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RACIAL AWARENESS OF CHILDREN IN A PREDOMINATELY WHITE
AREA COMPARED TO AN INTERRACIAL AREA

by

Janis S. Wuthrich

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Child Development

Approved:

Major Professor

Committee Member

Committee Member

Dean of Graduate Studies

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

1970

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my major professor, Dr. Jay D. Schvaneveldt, for his help and encouragement. I am grateful to him for his suggestions and review of the thesis. Also to my committee members, Dr. Carroll Lambert and Dr. Ronald S. Petersen, go my thanks for their ideas and suggestions.

My special thanks go to Dr. J. Kenneth Morland, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Virginia, for his correspondence and for the use of his instrument in carrying out my testing.

I am obliged to Mrs. Lucy Morrelli, the head of the Children's World in Ogden, Utah, and her staff and to Dr. Carroll Lambert, supervisor of the Utah State University Labs, and the teachers working with her for their help in carrying out my testing.

Finally, to my husband Kay, for his encouragement and support to complete this thesis and requirements for my degree, I extend a wife's special thanks.

Janis S. Wuthrich

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ABSTRACT

Racial Awareness of Children in a Predominately White Area
Compared to an Interracial Area

by

Janis S. Wuthrich, Master of Science

Utah State University, 1970

Major Professor: Dr. Jay D. Schvaneveldt
Department: Family and Child Development

The effects of region and sex in relation to racial awareness were studied by comparing an interracial area to a predominately white area. The testing of the hypotheses was carried out with two groups of preschool children comprised of 20 children from Utah State University in Logan, Utah, and 20 children from Children's World in Ogden, Utah.

The instrument used was one developed by J. Kenneth Morland, the Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Virginia. The instrument consisted of six 8-by-10 black and white pictures about which questions were asked.

In regard to region there was no significant difference in the two groups studied which would indicate that attitudes aren't necessarily formed by direct contact with Negroes, but rather with contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes.

There was significant difference in sex with girls being more aware

than boys. Three factors play a part in this difference. First a difference in maturation. Girls generally mature faster than boys and thus their increased awareness. Secondly, the idea that personal appearance is more stressed for girls than it is for boys. Thirdly, simply an indifference among the boys to really think about and answer the questions.

An interesting finding was the children's lack of clarity in regard to the term "colored." It is not a term that is know by children in Utah as reflected in this sample.

(64 pages)

INTRODUCTION

Origin of the Problem

As Clark (1957) points out, all those who seek to provide the opportunity for children to enrich their lives and to contribute to society as fully as possible must increase their concern with the problem of protecting children from the corrosion of destructive racial prejudices. This obligation is imperative not only in the family's economical and educational advancement, but in the area of social attitudes.

It is primarily in the past two decades that racial prejudice has become such an important topic and issue in the United States. The decision of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, on the issue of the segregated schools has made many more people aware of the issue. It was the decision of the court that made many researchers begin to research in this area.

There has been a lot of research in documenting the fact that racial awareness is likely to appear in early childhood. However, with respect to variables such as race, sex, region of residence, and socioeconomic status there has been actually very little done. The studies that have been done in this area contain a lot of conflicting evidence.

Some studies done in relation to children and racial awareness have shown that significant differences exist between Negroes and whites

in racial recognition ability, racial preference, and racial self identification. However, little has been done to examine whether children vary in race awareness according to region as well as by race. There is particularly little research from the western part of the United States, and to this investigators knowledge there has been no research done in the state of Utah in the area of racial awareness of children.

It was the desire of this investigator to study the question of regional variation by comparing white children in an area where there are children growing up in an interracial area to children in an area with almost no contact with other races. By comparing the racial awareness of children in a predominately white area with those in an interracial area, new insights can be achieved with respect to how region and environment affect the child.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to compare racial awareness of children reared in an area where there is exposure to an environment with relatively no racial difference as contrasted to an area where children are exposed to a multi-racial environment.

The fact that racial awareness is likely to appear in early childhood is well documented. However, as Goodman (1964) points out, with respect to variables such as race, socioeconomic status, sex, and region of residence there is conflicting evidence. In this study an attempt was made to look at a different region than had previously been studied by other investigators. An

attempt was also made to study the variable of sex as it applies to race awareness.

It was felt that this type of study would add to the understanding of how racial attitudes develop in young children. New insights in facets of racial awareness, particularly regional variation, sex variation, and some understanding of the social setting within which racial awareness has its beginnings might be achieved.

Hypotheses

Children's expressed racial awareness is independent of the amount of association with different races.

There is no significant difference in males and females in regard to racial awareness.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In a review of the literature one finds dramatic and significant developments affecting race relations. Nearly all researchers see two historic milestones: 1. the Supreme Court decision of May, 1954, which outlawed segregation in the public schools; and 2. the 1957 enactment by Congress of the first civil rights bill since Reconstruction. In reviewing these and other significant developments one is, as Goodman (1964, p. 248) points out, led to the conclusion that "something big is happening to us; the ideal of true equality is becoming a real and vigorous idea; it is an idea whose time has come."

Development of Awareness and Attitude

A review of literature suggests that children learn racial awareness and prejudice in the course of observing and being influenced by the existence of patterns in which they live. These studies done over the past two decades indicate that racial patterns and attitudes appear early in the life of children. Clark (1957) found in studies of children between the ages of three and seven years of age that these children reacted with strong awareness to color. Among three-year old Negro children in both northern and southern communities, more than 75 per cent showed that they were conscious of the difference between colored and non-colored children. Goodman (1964) showed that this is also

true of white children. Pettigrew (1964) in his studies with children found that racial recognition in both white and Negro children appears by the third year and rapidly sharpens each year thereafter. He points out that young children of both races quickly learn to realistically assign poorer houses and less desirable roles to Negro dolls. In this way children assimilate and manifest the feelings around them. Morland (1958) reports that recognition ability was found to progress regularly with age and has its most rapid development during the child's fourth year.

The development of racial awareness and attitudes is a continuous process through childhood. Goodman (1964) distinguishes three essential and overlapping phases of this process:

- Phase 1 Awareness--the dawning and sharpening of consciousness of self and others in terms of racial identity.
- Phase 2 Orientation--(incipient attitude) the learning and synthesizing of race related words, concepts, and values.
- Phase 3 True attitude--the establishing of full-fledged race attitudes.

Landreth and Johnson (1953, p. 78) assessed earlier studies of race awareness and questioned whether findings would be equal in children of lower and upper class status. They subsequently studied white three and five year olds of different status backgrounds in California. They concluded that the children of parents engaged in professions are inclined to perceive skin color in "cognitive terms" while children of parents

engaged in semi-skilled occupations perceive in "affective terms." But in both groups a majority of children did perceive it, at both age levels, as did the lower status Negro children they studied. They found that patterns of response to persons of different skin color are present as early as three years and become accentuated during the two succeeding years.

Some of the earlier studies were done by Horowitz (1936) who felt that the attitude toward the Negro had historical significance. Although the economic status of the Negroes, when they first entered the New World, was in some ways the same as that of the indentured white servants, there is evidence of a difference in the attitude of the public concerning them. There was enough difference in the public attitude to make it possible for the planter to extend the term of servitude to whites, whereas they could not do so in the case of Negroes. The first record of evidence of legal discrimination on race lines occurred in 1640. A Negro and two white servants had run away from their master. The two whites were penalized by having four years added to their period of servitude; the Negro was reduced to the state of slavery for life. The church aided in the differentiation of Negro and white servants by justifying the enslavement of heathens, and later permitting the holding in slavery of all persons originally heathen.

As the term "slave" came definitely to mean Negro slave, the difference in attitude of whites toward Negroes extended to the Negro freeman, who was then legally deprived of rights and privileges which he had formerly enjoyed on the same basis as the free whiteman. Emancipation, while changing the conditions of servitude, probably had little effect on an

attitude which had already crystallized on race lines.

At present, approximately every tenth man in the United States is a Negro. Against one tenth of the total population in this country there exists today an attitude which finds expression in social degradation, and severe circumscription of educational and industrial opportunities. Ample justification for the study of attitude toward the Negro in the United States may be found.

Horowitz, (1936) went on to study this area to find that the development of prejudice against Negroes begins very early in the life of the ordinary child. Beginning early in life it develops gradually. The growth curves as they are plotted, show no breaks, such as might be expected if the attitude depended on sudden maturation of some physiological aspect in the organism. The suggested theory of the course of development does not preclude variation in the process. In individual cases or in some communities, events may be such that for given time the process is greatly accelerated; however, for the most part there is no indication of anything but gradual growth.

In the course of his study he found it necessary to contradict many of the oft-repeated cliches current in the discussions of the race problem at that time and in many instances even in today's discussions. Young children were not devoid of prejudice; contact with a "nice" Negro is not a universal panacea; living as neighbors, going to a common school, were found to be insufficient; northern children were found to differ very slightly from southern children. It seems that attitudes towards Negroes are now chiefly determined

not by the contact with Negroes, but by contact with the prevalent attitude towards Negroes.

Mussen (1950) observed that intimate contact with Negroes per se does not insure a decrease in prejudice. Whether a child is high or low in prejudice following an experience seems to be related to his personality structure.

Although many feel that contact with Negroes has little to do with this development of awareness, Allport (1954) reports that prejudice is lessened when the two groups (1) possess equal status, (2) seek common goals, (3) are cooperatively dependent on each other, and (4) interact with the positive support of authorities, laws, or customs. Goldstein (1944) expressed a similar idea reporting that race prejudice can be decreased but was dependent on the attitudes, ambitions, personality integration and social setting within which the meeting took place.

In the development of awareness some authors feel parents play a great role. Researchers Radke-Yarrow, Trager and Miller (1952) in studying the role of parents found that the restrictions parents placed on their children's social relations undoubtedly provide an important frame of reference in which children view people and groups. They further found that in describing racial groups the most frequent description is simply the statement that groups are "different," in this case in color. Many other parents explain, "You are born that way," or "God made you that way," or "Dark skin is God's punishment." In many of the parents efforts to distinguish between races there ran a poignant, confused groping for answers, mixed feelings

of rejection and acceptance and conflicting attitudes about existing race attitudes and race relations. Parents in both white and Negro groups communicated prejudice and misconceptions to their children and gave explanations which would not be helpful in solving problems involving race differences which children face in real life situations. They also revealed little realization of their (parents) own responsibility in teaching their children about cultural differences and teaching values and attitudes in good human relations. Parental guidance in a large proportion of cases failed to give the child an understanding of cultural differences and similarities and failed to demonstrate the parents' acceptance of cultural differences.

Beginning with birth and continuing through the child's life, Zeligs (1937) felt a child was conditioned to cultural patterns. The concepts and attitudes of his associates become his by means of attendant and direct learning. Race prejudices, often the result of stereotypes, are built up before he finds out for himself what the facts are.

From her study, Goodman (1964) found that standardized ideas and feelings about race are "transmitted" from one generation of Americans to the next, not biologically, but rather they grow in each child in a unique combination of conditions. Each child acquires his own set of feelings and thoughts about race from materials at hand. Goodman sorts these materials out as personal, social and cultural. The child picks up cues given by other children and adults. These people he hears or knows about, and the relations between them are his social materials. The things people say and do, or fail

to say and do, provide him with cultural materials. These cultural and social materials are all filtered through personal ones in the process of taking root in the child. He picks up and ignores cues depending upon his capacity to see, remember, and put things together. Temperment, mentaility, and learned thought-ways all work together to determine his capacity and readiness. And even more involved are his own physical make-up and psychological make-up which affect his responses to other people and the cues they offer.

Factors Determining Awareness

There appears to be no single factor in determining degree of racial awareness, but rather a combination of factors. Goodman (1964) presents a summary of factors that play a part in determining racial awareness and orientation. These include:

1. Individual Attributes
 - a. Personal appearance; coloring and features, structure and use of body
 - b. Sex and age
2. Individual situation
 - a. Past and present interracial contacts
 - (1) Frequency
 - (2) Type (pleasant-unpleasant; with equals, superiors, inferiors)
 - b. Unusual circumstances (long illness, loss of parents, residence in different sections of the country, etc.)
3. Models (for total personality, as well as race ways and social ways)
 - a. Persons (father, mother, siblings, friends)
 - b. Dominance
 - (1) Degree
 - (2) Type (conscious, deliberate; unconscious, result of close relationship)

- c. Communication
 - (1) Easy, spontaneous, informal, unrestricted
 - (2) Self-conscious, formal, taboos, and prohibitions
- d. Race-views, social orientations, race attitudes
 - (1) Rationalistic, conventional, egocentric
 - (2) Choosing, avoiding, accepting
 - (3) Affinity, preference, superiority-inferiority, friendliness-antagonism (in-group, out-group)
- 4. Needs and interests (healthy or unhealthy)
 - a. Physical activity
 - b. Mental activity (rate, constancy)
 - c. Social activity
 - (1) Goal: relatedness: involves awareness and concern for others, self-assessment, etc.
 - (2) Goal: "success," popularity, dominance, affection, attention, reassurance.
 - d. Conformity: nonconformity
 - e. Controls, definitions, limits, boundaries
 - f. Dependence-independence
 - g. Target
- 5. Values
 - a. Form
 - (1) Strength of adherence
 - (2) Degree categorical (either-or): attitude toward deviation, difference, etc.
 - b. Content
 - (1) Degree emphasis upon clean, white, light, etc.
 - (2) Degree emphasis upon "niceness" (good-bad, right-wrong, etc.)
 - (3) Degree emphasis upon "looks," personal appearance, personal esthetics
- 6. Characteristic ways
 - a. Action-ways
 - (1) Tempo
 - (2) Vigor
 - (3) Range (of movement)
 - b. Feeling-ways
 - (1) Emotional tone
 - (2) Emotional quality
 - c. Thought ways
 - (1) Observational and perceptual habits and capacities (especially for personal appearance and behavior)
 - (2) Generalizing and synthesizing habits and capacities (classifying, ordering, inferring, discriminating between like and unlike features, behavior, etc.)
 - (3) Attention-paying and concentrating habits and capacities (deliberation, application) (Goodman, 1964,

Intergroup Attitudes in Children

Goodman (1964) summarizes three currents of thought dealing with intergroup attitudes in children. The first being "neopsychoanalytical" which essentially is the definition of a personality type which appears to correlate highly with prejudice. Second, prejudice can be accounted for largely in terms of culture. Pettigrew (1964), showed in a comparative study of North-South that the difference in incidence of prejudice is great and this difference he finds to be largely a matter of directly learned (cultural) prejudice. The third current reflects emphasis on prejudice as a social and cultural phenomenon.

The Prejudiced Child

Both Pettigrew (1964) and Clark (1957) confirm the general idea that some children as young as three years of age begin to express racial and religious attitudes similar to adults in their society.

Rarely do American parents deliberately teach their children to hate members of another racial, religious, or nationality group; however, parents play a big role in the development of attitudes in children. Stevenson (1960) says a child learns a great deal by imitating his parents. If parents reveal prejudiced attitudes, children will tend to imitate those attitudes. Also, the way parents actually behave towards members of other groups in the presence of their children influences children as much or more than what they may say. At the same time parents can and do communicate prejudice

in subtle ways. For example, some parents who take pride in belonging to a special group, lay stress in the child's membership in that group and consequently lead him to believe that other people are inferior because they're among those in the outside group.

Many studies of markedly prejudiced persons show that they usually come from families in which they were treated harshly, authoritatively, and unfairly; in other words they were themselves the object of prejudice. In a study of Allport (1954, p. 298) he concluded that ". . . a home that is suppressive, harsh, or critical--where parents' word is law--is more likely to lay the ground for prejudice." Cautiously he (p. 299) proposed a hypothesis concerning familial bigotry: "Although we cannot yet be dogmatic about the matter, it seems very likely that rejective, neglectful, and inconsistent styles of training lead to the development of prejudice. . . children who are too harshly treated, severely punished or continually criticized are more likely to develop personalities wherein group prejudice plays an important part."

Some studies of the development of racial prejudice have suggested that prejudiced people differ in personality structure and background from those who are unprejudiced. One such study of significant importance is that of Else Frenkl-Brunswik (1948). This study included 1500 boys and girls, ages 11-16 from varied socio-economic backgrounds. The general results indicated that already at these age levels children's reactions to statements about men and society as well as their spontaneous formulation about these topics form more or less a consistent pattern. This pattern in turn

seems to be related to certain personality features in the child.

Another study, related by McCord, McCord and Howard (1960) and done by Harris, VanGaugh, and Martin, also suggests that the parents' role in child rearing plays a significant part in the development of prejudice in children. They analyzed a group of 240 young children and simultaneously secured information from the parents concerning their child-rearing beliefs. Their research demonstrates that the parents of prejudice children are more likely to demand strict obedience, that they are repressive to sexual play and that they react to temper tantrums with aggression. The parents appear to be stern and punitive.

In addition to parents, racial prejudice tends to develop as a result of community pressures which are transmitted not only through parents, but also through friends. As Clark (1957) states, racial symbols are so prevalent in America that normal children eventually perceive them. They observe segregated schools, segregated residential areas, segregated recreational areas, including restaurants and hotels, and in some areas such as the South, segregated transportation.

There was no evidence available that radio, television, and other media of communication do in themselves determine the attitudes of children, but they may reinforce the developing attitudes of children. Evidence from material available suggest the role of the school in the development of racial attitudes can be rather passive or can play a significant role.

It was mentioned in various articles of which Clark (1957) is typical, that the teacher may be an important factor in the development of racial

roles. Also the materials a teacher presents and provides for the child may be a determining factor. As Jasik (1968) points out, in choosing books, teachers have a responsibility, for when the teacher reads a book to children, she conveys the message that she approves of the book and the people in it. When a teacher is able to choose good books which show Negro and Puerto Rican faces, she indicates that she approves of those people in it.

Summary of Literature Review

A review of literature shows that racial awareness begins early in the child's life. Children learn racial awareness and prejudice in the course of observing and being influenced by the existence of patterns in which they live. It is a continuous process throughout childhood. There is no single factor in determining awareness, but rather a combination of factors--the child's make-up, parents, culture, associations, etc. It seems attitudes toward Negroes are determined not by contact with Negroes, but with the prevalent societal attitude toward Negroes.

In a review of literature there was no material available on the relation of sex to racial awareness, other than mention by Goodman (1964) and Morland (1958). Since previous research was limited and the findings of these two researchers differed, there was a definite need to assess the relationship of sex and race awareness. Through this research it was hoped that the idea of the relationship between racial association and awareness, as well as sex and racial awareness, could be more fully documented.

PROCEDURE

Sample

The testing of the hypotheses was carried out with two groups of preschool children in different areas. The control group was made up of 20 white nursery school children at Utah State University in Logan, Utah. The children were part of five labs that ran two and one half hours per group and provided nursery school experience for the children as well as teaching and observing experience for various students on campus. The children were selected randomly from a list of children in the various labs. After these children had been chosen and tested it was found that they had an average age of four years and four months. Age ranged from three years and six months to four years-eleven months. Although no precise assessment was made for socio-economic level, the children generally came from middle-class and upper-middle class families. Their fathers varied in occupation from student to professor and from doctor to truck driver. The majority of the mothers were homemakers, but a few were employed in various occupations including nursing, teaching and secretarial work. The children were grouped according to sex, since some previous research, Goodman (1964), has shown that sex was possibly significantly related to racial awareness.

The experimental group was composed of 20 white nursery school children at Children's World, a day care center in Ogden, Utah. The children were chosen in a random fashion from a list supplied by the director of the center. These children were in the nursery school environment throughout the day. It was pointed out that although some of the mothers worked and left their children during the time they are away, just as many did not. Some of the mothers were at home, the director mentioned, but found the child needed the experience provided by the day care center. These children came from middle-class and upper-middle class families, and like the control group, their parents came from a range of occupations. Like the control group, the experimental group was grouped according to sex. It was found that their ages averaged four years and eight months and ranged from three years and six months to five years and five months.

The difference in the two groups was that of exposure to the Negro population. The group from Logan have had little or no exposure to the Negro, because of the uniqueness of Logan's population--there were at the time of the study no Negro families living in this area. There were some Negro students at the University playing on some of the athletic teams, but the children had little exposure to them. In contrast the group in Ogden had a lot of exposure to the Negro, since this area has one of the largest Negro populations in Utah. Also the day care center is located on the west-north part of town in a Negro-white area and there were a few Negro children attending the center.

Definition of Terms

Racial awareness

Racial awareness is interpreted as meaning the dawning and sharpening of consciousness of self and others in terms of racial identity. It can be thought of in terms of racial identification. It involves not only the consciousness of self, but also a consciousness of others.

Racial recognition ability

Throughout the report of this investigation, the term "racial recognition ability" will be interpreted to mean the ability of an individual to designate correctly the race of either himself or others.

Racial prejudice

Since racial prejudice will only be mentioned briefly, it should merely be thought of as a biased awareness.

Instrument

The measuring instrument used was developed by J. Kenneth Morland, the Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Virginia. This instrument was developed in 1954 and preliminary testing was done with 70 nursery school children that spring, after which the test was revised.

The instrument consisted of six 8-by-10 black and white pictures about which questions were asked. The pictures were obtained from Morland. The

pictures in the order of their presentation include:

1. A group of five white, two girls and three boys, nursery school children sitting around a table looking at some books.
2. Five Negro children, two boys and three girls, sitting around a table coloring.
3. Four men, two white and two Negro, standing and sitting at a table drinking a coke and looking at a small black book being held by one of the men.
4. Six women, three white and three Negro, sitting at a table in what appears to be socializing and drinking some type of a drink.
5. A group of children, three Negro girls and three white girls, four standing by a set of swings and two swinging.
6. Four boys, two white and two Negroes, sitting on a set of playground equipment and apparently talking.

Validity

The instrument developed in 1954 was used with 70 nursery school children that Spring for preliminary testing. The test was revised after this initial testing and found to be sufficiently valid. The pictures were examined by a panel of white and Negro judges who agreed that the pictures were really identifiable by race and reasonably comparable in expression and dress.

The validity of measure was checked by Morland at the close of the interview with 264 of the children, by asking each child, "Am I white or am I colored?" Correct identification was given by 98.7 per cent of those who scored "high"; by 62.2 per cent of those who scored "medium"; and by 30.0 per cent of those who scored "low." According to the chi square test these differences are significant at the .001 level of confidence. Thus Morland made the ~~assumption~~ that the picture test does measure the ability to recognize actual persons as colored or white.

Reliability

To determine the reliability of the measure, Morland took a 20 per cent random sample of 454 subjects and their responses were checked by a split-half method. The pictures were divided into halves by odd-even method. A corrected coefficient of reliability of .982 was computed, indicating that the picture test measures with a high degree of consistency.

Interviewing

Before interviewing began, a day was spent in each of the two areas so that the investigator would not be completely strange to the children. After talking with the children, watching them play, and reading a story to two girls who asked, the interviewer became somewhat familiar to the children. It was hoped that having seen this investigator and perhaps talked with her the children would not be frightened when it came time to interview them.

Testing of the children at Children's World took place March 18, 1968. The interviews took place during the morning in the directors office and during the afternoon in a vacant classroom at the center. The testing of the children at Utah State University took place May 12, 1968 with the children being interviewed in the nurses room. Each interview at both places took approximately 5-8 minutes to conduct. The children were brought into the room by the interviewer and given the explanation that their help in playing a game was needed and asked if they would like to play. Each of the children readily responded and was eager to participate. The tests were then conducted and the interview was recorded on the coded score sheets as well as tape recorded. Even though the children were instructed to speak up, it was difficult to tape the interviews as the children responded with a lot of nods and finger pointing in addition to many times not projecting their voices. The tape therefore proved to be of little value.

The pictures in the interview were designed to measure four aspects of racial awareness: racial acceptance, racial preference, racial self-identification, and racial recognition ability. The complete test is found in the appendix.

To find out how willing the subjects were to accept Negroes and whites as playmates, each was given three chances to say if he would like to play with Negro children and with white children in the pictures. Race and color were not mentioned in these questions. The interviewer pointed to the picture and asked the subject, 'Would you like to play with this child (or children)?' Following the response the child was asked "why" or "why

not?" The scores of the subjects were then scored on the special code sheet as "Acceptance" if he indicated a majority of the time that he would like to play with members of the race in question, "Nonacceptance," if he said he would not like to play with them for any other reason than racial such as one little girl who said she wouldn't play with the boys in the picture because "girls play with girls, boys play with boys," and rejection if he says that he does not want to play because of race and color.

Three questions called for an indication of preference between Negro and white children in the pictures. Each subject was asked if he would rather play with a group of Negro or a group of white children. The response was then scored as "prefers own race," "prefers other race," or "preference not clear," depending on the subjects most frequent response.

Three measures were made to test the subject's racial identification. One measure was based on response to the question as to which of the children in the picture composed of Negroes and whites he looked most like. Another question dealing with self-identification asked the child in regard to the pictures of Negroes and whites which he would rather be. The last measure sought to identify if the subject would identify their mother as one of the Negro or white women in the picture, and their father as one of the Negro or white men in the picture.

The last area, racial recognition ability concerned the ability of the subject to designate correctly the race of those in the pictures. After the questions regarding acceptance, preference, and self-identification were asked, the pictures were shown a second time, and for each one the child was

asked, "Do you see a white person in this picture?" If he said he did he was asked to point to the white person. For the same picture the child was asked, "Do you see a colored person in this picture?" Again if the child said he did he was asked to point to the colored person. Each of the subjects was given 12 chances, two for each of the six pictures to identify the persons. Those who missed no more than two were scored "High" and those missing more than two were scored "Low."

In the concluding parts of the test the child was asked two questions:

1. 'Are you white or are you colored?' referring to the child's identity.
2. 'Am I white or colored?' referring to the interviewer.

After the interview the child was then thanked for his cooperation and taken back to class.

Analyses of Data

After testing the children all of the data were examined and compiled into frequencies. Since the results of the research were measured in frequencies rather than scores the chi-square test was used to analyze the data and determine statistical significance. The .05 level of confidence was used as the level of rejection.

FINDINGS

Utah State University vs. Children's World

In comparing the two regions as shown in Table 1 and 2, both groups accepted whites and Negroes; however, in the column of nonacceptance of whites there appeared a significant difference as shown in Table 1. Although not significant, a strong relationship was evident in the column of acceptance of the Negro in Table 2 on the following page. Five children at Utah State University expressed for one reason or another an unwillingness to play with whites and Negroes. This nonacceptance, however, was not racial, but more that the children in the pictures one and two were not children that they'd like to play with.

Table 1. Acceptance of whites by white children according to region

Regional Grouping	Acceptance of whites	Nonacceptance of whites	Rejection of whites
U. S. U. Children	54	5	1
Children's World	60	0	0
Chi square value	.32	5.0*	1.0

N = 60 responses for 20 interviewed in each school

*Significant at 0.5 level of confidence

Table 2. Acceptance of Negroes by white children according to region

Regional Grouping	Acceptance of Negroes	Nonacceptance of Negroes	Rejection of Negroes
U.S.U. Children	48	6	6
Children's World	54	1	5
Chi square value	.36	+3.58	.10

N = 60 responses for 20 interviewed in each school

The other six tables regarding region show little significance to region. (See Tables 7-12 in appendix) Even though the children at Children's World had direct contact with Negroes--playing with them, and attending school with them,--they appeared to be no more racially aware than the children at Utah State University who had no contact. These results lend support to the study of Horowitz (1936), who concluded that attitudes toward the Negro are not determined necessarily by contact with Negroes, but with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes.

From the results of this study there appears to be little significant difference which may be explained in two ways. The first is that the variable of region has little significance to the development. Secondly, even though the two regions differ in the Negro population and, therefore, contact or association with the Negro differ, perhaps there prevails the same or similar attitudes in the two areas.

Girls vs. Boys

An interesting part of the study was the significance of sex in the development of racial awareness. In noting the following Tables, one sees a significant difference in responses to the questions of: 1. racial preference (Table 4); 2. which the child would rather be (Table 5); 3. nonacceptance of whites (Table 3 and 4); a non-significant relationship in "High" and "Low" awareness (Table 6). The reader will note that the chi square value in Table 6 indicates a strong relationship although not statistically significant.

Table 3. Acceptance of whites by white children according to sex

Sex	Acceptance of whites	Nonacceptance of whites	Rejection of whites
Girls	60	0	0
Boys	54	5	1
Chi square value	.32	5.0*	1.0

N = 60 responses for 20 interviewed of each sex

*Significant at 0.5 level of confidence

Table 4. Racial preference of white children according to sex

Sex	Prefers own race	Prefer other race or preference not clear
Girls	56	4
Boys	47	13
Chi square value	.78	4.56*

N = 60 responses for the 20 interviewed of each sex

*Significant at 0.5 level of confidence

Table 5. Responses to the question, "Which would you rather be?" by white children according to sex.

Sex	Rather be child of own race	Rather be child of other race or not sure
Girls	53	7
Boys	32	28
Chi square value	5.2*	+12.6

N = 60 responses for the 20 interviewed of each sex

*Significant at 0.5 level of confidence

+Significant at .001 level of confidence

It appears that girls are more aware and place more importance on being white, preferring own race, and accepting own race. They seem to have a higher awareness of race. The boys on the other hand expressed a "low awareness." They do not seem to be as concerned.

Table 6. Racial recognition ability according to sex

Sex	High Ability	Low Ability
Girls	10	10
Boys	3	17
Chi square value	3.5	1.81

N = 20 children of each sex interviewed

Three factors may play a part in this difference. First a difference in maturation. Girls generally mature faster than boys and thus their increased awareness. Secondly, the idea of Goodman (1964), that personal appearance is stressed more for girls than boys. A third factor could possibly be simply an indifference among the boys to really think about and answer the question.

Related Findings

Perhaps as important as the statistical data were the direct responses of the children. It was revealing to note the strong feelings expressed by at least three of the children, two from Utah State University and one from the Children's World. One little boy rejected Negroes expressing strongly the opinion, "Whites play with whites, and Negroes play with Negroes and you don't ever play with each other." The other boy simply rejected them saying, "I don't like Negroes." The little girl revealed

a strong dislike by rejecting Negroes in her statement, "I hate Negroes and wouldn't want to play with them."

Several children referred to children of another race, but were unclear as to which race. This was evident in statements such as one little boy who said, "Oh, those are some Japanese." This seemed to show that some children although not completely racially aware were in the process of becoming aware.

Even though not even half of the children fell into the area of high racial awareness, it is revealing that children are aware and in the process of becoming aware. This is particularly significant when one considers the large number of people who hold to the idea that young children pay little attention to race.

It was at first difficult to understand the extreme difference in awareness from a child with no apparent awareness to the extreme of the child who shows a marked racial prejudice. As pointed out in the review of literature these thoughts and feelings grow in each child as a unique combination of cues picked up from other children and adults depending on the individual child's ability to see, remember, and put things together as well as the child's temperament, mentality, learned thought ways, physical makeup, and personal needs and interests.

Another interesting observation was how unclear many of the children were with the term "colored." The term colored was used because several studies Morland (1966), Clark (1957), and Goodman (1964) all showed that children in the areas tested were more familiar with this designation of the

racess. In response to the interviewer's closing questions the following responses were noted:

	white	colored
Am I white or colored?	22	18
Are you white or colored?	20	20

Nearly one-half of the children thought the interviewer was colored, which might have been explained by the brown hair and eyes and olive skin of the interviewer. However, in examining the children's response to themselves half of the children from both Utah State University and Children's World also said that they were colored. A few of the children made statements such as a little boy who said hesitantly, "I'm colored, (pause) I'm red." The little boy had on red pants and a red and blue striped shirt. Clearly the term "colored" is not one used in the Utah area as it might be elsewhere in the United States, at least not by the preschool child.

Summary of Findings

In general the studies of the Utah State University and Children's World Nursery Schools showed that attitudes are not necessarily formed from direct contact with Negroes, but from the prevalent attitude toward the Negro. It is concluded that children's expressed racial awareness is independent of the amount of association of different races.

Also it was noted that sex is a significant factor in regards to race awareness with girls generally forming more of an awareness than boys. Hence the hypothesis which states there is no significance in regard to sex of child is rejected.

It was also evident that the term "colored" is not one generally known and used in the Utah area by the young child.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study of racial awareness was conducted with the purpose of comparing racial awareness in children reared in an area where there is exposure to an environment with relatively no racial difference as contrasted to an area where children are exposed to a multi-racial environment.

With this purpose in mind it was hypothesized that children's amount of association with different races is independent of their racial awareness. It was also hypothesized that there is no significant difference in male and female in regard to racial awareness.

The testing of the hypotheses was carried out with a control group composed of 20 white nursery school children at Utah State University in Logan, Utah, and an experimental group composed of 20 white nursery school children at Children's World, a day care center, in Ogden, Utah. Each child was interviewed by the investigator.

This study arose from a need for more understanding of how racial attitudes develop in children. Though studies have been undertaken in this area there was still much to be researched. As Goodman (1964) pointed out, with respect to variables such as race, socioeconomic status, sex, and region of residence there is conflicting evidence.

The study was undertaken by using an instrument developed by

Morland (1958). The instrument consisted of six 8-by-10 black and white pictures about which questions were asked. The results of the data were then analyzed by means of the chi square test.

The findings of this research shed some new light as well as confirming findings from previous studies. In regard to region there was no significant difference. This difference may be accounted for in two ways--the variable of region has little explanatory power or there is a prevalence of the same or similar attitudes in the two areas despite the difference in Negro population. The research on region also confirmed the findings of Horowitz (1936) that attitudes toward the Negro are not determined necessarily by contact with Negroes, but with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes.

In regard to sex the findings confirmed those of Goodman (1964) that sex is an important variable in the development of racial awareness. Three factors play a role in this difference--maturation, the stress of personal appearance for girls, and perhaps an indifference on the part of boys to think and answer the questions as posed in the interview.

An interesting finding was the lack of clarity in the understanding of many of the children in regard to the term "colored." Although children in other studies were familiar with this designation, half the children in the two areas tested were unfamiliar with the term. This was clearly evident in statements such as one little boy who said, "I'm colored. (pause) I'm red." The little boy had on red pants and a red and blue striped shirt.

Implications

The finding that children's attitudes are developed as a result of attitudes that they come in contact with is an important finding in relationship to children and their developing attitudes toward each other. This knowledge, that the attitude among people the child associates with is an important ingredient in how the child develops awareness, should make those working with children aware of the important part they play in helping children develop acceptant attitudes toward others.

The parent can do this by being aware of his own feelings toward others. Also it is important for parents to help children understand other races and cultures such as the Negro. Even incorporating into the everyday American life some favorite foreign custom or tradition can enrich a child's cultural heritage as well as their understanding and appreciation of other peoples.

Important in many ways to the preschool child is also the teacher who can play a vital role in the development of good racial attitudes toward others. As mentioned in the review of literature when a teacher reads a book to children, she conveys the message that she approves of the book and the people in it. As she talks to children and answers questions, she can clear up misconceptions that they may have. The teacher may teach how other people live and follow through with games or color play to obtain further ideas.

Comparisons

This study was innovative in that it compared white children with white children whereas most studies of racial awareness of prejudice have compared white and Negro children. Despite this fact some comparisons and conclusions can be made with this research and other researcher's findings.

In comparing this with other studies it was found to coincide with Goodman's (1964) findings that sex is an important variable, but differs from Morland (1958) who found children vary significantly in racial recognition ability in age and race, but not sex or by status of whites.

Like other researchers, this researcher found that racial awareness does develop early in the young child, however, it did not appear to be as high as previous studies have shown.

Needs for Further Research

Due to the present change of structure of race relations in America there is a need to note the change in children's attitudes. More and more the Negro is being included in television and motion pictures with a different image than in the past. The Negro is included in advertisements, lead roles, and in various roles, rather than the stereotype servant of the past. The Negro is also seen as a part of the fashion world, politics, and government. In many of the communities in America the Negro is beginning to be seen as a teacher and leader. No doubt seeing the Negro in these roles rather than as a servant or sub-citizen will have an impact on white children. Research to determine

the impact of this new image would be valuable.

There is a need for further study in the area of variables to eliminate some of the differing findings of the past. A deeper study in the area of sex differences would be meaningful. Also there is a need to study variables such as economic status and religion.

In connection with the difference in sex it would be interesting to delve deeper into the reason for this difference. Particularly interesting would be the idea of Goodman (1964) that personal appearance is more stressed for girls than boys and thus their increased awareness.

In the Utah area there is a need to study the influence that religion might have on developing racial awareness and attitude. Particularly of interest would be a comparison of LDS or Mormon children with children of another religious background.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Race Awareness Picture Test

Race Awareness Picture Test

Questions to accompany pictures and use of code sheets.

General explanation of the test

The test is designed to measure racial acceptance, preference, self-identification, and racial recognition ability in Negro and white children of pre-school age.

There are two parts to the test. The first part makes no mention of race and tries to find out if the children accept, prefer and identify with their own race. The second part attempts to measure the ability of children to apply racial terms correctly to the persons in the pictures.

Part I.

First Picture (five white children around a table)

1st Question: What do you see in this picture?

(This is the initial warm-up question for each of the pictures in this part of the test. The "S" on the code sheet stands for "Spontaneous Racial Recognition" and is to be encircled if the subject mentions anything regarding the race of the subjects.)

2nd Question: Would you like to play with these children?

This is one of the three questions designed to measure the acceptance of white playmates. "AW" stands for "Accepts White," and is to be encircled if the subject says he does want to play with the children; "NAW" stands for "non-acceptance of the White" and is to be encircled if the subject says he does not want to play with the children for any other reason than racial; "RW" stands for "Rejection of the White" and is to be encircled if the subject says he does not want to play with the children on the basis of their race.

3rd Question: Why? (or Why not?)

(The answer to this question will determine whether "NAW" or "RW" should be encircled.)

Second Picture (five Negro children around a table)

1st Question: What do you see in this picture?

2nd Question: Would you like to play with these children?

3rd Question: Why? (or Why not?)

4th Question: (Also involves the first picture) Would you rather play with these children (point to those in the second picture) or with these (point to the children in the first picture.)

(Encircle "PW" which means "Prefer White," on the code sheet

if the subject chooses whites; "PN" which means "Prefer Negro" if the subject chooses Negroes; "P?" if the subject refuses to make a choice.)

Third Picture (four men, two Negro and two white).

1st Question: What do you see in the picture?

2nd Question: Does this man look like your Father?

(Point to one of the whites. Encircle "FW" if the subject indicates that the white man looks like his father; "FW?" if he is not sure; "FWX" if he indicates that he does not look like his Father.)

3rd Question: Does this man look like your Father?

(Point to one of the Negroes and follow the procedure as the 2nd Question above)

4th Question: Which of these men look most like your Father?

(Point to all four. Encircle "FMW" if the subject indicates that his father looks more like one of the whites; "FMN" if he says his father looks more like one of the Negroes; "FM?" if he says neither look like his Father.)

Fourth Picture (six women, three white and three Negro).

1st Question: What do you see in this picture?

2nd Question: Does this woman look like your Mother?

(Point to one of the Negroes and follow the directions given to the third picture above--(Mo) stands for "Mother".)

3rd Question: Does this woman look like your mother?

(Point to one of the whites and follow the directions above.)

4th Question: Which one of these women look most like your mother?

(Point to all of them, and follow the same directions for the 4th Question in the third picture.)

Fifth Picture (six girls, three white and three Negro, at a swing)

1st Question: What do you see in this picture?

2nd Question: Would you like to play with this girl? Why? (or why not?) (Point to one of the Negroes. Encircle "AN" if the subject indicates that he would like to play with the Negro child; "NAN" if he would not, for any reason other than racial; "RN" if the child does not want to play with the Negro because of her race.)

3rd Question: Would you play with this girl? Why? (or Why Not?)

(Point to one of the whites and follow the directions above).

4th Question: Which one would you most like to play with? Why?

(or Why not) (Point to all, and follow the directions of the second picture 4th Question)

If the subject is a girl ask question 5 through 10 with this picture; if the subject is a boy, ask questions 5 through 10 with the sixth picture.

5th Question: Do you look like this girl (or boy)?

(Point to one of the Negroes. Encircle "LN" if the subject says he looks like a Negro; "LN?" if the subject is not sure; "LNX" if the subject says he does not look like the Negro.)

6th Question: Do you look like this girl or boy?

(Point to one of the whites and follow the directions for the 5th question)

7th Question: Which one of these girls (or boys) do you look most like?

(Point to all. Encircle "LMN" if the subject says he looks most like one of the Negroes; "LMW" if most like the white; "LM?" if not sure.)

8th Question: Would you like to be this girl (boy)?

(Point to one of the whites. Encircle "BW" if subject says she would like to be white girl, etc.)

9th Question: Would you like to be this girl (boy)?

(Point to one of the Negroes, encircle "BN" if she says she would like to be like the Negro girl, etc.)

10th Question: Which of these girls (boys) would you most like to be?

(Point to all. Encircle "RBW" if the subject says he would rather be one of the whites; "RBN" if he would rather be one of the Negroes; "RB?" if he refuses to make a choice.)

Sixth Picture (four boys, two white and two Negro, on a go-around)

1st Question: What do you see in this picture?

2nd Question: Would you like to play with this boy?

3rd Question: Would you like to play with this boy?

4th Question: Which of these boys would you most like to play with? (Point to all, and follow directions for the fifth picture)

(If subject is a boy, add questions 5-10 under the Fifth Picture)

Part II.

Tell the subject that you want to show him all of the pictures once more. Beginning with the sixth picture ask:

1. Do you see a white person in this picture? Point to him.

2. Do you see a colored person in this picture? Point to him.

Alternate these questions with each picture, asking for the fifth picture:

1. Do you see a colored person in this picture? Point to him.

2. Do you see a white person in this picture? Point to him.

For each question, encircle "W" if the subject correctly identifies a white person, or if no white person is in the picture, and the subject recognizes this encircle "-W" if he points to a colored person as a white person; encircle "?W" if he is not sure or does not respond. Encircle "C" if the subject correctly identifies a Negro as a colored person, etc.

Final Two Questions (on the code sheet):

Are you white or colored? (Encircle "W" if the subject says he is white; "C" if he says he is colored; "?" if his answer is not clear.)

Am I colored or white? (The interviewer asks this about himself)

Scoring

1. Acceptance. Each respondent is given three chances to "accept" members of his own race and three chances to "accept" members from the other race (from questions on the 1st, 2nd, 5th and 6th pictures). He can be scored "AW" and "AN" if, in a majority of the instances he says he would like to play with the children in question; "NAW" or "NAN" if in a majority of responses, he does not want to play with the children of the race in question, for any other reason than racial (e.g., in response to "why" if he states "Just because," or "I don't like boys."); "RW" or "RN" if he rejects them for racial reasons (e.g., "Because they're black;" "Because they are colored."
2. Preference. Each respondent is given three chances to indicate a preference between Negroes and whites in the pictures: between the group of whites in the first picture and a group of Negroes in the second picture; between a Negro girl and a white girl in the 5th picture; between a white boy and a Negro boy in the 6th picture. He is scored as "PN" (prefers Negro) or "PW" (prefers White) or "P?" (Preference Not Clear), depending on the most frequent response.
3. Racial Self-Identification
There are three parts to this aspect of test:
 - a. The response to the question, "Which one do you look most like?"
For the girls the fifth picture; for the boys the sixth picture.
 - b. The response to the question, "Which would you rather be?"
For girls the fifth picture; for boys the sixth picture.

- c. Parental Identification:
Mother: 4th picture. (Which looks most like your Mother?)
Father: 3rd picture. (Which looks most like your Father?)

- 4. Racial Recognition Ability:
This is derived from answers to Part II of the test.
Each respondent is given twelve chances (two for each of the six pictures) to identify "White" and "colored" persons in the pictures. If he is correct all twelve times, or if he misses only once (twice) he is scored "High!!" If he misses more than once he is scored "Low."

- 5. Final Two Questions:
 - a. "Are you white or are you colored?"
 - b. "Am I white or am I colored?" (asked by the interviewer)

Appendix B

Code Sheet for Racial Awareness Interview

Code Sheet for Racial Awareness Interview

Subject:

Date:

School:

Place of Birth:

Address:

Years in City:

Birthday:

Fathers Occupation:

Age _____ years _____ months

Mothers Occupation:

Sex: M F

Birthplace of Father:

Race:

Birthplace of Mother:

Part APart B

- I. 1. S
2. AW NAW RW
- II. 1. S
2. AN NAW RN
3. PW PN P?
- III. 1. S
2. FW FW? FWX
3. FN FN? FNX
4. FMW FMN FM?
- IV. 1. S
2. MoN MoN? MoNX
3. MoMN MoW? MoWX
4. MoMN MoMW MoM?
- V. 1. S
2. AN NAN RN
3. AW NAW RW
4. PN PW P?
5. LN LN? LNX
6. LW LW? LMX
7. LMN LMW LM?
8. BW BW? BWX
9. BN BN? BNX
10. RBW RBN RB?

- I. 1. W -W ?W
2. C -C ?C
- II. 1. W -W ?W
2. C -C ?C
- III. 1. W -W ?W
2. C -C ?C
- IV. 1. C -C ?C
2. W -W ?W
- V. 1. C -C ?C
2. W -W ?W
- IV. 1. C -C ?C
2. W -W ?W

Am I white or colored? W C ?
Are you white or colored? W C ?

- VI 1. S
 2. AW NAW RW
 3. AN NAN RN
 4. PW PN P?

Summary Scores

S _____; Recognition Ability _____

AW _____; NAW _____; RW _____

AN _____; NAN _____; RN _____

PW _____; PN _____; P? _____

LW _____; LN _____; L? _____ LM _____

BW _____; BN _____; B? _____ RB _____

MoW _____; MoN _____; Mo? _____; MoM _____

FW _____; FN _____; F? _____; FM _____

Appendix C

Tables Regarding Region

Tables Regarding Region

Table 7. Racial preference of white children according to region

Regional Grouping	Prefers own race	Prefers other race or preference not clear
U. S. U. Children	53	7
Children's World	50	10
Chi square value	.08	.52

N = 60 responses for 20 interviewed in each school

Table 8. Responses to the question by white children, "Which do you look most like?"

Regional Grouping	Most like child of own race	Most like child of other race or not sure
U. S. U. Children	46	14
Children's World	40	20
Chi square value	.42	.52

N = 60 responses for 20 children interviewed in each region

Table 9. Responses by white children to the question, "Which child would you rather be?"

Regional Grouping	Rather be child of own race	Rather be child of other race or not sure
U.S.U. Children	42	18
Children's World	43	17
Chi square value	.012	.02

N = 60 responses for 20 children interviewed in each region

Table 10. Response by white children to the question, "Which one looks most like your Mother?"

U.S.U. Children	15	5
Children's World	17	3
Chi square value	.12	.50

N = 20 responses for 20 children interviewed in each region

Table 11. Responses by white children to the question, "Which one looks most like your Father?"

Regional Grouping	Looks most like man of own race	Looks most like man of other race or not sure
U.S.U. Children	12	8
Children's World	15	5
Chi square value	.12	.50

N = 20 responses for 20 children interviewed in each region

Table 12. Racial recognition ability of white children

Regional Grouping	High Ability	Low Ability
U.S.U. Children	8	12
Children's World	5	15
Chi square value	.66	.34

N = 20 responses for 20 interviewed in each school

Appendix D

Tables Regarding Sex

Tables Regarding Sex

Table 13. Acceptance of Negroes by white children

Sex	Acceptance of Negroes	Nonacceptance of Negroes	Rejection of Negroes
Girls	53	3	4
Boys	49	4	7
Chi square value	.16	.14	.82

N = 60 responses for 20 interviewed of each sex

Table 14 Response to the question, "Which child do you look most like?"

Sex	Most like child of own race	Most like child of other race or not sure
Girls	50	10
Boys	36	24
Chi square value	2.88	2.88

N = 60 responses for 20 interviewed of each sex

Table 15. Response to the question, "Which one looks most like your Mother?"

Sex	Looks most like woman of own race	Looks most like woman of other race or not sure
Girls	15	5
Boys	16	4
Chi square value	.032	.11

N = 20 responses for 20 interviewed of each sex

Table 16. Response to the question, "Which one looks most like your Father?"

Sex	Looks most like man of own race	Looks most like man of other race or not sure
Girls	16	4
Boys	12	8
Chi square value	.57	1.33

N = 20 responses for 20 interviewed of each sex

VITA

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