjects were divided into young, medium, and old groups whose corresponding age ranges were 3 years 1 month to 4 years 5 months, 4 years 6 months to 4 years 11 months, and 5 years to 5 years 5 months. Within the Native American group were 12 young females, 5 young males, 4 medium females, 5 medium males, 3 old females, and 4 old males. Within the White subjects there were 6 young females, 6 young males, 5 medium females, 5 medium males, 5 old females, and 4 old males. All subjects were from low income homes. All Native American subjects were minimally one-quarter Indian blood. They were descendants of the Pawnee, Osage, Creek, Otoe, Apache, Cherokee, Kiowa, Choctaw, Seminole, Hualipai, Assibone, Iowa, Pottawatomie, and Kiowa tribes. (Several of these were of a combination of tribal backgrounds, e.g., one-half Pawnee, one-fourth Seminole, one-fourth Creek.) Background and ethnic

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[1]For a more detailed account of special methods used and problems encountered with this minority population see: Valencia-Weber, G., and Thorson, B., Obtaining Minority Community Participation in Behavioral Research: An Alternative Method, paper to be presented at the meeting of the Western Speech Communication Association, Intercultural Division, Phoenix, November, 1977.

information were obtained from school records. Permission for subject participation was obtained prior to testing from both school officials and the parent(s) or guardian(s) (see Appendix A). A minimum of two visits were made to each school prior to testing in an effort to become more familiar with the children and gain rapport for testing.

Materials

The stimulus materials consisted of six 5" × 7" standardized school photographs of four- and five-year-old children including: a Black male and female, a White male and female, and a Native American male and female. Prior to testing, ten photographs of each sex child from each racial category were rated on a scale from 1 to 10 for attractiveness (1 equalled not attractive, 10 equalled very attractive) by a male and female graduate student of the corresponding race. Hair and eye color were controlled for by using photographs of children all of whom had brown hair and brown eyes. Those photographs given an average attractiveness rating when both the male and female judges' scores were combined were used in the study. Permission was obtained for the use of the photographs by the parent(s) or guardian(s) of the children in the photographs (see Appendix B).

A line drawing of a child's figure was obtained from an artist and was reproduced in mimeograph form on 9" × 12" white paper (see Appendix C). Twenty crayons were selected to represent possible skin colors from a box of 64 Crayola crayons. A patch of color from each of the applied crayons was given a light meter reading from a ASAHI Pentac Spotmeter. The colors were then numbered 1 to 20 from lightest to darkest according to the lighter meter reading. (When two colors

received the same light meter reading, a subjective judgement of darkness was made.) The colors used and their corresponding light meter readings are as follows: (1) White - 15 2/3, (2) Peach - 15, (3) Apricot - 15, (4) Goldenrod - 14 2/3, (5) Maize - 14 1/2, (6) Melon - 14 1/3, (7) Salmon - 14 1/6, (8) Burnt Orange - 13 5/6, (9) Tan - 13 2/3, (10) Bittersweet - 13 1/2, (11) Burnt Sienna - 13 1/3, (12) Red - 13, (13) Mahogany - 12 2/3, (14) Raw Sienna - 12 1/2, (15) Brick Red - 12 2/5, (16) Indian Red - 12 3/8, (17) Brown - 12 3/8, (18) Sepia - 11 5/6, (19) Raw Umber - 11 2/3, (20) Black - 11 3/8.

Procedure

Each subject was seated opposite the experimenter at a small table in a room adjacent to the classroom. The experimenter stated: "I'm going to show you some pictures of children. I know you don't know these children, but we are going to pretend that you have just met them." The experimenter than presented the subject with all six photographs and asked the following questions, recording the child's responses:

(1) Which child would you like to play with the most?

(2) Which child is nice?

(3) Which child looks bad?

(4) Which child is a nice color?

(5) Which child looks like a White child?

(6) Which child looks like an Indian child?

(7) Which child looks like a Black child?

(8) Which child looks like you?

After completing this task, all photographs were removed from the table.

The subject was presented a line drawing of a child's figure and the twenty various crayons representative of various skin colors in random order. The subject was then instructed by the experimenter to "Color this boy/girl the color you are". After completion of the drawing, the experimenter chose the color most closely matching the subject's skin color and recorded the number of the crayon selected. An independent judge also selected the crayon which most closely matched the subject's skin color after the testing was completed in order to establish reliability.

After completing the investigation, each child was thanked for participating and given an appropriate treat as suggested by the Head-start director.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Racial Preferences

Racial preferences as measured by the responses to the first four questions (1 through 4) were analyzed by chi-squares for race, age, and sex. Percentages are reported in some cases. Frequency of responses made by male and female, White and Native American children to the racial preference questions are reported in Table I.

Question 1 focused upon the race and sex of the child the subject preferred to "play with most". Neither White nor Native American children were found to prefer playmates of their own race significantly more than others ($\chi^2 = 0.006$, df = 1, $p > 0.05$). The chi-square analysis for sex of preferred playmate was, however, significant for both Native Americans ($\chi^2 = 6.42$, df = 1, $p < 0.02$) and Whites ($\chi^2 = 7.30$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$). For both subject groups children preferred playmates of their own sex.

Question 2 examined what race and sex of child the subject considered to be "nice". Forty-five percent of the White children chose a photograph of a White child as the "nice" child. In contrast, only twenty-seven percent of the Native American children chose a photograph of a child of their own race. The chi-square analysis of the subjects' choices of same race (corresponding to that of the subject) and other

TABLE I

SUBJECTS' RESPONSES TO RACIAL PREFERENCE QUESTIONS

Questions and Response Categories	Native Americans			Whites		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
(1) "Play With Most?"						
White	6	5	11	7	4	11
Native American	3	7	10	4	6	10
Black	5	7	12	4	6	10
(2) "Is Nice?"						
White	7	6	13	8	6	14
Native American	4	5	9	2	4	6
Black	3	8	11	5	6	11
(3) "Looks Bad?"						
White	3	3	6	2	2	4
Native American	5	10	15	4	7	11
Black	6	6	12	9	7	16
(4) "Is Nice Color?"						
White	5	7	12	7	4	11
Native American	3	7	10	5	3	8
Black	6	5	11	3	9	12

race, however, was not found to be significant when the responses of the White children and the Native American children were compared ($\chi^2 = 2.14$, df = 1, $p > 0.05$). A racial difference was found in the sex of the child chosen as "nice". The Native American children chose a female significantly more than did the White children in response to this question ($\chi^2 = 4.09$, df = 1, $p < 0.05$). The overall analysis (collapsing across race and age) for this question revealed that the subjects chose a child of the same sex significantly more than a child of the opposite sex ($\chi^2 = 8.72$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$).

Question 3 examined the race and sex of the child the subjects felt to "look bad". The Native American children chose a child of their own race significantly more than did the White children ($\chi^2 = 8.12$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$). They chose a child of their own race 45 percent of the time, a Black child 36 percent of the time, and a White child 18 percent of the time. The White children chose as looking "bad" a White child 13 percent of the time, a Black child 52 percent of the time, and a Native American child 35 percent of the time. Examining the effect of sex differences, females chose significantly more males as "looks bad" than did the males ($\chi^2 = 5.69$, df = 1, $p < 0.02$). The majority (69 percent) of children in the study, regardless of race or sex, chose a male child in response to this question. Overall, a White child was chosen by 16 percent of the subjects, a Black child was chosen by 44 percent of the subjects, and a Native American child was chosen by 40 percent of the subjects.

Question 4 asked, "Which child is a nice color?". No significant differences were found in the race choices made by the subjects in response to this question. It was found, however, that Native American

males chose significantly more females in response to this question than were chosen by the White males ($\chi^2 = 5.81$, df = 1, $p < 0.02$). The Native American children, in general, chose a female in response to this question significantly more than did the White children ($\chi^2 = 7.52$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$).

Racial Awareness

Racial awareness, the ability to classify or identify the photographs of Black, White, and Native American descent into the appropriate racial category, was measured by questions 5, 6, and 7. The number and percentage of correct responses to these questions for each race per age group and combined for race and age are reported in Table II.

Question 5 read, "Which child looks like a White child?". The chi-square analysis for the frequency of correct responses according to the age of the respondent regardless of race was not significant ($\chi^2 = 2.56$, df = 2, $p > 0.05$). It should be noted here that the percentage of correct answers to questions 5, 6, and 7 increased with the age of the respondent. This age trend in ability to correctly identify an Indian child for question 6 was not significant ($\chi^2 = 0.99$, df = 1, $p > 0.05$) when the correct and incorrect responses of the young group were compared to the combined responses of the medium and old groups for all subjects. There were also no significant differences found in the young and old groups when their correct and incorrect responses were compared for all subjects ($\chi^2 = 2.01$, df = 1, $p > 0.05$). However, for questions 5 and 7 on identifying a White and a Black child, respectively, trends for greater racial awareness were found with increasing age. On question 5 no significant differences were found in

TABLE II

SUBJECTS' CORRECT RESPONSES TO RACIAL AWARENESS QUESTIONS

Questions and Age Groups	Native Americans (N = 33)		Whites (N = 31)		Combined (N = 64)	
(5) "White Child?"						
Young	11	(65%)*	5	(42%)	16	(55%)
Medium	6	(67%)	8	(80%)	11	(74%)
Old	5	(71%)	7	(78%)	12	(75%)
Combined	22	(67%)	20	(65%)	39	(61%)
(6) "Indian Child?"						
Young	7	(41%)	6	(50%)	13	(45%)
Medium	5	(56%)	4	(40%)	9	(47%)
Old	5	(71%)	6	(67%)	11	(69%)
Combined	17	(52%)	16	(52%)	33	(52%)
(7) "Black Child?"						
Young	11	(65%)	7	(58%)	18	(62%)
Medium	6	(67%)	6	(60%)	12	(63%)
Old	6	(86%)	8	(89%)	14	(88%)
Combined	23	(70%)	21	(68%)	44	(69%)

*Percentage correct for each age group.

the correct and incorrect responses for the three age groups when analyzed for Native American subjects ($\chi^2 = 0.10$, df = 2, $p > 0.05$) or for the White subjects ($\chi^2 = 4.47$, df = 2, $p > 0.05$). However, for the White subjects, the chi-square analysis approached significance when the correct and incorrect responses of the young- and medium-age groups were compared ($\chi^2 = 3.32$, df = 1, $0.10 > p > 0.05$). This result indicated a trend for racial awareness of the White race to increase with age from the young- to the medium-age groups in White subjects. On question 7 correct and incorrect responses in identifying a Black child were compared for the three age groups. This chi-square analysis was not found to be significant for the Native American subjects ($\chi^2 = 1.09$, df = 2, $p > 0.05$) nor for the White subjects ($\chi^2 = 2.59$, df = 2, $p > 0.05$). However, when the correct and incorrect responses were combined for all subjects and the responses were analyzed to compare the young and medium group together against the old group, the analysis approached significance ($\chi^2 = 3.49$, df = 1, $0.10 > p > 0.05$). This indicated a trend for the oldest age group to be more aware of the Black race than the combined young and medium groups.

Responses to question 5 which read "Which child looks like a White child?" were also analyzed by race and sex. The chi-square analysis for number of correct responses by race of respondent was not significant ($\chi^2 = 2.78$, df = 2, $p > 0.05$). No significant differences were found in the frequencies of correct and incorrect responses for male and female subjects ($\chi^2 = 0.00$, df = 1, $p > 0.05$).

The analysis was not significant when correct and incorrect responses to question 6, "Which child looks like an Indian child?", were compared for the two racial groups of subjects ($\chi^2 = 2.20$, df = 1,

$p > 0.05$). No significance was found when correct and incorrect responses were compared for males and females ($\chi^2 = 2.24$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$). The Native American subjects' responses were analyzed for degree of Indian blood. The analysis approached significance ($\chi^2 = 3.70$, $df = 1$, $0.10 > p > 0.05$), indicating a trend for the Native American subjects who were one-fourth to one-half Indian blood to be more accurate at identifying an Indian child than those Native American subjects who were from 11/16th to full blood Indian.

There were no significant differences in the responses given by the Native American children and the White children in response to question 7, "Which child looks like a Black child?" ($\chi^2 = 0.03$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$). No significant differences were found in the responses of the females when compared to those of males within a racial group or when the groups were collapsed across race ($\chi^2 = 0.00$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$).

When the correct and incorrect responses for question 6, "Which child looks like an Indian child?", were compared to the correct and incorrect responses for question 5, "Which child looks like a White child?", and question 7, "Which child looks like a Black child?", combined, it was found that the proportion of correct responses made by the subjects to question 6 was significantly less than that of questions 5 and 7 when combined (χ^2 4.43, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$). Thus, the subjects as a whole were significantly less accurate in identifying an Indian child than in identifying a Black or White child.

Racial Identification

Racial identification, the ability to identify one's own race, was

measured by question 8, "Which child looks like you?", and by the color test. Both measures were analyzed for degree of Indian blood, race, age, and sex. Age, sex, race, and degree of Indian blood (for the Native American subjects) differences were assessed by chi-square analysis for question 8. Frequency of the subjects' responses to question 8 are reported in Table III. The color test, as measured by the color number chosen by the child and that color's corresponding light meter reading, was analyzed by (1) chi-squares for the direction of deviation from the average of the judges' color choices, (2) a 2 × 3 × 2 analysis of variance for the between subjects variables of sex, age, and race which was (3) repeated as an analysis of covariance for the covariant degree of Indian blood.

On question 8 the responses were first analyzed to compare correct and incorrect responses of the Native American subjects to those of the White subjects. A correct response was the selection of a photograph of a child whose race matched that of the subject. The proportion of correct responses made by the White subjects was significantly greater than the proportion of correct responses made by the Native American subjects ($\chi^2 = 9.05$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.01$). No significant differences were found in the degree of accuracy (correct versus incorrect responses) for the three age groups for the White children ($\chi^2 = 1.56$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$), for the Native American children ($\chi^2 = 1.06$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$), or when the two racial groups were combined ($\chi^2 = 1.28$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$). The analysis of sex of the child chosen by male and female subjects was highly significant for both Native Americans ($\chi^2 = 29.21$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.01$) and Whites ($\chi^2 = 14.88$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.01$), indicating the subjects were very accurate in choosing a child that

TABLE III

SUBJECTS' RESPONSES TO QUESTION 8 FOR RACIAL IDENTIFICATION

Subjects	Response Categories					
	White		Native American		Black	
Native American						
Male	8	(57%)*	5	(36%)	1	(7%)
Female	8	(42%)	6	(32%)	5	(26%)
Total	16	(49%)	11	(33%)	6	(18%)
White						
Male	10	(67%)	5	(33%)	0	(0%)
Female	12	(75%)	3	(19%)	1	(6%)
Total	22	(71%)	8	(26%)	1	(3%)

*Percentage responding in this category.

matched their own sex. There was, however, no significant sex difference in the number of correct and incorrect race responses made by the male and female subjects. No significant difference was found in the accuracy of responses made by the Native American subjects when compared by degree of Indian blood ($\chi^2 = 0.256$, df = 1, $p > 0.05$). The group with one-fourth to one-half Indian blood was no more accurate in identifying their correct race than the group from 11/16th to full blood Indian.

The color test was analyzed for deviation in the child's color choice from the average of the color choices made by the experimenter and the independent rater. (In five cases where there was no independent rater's color choice, the experimenter's data was used alone.) First, the color number chosen by the subject was compared to the judges' average color choice. The correlation between judges' color number choices for skin color of White and Native American subjects was 0.975 and 0.616, respectively. Since the colors were numbered 1 through 20 from white to black, a larger number indicated a darker color. The responses of the subjects were divided into two categories: darker than the average of the judges, and lighter than the average of the judges (responses identical to the average of the judges were eliminated). The Native American subjects chose 9 darker and 22 lighter. The White subjects chose 18 darker and 13 lighter. The chi-square analysis comparing the responses of the Native American and the White subjects categorized by lighter or darker than the average of the judges' color choices indicated the Native Americans chose significantly more lighter and the Whites chose significantly more darker ($\chi^2 = 5.32$, df = 1, $p < 0.05$). This categorization (lighter/darker) is

mutually exclusive and does not take into account the degree of deviation. It also does not include the data of two Native American subjects whose choices did not deviate from the average of the judges' ratings.

Secondly, taking into account the signed deviation of the subjects' color choice from the average of the judges' ratings, group means were calculated. A negative mean deviation indicated the group chose colors lighter than the judges' average color choice. A positive mean deviation indicated a darker average choice by the group. The mean deviations for the Native American male and female groups were -2.68 and -1.37, respectively. The mean deviations for the White male and female groups were +1.23 and +5.72. Thus, when both the sign and the degree of deviation were taken into account, the same conclusions can be made--the Native American children chose darker colors than the judges' average color choice, and the White children chose lighter colors than the judges' average color choice.

Thirdly, an analysis of variance was performed on the unsigned deviation of the subjects' color choices from the average of the judges' color choices (the difference in the two numbered color choices regardless of direction) (see Table IV). No significant race ($F = 0.214$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.65$) or age ($F = 0.801$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.45$) differences were found. The main effect of sex was significant ($F = 5.44$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.02$). The mean deviation for females ($\bar{X} = 5.99$) was larger than that for the males ($\bar{X} = 3.56$). None of the possible interactions (e.g., race by sex ($F = 0.78$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.38$), race by age ($F = 0.22$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.80$), etc.) were significant at the 0.05 level. An analysis of covariance ($F = 0.22$, $p < 0.80$) was applied on the unsigned deviation

TABLE IV

COLOR NUMBER CHOICE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
SUMMARY TABLE

Source	SS	d.f.	M.S.	F
S	85.94	1	85.94	5.44*
R	3.38	1	3.38	0.21
A	25.32	2	12.66	0.80
SR	12.28	1	12.28	0.78
SA	71.65	2	35.82	2.27
RA	6.98	2	3.49	0.22
SRA	37.92	2	18.96	1.20
Error	821.90	52		
Total	1065.37	63		

Note: S = Sex, R = Race, A = Age

*$p < 0.02$

of the subjects' color choice from that of the judges' average color choice where the covariant was the degree of Indian blood (see Table V). This analysis revealed no significant effects of race ($F = 0.06$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.81$), age ($F = 0.77$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.47$), or any possible interactions. Sex did produce a significant effect ($F = 4.753$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.034$), indicating the males and females in the study varied significantly in the unsigned deviation. Examination of the cell means revealed females ($\bar{X} = 5.99$) deviated from the judges' average color choice significantly more than did males ($\bar{X} = 3.56$).

The subjects' color number choices were also analyzed for "reality" versus "nonreality" responses. A reality response was considered to be within ±3 colors of the judges' average color choice. The White subjects chose 17 reality responses and 14 nonreality responses. The Native American subjects chose 9 reality responses and 24 nonreality responses. An analysis comparing the White and Native American subjects' reality and nonreality responses indicated the White subjects chose significantly more reality responses than did the Native American subjects ($\chi^2 = 5.05$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$). When subjects were collapsed across race and compared for sex, it was found that males chose significantly more reality responses than did females ($\chi^2 = 4.65$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$) with males choosing 16 reality and 13 nonreality responses and females choosing 10 reality and 25 nonreality responses.

The light meter reading of the color chosen by the subjects was compared to the light meter reading of the average color chosen by the judges. Unsigned deviations were calculated and analyzed by an analysis of variance (see Table VI). There were no significant age ($F = 1.11$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.34$), race ($F = 0.06$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.81$), or sex

TABLE V

COLOR NUMBER CHOICE ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE FOR DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD SUMMARY TABLE

Source	SS	d.f.	M.S.	F
S	76.59	1	76.59	4.75*
R	0.99	1	0.99	0.06
A	24.74	2	12.37	0.77
SR	11.48	1	11.48	0.71
SA	70.90	2	35.45	2.20
RA	6.79	2	3.40	0.21
SRA	37.32	2	18.66	1.16
First Covariant	0.03	1	0.03	0.00
Error	821.86	51	16.11	
Total	1050.70	63		

Note: S = Sex, R = Race, A = Age, First Covariant = Degree of Indian blood

*$p < 0.05$

TABLE VI

LIGHT METER READING ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
SUMMARY TABLE

Source	SS	d.f.	M.S.	F
S	2.32	1	2.32	3.62
R	0.04	1	0.04	0.06
A	1.42	2	0.71	1.11
SR	0.63	1	0.63	0.98
SA	2.64	2	1.32	2.06
RA	0.42	2	0.21	0.33
SRA	0.97	2	0.48	0.75
Error	33.35	52	0.64	
Total	41.79	63		

Note: S = Sex, R = Race, A = Age

($F = 3.62$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.06$) differences found. None of the possible interactions were significant. Similarly, light meter readings examined by an analysis of covariance for the unsigned deviations calculated above, where degree of Indian blood was the covariant (see Table VII), indicated no significant differences for race ($F = 0.22$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.64$), age ($F = 1.10$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.34$), sex ($F = 2.79$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.10$), or any possible interaction of these.

When the light meter readings of the color choices of the subjects were classified by "reality" and "nonreality", no significant race ($\chi^2 = 3.37$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$) or sex ($\chi^2 = 2.02$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$) differences were found. In this case a reality response was considered to be within ±1 of the light meter reading for the judges' average color choice.

In summary, the Native American subjects in this study did not attribute positive qualities to the White race but were found to attribute the negative quality "looks bad" to their own race. They were found to respond to the racial preference questions with remarkable similarity to the White subjects, choosing photographs of minority children in response to the one negative attribute question and responding in a somewhat unbiased fashion to the positive attribute questions. The biased responses noted were more in the form of sexual preferences or stereotypes than racial. A difference in attitude toward the female gender was noted between the two racial groups in that the proportion of Native American subjects choosing a female when asked to select a "nice" and "nice color" child was significantly greater than the proportion of White subjects choosing a photograph of a female. Also, in response to the one negative attribute question of

TABLE VII

LIGHT METER READING ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE FOR DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD SUMMARY TABLE

Source	SS	d.f.	M.S.	F
S	1.82	1	1.82	2.79
R	0.14	1	0.14	0.22
A	1.44	2	0.72	1.10
SR	0.73	1	0.73	1.12
SA	2.56	2	1.28	1.96
RA	0.41	2	0.21	0.32
SRA	0.91	2	0.45	0.70
First Covariant	0.10	1	0.10	0.16
Error	33.25	51		
Total	41.36	63		

Note: S = Sex, R = Race, A = Age, First Covariant = Degree of Indian blood

"Which child looks bad?", it was found that regardless of race the proportion of female subjects choosing a photograph of a male was significantly greater than the proportion of male subjects choosing a photograph of a male. Thus, it seems with these subjects race has not yet become as significant in forming preferences or stereotypes as has sex.

Racial awareness or accurate identification of members of the White, Indian and Black races was not found to differ significantly in subjects when compared for accuracy of response according to sex, age, or race. Degree of Indian blood was not found to affect racial awareness of the Indian race significantly. Some trends toward greater accuracy of racial awareness with increasing age were indicated. It was found, however, the subjects as a whole were significantly less accurate in identifying an Indian child than they were in identifying a White child and a Black child.

Two measures of racial identification were obtained. On the first measure the responses of the two racial groups were compared on the question, "Which child looks like you?". It was found that the proportion of White subjects correctly choosing a photograph of their own race was significantly greater than the proportion of Native American subjects correctly identifying their own race. No significant differences in accuracy of racial identification were found when responses were analyzed for age, sex, or degree of Indian blood. The subjects as a whole were found to be quite accurate in sexual identification.

On the second measure of racial identification, the color test, responses were analyzed first by the color number and secondly by the light meter reading of the subject's choice. When color number choices

were analyzed, the Native American subjects were found to choose colors lighter than their estimated skin color; and the White subjects were found to choose colors darker than their estimated skin color. These same results were obtained when the degree of deviation of the subject's color choice from the judges' average was taken into account. A significantly greater proportion of White subjects chose "reality" responses (±3 color numbers of judges' average) than did Native American subjects. A significantly greater proportion of males chose "reality" responses than did females. When an analysis of variance for deviation of the subject's color number choice from the judges' average color choice was performed for race, sex, age, and combinations of these factors, only sex was found to be significant. Females deviated significantly more than did males. An analysis of covariance on this same data for degree of Indian blood produced no significant results.

A second analysis of the color test was on the light meter reading of the color chosen by the subject as compared to that of the judges' average. On this measure of light meter readings a "reality" response was considered to be ±1 of the judges' average. No significant differences were found in the number of "reality" responses when compared for sex or race of subjects. An analysis of variance was performed on the light meter data for race, sex, age, or any combination of these factors which revealed no significant results. Again, no significance was found for degree of Indian blood when an analysis of covariance was performed on the light meter reading data.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The hypothesis that Native American children would not exhibit a racial preference for the White majority by attributing to the White children in the photographs more positive qualities was supported by the responses to questions 1, 2, and 4. The Native American children were not found to prefer White playmates, to select a White child significantly more as the "nice" child, nor to select a White child significantly more as the child of a "nice color". The finding of no White preference in the Native American subjects is contrary to the previous findings reported on research with other minority children by the majority of investigators (Morland, 1958; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Clark and Clark, 1965; Asher and Allen, 1969; Porter, 1971). Also, the Native American children were not found to show a significant preference for their own race as in several past studies with other minority children (Gregor and McPherson, 1966; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Ward and Braun, 1972). It is clear that results obtained on minority children other than Native Americans cannot be generalized to Native American children.

On question 3, however, the Native American children chose a photograph of a child of their own race as the child that "looks bad" significantly more than did the White children. This seems to indicate a negative attribution to their own race rather than a preference for

the White majority due to the fact that the Native American children did not select a White child significantly more on the positive attribute questions 1, 2, and 4. Thus, the hypothesis that the Native American children were expected to attribute more negative qualities to Whites than to their own race was not supported. This result was consistent to those found by Radke, Sutherland, and Rosenburg (1950) and by Stevenson and Stewart (1958) where Black children attributed more negative roles to Blacks than to Whites.

The hypothesis that the Native American children would select playmates of their own sex was supported. There were also some unexpected sex differences found on the racial preference questions. The Native American subjects chose a female on question 2 and question 4 significantly more than did the White children. One possible explanation for these results might be that a larger percentage of the Native American subjects in the study were being raised solely by their mother or grandmother and thus may have had more positive experiences with females in their home environment. On question 3 the majority (60 percent) of all children in the study chose a male. Females in the study, however, chose significantly more males in response to question 3 than did the male subjects. From these results one might conclude a sex role difference with the male gender being associated with "looks bad" with this age group. Perhaps this result may be due to an association with the word "bad" as meaning bad behavior rather than bad physical appearance. Bad or aggressive behavior has been found to be a stereotypic sex characteristic condoned more in male children than in female children (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974).

The hypothesis that Native American children would exhibit racial

awareness at an earlier age and with greater overall accuracy than would White children was not supported. No significant race differences were found in the degree of accuracy of racial awareness between racial groups on questions 5, 6, or 7. There were also no significant differences in the degree of accuracy (correct responses) for the three age groups when analyzed for each racial group or when all subjects were combined. These results are incongruent with the majority of previous research on non-Indian children (Horowitz, 1939; Clark and Clark, 1947; Trager and Yarrow, 1950; Stevenson and Stevenson, 1960; Goodman, 1964; Williams and Roberson, 1967; Morland, 1969) which has found evidence that Black children acquire racial awareness earlier (are more accurate at an earlier age) than do White children. These results are, however, consistent with the findings of Simon (1974), indicating none of the three groups of Black, White, and Korean/American Indian who were adopted by White parents were significantly more accurate in racial awareness.

An unexpected significant result of racial awareness of the Indian race was found. In a post hoc analysis, the frequencies of correct and incorrect responses to question 6 were compared to the frequencies of correct and incorrect responses to questions 5 and 6 collapsed. The results of this analysis indicated that the subjects regardless of race were significantly less accurate in identifying an Indian child than in identifying a Black or White child. Perhaps this could be explained by the color connotation of the racial group names "White" and "Black" providing a more concrete clue to the correct choice. This fact was considered prior to the initiation of research; however, no comparable terms could be located that would be in the common vocabulary of a

three, four, or five year old. The results may indicate, however, a less well defined racial boundary between Whites and Native Americans or Blacks and Native Americans than between Whites and Blacks.

The hypothesis that the Native American children would exhibit racial identification with greater accuracy than the White children was not supported. The proportion of correct responses made by the White subjects was significantly greater than the proportion of correct responses made by the Native American subjects. In fact, as it seems, the Native American children were notably less accurate in identifying their own racial classification. The correct racial identification was made by 33 percent of the Native American subjects and 71 percent of the White subjects. Similar results of previous research with non-Indian minorities (Morland, 1962) has been interpreted as a denial of racial identity. Banks (1976) has questioned this interpretation of such results when with only two races to select from the frequency of subjects' misidentifying choices are not clearly above chance.

Goodman (1952) found that darker-skinned Black children had a higher level of racial awareness than did lighter-skinned Black children. Questioning whether such a phenomenon existed for the Native American child, the degree of Indian blood was compared for correct racial identification. An analysis was done comparing the lower Indian blood group (one-fourth to one-half) with the higher Indian blood group (11/16th to full blood). The results indicated no significant difference in the two groups. Thus, the hypothesis that the Native American subjects would be more accurate in racial identification with increasing percentage of Indian blood was not supported.

When the age groups were compared, it was discovered that the

responses of the young group of Native Americans were 41 percent correct; whereas the responses of the medium and old groups were 22 percent and 29 percent correct, respectively. Although the chi-square analysis comparing the correct and incorrect responses of the three age groups was insignificant ($\chi^2 = 1.024$, df = 2, $p > 0.05$), the decline in percentage correct from the young-age group to the medium- and old-age group, when considered in combination with the significant overall result of the lack of accuracy in correctly identifying their race, may lend some credibility to the interpretation proposed by previous investigators of a denial of racial identity. It is to be noted here, however, that some of the Native American children with a high percentage of White blood were considered by the experimenter to be accurate in their choice of a White child as the one that looked most like themselves; but their responses were counted as incorrect due to the fact that they were considered to be Indian because of their Indian blood. This fact confounds the results on racial identity. Another possible interpretation of this result could be that with increasing age Native American children may identify more closely with White society.

One thing that should be noted here is that these subjects developed sexual identification at an earlier age than racial identification. As in Abel and Sahinkaya's (1962) findings, the subjects preferred photographs of their own sex regardless of ethnic cues. This result is consistent with previous research on sexual identification which has indicated the emergence of sexual identification by the age of three (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, p. 365). Perhaps what this finding may imply is the cognitive development of processing two pieces of information (sex and race) in response to the question "Which child looks like

you?" with the latter categorization being a more refined step of self-identity.

The results of the color test should also be considered when assessing the question of Native American racial identity. The results of the color test indicate the Native American subjects chose colors lighter than the average of judges' color selections significantly more than did the White subjects. It must be kept in mind, however, that the White children chose colors darker than the average of the judges' color choices significantly more than did the Native American children. We can take this finding at face value, that is, White children view themselves as darker than they actually are and Native American children view themselves as lighter than they are; or perhaps what is indicated here is a regression toward the mean by both groups.

When "reality" of responses was measured (±3 color numbers or ±1 light meter reading of judges' average), it was discovered that Native American subjects chose significantly fewer reality responses than did White subjects on the color number analysis; but there was not a significant difference when light meter readings of responses were compared. Males were found to have made significantly more "reality" responses than females, but this was true only on the color number analysis. Upon examining the color choices of the two subject groups, one should note that although the White children made more reality responses the range of light color or realistic colors was more limited than the range of dark colors. Thus the White children had a more restricted range of reality responses than did the Native American children. This, combined with the evidence of greater reliability of the judges' color choices with the White subjects (0.975) than the Native

American subjects (0.616), could make the reality response of color choice subject to question. If attempting to redo this study, the optimal conditions would be an equal number of light and dark colors.

There was no significant difference in the unsigned deviations of the White and Native American subjects' color choices from the average of the color choices of the judges. This result indicates that neither group of children was more accurate in judging their skin color. Thus, for both groups of children their perception of their skin color is deviant from that viewed by observers. Other information regarding skin color perception was obtained from the light meter deviation scores. On the color test it was found that with the color number deviation scores, the analysis of variance was significant for sex. Females deviated significantly more from the average of the judges' color ratings than did males. These results can be interpreted to mean that the males in the study were significantly more accurate in choosing a color that most closely matched their skin color than were females. This result was consistent with the previous findings of Clark and Clark (1939) and Porter (1971) in their research with White and Black subjects.

Age differences have been reported in the majority of previous studies. This study, with a unique minority population for this type of research, found conflicting age results. The percentages of correct responses of the young-, medium-, and old-age groups indicate increasing percentages of correct racial awareness from questions 5, 6, and 7. The chi-square analysis for the age groups was, however, insignificant. Examining racial identification, as measured by question 8, the young group correctly identified their own race to a higher percentage (58

percent) than did the medium group (42 percent) or the old group (50 percent) when the subjects were combined across race. This could be due to the manner in which the age groups were determined. As a consequence of collecting data late in the Headstart school year, few three year olds could be run as subjects; and there was an overabundance of four year olds. Consequently, in order to approximate equal numbers, the age groups were divided into unequal age spans with the medium- and old-age groups each spanning a six-month period; whereas the young-age group spanned a 16-month period. The lack of significance found for the age analysis could also be attributable to the small sample size. After completing the study, it was felt that cognitive differences may be more valuable in predicting the development of racial attitudes than chronological age. This was based on observations made while conducting the study. It seemed that, regardless of age, those subjects that the teachers described as "advanced" or "bright" were more frequently correct on racial identification and racial awareness questions.

This study investigated racial preferences, racial awareness, and racial identification in Native American children. This was the first study of this type involving Native American subjects with the exception of a study by Simon (1974) previously mentioned. Because of the lack of studies utilizing Native Americans, the results have been compared to similar research with other minorities. In contrast to the majority of previous studies with non-Indian minorities, the present study did not find White preference in the Native American children, significant age differences in racial awareness, or racial awareness occurring at an earlier age in the Native American children than the

White children. In agreement with the majority of previous findings, Native American children were found to be less accurate in identifying their own race than were White children.

The findings with this Native American population are unique. Due to the lack of similar research in this area, there is no real basis for comparison in the literature. Although the findings can be compared generally to results found with other minorities, this should be done with caution. In this study it is impossible to ascertain whether failure to replicate results with other minorities is due to the fact that Native American preschoolers are different or due to methodological problems.

Using Native American subjects also presented some unique experimental considerations. Notable was the diverse tribal backgrounds and varying degrees of Indian blood of the Native American subjects. Each tribe has different customs and different attitudes about their own race and other races. Because the majority of these subjects were from mixed tribal backgrounds, it is hard to say which of their ancestors' attitudes influenced them the most. Being Native American has a very favorable connotation of pride for some groups and a negative connotation of shame for others. Some of the parents of these subjects may have become modernized and abandoned many of the customs emphasizing the child's differences, whereas others might have retained and continued these traditions. It was impossible to identify these differences, thus impossible to control for them. A second factor that should be considered in the development of a Native American child's racial identity is who is raising the child? Many of these children were being raised by single parents or grandparents. Many of these

children were part White and possibly raised in a "White" home. Another consideration is whether the subject (many of them part Indian) looks Indian? The question of racial identification utilized in the current study asks which child "looks like you?". In some cases subjects were classified as a Native American subject because of Indian blood but actually looked like a White child. Obviously all of these factors could have confounded the results of this study.

Suggestions for further research in this area would be to use minimally half-blood subjects preferably of the same tribal background. Racial attitudes, as with all issues of research concerning Native Americans, should be considered tribally specific. McFee's (1968) scale for "Indianess" and "Whiteness" could be used in assessing parental influence. The race of the experimenter(s) should also be considered. In this study both the experimenter and the independent judge were part Indian and yet appeared more White. In future research this would be an interesting factor to examine.

Of note is the fact that these Headstart programs have attempted to increase the child's awareness of racial identity. In this study teachers or teachers' aids of all three races (White, Black, Native American) were working in each Headstart program. In addition, as a part of the Headstart program, a teaching segment on Indian culture and heritage was presented. These factors may have influenced the results of the study.

In future research on this area it is highly recommended that the researcher consider and control for as many of these factors as possible. It is hoped by conducting developmental research such as this,

more and more understanding can be had for these fascinating people--the Native Americans.

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APPENDIX A

PERMISSION FOR SUBJECT'S PARTICIPATION FORM

February, 1977

Dear Parent,

I am currently conducting research on White and Native American children. I am interested in finding out when children become aware of other races, when they realize their own racial identity, and attitudes they have toward people of different races.

Mrs. Judy Towery, Director of the Headstart programs in this area, has given her permission for this research, but I also need your permission in order for your child to be in my study. Your child will be asked to look at pictures of different children and answer questions by choosing a picture. The children will also be asked to color a drawing.

This information should prove to be of great value in helping us understand how our children develop attitudes toward themselves and others. This will be the first study of this type involving White and Native American children.

I would truly appreciate your child's participation. If, however, you don't want your child to be in my study, please write Mrs. Judy Towery, Regional Headstart Director, Community Action Office, Pawnee, OK 74058, and let her know by March 11, 1977. If you have any further questions that I could answer, please feel free to give me a call at (405) 624-6027.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Billie Thorson
Graduate Student
Oklahoma State University

APPENDIX B

PERMISSION FOR USE OF PHOTOGRAPH FORM

Dear Parent(s):

As I explained earlier on the phone, I am a graduate student at Oklahoma State University and am currently conducting my Masters thesis on racial awareness, identification, and preferences. Basically, the study involves asking a group of Headstart children from Pawnee, Pershing, and Hominy, Oklahoma, to look at a number of school photographs and answer questions by selecting a photograph. I am attempting to find out when children become aware of racial differences and how racial attitudes evolve.

I would greatly appreciate your permission to include your child's school photograph in my study. No names will ever be used. The results will be reported in relation to how the children select the photos in general and will not be reported for each individual photograph. The photographs will not be published at any time. In other words, the only people who will be viewing the photographs will be the experimenters involved and the Headstart children. If the results of the study are significant and other researchers in the future wish to use the photographs to redo the study, a copy of all the photos might conceivably be given to them with the understanding that they follow the same guidelines I have stated above.

I hope this helps clarify any questions you might have. If you have any further questions, please feel free to call me or my supervisor, Dr. Vicki Green-Nealey, at (405) 624-6027. If you consent to allowing me to include your child's photograph in my study, please sign below and return this to me as soon as possible. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Billie J. Thorson

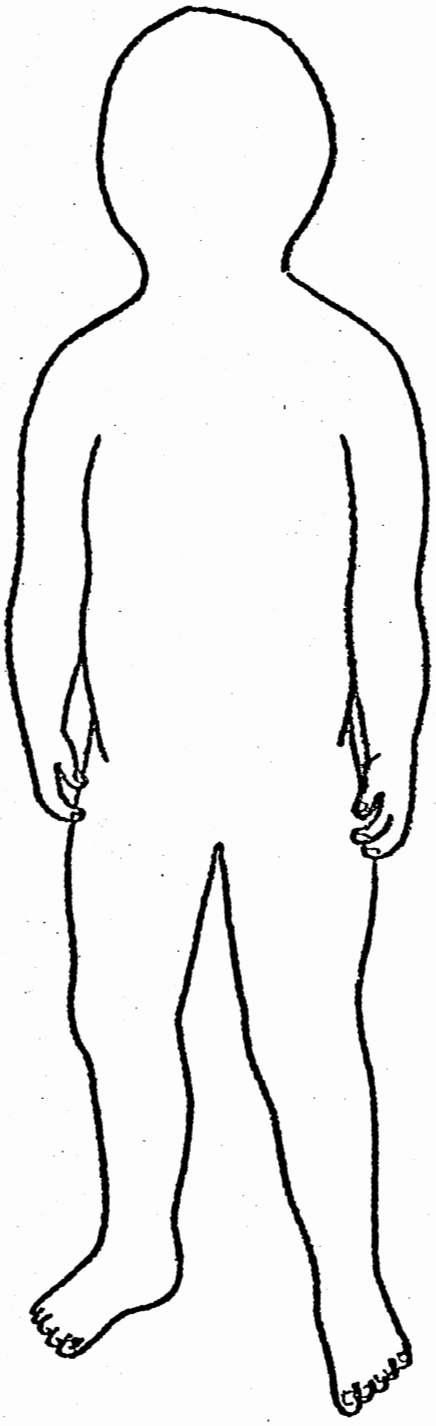
You have my permission to include a photograph of _____ in your study given the above restrictions.

_____

Parent or Guardian

APPENDIX C

FIGURE FOR COLOR TEST



VITA 2

Billie J. Shoup Thorson

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: RACIAL PREFERENCE, RACIAL AWARENESS, AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN

Major Field: Psychology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Hominy, Oklahoma, December 9, 1950, the daughter of William G. and Wannetta Shoup.

Education: Graduated from Oologah High School, Oologah, Oklahoma, in May, 1969; attended Claremore Junior College in Claremore, Oklahoma, from June, 1969, to January, 1971; transferred to Northeastern Oklahoma State University in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in January, 1971; received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology and Special Education (Mental Retardation) from Northeastern Oklahoma State University in July, 1972; enrolled in the doctoral program in clinical psychology at Oklahoma State University, June, 1974; completed requirements for the Master of Science degree in Psychology at Oklahoma State University in May, 1978.

Professional Experience: Scholastic scholarships from American Airlines and Claremore Junior College, 1969; Officer, Psychology Graduate Student Association, Oklahoma State University, 1975-1976; graduate research assistant, Oklahoma State University, 1974-1976; graduate assistant to the Diversified Students Committee, Department of Psychology, Oklahoma State University, 1976-1977; Psychological Associate at the Psychological Services Center, Stillwater, Oklahoma, September, 1974, to December, 1974, BiState Mental Health Center, Stillwater, Oklahoma, January, 1975, to May, 1975, Psychological Services Center, Stillwater, Oklahoma, June, 1975, to August, 1976, Children's Medical Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma, September, 1976, to May, 1977; Clinical Psychology Intern at Nebraska Psychiatric Institute, Omaha, Nebraska, September, 1977, to present.