

THE RELATIONSHIP OF MOTHERS' RACIAL ATTITUDES TO THEIR
PRESCHOOL CHILDREN'S RACIAL AWARENESS AND RACIAL
ATTITUDES IN SELECTED WINNIPEG FAMILIES

by

Margaret Macdonald

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of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

This study had two objectives: to replicate American research concerned with racial awareness and racial attitudes in young children with a group of 42 Winnipeg preschoolers and to provide a test of social learning theory by comparing mothers' racial attitudes toward Blacks with their children's racial awareness and racial attitudes. The Morland Picture Interview was used to measure the children's racial awareness and racial attitudes; the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and questions on an interview schedule developed by the author were used to measure the mothers' racial attitudes. The children in Winnipeg were found to have a lower level of racial awareness than the children in the American studies. The comparison of the children's racial attitudes revealed that the children in the present study had stronger pro-white biases, lower White preference scores and lower Black acceptance scores than the American children. These differences were discussed in terms of the structural-normative hypothesis, which relates racial social structure to racial awareness and racial attitudes in young children. It was hypothesized that mothers' racial attitudes would affect their children's racial awareness and racial attitudes. Statistical analysis did not support the hypotheses. Failure to find support for the hypotheses was attributed primarily to methodological factors.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In the past it was assumed that Canada was generally free of racism (Hughes & Kallen, 1974). However, closer examination of the social history of this country shows that Canadians have not been free of racial prejudices (Hill, 1977). The first slave was brought to New France in 1628. School segregation was legally established in 1849. The rise of the Metis under Riel in the mid-1880's may be seen as a response to racism. In 1914, 376 Sikhs aboard the Komagatu Maru were denied their rightful immigration to this country. In 1933, the KKK was provincially chartered in Alberta. The Second World War brought the physical removal of Japanese from British Columbia for 'security' reasons. More recent occurrences such as the computer incident at Sir George Williams University in 1969, the publication in Yellowknife of a training manual expressing a negative view of native peoples and the assaults on East Indians in Toronto and Vancouver have shown that racism is not on the decline (Tunteng, 1973; 'Wilkins to quit over manual', 1976; Ferrante, 1977; Morrow, 1976). If we believe a world free of these tragedies is important, it is

necessary to have a greater understanding of the development of racial attitudes.

Although racial prejudice exists in Canada, there is little evidence of empirical research on racial attitudes in this country. Symons (1975) pointed out this lack in his report To Know Ourselves; The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies, which called for research concerned with the cultural pluralism of this country. Specifically, this report has encouraged studies of intergroup relations. Therefore, there is a need for the study of racial attitudes in Canada.

Because of the racial composition of the United States, racial attitudes have been measured in that country for decades. As early as 1936, Horowitz was beginning to measure the racial attitudes of children. The United States Supreme Court desegregation decision in 1954 prompted further interest in the measurement of racial awareness and racial attitudes in young children (Porter, 1971). What is presently necessary, is not only the measurement of racial awareness and attitudes in young children, but also a broader understanding of the development of racial attitudes. One aspect of this development which needs further study is the effect of parental racial attitudes on the awareness and attitudes of their children (Porter, 1971; Williams and Morland, 1976). It has generally been accepted that parents are the source of the attitudes of their children (Radke-Yarrow, Trager & Miller, 1952; Goodman, 1952; Clark

& Clark, 1952; Allport, 1954; Milner, 1975; Williams & Morland, 1976). Parents do not appear to actively teach their racial attitudes to their children; the development of racial attitudes in young children seems to be more subtle. Before examining the effects of parents on the development of racial awareness and racial attitudes in their children, it is necessary to establish what is meant by racial attitudes.

Racial Attitudes

According to the Gage Canadian Dictionary, race is "one of the major divisions of mankind having certain physical peculiarities in common" (Avis, Drysdale, Gregg & Scargill, 1973, p. 908). Rokeach has defined an attitude as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in a preferential manner" (Rokeach, 1969, p. 112). Racial attitudes then, are beliefs about a people who share unique physical traits, which prompt a particular response.

It has generally been agreed that there are affective, cognitive and behavioral components of an attitude (Harding, Kutner, Prohansky & Chein, 1954; Triandis, 1967). In reference to racial attitudes, the affective component involves the feelings toward another race; the cognitive component involves the beliefs and expectations an individual holds about another race and the behavioral component involves the beliefs about how the race or

members of the race should be treated. At least one researcher (Ostrom cited in Triandis, 1967) has suggested that the behavioral component provides the best set of attitude scores for the prediction of actual behavior.

Triandis (1964) has further identified components within the behavioral component of an attitude, one of which is social distance. Park (1924) was the first to use the concept of social distance, which he defined as "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize presocial and social relations generally" (p. 339). Bogardus (1959) who first operationalized the concept of social distance defined that expression as

the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, between person and group and between group and group. Sympathy refers to the feeling reactions of a favourably responsive type, and understanding involves that knowledge of a person which also leads to favourably responsive behavior (p. 7)

A scale, based on social distance, then, could be considered a measure of the behavioral component of racial attitudes. Such a scale is the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, which requires respondents to score their willingness to accept different groups on seven categories ranging from marriage to barred from country.

Much of the literature concerned with the racial attitudes of Canadian adults has social distance as its focus; research has been concerned with Canadians' views

on immigration, employment, neighbours, friendship and marriage.

The Racial Attitudes of Canadian Adults

The scientific study of Canadians' racial attitudes is limited. Popular authors, both white and non-white, note the presence in Canada of racial prejudice, generally subtly expressed (Wilson, 1949; Clarke, 1964; Erland, 1970; Winks, 1971; Quig, 1976; Brown, 1977; Collins, 1977; Ferrante, 1977). However, the scientific measurement of these attitudes is generally limited to public opinion surveys and documents produced for human rights organizations.

Canadians themselves recognize they have racial prejudices; in a 1973 Gallup Poll, 84% of the Canadians familiar with the television programme All in the Family agreed that there was a bit of Archie Bunker in all Canadians (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1973). Many Canadians believe racial intolerance is growing. A comparison of Canadian Gallup Polls conducted in April 1975 and 1977 showed that more people today believe there has been an increase in racial intolerance; in 1975, 35% believed racial intolerance was increasing and in 1977, 44% believed this (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, July 23, 1975 & 1977).

Turning now to the contents of the racial prejudice, even prior to the Federal Government's recent Royal Commission on Immigration, there was some polling of

Canadians concerning their views on immigration. Of the 717 persons in a Gallup Poll conducted in July 1961, 53.1% felt restrictions should be reduced (Tienhaara, 1974). The 1975 Gallup Poll, conducted during the Federal Government's inquiry into Canadians' views on immigration indicated growing tolerance since the 1961 poll; 63% of Canadians did not support restrictions on immigration from any particular country (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, July 5, 1975). However, when asked what countries should be restricted, the most frequently mentioned were countries with large non-white populations.

More recently, a particularly anti-non-white immigration article published in The Weekend Magazine (Collins, 1976) evoked more than 100 letters-to-the-editor, 80% of which were opposed to the author's views. Although this does not represent a random sample of Canadians' attitudes, it does indicate the strong feelings held by some Canadians. A CTV sponsored opinion poll found that 66% of their sample wanted a change from the present 'non-discriminatory' immigration policy (Canadian Civil Liberties Association, 1977). However, the scientific nature of this investigation has been questioned as the study had a low response rate (23%) and the sample was not scientifically chosen (Richmond, 1977).

Following the immigration category in the social distance framework is employment. A Gallup Poll conducted in 1947 showed that Canadians were against racial barriers to employment (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion,

1947); 64% of the Canadian voters in the sample said they would approve of a law which would prohibit the right to refuse a man a job because of his race, colour or religion and 23% said they would disapprove of such a law. Since that time, legislation has been passed to discourage racial discrimination in employment practices. However, it does exist. A study of 30 Ontario employment agencies in 1975 found that at least 22 would screen out non-whites for a prospective employer (Canadian Civil Liberties Association, 1977). A review of the most recent annual report of the Manitoba Human Rights Commission (1975) reveals that race and colour were second only to sex in the number of complaints concerned with employment or pre-employment inquiries lodged with the Commission. In 1975, 25 complaints concerned with racial discrimination in employment were lodged with the Commission and 43 complaints concerned with sex discrimination were made.

When examining the willingness of Canadians to have non-whites as neighbours, a similar pattern emerged. Canadians generally say they are willing to have non-whites as neighbours but some discrimination in housing exists. Gallup Polls conducted between 1959 and 1975 show an increase in the willingness of Canadians to accept non-whites into their neighbourhoods and a decrease in their objection to this action (Table 1). Of the Prairie respondents in the 1975 survey, four percent said they would move if non-whites moved into the neighbourhood, 28% said they might do so and 68% said they would not move (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1975). However,

Table 1

Responses to the Gallup Poll Question "Would you move if coloured people came to live in great numbers in your district?"
1959-1975

Year	Yes, would move	Might move	No, would not move
1959 ^a	21%	33%	46%
1963 ^b	12%	26%	62%
1969 ^c	14%	25%	61%
1975 ^c	12%	19%	69%

- a Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1959
- b Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1963
- c Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, July 23,
1975

there has been a slight increase in the number of Canadians who say they would move if a non-white family moved in next door. In 1959, a Gallup Poll found that five percent said they would move if this happened and in 1975, nine percent said they would move (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1959 and July 23, 1975).

Non-whites may have difficulty in finding houses through real estate agencies. In 1976 of the 30 real estate agencies surveyed in Ontario, only three expressed unwillingness to comply with a request not to sell a house to non-whites (Canadian Civil Liberties Association, 1977). Manitoba residents have felt racial discrimination in

attempts to locate housing. Of a total of 54 complaints received by the Manitoba Human Rights Commission in regard to discrimination in housing, 24 were concerned with discrimination on the grounds of race and colour (Manitoba Human Rights Commission, 1975).

Stronger prejudices are revealed in studies of Canadian's willingness to accept non-whites in the closer relationships of friendship and marriage. A 1960 survey of Canadian YMCA secretaries indicated that 75% thought the marriage of white women to black men was distasteful. These women did not want to encourage relationships that could possibly lead to marriage (Wyborn, cited in Winks, 1971). In a study using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, Driedger (1975) found that although University of Manitoba students would accept non-whites as immigrants to Canada, as fellow workers, as neighbours and as close friends, very few would accept a non-white individual as a marriage partner. Of the 820 students in his sample, 79.9% said they would marry a British individual and 77.5% said they would marry an American; only 27.4% said they would marry a Negro and 23.4% said they would marry an East Indian.

These studies and documents represent the limited literature available concerned with the racial attitudes of Canadian adults. The results of attitude surveys must always be regarded with scepticism. It is difficult to ensure that such results do in fact reflect the attitudes of the respondents, particularly when measuring sensitive

topics such as racial attitudes. Respondents may be inclined to give a socially approved response, rather than a truthful one (Crowne and Marlowe, 1967; Tienhaara, 1974). The Canadian literature indicates that although Canadians say they are willing to accept non-whites to the less personal relationships of visitors to the country, speaking acquaintances, neighbours or close friends, they are hesitant to accept non-whites as a spouse.

This literature has concentrated on racial attitudes in adults. An exploration of the literature on racial awareness and racial attitudes in young children follows in the next section.

Racial Awareness and Racial Attitudes of White Preschoolers

The first serious investigation of racial awareness and racial attitudes in young children was made by Bruno Lasker in 1929. In the book, Race Attitudes in Children, Lasker reported on his study of adult reminiscences of childhood and teachers' observations of elementary school children. Since that time, the measurement of racial awareness and attitudes in young children has become more sophisticated. Generally, dolls, drawings or photographs are used as the focus of an interview in which the children are asked such questions as whom do they look like and with whom they would like to play. Much of the research has used either the Clark Doll Test or the Morland Picture Interview. In the Clark Doll Test, children are shown black and white dolls and are asked to indicate the doll with which they

would like to play, the good doll, the bad doll, the doll that has the nice colour, the doll that is White, Negro and Coloured and the doll that looks most like themselves (Clark & Clark, 1952). Each request is made only once.

In the Morland Picture Interview, questions are repeated throughout the interview, allowing the children more than one opportunity to respond (Williams & Morland, 1976).

This test uses six coloured photographs of black and white children and adults. The children are asked to indicate with whom they would like to play, with whom they would play, who they think are the smartest, nicest and best looking children, who they resemble, who their parents resemble, which children and adults are white, Black, Negro or Coloured, and finally whether they are White, Black, Negro and Coloured, depending on the current terminology. Other researchers such as Goodman (1952) studied children intensively through observations, testing and interviews with parents and teachers to determine young children's racial awareness and racial attitudes.

Racial awareness is the ability to differentiate between different racial groups. Two distinct skills are included in racial awareness: the ability to perceive racial similarities and the ability to apply racial terminology. Most of the literature has been concerned with the age at which young children develop these skills. Only Morland has examined the relationship between the two aspects of racial awareness. He crosstabulated racial

classification ability scores with perception of racial similarity scores: 91% of the white preschoolers in his sample who were high in their racial classification ability said they resembled white children and 78% of those who were low in racial classification ability said they most closely resembled white children (Williams & Morland, 1976).

To assess the perception of racial similarities, researchers generally have asked children to indicate which dolls or photographs of children resemble themselves. Table 2 shows a summary of studies using this type of measure.

Table 2

Summary of Studies of the Perception of Racial Similarity to Self in White Preschoolers

Study	N	Percent able to perceive similarity to self
Horowitz (1939)	10	40
Greenwald & Oppenheim (1968)	36	47
Crooks (1970)	34	100
Durrett & Davy (1970)	30	97
Porter (1971)	185	52
Morland (Williams & Morland, 1976)	711	75
Rohrer (1977)	170	73

Horowitz (1939) was the first to empirically study the level of racial awareness in children. Using photographs, she asked boys to identify boys who resembled themselves and girls to identify boys who resembled their brothers or their male cousins. Although only 40% of the 10 white children were able to correctly perform this task, 20% made no choice. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968), Crooks (1970) and Durrett and Davy (1970) each used tests based on the Clark Doll Test which measured children's ability to perceive others racially similar to themselves. Greenwald and Oppenheim introduced an additional colour variable--mulatto--to the black-white dichotomy of the Clark Doll Test. Of the 36 white preschoolers in their sample, 47% chose the white doll, 25% chose the mulatto doll when asked to indicate the doll which most resembled themselves and 9% chose no doll; only 19% chose the black doll. All the children in Crooks' study and most of the children in Durrett and Davy's study were able to correctly indicate the white doll when asked to point out the doll which resembled themselves. Only about one-half of the white children in Porter's (1971) study indicated the white doll looked most like themselves, but only 15% consistently misclassified themselves. The children in Porter's study had higher levels of success on other measures of the perception of racial similarity (see below). Morland's research of the perception of racial similarity to self has been the most extensive. Between 1963 and 1972, he made four studies

of racial awareness with a total of 711 white preschoolers, of whom three-quarters pointed to a white child when asked to indicate the child who looked most like themselves.

The most recent study of the perception of racial similarity was made by Rohrer (1977). He introduced Mexican-American to the black-white dichotomy and 73% of the white children correctly indicated the white child when asked to point to the child most closely resembling themselves.

These studies show a wide range in young children's ability to perceive others who are racially similar to themselves; however the low awareness level shown in several of the studies may be due to factors inherent in the studies. The small sample size of ten white children in Horowitz's study may have affected the results. The introduction of mulatto to the black-white dichotomy in Greenwald and Oppenheim's study may have accounted for the low awareness results in that study. In Porter's study, 33% of the children perceived themselves neither as similar to a white doll nor to a black doll, accounting for the low percentage of children in her study able to perceive others who were racially similar to themselves. In the remaining four studies, most of the children were able to perceive others who were racially similar to themselves.

In addition to the perception of racial similarity to self, both Morland and Porter have included other measures of the perception of racial similarity in their research of racial awareness. Porter (1971) asked children to match

mother and child and to match black and white families. Over 70% of the three and four year old children were able to match mother and child; these children were slightly less able to match families. The five year olds in her sample had a greater ability than the three and four year olds to perform these tasks. The Morland Picture Interview includes the measurement of the children's perception of racial similarity to their parents. Of a total sample of 430 white preschoolers in several studies, 76% chose a white man when asked to indicate the man who looks most like their father and 85% chose a white woman when asked to indicate the woman who looked most like their mother (Williams & Morland, 1976). These studies, both of the children's perception of racial similarity to self and of their perception of racial similarity to others, indicate that most preschool children were able to perceive racial similarities. Only one of these studies was conducted in Canada. Crooks (1970) studied 68 black and white children in a racially mixed neighbourhood in Halifax; of the 34 white children in the sample, 17 attended a nursery school which had just completed a program designed to create an atmosphere of racial understanding. These children, would have had more contact with Blacks than most other Canadian children.

The second skill included in racial awareness is racial classification, the ability to apply racial terminology. Both Goodman (1952) and Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) studied children in depth and used a variety of measures to

assess the children's racial classification ability.

Goodman was the first to seriously investigate children's racial classification ability using this skill as one measure in defining children with high, medium and low racial awareness. The 15% of her white children who were in the low awareness group used racial terminology infrequently and generally inaccurately; the 61% who were in the medium awareness group used racial terminology often but not always accurately; the 24% who were in the high awareness group used many racial terms frequently (Goodman, 1952). Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) also studied children closely. Of the five white two and three year olds in their sample, three were able to use racial terms correctly.

Other investigators have simply asked the children to indicate 'black', 'white', 'coloured' or 'Negro' dolls or photographs of individuals. The Clark Doll Test included questions of this nature. Using this test, Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) found that 78% of their sample of 36 white preschoolers correctly identified the 'white' doll and 6% correctly identified the 'coloured' doll. Also using the Clark Doll Test, Crooks (1970) found that 50% of his 34 Halifax preschoolers correctly identified the 'white' doll, 65% correctly identified the 'Negro' doll. Morland asked his sample to identify 'black', 'white', 'Negro' or 'coloured' photographs of children and adults, depending on the current terminology. A summary of Morland's studies of racial

classification ability indicated that 69% of his 407 preschoolers had high racial classification ability, that is, they were able to use the current racial terminology (Williams & Morland, 1976). Morland used one other measure of racial classification ability, he asked children whether they were 'White' or 'Black' or 'Negro' or 'Coloured', depending on the current racial terminology. Data from four of his studies comprising a sample of 288 white preschoolers indicate that 98% of the children were able to correctly respond to this question (Williams & Morland, 1976). These two abilities, to classify others racially and to classify oneself racially, appear to be closely related; 98% of the white preschoolers who scored high in their racial classification ability were also correct in their racial classification of themselves (Williams & Morland, 1976).

Numerous studies have shown that the ability to use racial terminology increases with age. When asked to identify 'Negro', 'coloured' and 'white' persons, Renninger and Williams (1966) found that 19% of the three year olds, 53% of the four year olds and 79% of the five year olds, from a sample of 129 white children were able to correctly perform this task. Williams and Roberson (1967) also found racial classification ability increased with age. Only 46% of the four year olds in their study of 111 children could correctly identify 'white', 'coloured' and 'Negro' persons, but 81% of the five year olds and 97% of the six year olds were able to perform this task correctly. Porter (1971) found

that racial classification ability increased with age among her sample of three, four and five year olds. In addition, Morland has found a developmental factor in racial classification ability. A summary of his studies conducted between 1965 and 1972 indicated that of a sample of 430 white children, 23% of the three year olds, 71% of the four year olds and 87% of the five year olds and 95% of the six year olds had a high ability to apply current racial terminology (Williams & Morland, 1976).

Although there are developmental changes, these studies indicate that white preschool children are able to apply racial terminology correctly. As was the case with the perception of racial similarity, there has only been one study of the racial classification ability of young Canadian children (Crooks, 1970); the sample in this study was drawn from an inter-racial neighbourhood where the white children had much contact with black individuals. From these studies, it becomes apparent that white preschool children show their racial awareness by their ability to perceive racial similarities and their ability to apply racial terminology. From the literature below, it appears that white preschool children also show definite racial attitudes.

As was the case with the studies of racial awareness, studies of racial attitudes in young children have concentrated on measurement rather than the broader understanding of the concept and development of theory. The literature on racial attitudes in young children is concerned with racial

preference, racial bias and racial acceptance. Only Williams and Morland (1976) have been concerned with the relationship between the components of racial attitudes. After reviewing several unpublished studies concerned with the relationship between racial evaluation and racial preference, Williams and Morland concluded that preschoolers prefer what they positively evaluate; that is, among preschoolers, racial preferences match racial biases.

The studies of racial preference, racial bias and racial acceptance in young white children all indicate a pro-white attitude. Most studies of racial attitudes in young children have included the measurement of racial preferences. Goodman (1952) was the first to study racial preferences in young children. She closely studied a group of 46 white nursery school children and concluded from her interviews, observations and testing that 92% preferred Whites and 8% preferred Blacks. Subsequent studies of racial preference have not been so thorough, but indicate a similar preference (Table 3). Generally, children have been given a short test which involves indicating with which doll or child in a photograph the respondent would prefer to play.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968), Asher and Allen (1969), Hraba and Grant (1970), and Crooks (1970) all used the Clark Doll Test which included the measurement of racial preference. In the Clark Doll Test, children were shown black and white dolls and were asked with which they would like

Table 3

Summary of Studies of the Racial Preferences of White Preschoolers

Study	N	White Preference	Black Preference
Stevenson & Stewart (1958)	75	68%	
Renninger & Williams (1966)	129	82%	16%
Greenwald & Oppenheim (1968)	31	67%	33% ^a
Asher & Allen (1969)	150 ^b	77%	23%
Hraba & Grant (1970)	70 ^b	83%	16%
Durrett & Davy (1970)	25	83%	16%
Crooks (1970)	34	91%	
Morland (Williams & Morland, 1976)	711	87% ^c	7%

^a Includes 4% preference for a mulatto doll

^b Includes children ages six to eight years

^c 5% made an unclear response

to play. Asher and Allen used puppets rather than the usual dolls to encourage the boys in their sample to co-operate. Greenwald and Oppenheim included a mulatto doll with the usual black and white dolls, a factor which may have contributed to the lower white preference results in their study. Durrett and Davy (1970) used Stevenson and Stewart's (1958) test, which was similar to the Clark Doll Test sec-

tion on racial preferences. The Morland Picture Interview included the measurement of racial preference; in this test the children were asked to indicate with which children in the photographs they would like to play. Renninger and Williams (1966) did not use an established test, but included in their study a racial preference section in which the children were asked to choose playmates from black and white cut-outs. All of these studies indicated a strong white preference amongst white children. Kliman (1977) too, found a strong preference for white dolls, but did not give statistical details on the preferences.

Several other investigators have used different techniques in assessing racial preferences in young children. Porter (1970) invented a television game to measure preferences. Children were asked to make choices between white and black dolls who were part of a television story. The 175 children, age, three, four and five years scored an average attitude mean of 1.30 when one is a high white preference and two is a low white preference. Finally, Kircher and Farby (1971) used drawings of children's faces varying four facial features of skin colour, hair type, hair colour and eye colour. Of the 45 three, four and five year old children, less than one-half stated a preference for the children with black skin, black hair type, black hair colour or brown eyes. These two studies also indicated a white racial preference in young children.

All of these tests, whether repeated throughout the years or simply developed for one study, show a high preference for whites among young white children. These studies have been made with samples of children who had been living in the United States or who had repeated contact with Blacks. Only one study had a Canadian sample (Crooks, 1970); however, the children in his study had at least daily contact with Blacks as they lived in an inter-racial neighbourhood and many attended an inter-racial nursery school.

Although the findings of studies concerned with racial bias are not as extreme as those concerned with racial preference, they still indicate a pro-white bias. In the Clark Doll Test, children were asked to identify the nice doll and the doll that looks bad. When asked to indicate the nice doll, 71% of Greenwald and Oppenheim's (1968) sample, 80% of Asher and Allen's (1969) sample, 70% of Hraba and Grant's (1970) sample and 59% of Crooks' sample chose the white doll or puppet. When asked to indicate the doll that looks bad, 77% of Asher and Allen's (1969) sample, 63% of Hraba and Grant's (1970) sample and 75% of Crooks' (1970) sample chose the black doll. Preschoolers taking part in the Clark Doll Test appear to be biased toward white dolls and against black dolls. Morland's racial bias measure included positive traits only: the best looking boy and girl, the nicest boy and girl and the smartest boy and girl. Of the 48 white preschoolers in his sample, 56% chose the white child when

asked which child is best looking, 52% chose the white child when asked to indicate the best student and 43% chose the white child when asked to indicate the nicest child. Large percentages of the sample were undecided: 34% in the "best looking" question, 40% in the 'best student' question and 48% in the "nicest" question (Savary & Morland, in press). Again, only one study has been made of racial bias in young Canadian children. Crook's (1970) study of Halifax preschoolers found a bias toward Whites and against Blacks.

A white playmate preference or a white bias does not infer that children will not play with a black child, the children may still accept a black playmate. On the other hand, children who refuse to play with black children because they are black have expressed a much stronger attitude. Williams and Morland have defined racial acceptance as 'the willingness of children to play with children of their own or another race when no choice is involved' (Williams & Morland, 1975, p. 1967). A summary of racial acceptance scores from five studies involving 495 white preschoolers and using the Morland Picture Interview indicated that 84% were willing to play with black children, 14% were not willing to play with black children for a non-racial reason and 4% said they would not play with black children for a racial reason (Williams & Morland, 1976). No other investigations of racial acceptance have been made.

The literature of the measurement of racial attitudes in young children indicates that young white children have

strong white preferences and marked pro-white biases; however, in a forced choice situation, when they are asked if they would play with a black child, they usually indicate their acceptance of Blacks. Most of the studies of young white children's racial awareness or racial attitudes toward Blacks have been conducted in the United States or with a sample of children who have had daily contact with Blacks. Therefore research concerning the racial awareness and racial attitudes of children in different racially structured societies is necessary.

Previously, it was mentioned that investigators have been concerned with the measurement of racial awareness and racial attitudes rather than with the relationship between the components of awareness and attitudes. Nor have investigators focused on the relationship between racial awareness and racial attitudes. The few authors who have concerned themselves with the relationship generally agree that racial awareness and racial attitudes are independent. Allport (1954) proposed that in the pre-generalized stage of learning attitudes (age three and four years) the children may have vague racial preferences, even though they are not clearly aware of racial differences. Porter (1971) concluded that in the third year, children are aware of colour but not of the social meaning attached to colour

differences. Even at age four, children may not have the adult understanding of racial differences, but they do evaluate individuals in terms of their colour differences.

Williams and Morland (1976) support the view of the independence of racial awareness and racial attitudes:

The general tendency of preschool children to respond more positively to light-skinned than to dark persons is quite evident among children who display no knowledge of formal racial classification. (p. 236)

Studies have shown at the most only low correlations between racial awareness and racial attitudes. Williams and Roberson (1967) found only a .24 correlation between racial classification and racial attitude scores. Katz and Zalk (1974) obtained a low but significant correlation of .27 between a measure of racial attitudes and racial classification ability in a study of 192 preschoolers. A comparison of preschool children's racial classification and racial preferences as measured by the Morland Picture Interview showed that white children with either high or low racial classification ability have a strong white playmate preference (Williams & Morland, 1976). In a study by Baugher (cited in Williams & Morland, 1976) there was only a slight tendency for a relationship between racial awareness and racial attitudes. Baugher also found that the children's racial

classification scores increased significantly with age, but the racial attitude scores were not associated with age, further suggesting the independence of these two scores. Consequently, both racial awareness and racial attitudes should be measured in young children.

The Effects of Parents on the Racial Attitudes and Racial Awareness of their Children

It has generally been accepted that parents are the source of the attitudes of their children (Radke-Yarrow, Trager & Miller, 1952; Goodman, 1952; Clark & Clark, 1952; Allport, 1954; Milner, 1975; Williams & Morland, 1976). In a study of college students, Allport and Kramer (1946) found that 69% of the sample recognized the influence of their parents in the development of their racial attitudes. Rosenblith (1949) replicated this study and had similar findings. Even young children realized that their parents are a source of their racial attitudes (Horowitz & Horowitz, 1937; Ammons, 1950; Milner, 1973). When asked why he had made an anti-black comment a young child, quoted in Milner (1973) said "because he's black and my mum and dad don't like the black ones so I don't either". (p. 290). Very few parents, it appears, make attempts to teach their children views about people of other races (Bird, Monachesi & Burdick, 1952). Radke-Yarrow, Trager & Miller (1952) found that parents do not recognize the teaching of attitudes toward other peoples as an important responsibility in child-rearing. The transmission of racial attitudes from

parent to child is more subtle.

Two theoretical viewpoints have been used to explain the effects of parents on the development of racial attitudes in their children. One stresses the importance of child-rearing techniques in the development of racial attitudes. Frenkel-Brunswik (1948) has found that parents of highly ethnocentric children used harsher and more rigid forms of discipline than did the parents of less ethnocentric children. The child, she wrote, submits to the discipline but represses his resulting resentment toward his parents and displaces this resentment upon minority groups. This theory does not explain why minority groups should be the object of the displaced resentment.

A second theoretical viewpoint, social learning theory, as proposed by Sears, suggests a less pathological source of racial attitudes. The parents simply transmit their own attitudes to their children. Although Sears did not concern himself directly with the transmission of racial attitudes from parents to children, his more general theory does apply to this specific development (Sears, 1952). It is Sear's concept of identification which could best explain the transmission of attitudes from mother to child. The infant's dependency on his mother for gratification of his primary needs produces a secondary drive within the infant, a dependency drive; his mother's simple presence becomes a secondary reward for the infant. This is the first step in the development of the process of identification. Next the

child imitates his mother. The child's imitation of his mother for whom he has a dependency drive becomes a reward to the child in itself. And finally, this self-rewarding imitation becomes habitual and the child identifies with his mother. Through this identification process, the child absorbs the qualities and hence the attitude of his mother. Thus, for racial attitudes to develop, the child need not have contact with individuals of another race, but simply contact with individuals who hold attitudes concerning other groups. As early as 1936, Horowitz wrote that "attitudes toward Negroes are now chiefly determined not by contact with Negroes, but by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes", (p. 34). Studies in the United States prior to desegregation have shown that young children do not need extensive contact with black individuals to develop racial attitudes (Morland, 1962).

One study has been made to compare the efficacy of these two theoretical viewpoints in explaining the development of racial attitudes in children. By controlling first for the prejudiced attitudes of mothers and investigating the effects of authoritarian child-rearing practices, then controlling for authoritarian child-rearing practices and investigating the effects of prejudiced attitudes of mothers on their children, Mosher and Scodel (1960) concluded that it is the social learning theory that best explains the development of racial attitudes in children.

Several studies have added credence to the role of social learning theory in explaining the development of racial attitudes in children by comparing parents and children's attitudes. Studies conducted by Bird, Monachesi and Burdick (1952) and Frenkel-Brunswik (1953) have found low but positive correlations between the attitude scores of parents and their children. In their study of first and second grade children, Radke-Yarrow, Trager, and Miller (1952) found there was a tendency for the racial attitudes of children to be in the same direction as those of their parents. In a study of two and three year old children, Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) found that children of parents who considered themselves unbiased were also unbiased. Epstein and Kormorita (1966) found that the social distance of children toward a fictitious group was significantly correlated with their perception of their parents prejudice toward specific ethnic groups. Puskin (cited in Milner, 1973) found that a substantial proportion of highly prejudiced children had highly prejudiced mothers. In her study, Baker (1971) found that preschool, preadolescent and adolescent children of unprejudiced parents were similarly unprejudiced. Edwards (1972) found greater similarity than differences between the attitudes of parents and their children. Sedlacek (1973) found that university freshmen and their parents were both prejudiced against Blacks, the parents to a greater degree. The racial attitudes of children therefore tend to reflect those of

their parents. Consequently, social learning theory seemed the most appropriate explanation for the development of racial attitudes in young children.

No studies were found that related parental racial attitudes to the racial awareness of young children. Williams and Morland (1976), however, proposed that children of parents who put heavy emphasis on race will have earlier development of racial classification ability than the children of parents who put little emphasis on race. The assumption was made in this study, that prejudiced parents put more emphasis on race than do parents who are not prejudiced.

Objectives

Throughout the literature review it was apparent that no studies have been made of the racial awareness and racial attitudes of young white children who have limited contact with Blacks. The first objective of this study was to replicate research on racial awareness and racial attitudes previously conducted in the United States with a sample in Canada. The sample for this study was preschool children in Winnipeg, a city with only a small black population. A second objective of this study was to provide a test of social learning theory by comparing the mothers' attitudes toward Blacks with their children's racial awareness and racial attitudes.

Hypotheses

These hypotheses incorporate the terminology of the Morland Picture Interview, the test used to measure the children's racial awareness and racial attitudes. There are two general hypotheses and seven specific hypotheses.

A. Mothers' racial attitudes affect the racial awareness of their children.

- (1) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely perceive racial similarities than children of unprejudiced mothers;
- (2) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely classify individuals racially than children of unprejudiced mothers;
- (3) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely verbalize their racial awareness than children of unprejudiced mothers.

B. Mother's racial attitudes affect the racial attitudes of their children.

- (4) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely prefer white playmates than children of unprejudiced mothers;
- (5) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely state pro-white biases than children of unprejudiced mothers;

- (6) Children of prejudiced mothers will reject black playmates; children of unprejudiced mothers will accept black playmates or refuse to play with them for non-racial reasons;
- (7) Children of prejudiced mothers will verbalize negative racial attitudes; children of unprejudiced mothers will not.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

In order to test the hypotheses and meet the objectives of this study, interviews were held with preschool children and their mothers. A description of the respondents, the interview schedules and the procedures followed are reported in this chapter.

Description of the Sample

To examine the theory that parents transmit their prejudices to their children, a selected group of mothers and their preschool children were the respondents in this study. Only the mothers, rather than both parents were interviewed, because social learning theory suggests mothers rather than fathers are of prime importance in the imitation process. Also, in the literature, there were either no differences reported between the attitudes of husbands and wives (Baker, 1971) or there was no relationship between the attitudes of the fathers and those of their children, while there was a relationship between the attitudes of the mothers and those of their children (Mosher & Scodel, 1960). In addition, if both parents were interviewed, collaboration between the parents might occur.

Both boys and girls attending the preschools were interviewed. Although some studies have found sex differences in the racial awareness of young children (Goodman, 1952), Morland has not found any with his Morland Picture Interview, the test of racial awareness and racial attitudes used in this study (Williams & Morland, 1976).

Preschools were chosen as the source of respondents for this study as they provided an immediate group of young children. The preschool centres at the University of Manitoba provided a convenient source of respondents for the researcher. The sample for this study was based on the preschool children; through them their mothers were contacted. Four criteria were set to determine the children's eligibility in this study:

(1) The child attended one of the preschool centres at the University of Manitoba: the Faculty of Home Economics Nursery School (morning or afternoon sessions), the Faculty of Education Nursery School or the University of Manitoba Day Care Centre;

(2) the child was three or more years of age;

(3) the child had a mother; and

(4) the child looked white.

Originally, it was intended that only white children take part in this study; four children who looked white, but who were of mixed race parentage were included.

There were 70 children eligible for this study and 42 were interviewed (Table 4). The difference between the potential and actual respondents, which was 28 children may be explained as follows: 20 mothers from the day care centre did not return the permission slips and follow-up was not possible with these women as the researcher had not been given the names and addresses of the children in this group. Six children refused to co-operate in the study. And finally, two mothers did not give permission for their children to be interviewed; one thought her child would be too upset if asked to participate in an activity somewhat out of the ordinary and the second was withdrawing her child from the nursery school.

Table 4

Comparison of the Number of Potential and Actual Respondents
(Children)

Preschool Centre	Potential Respondents	Actual Respondents
Faculty of Home Economics		
Morning Session	13	8
Afternoon Session	13	12
Faculty of Education		
Nursery School	14	12
University of Manitoba		
Day Care Centre	<u>30</u>	<u>10</u>
	TOTAL	42

Of the 42 children who took part in this study, 24 were female and 18 were male. There were fewer males because the six children who refused to co-operate were male. Most of the children in this study were white; three had East Indian fathers and one had a part Canadian Indian father. All were from two parent families. The children ranged in age from 39 months to 62 months; both the mean and modal ages were 53 months.

The young children varied widely in the extent of their experience with non-white peoples (Tables, 5, 6, 7). This experience was evaluated in terms of where the children had lived, whether or not they had had contact with non-whites within the past six months and how often they watch Sesame Street, a preschoolers' television programme which features a large number of Blacks in its cast. Only five children had lived in countries with a large non-white population; four children had lived in the United States and one had lived in India (Table 5). These children had more of an opportunity for non-white contact than did children who had lived in a predominantly white country. Most of the children had had contact with non-white individuals during the six month period previous to the interview; however, this contact was more often with non-whites other than Blacks (Table 6). Only the children attending the University of Manitoba Day Care Centre had contact with black children in their preschool setting.

Table 5

Racial Composition of Countries in Which the Children
had Lived
(N=42)

Racial composition of country	No. of children
Whites in minority	1
Whites in majority but large black population	4
Primarily white	<u>37</u>
TOTAL	42

Table 6

The Children's Experience with Non-Whites during the Six
Months Prior to Interview
(N=42)

Racial group	Relatives	Friends	Neighbours	Others
White only	38	7	22	25
Non-whites other than Blacks	4	21	11	12
Blacks and other non-whites	<u>0</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	42	42	42	42

Table 7

Extent of the Children's Viewing of Sesame Street
(N=42)

Frequency of viewings per week	No. of children
0	4
1-2	15
3-5	8
6	<u>15</u>
TOTAL	42

Although the children may have had limited contact with Blacks, most of the children saw Blacks on television at least once a week (Table 7); 38 children watched Sesame Street at least once a week. The children's contact with non-whites was described by their mothers; consequently, the description given here may not be an accurate reflection of the children's actual experience.

The mothers in this study were white and identified themselves as such. When asked to identify themselves with an ethnic or cultural group, 19 identified themselves as Canadians, nine identified with an European country, five with the British Isles, one with the United States, nine with a combination of ethnic identities and two identified themselves with a religious group.

The socioeconomic status of these families was assessed by four different measures: father's and mother's level of education, father's present occupation and mother's occupation at the last time of employment if not presently employed. Both father's present occupation and level of education were measured as six fathers were students, an occupation not categorized by the Blishen scale (Blishen, 1968). The level of education of the mothers and fathers in this study was high (Table 8). All of the fathers had completed high school, 9 had completed a Master's degree and 12 had either doctorates or medical degrees. Although the mothers' level of education was not as high as that of the fathers, it remains high when compared to the general population. Only one of the mothers had not completed high school; 15 had at least a Bachelor's degree and three of these women had their Master's degree. The socioeconomic status of these families as measured by the Blishen Scale was equally high (Table 8). Of the 36 fathers presently employed, 21 were in the professional class, the highest class on the Blishen Scale; 16 of the mothers were in the highest three classes.

Table 8

Socio-Economic Status of the Families
(N=42)

Characteristic	No. of mothers	No. of fathers
Highest Level of Education Completed		
Ph.D./Medical doctor	0	12
Master's degree	3	9
Bachelor's degree and certificate	1	1
Bachelor's degree	11	12
Certificate/R.N.	7	5
High School	19	3
Some high school	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTAL	42	42
Occupational Class from Blishen		
Professional	1	21
Semi-professional	3	11
Clerical or sales	12	2
Skilled or semi-skilled workers	19	0
Unskilled workers	2	0
Public service	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	37 ^a	36 ^b

^a Does not include 5 mothers who had never worked

^b Does not include 6 fathers who were students

The literature suggests the necessity of controlling for social class. After reviewing studies concerned with the relationship between social class and racial attitudes, Simpson and Yinger (1972) concluded that prejudice is related to low income, education and occupational attainment. As the respondents in this study generally had a high level of

education and occupation, the assumption could be made that they would have a lower level of prejudice than would a lower class sample. The effects of social class on the racial attitudes and racial awareness of young children is complex. Morland has found no SES differences in the racial awareness as measured by the Morland Picture Interview (Williams & Morland, 1976). However, he has found social class differences in the racial attitude section of his test. Lower class children have had a higher rate of white preference than did middle class children; however, lower class children also have a higher rate of racial acceptance than middle class children. Porter (1971) found marked differences in the racial preferences of working class and middle class children; working class children had a much higher white preference. However, neither Bird et al (1952) nor Asher and Allen (1968) found social class differences in their studies of racial attitudes.

Description of the Instruments

To conduct this study, it was necessary to measure the racial attitudes of both mothers and children as well as the racial awareness of the children. Because there are no racial attitude tests designed for both adults and young children, different instruments were used with the two different groups. The Morland Picture Interview was used to measure the children's racial awareness and racial

attitudes. The Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the attitude section on an interview schedule developed by the author were used to assess the mothers' racial attitudes. Included in the mothers' interview schedule were sections designed to provide basic information on the family and on the children's experience with non-white individuals.

Measurement of the Children's Racial Awareness and Racial Attitudes

A shortened version of the Morland Picture Interview (MPI) (Williams & Morland, 1976) was used to measure the racial awareness and attitudes of the children in this study. The version used appears in Appendix A. The MPI consists of six coloured photographs of black and white children and adults around which an interview is focused.

It measures the following concepts:

- (1) perception of racial similarity -- the children's ability to match individuals racially;
- (2) racial classification -- the children's ability to use different racial terms;
- (3) racial preference -- the children's racial choice in playmates;
- (4) racial self-preference -- the children's desired race for self;
- (5) racial bias -- the children's racial choice in children who display positive characteristics; and



(6) racial acceptance -- the children's willingness to play with a child of a different racial group.

The MPI was chosen for use in this study for several reasons. First, it was designed to measure both racial awareness and attitudes in the age group of the sample chosen for this study. Second, the test materials, which were photographs, seemed most appropriate. Many tests designed for use with young children use dolls which tend to have distorted racial features. Other tests use puzzles which may reflect the children's intelligence, manual dexterity or familiarity with puzzles rather than racial awareness or attitudes. Third, the scoring system of the MPI may more accurately reflect the thinking of the children as the final score on most of the measures is a summary of responses to several questions; in other tests, the final score is the response to just one question. Finally, there is some reliability and validity information available for the MPI. The racial classification section of the MPI has a split-half reliability correlation coefficient of .98 (Morland, 1958). In testing the validity of the racial classification section, 98.7% of those rated as having high classification ability were also able to correctly identify the race of the interviewer while only 30% of those rated as having low classification ability were able to correctly identify the race of the interviewer (Morland, 1958). The MPI also compares favourably with other similar tests. Ballard and Keller (1976) compared the

task consistency, reliability and validity of six racial awareness tests designed for use with young children, including the MPI. Inter-test correlations were generally low, between +.20 and +.39. The highest correlation was between the MPI and the Clark and Clark Colouring Test, +.55. The Morland Picture Interview had the highest reliability, .85 and the highest validity, .56. The Ballard and Keller study and the reliability and validity information given above concern only the racial awareness section of the MPI. There is no data concerning the racial attitude section of the test; however, Walker (1973) indicated that there is little such information available for most socio-emotional tests designed for children.

Several minor changes were made in the MPI format as a result of the pretest. As it became apparent that the interview was too long for the children, shortening of the MPI was necessary. The racial self-preference section, the perception of racial similarity to father section and the 'Caucasian' and 'Negro' racial classification sections were each eliminated. As the racial self-preference section was designed for use with non-white children, it was irrelevant for the children in this study. The perception of racial similarity to father section used a photograph which proved confusing to the children: each of the three black men in the photograph had moustaches, but only one of the three white men had a moustache, a factor mentioned by the children during the pretest. Also, this section of the test was

similar to another section, the perception of racial similarity to mother. The terms 'Caucasian' and 'Negro' proved meaningless to the children in the pretest: all were unable to identify 'Caucasian' individuals and four of the six children could not identify 'Negro' individuals. Also Morland advised the use of current racial terminology in the test; Caucasian is not such a term. Because of the difficulty in determining if the children did understand the terms 'Black', 'White' and 'Coloured', two questions were added to the interview: 'why did you say you were white (or black)?' and 'why did you say you were coloured (or not coloured)?'

Racial awareness of the children

In this study, two sections of the MPI were used to measure the children's racial awareness: perception of racial similarity and racial classification.

Perception of racial similarity. There were two measures of the children's perception of racial similarity, the perception of racial similarity to mother and the perception of racial similarity to self. To measure the former, the children were shown a photograph of six black and white women. As warm-up questions, the children were asked twice, which of two women looked most like their mother; then to measure the perception of racial similarity to mother the children were asked which woman looked most like their

mother. There were three response categories: white woman, black woman or no woman. To measure the perception of racial similarity to self, the girls were shown a photograph of six black and white girls and the boys were shown a photograph of six black and white boys. As warm-up questions they were asked which of two children looked most like themselves and then, for the measurement of the perception of racial similarity to self, the children were asked which child looked most like themselves. There were three response categories: white child, black child and no child.

Racial classification. There were two measures of racial classification, racial classification ability and racial self-identification. To measure racial classification, the children were shown four photographs of black and white children and were asked to indicate 'black', 'white' and 'coloured' children. There were two response categories, determined by the number of mistakes made. If the children either classified correctly or made one mistake, they had high ability and if they made more than one mistake they had low ability. To measure racial self-identification, the children were asked whether they were black or white and whether or not they were coloured. There were two response categories, correct and incorrect. The terms 'black', 'white', and 'coloured' were not used until the end of the test to eliminate the possibility of the child learning these terms during the test.

In addition to these measures of racial awareness, the author developed a third measure, verbalized racial awareness to include any spontaneous comments or comments not included in the MPI measures. If at any point during the interview, the children spoke in racial terms, either spontaneously or in response to a question, the children were classified as having verbalized racial awareness.

Racial attitudes of the children

Three sections of the MPI were used to measure the children's racial attitudes: racial preference, racial bias and racial acceptance. Each of these was scored in the same manner. The children had three opportunities to make a response and their final score was the response given most frequently.

Racial preference. The children were shown three photographs of black and white children and were asked with which child or children they would most like to play. There were four possible final scores, prefers white, prefers blacks, no preference or unclear preference.

Racial bias. The children were shown three photographs of black and white children and were asked to indicate the prettiest girl and the best looking boy, the smartest girl and boy and the nicest girl and boy. There were four possible final scores, pro-white bias, pro-black bias, no bias and unclear bias.

Racial acceptance. The children were shown three photographs of black and white children and were asked if they would like to play with certain children. If they said no, they were asked why. There were four possible response categories: acceptance, non-acceptance if the children refused to play with the child for a non-racial reason, rejection if the children refused to play with the child for a racial reason and refusal with no reason. The children were scored on their acceptance of white children and of black children.

In addition to these three measures of racial attitudes, the author developed a fourth measure, verbalized racial attitude. If at any point during the interview, the children expressed an anti-black comment, the child was classified as having verbalized a negative racial attitude.

Aside from these sections, there were several warm-up and clarification questions. When each new photograph was shown, the children were asked what they saw, not only to encourage the children to speak, but also to allow for the display of spontaneous racial awareness. Three questions intended for use with non-white children were used as warm-up questions in this study; on three occasions, the children were asked if they would like to play with various white children. To clarify both racial awareness and racial attitudes, several 'why' questions were asked, including why they chose a particular woman when asked to indicate the woman who most closely resembled

their mother and why racial preferences were made. Any relevant comments made by the children in any of these warm-up or clarification questions were included in the measures of verbalized racial awareness or verbalized racial attitude.

The children's racial awareness and racial attitudes were multi-dimensional; there were three measures of the children's racial awareness and four measures of the children's racial attitudes. The mothers' racial attitudes were more simply described: they were either prejudiced or unprejudiced.

Measurement of the Mothers' Racial Attitudes

The mothers' racial attitudes were measured by their responses to a shortened Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Appendix B) and to the attitude section of an interview schedule developed by the author (Appendix C). These two separate measures were made to encourage the honest response of the mothers.

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale measures the social distance or social acceptance that exists between the respondents and certain groups. In the original Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1959), the respondents were asked to rate their social acceptance of 30 racial and ethnic groups. The subjects were asked to score their willingness to accept different groups on seven categories ranging from 'I would bar

members of this group 'from my country' to 'I would marry into this group'. The respondent's score was his most positive category.

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale might be criticized as the seven categories appear to be listed in a logical order; however, it has been found that randomization of the category order has no effect on the responses (Franklin cited in Bogardus, 1959). The split-half reliability coefficient of the Bogardus Scale is at .90 or higher (Hartley & Hartley, 1952). Several studies have been made using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale at the same time and with similar results (Bogardus, 1947; Hartley, 1946; Prothro & Miles, 1953). Both DuVall (1955) and Newcomb (1950) report validity of the Bogardus Scale.

Although this scale generally has been used to explore the social acceptance of a sample group toward another group, Goode & Hatt (1952) suggested that this scale could also be used to measure the respondents themselves with respect to their social acceptance of other groups. The scale has been used in this manner by Baker (1971) who differentiated prejudiced and unprejudiced individuals by their scores on this scale.

In this study, the Bogardus Social Distance Scale was used to measure the attitudes of individuals toward five racial groups: Blacks, Canadian Indians, East Indians, Orientals and Whites. The author was interested in the attitudes of the respondents toward only one group - Blacks;

the other groups were included to mask the emphasis of the study. The respondents were aware that this was a study of racial attitudes but they were not aware of the specific focal group.

The attitude section of the interview schedule provided the second assessment of the mothers' racial attitudes. The questions were generally open-ended to encourage the women to speak freely. Several questions were concerned with immigration as this was a timely topic. Other questions were concerned with the effects of non-whites on neighbourhoods, inter-racial marriage, the reasons for racial intolerance and the reasons for the unequal position of minority groups. Two questions were taken from previous studies. The question concerning the increase in racial intolerance in Canada was taken from a Gallup Poll conducted in 1975 (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1975). The question which dealt with the unequal position of minority groups was taken from a Canadian-American study of the effects of the television programme, All in The Family, on racial prejudices (Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974)¹. In order to score the attitude section of the interview schedule, a respondent who made an anti-black comment to any of the questions or an anti-black comment at any point in the interview was categorized as prejudiced and a respondent who did not make such a comment was categorized as unprejudiced.

¹ Permission to use this question was obtained from N. Vidmar.

Collection of Data

The three instruments were pretested on six young children and five mothers who had similar backgrounds to the subjects in the actual sample. Minor revisions were made as a result of the pretest.

The process of data collection was similar for each of the three preschool groups. The groups were approached in succession; when interviewing of one group was almost completed, the next group was approached. Each mother in the group received a letter from the author, explaining the purposes of the study, outlining what would occur, asking for permission to interview her child and asking for her cooperation (Appendix D). The mothers in the nursery school groups received a personal letter in the mail. With the day care group, 30 letters were distributed by the director of the centre to mothers whose children met the age criteria. The mothers were asked to return permission slips in a stamped envelope. In the case of the nursery school groups, the mothers who had not returned their permission slips after approximately a week were telephoned to determine whether or not they wished to be included in the study. Because the researcher did not have the names and addresses of the mothers in the day care centre, no telephone contact was possible with that group.

In the nursery school groups, the researcher spent several days in the nursery school so the children would become acquainted with her. The nursery school teachers

encouraged the children to cooperate in the research by explaining to the children that the researcher wanted to play a game with them. In the case of the day care centre, the researcher was able to spend only one day with the children; individual children were asked by the director of the centre to play a game with the researcher. Four of the children from the day care centre, who were absent the day the researcher spent in the centre were interviewed in their homes.

Following the interviews with the children in each preschool group, the mothers were contacted by telephone to arrange an interview. These took place either in the mother's home or at the university campus. With the interviews of both the children and the mothers, privacy was assured.

Data collection occurred between February 23, 1977 and April 29, 1977. The interviews with the children took no more than five minutes each to complete. The interviews with the mothers ranged in length from 20 minutes to two hours.

After the interviews were completed, the children's responses were tabulated and individual results sent to each mother (Appendix D).

Analysis of the Data

The data were collected, coded and transferred to computer cards for analysis using the Statistical Package

for the Social Sciences (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner & Bent, 1975). Frequency distributions for each variable were first produced.

Three statistical tests were used in the analysis of the data. As the data was at the nominal level and the sample in this study did not represent a normal distribution, Chi Square was used where appropriate. Because of the small sample size, the expected frequencies in the calculation of Chi Square were frequently lower than two. Only those Chi Square results in which the expected frequencies were greater than two are reported. Chi Square was used to compare Morland's results with those of the present study, to examine the data for sex differences in the children's racial awareness and racial attitudes and to test the hypotheses where a prediction was made for both the children of prejudiced mothers and the children of unprejudiced mothers. The t test for two samples from binomial populations was used to test the remaining hypotheses. Although this test is generally appropriate only for samples with a normal distribution, it was used in this study as the data were presented as paired comparisons. Bartholomew's test for order was used to investigate developmental changes in the children's racial awareness and racial attitudes. This statistic was appropriate as there was an intrinsic qualitative ordering of the categories and because this test is more powerful than other similar tests (Fleiss, 1973).

Although two measures were made of the mothers' racial attitudes, only the data obtained from the interview schedule is reported in the section on tests of the hypotheses. There was a very close relationship between the attitudes of the mothers toward Blacks as measured by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and by the attitude section of the interview schedule ($\chi^2 = 20.17433$, $p = .0002$). Reporting the two sets of test of hypotheses would have been repetitious.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

In this chapter the results are presented for the replication of Morland's measurement of racial awareness and attitudes in children and for the tests of the hypotheses. In addition, further details of the children's racial awareness and racial attitudes and a description of the mothers' racial attitudes are included.

Comparison between the Findings of Morland's Studies and those of the Present Study

A comparison has been made between the results of Morland's studies and those of the present study. Morland's results have been taken from a summary of a number of his studies published between 1962 and 1972 (Williams & Morland, 1976) except for the results of the measurement of racial bias, which have been analyzed only in one study by Savary & Morland (in press).

Morland has not found sex differences to affect the responses of the MPI. The findings concerning sex differences were similar in the present study except for the results of the measurement of the perception of racial similarity to self, where sex differences were significantly different (Table 9). Morland has found age differences

to affect the racial awareness of white preschoolers. He has reported that racial classification ability increases with age, but that the perception of racial similarity to mother, racial preference and racial acceptance do not vary significantly with age. In the present study, racial awareness was found to increase with age (Table 10). The measures of the perception of racial similarity to self, racial classification ability and racial self-identification were related to age at a statistically significant level. Racial attitudes were not found to be related to age (Table 10).

Table 9

Sex Differences in the Children's Racial Awareness and Racial Attitudes
(N=42)

Measure	χ^2	df	p
Perception of racial similarity to mother	5.5458	2	.0625
Perception of racial similarity to self	8.2839	2	.0159
Racial classification ability	3.6510	1	.5457
Verbalized racial awareness	.2451	1	.6206
Verbalized racial attitudes	1.7090	1	.1911

Table 10

Bartholomew's Test for Order Results for Changing Racial Awareness and Racial Attitudes Using Six Month Age Groupings (N=42)

Measure	Bartholomew's Test Result
Perception of mother as white increasing	1.187
Perception of mother as black decreasing	no order
Perception of self as white increasing	5.365*
Perception of self as black decreasing	4.998*
Racial classification ability increasing	4.996*
Racial classification ability decreasing	5.057*
Racial self-identification as white increasing	3.093
Racial self-identification as black decreasing	5.057*
Verbalized racial awareness increasing	4.789*
Absence of verbalized racial awareness increasing	4.692*
Racial preference for Whites increasing	2.407
Racial preference for Blacks	no order
No racial preference increasing	3.370
Acceptance of Blacks	no order
Non-acceptance of Blacks	no order
Rejection of Blacks	no order
Pro-white bias	no order
Pro-Black bias	no order
No bias	no order
Verbalized negative racial attitude increasing	2.270
Verbalized negative racial attitude decreasing	no order

*p < .05

In the Morland Picture Interview, racial awareness was measured by perception of racial similarity and racial classification. The perception of racial similarity was measured by the children's perception of racial similarity to mother and the perception of racial similarity to self. A comparison of the results of the perception of racial similarity to mother between Morland's studies and the present study indicated that a much lower percentage of children in the present study said their mother looked most like a white woman and a much larger percentage said their mothers did not look most like any of the women in the photograph (Table 11). These results were statistically significant.

Table 11

Comparison of the Children's Perception of Racial Similarity to Mother between Morland's Studies and the Present Study

Perception of mother	Morland's studies N=711	Present Study N=42
White	83%	51.1%
Black	9%	11.9%
Not depicted	<u>8%</u>	<u>31.0%</u>
TOTAL	100%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 26.079$$

$$df = 2$$

$$p < .001$$

A comparison between the two studies of the children's perception of racial similarity to self indicates similar results (Table 12). In the present study, fewer children said they looked most like a white child and more said they did not look most like any of the children in the photographs. This difference was also statistically significant.

Table 12

Comparison of the Children's Perception of Racial Similarity to Self between Morland's Studies and the Present Study

Perception of Self	Morland's studies N=711	Present study N=42
White	75%	54.7%
Black	13%	21.4%
Not depicted	<u>12%</u>	<u>23.9%</u>
TOTAL	100%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 8.829 \quad \underline{df} = 2 \quad \underline{p} < .02$$

Two sets of questions measured the children's racial classification: racial classification ability and racial self-identification. As only 13 of the 42 children in the present study correctly identified 'coloured' individuals, the questions concerned with coloured individuals and coloured-non-coloured self-identification were not analyzed.

The results of Morland's studies of racial classification ability and the present study are similar (Table 13). In Morland's study, 69% of the children had high racial classification ability and in the present study, 64.3% had high racial classification ability.

Table 13

Comparison of the Children's Racial Classification Ability between Morland's Studies and the Present Study

Racial classification ability	Morland's studies N=407	Present study N=42
High	69%	64.3%
Low	<u>31%</u>	<u>35.7%</u>
TOTAL	100%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = .395 \quad df = 1 \quad p < .70$$

However, comparison of the second measure of racial classification, racial self-identification, shows that these results are not similar (Table 14). In Morland's sample, 98% said they were white and only 71.4% of the sample in the present study said they were white. A larger percentage of children in the present study gave an answer other than black or white.

Table 14

Comparison of the Children's Racial Self-Identification
between Morland's Studies and the Present Study

Racial self- identification	Morland's studies N=288	Present study N=42
White	98%	71.4%
Black	0%	4.8%
Other	2%	23.8%
TOTAL	100%	100.0%

Racial attitudes were measured by racial preference, racial bias and racial acceptance in the Morland Picture Interview. A comparison of the racial preference scores shows that a much larger percentage of children in Morland's studies preferred white children as playmates than in the present study (Table 15). In addition, although no children in Morland's studies had no preference, 26.2% of the children in the present study stated no preference.

Table 15

Comparison of the Children's Racial Preferences between
Morland's Studies and the Present Study

Racial preference	Morland's studies N=711	Present Study N=42
White	87%	61.7%
Blacks	7%	7.5%
No preference	0%	26.2%
Inconsistent preference	5%	4.6%
TOTAL	99%	100.0%

Comparison of the racial bias scores between Savary & Morland's study and the present study shows generally a stronger pro-white and pro-black bias on the part of the children in the present study (Table 16). There was a much higher undecided response in the American study.

Table 16

Comparison of the Children's Racial Biases between Savary and Morland's Study and the Present Study

Characteristic	Savary & Morland's study N=48	Present study N=42
Prettiest/best looking		
Pro-white bias	56%	70.2%
Pro-black bias	10%	13.1%
Undecided	34%	16.7%
TOTAL	<u>100%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
$\chi^2 = 3.28$	<u>df</u> = 2	<u>p</u> < .20
Smartest		
Pro-white bias	52%	48.8%
Pro-black bias	0%	33.3%
Undecided	48%	17.9%
TOTAL	<u>100%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
Nicest		
Pro-white bias	43%	59.5%
Pro-black bias	9%	25.1%
Undecided	48%	15.4%
TOTAL	<u>100%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
$\chi^2 = 11.2$	<u>df</u> = 2	<u>p</u> < .01

The final measure of the children's racial attitudes was racial acceptance. Comparisons of racial acceptance results shows a higher percentage of Morland's sample willing to accept both black and white children as playmates (Table 17). Few children in both studies said they would not play with black children for a racial reason. A much larger percentage of children in the present study

would not give a reason for their refusal to play with a black child. In the present study when a comparison was made of each child's acceptance of Whites and Blacks, eight children had a higher level of acceptance of Whites, 32 had the same level of acceptance of Whites and Blacks and two children had a higher level of acceptance of Blacks. Such a comparison was not possible with Morland's data.

Table 17

Comparison of the Children's Racial Acceptance between Morland's Studies and the Present Study

Level of acceptance	Acceptance of Whites		Acceptance of Blacks	
	Morland's study N=533	Present study N=42	Morland's study N=495	Present study N=42
Acceptance	94%	61.9%	82%	50.0%
Non-acceptance	6%	11.9%	14%	9.5%
Rejection	0%	0%	4%	4.8%
Non-acceptance with no reason	-	21.4%	-	26.2%
Inconsistent response	<u>0%</u>	<u>4.8%</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>9.5%</u>
TOTAL	100%	100.0%	100%	100.0%

Generally, the children in both Morland's studies and the present study showed racial awareness and racial attitudes. An overall view of the racial awareness and racial attitudes of the children in this study is now

presented through a description of their verbalized racial awareness and verbalized negative racial attitudes.

Verbalized Racial Awareness and Verbalized Negative Racial Attitudes

In addition to the Morland Picture Interview measures of racial awareness and racial attitudes, the author developed two measures from the responses to specific questions in the MPI and from spontaneous comments made by the children. These measures were verbalized racial awareness and verbalized negative racial attitude. At some point during the interview, 24 children indicated verbally that they understood the differences between 'white' and 'black' and collectively made a total of 39 verbally aware comments (Table 18).

Table 18

Description of the Children's Verbally Aware Comments

Question eliciting verbally aware comment	No. of verbally aware comments
"Why did you say you were White?"	11
"Why did you say this woman looked most like your mother?"	9
"Why did you say you would not play with this child?"	7
"Why did you say you would rather play with this child?"	6
"What do you see in this picture?"	1
Spontaneous anti-black comment	3
Spontaneous racially aware comment	2
TOTAL	39

At some point during the interview, ten children verbalized a negative racial attitude, either spontaneously or in response to an interview question. A total of 16 such comments were made (Table 19).

Table 19

Description of Children's Negative Racial Attitude Comments
(N=10)

Question eliciting negative comment	No. of negative comments
"Why did you say you would not play with this child?"	7
"Why did you say you would rather play with this child?"	6
Spontaneous anti-black comment	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	16

This completes the report of the findings on the racial awareness and racial attitudes of the children. In the following section, the racial attitudes of their mothers will be described.

The Racial Attitudes of the Mothers

The mothers' racial attitudes were measured by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the attitude section of the interview schedule. The statistical relationship between the mothers' attitudes toward Blacks as measured by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the interview

schedule was highly significant ($\chi^2 = 20.1743$, $p = .0002$).

The results of the attitude measurement using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale indicated that most of the respondents were willing to have Blacks at least as a close friend, but only one-third of the mothers were willing to marry a Black individual (Table 20).

Table 20
Mothers' Bogardus Social Distance Scale Results
(N=42)

Bogardus scale item	Racial Group				
	Blacks	Canadian Indians	East Indians	Oriental	Whites
Willingness to marry	14	15	15	13	42
Willingness to have as close friend	26	20	22	27	0
Willingness to have as neighbour	1	2	4	1	0
Willingness to have as work associate	0	4	0	0	0
Willingness to have as speaking acquaintance only	1	1	1	1	0
Willingness to have as visitor to country only	0	0	0	0	0
Would bar from country	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTAL	42	42	42	42	42

In scoring the attitude section of the interview schedule, a mother was defined as prejudiced if she made an anti-black comment at any point during the interview. Of the 42 mothers, 27 were defined as prejudiced. A total of 32 anti-black comments were made by the mothers (Table 21). The comments made by the mothers reflect a broad spectrum of negative attitudes ranging from those who personally did not approve of Black-White inter-marriage and those who would move if a great number of black families moved into their neighbourhood to those who suggested that Blacks have been unequal members of society because they do not try to be equal.

TABLE 21

Description of the Mothers' Anti-Black Comments
(N=27)

Content of question eliciting anti-black comments	No. of anti-black comments made
Reasons for inequality of minority groups	13
The difference in effect of Blacks and Orientals on neighbourhoods	11
Reaction to large number of Blacks moving into neighbourhood	10
Reaction to Black-White intermarriage	8
TOTAL	32

The racial awareness and racial attitudes of the children, as well as the racial attitudes of the mothers have now been described. Next, the results of the tests of the hypotheses are reported.

Tests of Hypotheses

In this study, there were two general hypotheses which were operationalized by seven specific hypotheses.

A. Mothers' racial attitudes affect the racial awareness of their children.

(1) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely perceive racial similarities than children of unprejudiced mothers.

Crosstabulation of the two measures of the children's perception of racial similarity with the mothers' attitudes indicates that this hypothesis was not supported (Table 22 and Table 23); neither t test was statistically significant. In comparing the children's perception of racial similarity to self with the mothers' attitudes, the children's responses were dichotomized into those who perceived racial similarities to self (those who said they looked most like a white child) and those who did not perceive racial similarities to self (those who said they looked more like a black child or did not look like any child). The results reported in Table 22 show that about the same proportion of children of both prejudiced and unprejudiced mothers perceive racial similarities to self.

Table 22

Relationship between the Children's Perception of Racial Similarity to Self and their Mothers' Racial Attitudes (N=42)

Children's perception of self	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
Racial	8	15
Non-racial	7	12
TOTAL	15	27

$$t = .14375 \quad df = \infty \quad p < .1$$

The results of the crosstabulation of the children's perception of racial similarity to mothers and mothers' attitude was similar to that of the crosstabulation of the children's perception of racial similarity to self and mother's racial attitudes (Table 23). Again, the children's responses were dichotomized into those children who perceived racial similarity (those who said their mothers looked most like a white woman) and those who did not perceive racial similarities (those who said their mothers looked most like a black woman or did not look like any of the women). About the same proportion of children of both prejudiced and unprejudiced mothers perceived racial similarities to mothers.

Table 23

Relationship between the Children's Perception of Racial Similarity to Mother and their Mothers' Racial Attitudes (N=42)

Children's perception of mother	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
Racial	9	15
Non-racial	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>
TOTAL	15	27

$$\underline{t} = .255 \quad \underline{df} = \infty \quad \underline{p} < .1$$

(2) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely classify individuals racially than children of unprejudiced mothers.

Crosstabulation of the two measures of racial classification with mothers' racial attitudes indicated the hypothesis was not supported (Tables 24 and 25). Contrary to expectations the results were in the opposite direction than that hypothesized. A smaller proportion of children with prejudiced mothers had high classification ability than children with unprejudiced mothers (Table 24). With the second measure of racial classification, racial self-identification, a larger proportion of children with unprejudiced mothers could racially identify themselves than could children with prejudiced mothers (Table 25).

Table 24

Relationship between the Children's Racial Classification Ability and their Mothers' Racial Attitudes
(N=42)

Children's racial classification ability	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
High	11	16
Low	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>
TOTAL	15	27

$\underline{t} = .909$ $\underline{df} = \infty$ $\underline{p} < .1$

Table 25

Relationship between the Children's Racial Self-Identification and their Mothers' Racial Attitudes
(N=42)

Children's racial self-identification	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
White	13	17
Black/other	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	15	27

$\underline{t} = .253$ $\underline{df} = \infty$ $\underline{p} < .1$

(3) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely verbalize their racial awareness than children of unprejudiced mothers.

The findings in Table 26 indicate that this hypothesis was not supported. About the same proportion of children of prejudiced and unprejudiced mothers verbalized racial awareness.

Table 26

Relationship between the Children's Verbalized Racial Awareness and their Mothers' Racial Attitudes (N=42)

Children's awareness	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
Verbalized	9	15
Not verbalized	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	15	27

$t = .253$ $df = \infty$ $p < .1$

B. Mother's racial attitudes affect the racial attitudes of their children.

(4) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely prefer white playmates than children of unprejudiced mothers.

The results in Table 27 show that this hypothesis was not supported. As the hypothesis was concerned only with white preferences, the children's preferences other than white preferences were grouped together. About the same proportions of children of prejudiced and unprejudiced mothers had white playmate preferences.

Table 27

Relationship between the Children's Racial Preferences
and their Mothers' Racial Attitudes
(N=42)

Children's racial preferences	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
White	9	17
Black/none/unclear	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	15	27

$$\underline{t} = .195 \quad \underline{df} = \infty \quad \underline{p} < .1$$

(5) Children of prejudiced mothers will more likely state pro-white biases than children of unprejudiced mothers.

The findings in Table 28 indicate that this hypothesis was not supported. Again, all biases, other than white biases were grouped together. About the same proportions of children of prejudiced and unprejudiced mothers showed pro-white biases.

Table 28

Relationship between the Children's Racial Biases and
their Mothers' Racial Attitudes
(N=42)

Children's racial biases	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
White	9	17
Black/none/unclear	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	15	27

$$\underline{t} = .195 \quad \underline{df} = \infty \quad \underline{p} < .1$$

(6) Children of prejudiced mothers will reject black playmates; children of unprejudiced mothers will accept black playmates or refuse to play with them for non-racial reasons.

Table 29 shows the crosstabulation of the children's racial acceptance and their mothers' racial attitudes when only the racial acceptance responses of rejection, acceptance and non-acceptance were used in the analysis; these were the responses about which the hypothesis is concerned. This hypothesis was not supported. Although the two children who consistently rejected black children had prejudiced mothers, 18 children of prejudiced mothers either accepted black children or refused to play with them for non-racial reasons.

Table 29

Relationship between the Children's Racial Acceptance
and their Mothers' Racial Attitudes
(N=27)

Children's racial acceptance	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
Acceptance/non-acceptance	7	18
Rejection	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	7	20

Fisher's Exact Test = .54131

(8) Children of prejudiced mothers will verbalize negative racial attitudes; children of unprejudiced mothers will not.

The results in Table 30 show that this hypothesis was not supported. Of the 27 children of prejudiced mothers, 19 did not verbalize negative racial attitudes. However, of the ten children who verbalized negative racial attitudes, eight had prejudiced mothers.

Table 30

Relationships between the Children's Verbalized Racial Attitudes and their Mothers' Racial Attitudes (N=42)

Children's verbalized racial attitudes	Unprejudiced mothers	Prejudiced mothers
Verbalized negative racial attitude	2	8
No verbalized negative racial attitude	<u>13</u>	<u>19</u>
TOTAL	15	27

$$\chi^2 = .65625 \quad \underline{df} = 1 \quad \underline{p} < .4179$$

In summary, the findings did not support the hypotheses of this study. The responses of the children of prejudiced mothers were generally no different from the responses of the unprejudiced mothers.

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

The first part of this chapter discusses the differences between Morland's findings and those of the present study. Then, reasons for the lack of support for the hypotheses are presented. Finally, some suggestions for further research and recommendations stemming from the findings of this research are made.

The children in the present study generally showed a lower level of racial awareness than did the children in Morland's studies. Comparison of the racial attitude measures of the two samples is less clear. Before discussing these differences, some general methodological factors concerning the replication process must be mentioned. The interviewer in the present study was not trained by Morland in either the administration or the coding of the data of the Morland Picture Interview. Some of the differences between the findings of the studies may be attributed to potential methodological inconsistencies. Table 17 concerning racial acceptance exemplifies these difficulties. The children in the present study were hesitant to answer the 'why' question, which would lead to their categorization as either non-acceptance or rejection; consequently a large number of children were categorized

as 'non-acceptance with no reason'. It is surprising that Morland did not have such a category. Perhaps the children in Morland's study received more encouragement to make a response. Or, perhaps the 'non-acceptance with no reasons' responses were coded by Morland as either acceptance or rejection. These two methodological considerations, that is, the administration and the coding of the Morland Picture Interview may account for some of the differences in the findings between Morland's studies and the present study.

There is also a theoretical explanation for the differences between the findings of the two studies. Morland has recently proposed a structural-normative hypothesis to explain the varying degrees of children's racial awareness and racial attitudes from societies with different racial social structures (Morland, 1976). He suggested that in a society structured along racial lines, such as the United States or a city in Canada such as Halifax, emphasis is placed on racial differences; children have a high degree of racial awareness and prefer members of the dominant race. In a society structured in terms of parallel-racial-ethnic categories or in a racially homogeneous society, such as Winnipeg, Morland thinks less emphasis is placed on race. The children in such a society have a lower degree of racial awareness and prefer their own group. The children show a greater 'specificity' or individuality in their responses. For example, when asked to indicate which child looks most like themselves, they indicate none

of the children because instead of concentrating on race, these children look at non-racial characteristics. For the most part, the differences between the findings of Morland's studies and those of the present study may be explained by this structural-normative hypothesis.

In the present study, the children showed a lower level of racial awareness and a higher level of specificity in response on three of the four measures of racial awareness than did the children in Morland's studies. The one measure of racial awareness in which the children in both studies had similar scores was racial classification ability, a cognitive measure. The similarity in the findings may be explained by the very high educational level of the families in the present study. It would be expected that children from highly educated families would score highly on such a measure.

The structural-normative hypothesis may also explain some of the differences between the racial attitude findings of the present study and those of Morland's studies. Although the children in the present study had a lower white racial preference than did the children in Morland's studies, they did prefer white children to black children. Also, they had a higher 'no preference' response, that is, a greater specificity in response than did Morland's sample. These two findings, the white preference of both groups and the higher no preference responses of the children in the present study, are in accordance with the

structural-normative hypothesis.

Morland did not refer to the measures of racial bias in his proposal of the structural-normative hypothesis. However, it is plausible that he would propose a high level of pro-white bias among children from racially structured societies and pro-white biases together with no bias responses from racially homogeneous societies. In both Savary and Morland's study (in press) and the present study, pro-white biases were stronger than pro-black biases; however, there was a greater specificity in the response among the children in the American study. This is contrary to the hypothesis and to date, Morland has not reported on the reasons for the high specificity factor in his study.

The structural normative hypothesis offers little explanation for the differences between the racial acceptance scores of the two studies. In the present study, the results of the racial acceptance measures are complicated by the large 'non-acceptance with no reason' category. An explanation for this has been presented in the discussion of the potential methodological inconsistencies of the replication process.

The structural-normative hypothesis explanation for the differences between the racial awareness and racial attitude scores in the two studies is supported by Crooks' findings in Halifax, a city structured along racial lines (Crooks, 1970). Although Crooks' used a different measuring

instrument, some tentative comparisons can be made. All of the white children in his study were able to correctly identify the doll which they most closely resembled; only 54.7% of the children in the present study were able to correctly identify the child who most closely resembled themselves and 23.9% said they did not look like any of the children in the photographs. This supports the structural-normative hypothesis proposal that children in racially structured societies are more racially aware than children in racially homogeneous societies, where children have a higher rate of specificity in their responses. Secondly, Crooks' sample of children had a much higher white doll preference than did the children in the present study. In Crooks' study, 91% of the children preferred the white doll while in the present study, 61% preferred the white child and 26.2% stated no preference. These findings are in accordance with the proposal of the structural-normative hypothesis. This concludes the discussion of the differences between the racial awareness and racial attitude measures of the children in the present study and those in Morland's studies.

Explanation of the failure of this study to find support for the hypotheses is now presented. The predicted relationships between the children's racial awareness or racial attitudes and their mothers' racial attitudes were not confirmed by the findings. Neither the children's racial awareness nor their racial attitudes

were found to be related to their mothers' racial attitudes.

In order to test the hypotheses it was necessary to measure racial attitudes. It is impossible to determine whether or not the respondents' answers and comments were an accurate reflection of their thinking. Crowne and Marlowe (1967) have indicated that individuals tend to describe themselves in socially desirable terms to earn the approval of others. It is possible to expect the respondents in the present study to feel restrained in voicing negative racial attitudes as such attitudes are not considered desirable by society. In an attempt to counterbalance this, the mothers' racial attitudes were measured by two different measures. In addition, the interviewer tried to create an interview atmosphere conducive to honest responses, but mothers may still have been hesitant to reveal their negative attitudes. As well, the non-verbal gestures of the children and sometimes the tone of their responses suggested that certain children knew that negative racial attitudes are not accepted by society. Other studies, which have related parent-child racial attitudes, also cite the difficulty of measuring racial attitudes as a reason for the low correlation between the measures (Bird et al, 1952; Radke-Yarrow et al, 1952; Epstein & Kormoritz, 1966; Baker, 1971).

Not only is it generally difficult to measure racial attitudes, but specific aspects of the Morland Picture Interview may have made the accurate measurement of racial awareness and racial attitudes difficult. Although the Morland Picture Interview met the requirements of this study and is perhaps the most highly respected test of young children's racial awareness and racial attitudes (Ballard & Keller, 1976), it may not provide an accurate measure. Several problems arose from the use of photographs. Although the black and white children appeared at first glance to be well matched, several children in the study noticed that at least one of the white girls looked older than the others and so would not choose her as a playmate. Second, the variation in the skin colour of the black children may have been necessary for the measurement of racial awareness and attitudes in the United States, but the variation may have proved confusing to some of the children in this study. One of the black girls was very light skinned and was often chosen in response to the request 'please point to a white girl'. Finally, photographs necessarily include extraneous information which might influence responses; the children in the present study frequently commented about the cookies, games and shoes in the photographs.

The types of questions asked during the Morland Picture Interview also may have resulted in an inaccurate reflection of awareness or attitudes. The racial bias

section of the interview included questions concerned with only positive traits; no negative traits were mentioned. Porter (1971) pointed out that questions involving negative traits help to control for response set. Second, the 'why' questions throughout the interview were difficult for the children. Although this type of question may provide an indication of the children's awareness or attitudes, when a 'why' question was asked, many of the children were unable or unwilling to answer the question. This may have resulted in frustrations which possibly influenced their subsequent responses.

The scoring system of the Morland Picture Interview may limit the measurement of the children's racial awareness. Three of the measures of racial awareness were based on the children's response to only one question each. The fourth measure of racial awareness and the three measures of racial attitudes were all based on the response to more than one question.

If the assumption could be made that racial attitudes and racial awareness could be accurately measured, the general hypotheses of this study might have been supported if a different racial group had been chosen as the focus for the study. Although there may have been expressed hostility towards Blacks in other parts of Canada with large black populations (Winks, 1971; Head, 1973), this may not be the case in Winnipeg. Few of the mothers in the present study seemed strongly prejudiced against

Blacks, though many did make anti-Black comments. If either East Indians or Canadian Indians had been the focus of this study, the children might have been more aware of their mothers' attitudes.

The difficulty of measuring racial awareness and racial attitudes as well as the choice of Blacks as the focus of this study are two methodological considerations presented to explain the lack of support for the hypotheses. One assumption made may have been incorrect. In hypothesizing that mothers' racial attitudes affect racial awareness, it was assumed that prejudiced mothers would put more emphasis on race; consequently their children would be racially aware whereas the children of unprejudiced mothers would not be as racially aware. However, two of the five tests of hypotheses concerned with racial awareness suggested the opposite relationship, that is, that the children of unprejudiced mothers have a higher level of racial awareness. There was a tendency for the children of unprejudiced mothers to be more able to classify others and themselves racially. This may suggest that the unprejudiced mothers emphasized race more than the prejudiced mothers. On the other hand, these results may have occurred by chance.

The lack of support for the hypotheses in this study may suggest that mothers are not the source of their children's racial awareness and racial attitudes. However, it is difficult to suggest an alternative source. The

children's contact with Blacks, measured by where they have lived, by the frequency of their contact with Blacks during the six month period prior to the interview and by the frequency with which they watch Sesame Street, was not found to be related to either their awareness or their attitudes. It seems reasonable that racial awareness and racial attitudes are learned and that they are learned from the immediate environment. Therefore, it may be more correct to propose that the lack of support for the hypotheses stems from methodological factors such as the attitude measurement.

There are two additional limitations to this study. The sample was not large, nor was it randomly chosen from a population of white preschoolers. In addition, it was composed of highly educated families. Because of these factors, it is not possible to make generalizations from the study to the general population. Secondly, interviewer bias may have been a factor affecting the results of the study. Resources were not available to permit the hiring of an interviewer; both mothers and children were interviewed by the individual who developed the hypotheses.

Several recommendations for further research stem from the limitations to this study. Alternative methods of attitude measurement are needed. The observation of actual behavior of children in an interracial nursery school could provide a more accurate assessment of the children's racial attitudes. Projective measures might

be used to more accurately measure the racial attitudes of mothers. The focus of this study could be changed through revision of the Morland Picture Interview. There is a Chinese-Western version of the MPI (Morland, 1976); a different set of photographs could easily transform the MPI into a Canadian Indian-White version.

Despite the limitations to this study and the lack of support for the hypotheses, two important findings should not be overlooked. First, only five children showed no indication of racial awareness on any of the measures (Appendix E). These three to five year old children were racially aware. Race, therefore, is an appropriate topic for discussion with young children. Second, several children indicated that they held strong attitudes against Blacks. Of the 42 children, four said they would not play with a black child because that child was black and six children said they would rather play with a white child because that child was white. These results may appear to be insignificant. However, when considered within the context of Winnipeg, a city with only a small Black population, the figures assume greater significance than their numerical value. We no longer believe that attitudes are innate; attitudes are learned. These children reflect the society of which they are a part. It is a society in which racial slurs are commonplace and racial assaults not infrequent. It is a society which many believe is becoming increasingly intolerant.

If we believe a world free of racism is desirable, now is the time for those influencing young children, families, teachers and the media to launch a concerted attempt to teach children that racial differences should have no derogatory social meaning.

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APPENDIX A

The Morland Picture Interview

child _____
age _____
sex _____
race _____

Let's look at some photographs and talk about them.

PHOTOGRAPH 1

1. What do you see in this picture?
1. racial awareness indicated _____
2. no racial awareness indicated _____
2. Would you like to play with these children? Why or why not?
1. yes _____
2. no and non-racial reason _____
3. no and racial reason _____
4. other _____

PHOTOGRAPH 2

3. What do you see in this picture?
1. racial awareness indicated _____
2. no racial awareness indicated _____
4. Would you like to play with these children? Why or why not?
1. yes _____
2. no and non-racial reason _____
3. no and racial reason _____
4. other _____
5. Would you rather play with these children (photo 1) or these children (photo 2)?
1. preference for white
2. preference for black
3. no preference
4. other _____

PHOTOGRAPH 3

6. What do you see in this picture?
1. racial awareness indicated _____
2. no racial awareness indicated _____
7. Does this woman (white) look more like your mother or does this one (black) look more like your mother?
1. indicates correct race
2. indicates incorrect race
3. other _____
8. Does this woman (black) look more like your mother or does this one (white) look more like your mother?
1. indicates correct race
2. indicates incorrect race
3. other _____

9. Which one looks most like your mother?

- 1. indicates correct race
- 2. indicates incorrect race
- 3. other _____

10. Why?

- 1. perceives racial similarity _____
- 2. does not perceive racial similarity _____
- 3. other _____

PHOTOGRAPH 4

11. What do you see in this picture?

- 1. racial awareness indicated _____
- 2. no racial awareness indicated _____

12. Would you like to play with this girl (white)? Why or why not?

- 1. yes _____
- 2. no and non-racial reason _____
- 3. no and racial reason _____
- 4. other _____

13. Would you like to play with this girl (black)?

- 1. yes _____
- 2. no and non-racial reason _____
- 3. no and racial reason _____
- 4. other _____

14. Which girl would you most like to play with? Why?

- 1. white _____
- 2. black _____
- 3. no preference _____
- 4. other _____

15. Which one of these girls do you think is the prettiest?

- 1. white _____
- 2. black _____
- 3. other _____

16. Which one of these girls do you think is the smartest?

- 1. white _____
- 2. black _____
- 3. other _____

17. Which one of these girls do you think is the nicest?

- 1. white _____
- 2. black _____
- 3. other _____

GIRLS ONLY

18. Do you look more like this girl (white) or like this girl (black)?

- 1. indicates correct race
- 2. indicates incorrect race
- 3. other _____

19. Which one do you look most like?

1. indicates correct race
2. indicates incorrect race
3. other _____

PHOTOGRAPH 5

20. What do you see in this picture?

1. racial awareness indicated _____
2. no racial awareness indicated _____

21. Would you like to play with this boy(white)? Why or why not?

1. yes _____
2. no and non-racial reason _____
3. no and racial reason _____
4. other _____

22. Would you like to play with this boy (black)? Why or why not?

1. yes _____
2. no and non-racial reason _____
3. no and racial reason _____
4. other _____

23. Which one would you most like to play with? Why?

1. white _____
2. black _____
3. no preference _____
4. other _____

24. Which one of these boys do you think is the best looking?

1. white
2. black
3. other _____

25. Which one of these boys do you think is the smartest?

1. white
2. black
3. other _____

26. Which one of these boys do you think is the nicest?

1. white
2. black
3. other _____

BOYS ONLY

27. Do you look more like this boy (white) or this boy (black)?

1. indicates correct race
2. indicates incorrect race
3. other _____

28. Which one do you most look like?

1. indicates correct race
2. indicates incorrect race
3. other _____

Now let's look at the photographs again.

PHOTOGRAPH 5

29. Do you see a black child in this picture? Point to the black child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
30. Do you see a white child in this picture? Point to the white child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
31. Do you see a Coloured child in this picture? Point to the Coloured child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____

PHOTOGRAPH 4

32. Do you see a black child in this picture? Point to the black child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
33. Do you see a white child in this picture? Point to the white child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
34. Do you see a Coloured child in this picture? Point to the Coloured child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____

PHOTOGRAPH 2

35. Do you see a black child in this picture? Point to the black child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
36. Do you see a white child in this picture? Point to the white child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
37. Do you see a Coloured child in this picture? Point to the Coloured child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____

PHOTOGRAPH I

38. Do you see a black child in this picture? Point to the black child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
39. Do you see a white child in this picture? Point to the white child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
40. Do you see a Coloured child in this picture? Point to the Coloured child.
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____

Now, just a few more questions.

41. Are you black or are you white?
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
42. Why do you say this?
1. understands "race" _____
2. does not understand "race" _____
3. other _____
43. Are you Coloured?
1. correct
2. incorrect
3. other _____
44. Why do you say this?
1. understands "race" _____
2. does not understand "race" _____
3. other _____

APPENDIX B

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE PUT AN 'X' IN EACH BOX WHICH REFLECTS YOUR OWN FEELINGS ABOUT THE ENTIRE GROUP NAMED

GROUP	I would marry into this group	I would have a member of this group as a close friend	I would have a member of this group as a neighbour	I would work in the same office as a member of this group	I would have a member of this group as a speaking acquaintance only	I would allow members of this group to be visitors to my country only	I would bar members of this group from my country
Blacks							
Canadian Indians							
East Indians							
Orientals							
Whites							

APPENDIX C

The Interview Schedule

The research in which I'm involved is concerned with mothers, their young children and racial attitudes. I realize that for many Canadians, race is a sensitive issue but I hope that you feel you can be honest with me. I assure you that what you tell me in this interview will be strictly confidential. Your name will not appear on this paper; it has already been coded so that your responses can be linked to those of your child, a procedure which is necessary for my research. However, neither you nor your child will be identified in any way in my thesis.

First of all, I would like to ask you for some basic information. The child I refer to in these questions is _____.

- 1. When was your child born? _____
(month) (year)
- 2. How long has he/she attended nursery school (or day care)? _____ months.
- 3. Does he/she regularly attend any other organized groups such as church groups, play groups?
 No
 Yes Which ones? _____

- 4. How long have you been living in Winnipeg? _____ years
Where else have you lived? When?

City, Town	Province, State or Country	When

- 5. Where has your child lived? When?

City, Town	Province, State or Country	When

- 6. What is the highest level of education you have completed? _____
What is the highest level of education that your husband has completed? _____

- 7. Are you currently employed outside the home?
 Yes What is your occupation? _____
 No Were you ever employed outside the home?
 No
 Yes What was your occupation? _____

What is your husband's occupation? _____

- 8. With what ethnic or cultural group do you identify yourself? _____
- 9. With what racial group do you identify yourself? _____

10. Will you tell me please what racial groups you know about in Winnipeg?

Now I'm interested in finding out about how much contact your child has with individuals who are members of a racial group different from your own.

11. Does your child have any relatives who are members of a racial group different from your own?

No

Yes Which group? How often does he/she have contact with that person? When was the last time he/she saw that person?

	<u>Racial Group</u>	<u>Frequency of Contact</u>	<u>Last Contact</u>
1.			
2.			

12. Does your child have any friends or playmates who are members of a racial group different from your own?

No

Yes Which group? How often does he/she have contact with that person? When was the last time he/she saw that person?

	<u>Racial Group</u>	<u>Frequency of Contact</u>	<u>Last Contact</u>
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

13. Do you have any neighbours who are members of a racial group different from your own?

No

Yes Which group? How often does your child have contact with that person? When was the last time he/she saw that person?

	<u>Racial Group</u>	<u>Frequency of Contact</u>	<u>Last Contact</u>
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

14. Does your child see anyone else who is a member of a racial group different from your own?

No

Yes Which group? How often does your child have contact with that person? When was the last time he/she saw that person?

	<u>Racial Group</u>	<u>Frequency of Contact</u>	<u>Last Contact</u>
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

15. Does your child see any people who are members of a racial group different from your own on television?

No

Yes Which group? How often does he (she) see the television programme? When was the last time he (she) saw the programme?

Television Programme Racial Group Frequency of Viewing Last Viewing

I'm also interested in some of your own attitudes.

16. In the early 1960's Canada's immigration laws changed with the result that there was a rise in the number of non-white immigrants to this country. Can you think of any changes that have occurred to Canadian society as a result of this increase?

17. There has been some discussion lately about the possibility of racial problems in Canada. In your opinion, has there been any increase in racial intolerance in Canada over the past five years or not?

Yes In what way? _____
Has this been against any particular group? _____
Why _____
 No, there has been no change
 No, there has been a decrease
 Don't know

18. Do you believe that non-white immigrants can make as equal contribution to Canadian society as can White immigrants?

Yes
 No Do you feel that some non-white immigrant groups can make more or less of a contribution than other groups?
 More Which groups? _____
 Less Which groups? _____

Why? _____

19. How do you think that a sharp increase in the number of families who belong to a different racial group would affect life here in your neighbourhood?

Do you think that there would be a difference between the effect that, say a large group of black families would have and a large group of Oriental families would have?

 Yes

 No

 Don't know

Why? _____

20. What would you do if Oriental families came to live in great numbers in your area? (if necessary, probe 'move?')

What would you do if Black families came to live in great numbers in your area? (if necessary, probe 'move?')

21. What factors do you believe account for the failure of minority groups like Canadian Indians and Blacks to achieve equality with White people? (if necessary, probe: 'restrictions imposed by white society or lack of initiative and hard work?')

22. There are many factors which people believe should be the same for both husband and wife to have a successful marriage. Do you believe that the following characteristics need be the same for a successful marriage?

	need be the same	need not be the same
<u>social class</u>		
<u>race</u>		
<u>religious background</u>		
<u>ethnic affiliation</u>		

23. Some people do not think that Blacks should marry Whites. What is your attitude about this matter?

APPENDIX D

Communication with the Mothers



THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF HOME ECONOMICS

WINNIPEG, CANADA R3T 2N2

TELEPHONE 204 474-9432

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

Dear

Your name has been given to me by Mrs. Klisko of the Faculty of Home Economics Nursery School. I am writing to ask for your cooperation in the research on the development of racial attitudes in children, which I'm undertaking for my graduate degree in Family Studies at the University of Manitoba. For this project, I am attempting to locate mothers and their 3-4 year old children who would like to help me. I understand you have a child in this age group.

For the purposes of my research, it is imperative that I obtain information from both mothers and children. I would like to conduct a short interview with you; this interview can be arranged at a time and place convenient to you. The sessions I would conduct with your child would simply involve asking a series of questions about a number of photographs of children and adults and should take no more than ten minutes of your child's time. I've arranged with your nursery school to conduct the sessions with the children during the regular nursery school hours. If you are interested, I will be happy to share your child's results with you when I complete my data gathering.

The results of my interviews will be confidential. The responses will be analyzed for my research and the results included in my thesis, but there will be no mention of particular individuals who took part in the research. The nursery school teachers will not receive the results of the sessions with the children or with the mothers.

If you are willing to take part in this research, will you please complete enclosed form and return it to me, in the enclosed envelope. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me at 269-6899 (evenings).

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Macdonald
Graduate Student

U100

University Centennial Year

1877

1977



THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF HOME ECONOMICS

WINNIPEG, CANADA R3T 2N2

TELEPHONE 204 474-9432

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

Dear

Your name has been given to me by the teachers in the Faculty of Education Nursery School. I am writing to ask for your cooperation in the research on the development of racial attitudes in children which I'm undertaking for my graduate degree in Family Studies at the University of Manitoba. For this project, I am attempting to locate mothers and their 3-4 year old children who would like to help me. I understand you have a child in this age group.

For the purposes of my research, it is imperative that I obtain information from both mothers and children. I would like to conduct a short interview with you; this interview can be arranged at a time and place convenient to you. The sessions I would conduct with your child would simply involve asking a series of questions about a number of photographs of children and adults and should take no more than ten minutes of your child's time. I've arranged with your nursery school to conduct the sessions with the children during the regular nursery school hours. If you are interested, I will be happy to share your child's results with you when I complete my data gathering.

The results of my interviews will be confidential. The responses will be analyzed for my research and the results included in my thesis, but there will be no mention of particular individuals who took part in the research. The nursery school teachers will not receive the results of the sessions with the children or with the mothers.

If you are willing to take part in this research, will you please complete the enclosed form and return it to me, in the enclosed envelope. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me at 269-6899(evenings).

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Macdonald
Graduate Student



University Centennial Year

1877

1977



THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF HOME ECONOMICS

WINNIPEG, CANADA R3T 2N2

TELEPHONE 204 474-9432

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

April 4, 1977

Dear Mother

I am writing to ask for your cooperation in the research on the development of racial attitudes in children which I'm undertaking for my graduate degree in Family Studies at the University of Manitoba. For this project, I am attempting to locate mothers and their three or four year old children who would like to help me. I understand you have a child in this age group.

For the purposes of my research, it is imperative that I obtain information from both mothers and children. I would like to conduct a short interview with you; this interview can be arranged at a time and place convenient to you. The sessions I would conduct with your child would simply involve asking a series of questions about a number of photographs of children and adults and should take no more than ten minutes of your child's time. I've arranged with your day care centre to conduct the sessions with the children during the regular day care centre hours. If you are interested, I will be happy to share your child's results with you when I complete my data gathering.

The results of my interviews will be confidential. The responses will be analyzed for my research and the results included in my thesis, but there will be no mention of particular individuals who took part in the research. The day care staff will not receive the results of the sessions with the children or the mothers.

If you are willing to take part in this research, will you please complete the enclosed form and return it to me via the university mail system. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me at 269-6899.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Macdonald
Graduate Student



University Centennial Year

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF HOME ECONOMICS

WINNIPEG, CANADA R3T 2N2

TELEPHONE 204 474-9432

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

May 10, 1977

Dear

As you may recall when I interviewed you about your racial attitudes, I promised you the results of your child's interview. The interview with your child used most of the Morland Picture Inventory, a test developed in the U.S.A.° to measure young children's awareness of black-white racial differences and attitudes about black and white people. Photographs of black and white children and women provide the focus for the test. The inventory taps the concepts listed on the attached sheet. Beside each concept, I've included an example of just one of the questions asked, to give you a better understanding of the test.

On the attached sheet you will also find a listing of the possible responses together with those of your child and the most frequent responses from the forty-two children in the sample. These children attended the Faculty of Home Economics Nursery School, the Faculty of Education Nursery School or the University of Manitoba Day Care Centre. Please keep in mind that these results reflect only your child's responses during the interview and may or may not be an accurate reflection of his/her thinking. If you have any questions about these results, please don't hesitate to call me at 269-6899.

Thank you again for granting me permission to interview your child and for taking time to talk with me.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Macdonald
Graduate Student



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CONCEPT	TYPICAL QUESTION	POSSIBLE RESPONSES	YOUR CHILD'S RESPONSE	MOST FREQUENT RESPONSE
Racial Awareness				
Perception of race of mother	"Does this woman(white) look more like your mother or does this woman(black) look more like your mother?"	white black none		white
Self-perception of race	"Which of these children(black and white) looks most like you?"	white black none		boys - none girls - white
Understanding of the term 'black'	"Do you see a black girl in this picture? (if yes) Please point to her."	correct incorrect other		correct
Understanding of the term 'white'	"Do you see a white boy in this picture? (if yes) Please point to him."	correct incorrect other		correct
Understanding of the term 'coloured'	"Do you see a coloured girl in this picture? (if yes) Please point to her."	correct incorrect other		incorrect
Racial self-identification	"Are you black or are you white?"	white black other		white
Racial Attitudes				
Acceptance of whites	"Would you like to play with this boy(white)?"	yes no and non-racial reason no and racial reason no and no reason		yes
Acceptance of blacks	"Would you like to play with this girl(black)?"	same as above		no and no reason
Racial preference	"Would you rather play with this boy(white) or this boy(black)?"	white black no preference		white
Racial bias.	"Which of these girls(black and white) do you think is the nicest?"	white black no bias		white

APPENDIX E

Frequency Distribution of Racial Awareness as Shown by
'Aware' Responses to Five Racial Awareness Measures

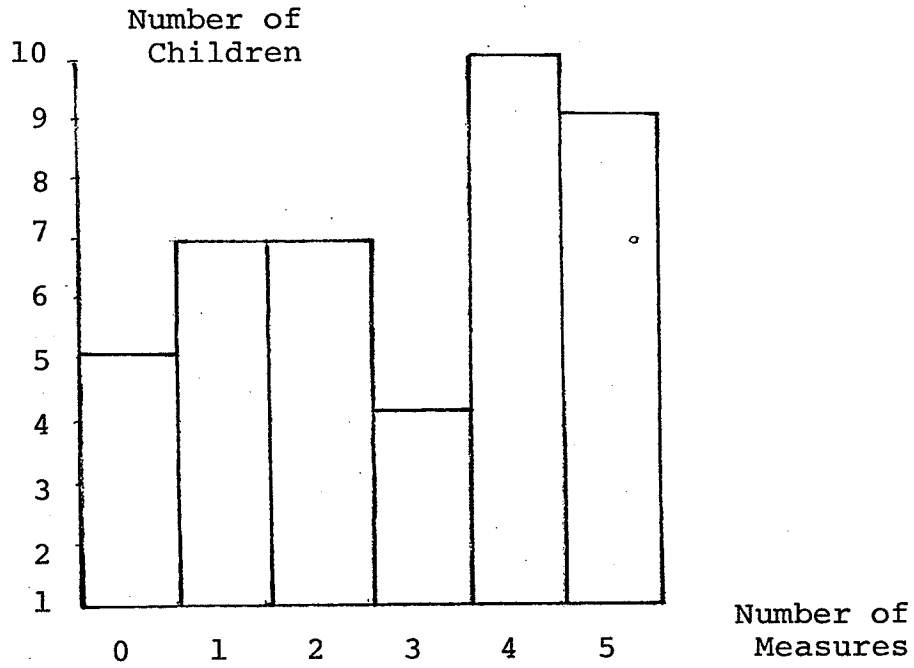


Figure 1. Frequency Distribution of Racial Awareness as Shown by 'Aware' Responses on Five Racial Awareness Measures (N=42).