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ABSTRACT

In the fall of 1971, the Lynchburg, Virginia public schools began the implementation of a plan to eliminate all traces of racial segregation in the school system. All pupils in the ninth and tenth grades in the city were enrolled in one of the two high schools, and those in the eleventh and twelfth were enrolled in the other. Pupils were assigned to junior high and elementary schools in such a way that racial balance would result, and busing was employed to this end. It was not until the fall of 1971 that full integration was instituted. A major objective of the research presented in this report is to describe the racial attitudes of Lynchburg school children just as racial balance in the schools is being instituted. A representative sample was studied in February and March, 1972. Children in kindergarten and primary grades were interviewed with a picture test. Children of ages 12, 14, 16 and 18 years were tested with semantic differential and social distance scales. As age increased, black respondents moved toward a more favorable rating of their race and a less favorable rating of whites. The findings suggested a modification of the normative theory of racial prejudice by supporting the presence of multiple rankings of racial-ethnic groupings, depending on who is doing the ranking. (Author/JM)

Final Report

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RACIAL ATTITUDES IN SCHOOL CHILDREN: FROM KINDERGARTEN THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

November 1972

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

National Center for Educational Research and Development
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ABSTRACT

A representative sample of Lynchburg public school children was studied in February and March, 1972 to determine their racial attitudes just as racial balance was instituted throughout the school system. Children in kindergarten and primary grades were interviewed with a picture test, and black children were found to be significantly less likely than white children to prefer and identify with their own race. At the same time, these in-school blacks were more likely than pre-school blacks to view their race favorably. Children of ages 12, 14, 16, and 18 were tested with semantic differential and social distance scales. Whites consistently showed a favorable rating of their own race and an unfavorable rating of blacks. As age increased, black respondents moved toward a more favorable rating of their race and a less favorable rating of whites. The findings suggested a modification of the normative theory of racial prejudice by supporting the presence of multiple rankings of racial-ethnic groupings, depending on who is doing the ranking. The norm to which all groupings were hypothesized to conform was the favorable evaluation of one's own racial-ethnic category. Replication of the study was proposed to test further the normative theory and to discover what happens to racial attitudes under racial balance.

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INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1971 the Lynchburg public schools began the implementation of a plan to eliminate all traces of racial segregation in the school system. All pupils in the ninth and tenth grades in the city were enrolled in one of the two high schools, and those in the eleventh and twelfth were enrolled in the other. Pupils were assigned to junior high and elementary schools in such a way that racial balance would result, and busing was employed to this end. While there had been some racial integration before the 1971-72 school year through a freedom of choice plan, it was not until the fall of 1971 that full integration was instituted.

A major objective of the research presented in this report is to describe the racial attitudes of Lynchburg school children just as racial balance in the schools is being instituted. Such a description can serve as a base-line study from which subsequent studies and comparisons can be made. Replications of the study can show what happens to racial attitudes under racial balance and can therefore have both theoretical and practical consequences. According to the normative theory of racial prejudice, there should be changes in racial attitudes with changes in social organization (Westie, 1964; Morland, 1969). Thus, the follow-up studies can reveal whether or not racial attitudes do become different with the racial reorganization of the schools. Practical contributions can be made to the school administration and teachers by showing what happens to racial attitudes over a period of time under racial balance.

Another objective of the study is to see if the racial attitudes of pre-school children in Lynchburg differ from those of in-school children. The chief investigator has studied racial attitudes of pre-school children over the past fifteen years and has found that black as well as white children tend to prefer and identify with whites (Morland, 1958; 1962; 1963a; 1963b; 1966; 1969; Westie and Morland, 1971). Other studies of pre-school children have shown similar results (Clark and Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1964; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Trager and Yarrow, 1952; Williams and Roberson, 1967). However, there are some findings that older blacks, those of school age, do not prefer and identify with whites (Brigham, 1971; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Paige, 1970). The study reported in this paper makes a comparison of racial attitudes of pre-school and in-school Lynchburg children, using the same measuring instrument during the same period of time. Previous studies have used different kinds of instruments in different parts of the United States, giving results that are not strictly comparable.

A third objective of the study is to see if there is a difference in racial attitudes with increased age. Although the study gives a cross-sectional description of attitudes by age rather than a difference through time, it can be assumed that differences by age do reflect change. Furthermore, if there is a convergence of attitudes with increased age, support for the normative theory of prejudice can be inferred.

The study is divided into two parts, because it was necessary to measure racial attitudes of the younger children in a different way from

that of the older children. The first part deals with pre-school children and with children in kindergarten through the third grades in public schools. The second part concerns children in the sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades of the public schools, or more precisely, those born in the years 1960, 1958, 1956, and 1954.

PART I. Racial Attitudes of Younger Children

The Sample

Lists of all the pupils in kindergarten through the third grades of the Lynchburg public schools were obtained from the Lynchburg school administration. The names were arranged alphabetically in age categories, by sex and by race, and random samples were drawn from each of the age categories for each race and sex. The only two racial categories designated in the lists of names drawn in the sample were blacks and whites.

The parents of those selected in the sample were written a letter explaining the project and asking for permission to interview their child. A card was enclosed so that parents could sign to indicate their approval for the interview and suggest a time for an interviewer to visit. Copies of the letter and the card can be found in Appendix A. From the initial mailing there was about a 60 percent response from parents, so a second random sample was drawn. The total in the final sample was 153, including 103 white and 50 black children. The final sample reflected very closely the age, race, and sex distribution of children in kindergarten through the third grades in the Lynchburg public schools, a sample of 5.1 percent.

It was originally planned to compare the racial attitudes of the in-school children with those of pre-school children who had been studied earlier. However, it was decided that a new study should be made of pre-school children in order to control the factors of time and alterations in the measuring instrument. Consequently 113 pre-school children, 58 black and 55 white, of ages 3, 4, and 5, were tested in three nursery schools during the same period of time and with the same measuring instrument as in the testing of in-school children. Only children available in the three nursery schools were studied, so there is no claim that these are representative of all nursery school children in the city.

The Measuring Instrument

Over a period of fifteen years the chief investigator has developed a picture-interview with which to test the race awareness of young children. The set of pictures and the questions asked about them have gone through several revisions and have been used in various forms with several thousand children in Virginia, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Alabama, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Hong Kong, and Malawai, Africa. For purposes of this study a new revision of the test was made in order to incorporate a number of improvements. For the first time the pictures were produced in color rather than in black and white. Models were more carefully matched on non-racial variables, and surroundings in the pictures were more completely equated. The six 8-by-10 pictures that resulted included the following:

Picture 1. Six white children, three boys and three girls, sitting around a table, eating cookies and drinking punch.

Picture 2. Six black children, three boys and three girls of the same ages as the white children, sitting around the same table,

eating cookes and drinking punch.

Picture 3. Six men, three black and three white, in a group, holding paper cups.

Picture 4. Six women, three black and three white, sitting together, holding coffee cups.

Picture 5. Six girls, three black and three white, sitting at a table, playing with games.

Picture 6. Six boys, three black and three white, sitting at the same table, playing games.

Xeroxed copies of the pictures (not in color) can be found in Appendix B.

The interviewers were students[1] of the chief investigator and had been taught research methods and carefully trained in the interviewing of young children. They interviewed the in-school children in their homes, with black interviewers going to black homes and white interviewers to white homes. In almost every case the interviewer was able to arrange to be alone with the respondent for the six to ten minutes required. At the end of the interview, as had been promised in the letter to parents, the child was given a small gift. Interviews with the pre-school children were carried out in the nursery schools in separate rooms. The respondents treated the interview as a picture game and, for the most part, answered the questions readily. Since children could respond by pointing to persons in the pictures or by nodding or shaking their head, the effect of shyness was minimized.

The interviewer went through the set of pictures twice. The first time no mention of race was made, for the respondent was asked to indicate which of the children in the pictures he would be willing to play with; which he looked most like; which he would most like to be; which was the best looking; which was the best student; and which was the nicest. He was also asked which man looked most like his father and which woman looked most like his mother. The second time racial terms were used, and the respondent was asked whether he saw a white person, a black person, a Negro, or a colored person in the pictures. These questions sought to measure the racial recognition ability of the respondent. The complete set of questions used in the interview is found in Appendix C.

Interviewing was carried out in January and February of 1972.

The interview was designed to determine the following aspects of race awareness: racial acceptance, racial preference, racial self-identification, racial identification of parents, racial bias, and racial recognition ability. The results of each of these aspects will be presented in turn. Since this was primarily a study of children in the Lynchburg schools, the results with in-school children will be emphasized while the findings about pre-school children will be employed

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[1] These students were involved in every step of the research and the project could not have been carried out without them. The chief investigator gratefully acknowledges their help. They include: Peggy Determeyer, Elizabeth Hoag, Katherine Jacobe, Ellen Suthers, Judy Tomlin, and Patricia Washington of Randolph-Macon Woman's College. Yolanda Williams of Randolph-Macon and Barbara Waddey of Lynchburg College helped with the interviewing.

in a supplementary way.

Racial Acceptance

Respondents were given three chances to say if they would like to play with children of their own race and three chances to say if they would like to play with children of the other race. They were asked both about groups and about individuals of both sexes. For Pictures 1 and 2 (groups), Picture 5 (girls), and Picture 6 (boys), the questions were "Would you like to play with these children (or this child)?" followed by "Why?" or "Why not?" The responses were scored as "Acceptance" if respondents indicated a majority of times that they would like to play with those in question, "Non-Acceptance" if they said most frequently they would not like to play with those in the pictures for any non-racial reason, and "Rejection" if they said they would not like to play with those depicted for racial reasons.[2] Table 1 shows that over ninety percent of the in-school respondents accepted members of their own race. The pre-school children were also

Table 1. Acceptance of Own Race by In-School Children, by Race

Racial Category	Acceptance Per Cent	Non-Acceptance Per Cent	Rejection Per Cent
Black (N=50)	92.0	6.0	2.0
White (N=103)	90.3	9.7	0.0

Chi Square (with Non-Acceptance and Rejection combined)=0.118; df=1; $P > .70$.

found to accept members of their own race, for in-school blacks did not differ significantly from pre-school blacks, nor did in-school whites differ from pre-school whites on this measure.

Table 2 shows that while a clear-cut majority of both races of the in-school children accepted those of the other race, blacks were significantly more accepting of whites than whites were of blacks. Pre-school whites did not differ significantly from in-school whites in the acceptance of blacks. However, pre-school blacks were significantly more likely to accept whites than were in-school blacks, as can be seen in Table 3.

[2]An answer scored as "Non-Acceptance" was: "Because I don't know who he is." Answers scored as "Rejection" were: "Because he's white"; and "I don't like black children."

Table 2. Acceptance of Other Race by In-School Children, by Race

Racial Category	Acceptance Per Cent	Non-Acceptance Per Cent	Rejection Per Cent
Blacks (N=50)	86.0	8.0	6.0
Whites (N=103)	66.0	15.5	18.5

Chi Square = 6.940; df=2; $P < .05$.

Table 3. Acceptance of Whites by In-School and Pre-School Blacks

School Level	Acceptance of Whites Per Cent	Non-Acceptance of Whites Per Cent	Rejection of Whites Per Cent
In-School Blacks (N=50)	86.0	8.0	6.0
Pre-School Blacks (N=58)	96.6	1.7	1.7

Chi Square (with Non-Acceptance and Rejection combined)=4.015; df=1; $P < .05$.

Racial Preference

Immediately following the questions about the acceptance of children in the pictures, the respondent was asked to say which ones in the pictures he would rather play with if he could not play with all of them. He was asked to choose between the group of white children (Picture 1) and the group of black children (Picture 2), between a black and a white girl (Picture 5), and between a black and a white boy (Picture 6). Once again, race was not mentioned in the questions. Replies were scored as "Prefer Own Race," "Prefer Other Race," or "Preference Not Clear," depending on the most frequent response. Table 4 shows a significant difference between respondents by race, with whites more likely to prefer their race than blacks to prefer theirs. It might be noted that this is the same kind of finding about pre-school children that has been reported in other studies, notably in the historic study by Clark and Clark (1947), and also in Floyd (1969), Goodman (1964), Morland (1962; 1966; 1969), Stevenson and Stewart (1958), Trager and Yarrow (1952), and Williams and Roberson (1967). However, it is to be noted in Table 5 that in-school blacks were significantly more likely than pre-school blacks to prefer blacks. This finding supports that of Hraba and Grant (1970) that older black children tend to prefer members of their own race. At the same time,

Table 4. Racial Preference of In-School Children, by Race.

Racial Category	Prefer Own Race Per Cent	Prefer Other Race Per Cent	Preference Not Clear Per Cent
Black (N=50)	54.0	26.0	20.0
White (N=103)	78.6	6.8	14.6

Chi Square = 13.112; df=2; $P < .01$

Table 5. Racial Preference of In-School and Pre-School Blacks

School Level	Prefer Blacks Per Cent	Prefer Whites Per Cent	Preference Not Clear Per Cent
In-School Blacks (N=50)	54.0	26.0	20.0
Pre-School Blacks (N=58)	41.4	55.2	3.4

Chi Square = 12.833; df=2; $P < .01$.

pre-school whites did not differ significantly from in-school whites in their clear-cut preference for whites. The implication is that something happens to the self-image of the black child when he moves from segregated nursery schools to integrated public schools. This notion will be pursued in the next section on racial self-identification.

Racial Self-Identification

Two measures were made of racial self-identification. One was based on answers to questions asking which of the children the respondent looked most like and the other on questions asking which of the children the respondent would rather be. Girls were shown Picture 5 and boys were shown Picture 6. Pointing to one of the black and then to one of the white children the interviewer asked, "Do you look more like this girl (boy) or that one?" This was done for three racial pairs in the picture, and then the respondent was asked in regard to all six in the picture, "Which one do you look most like?" Table 6 shows that the great majority of in-school respondents of both races said they looked most like children of their own race, with no significant difference by race. Previous studies of pre-school children,

Table 6. Responses of In-School Children, by Race, to the Question, "Which Child Do You Look Most Like?"

Racial Category	Most Like Child of Own Race Per Cent	Most Like Child of Other Race Per Cent	Like Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
Black (N=50)	82.0	12.0	6.0
White (N=103)	78.6	6.8	14.6

Chi Square = 3.214; df=2; P> .20.

with few exceptions (Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968), had shown that blacks had been significantly less likely than whites to say they looked like a member of their own race. Table 7 shows a significant difference between the in-school blacks and the pre-school blacks, for the in-school blacks were far more likely to identify with those of their own race than were the pre-school blacks. On the other hand, pre-school and in-school whites did not differ significantly on this measure, with both groupings clearly identifying with whites in the pictures.

Table 7. Responses of In-School and Pre-School Blacks to the Question, "Which Child Do You Look Most Like?"

School Level	Most Like Black Child Per Cent	Most Like White Child Per Cent	Like Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
In-School Blacks (N=50)	82.0	12.0	6.0
Pre-School Blacks (N=58)	48.3	48.3	3.4

Chi Square = 16.249; df=2; P<.001.

In the other measure of racial self-identification, girls were shown Picture 5 and boys Picture 6 and asked in regard to each of three racial pairs in the pictures, "Which girl (boy) would you rather be?" Then pointing to all of the children in the picture, the interviewer asked, "Which one would you most rather be?" Answers to this question by in-school children are summarized in Table 8. Although a majority of in-school children in both races indicated they would most rather be one of the members of their own race in the pictures, whites were

Table 8. Responses of In-School Children, by Race, to the Question "Which Child Would You Most Rather Be?"

Racial Category	Rather Be Child of Own Race Per Cent	Rather Be Child of Other Race Per Cent	Rather Be Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
Black (N=50)	64.0	32.0	4.0
White (N=103)	78.6	12.6	8.7

Chi Square = 8.697; df=2; $P < .02$.

significantly more likely to do so than blacks. Once again, pre-school blacks differed significantly from in-school blacks on this measure, as seen in Table 9, for pre-school blacks were less likely than in-school blacks to say they would most rather be one of the blacks depicted. On the other hand, pre-school whites did not differ significantly from in-school whites in saying in predominant numbers they would most rather be one of the whites.

Table 9. Responses of In-School and Pre-School Blacks to the Question, "Which Child Would You Most Rather Be?"

School Level	Rather Be One of the Blacks Per Cent	Rather Be One of the Whites Per Cent	Rather Be Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
In-School Blacks (N=50)	64.0	32.0	4.0
Pre-School Blacks (N=58)	34.5	58.6	6.9

Chi Square = 9.441; df=2; $P < .01$.

Racial Identification of Parents

For Picture 3, the one showing three white and three black men, each respondent was asked for each of three racial pairs which one looked more like his father. Then the respondent was asked which of the six men in the picture looked most like his father. The answers in Table 10 show that the in-school blacks and in-school whites differed significantly in their responses, with whites more frequently

Table 10. Responses of In-School Children, by Race, to the Question, "Which Man Looks Most Like Your Father?"

Racial Category	Most Like Man of Own Race Per Cent	Most Like Man of Other Race Per Cent	Like Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
Black (N=50)	76.0	14.0	10.0
White (N=103)	84.5	2.9	12.6

Chi Square = 6.823; df=2; $P < .05$.

than blacks identifying their father with someone in the picture of their own race. At the same time, as seen in Table 11, pre-school blacks were even less likely than in-school blacks to indicate that their father looked like one of the black men in the pictures. As in most other measures of race awareness, pre-school whites did not differ significantly from in-school whites in racial identification of their fathers.

Table 11. Responses of In-School and Pre-School Blacks to the Question, "Which Man Looks Most Like Your Father?"

School Level	Most Like One of the Blacks Per Cent	Most Like One of the Whites Per Cent	Like Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
In-School Blacks (N=50)	76.0	14.0	10.0
Pre-School Blacks (N=58)	46.5	39.7	13.8

Chi Square = 10.554; df=2; $P < .01$.

The racial identification of the mother of the respondent was found by showing Picture 4 (three black and three white women) and asking for each of three racial pairs which one looked more like his mother. Then came the question asking which of the six women in the picture looked most like his mother. Table 12 shows that the in-school children differed by race in their responses. Although a majority in both races indicated that their mother looked most like one of the women of their own race, whites were more likely to do this than blacks. Pre-school blacks were significantly less likely than in-school blacks to identify their mothers as black, and pre-school whites were significantly more likely than in-school whites to identify their mothers as white.

Table 12. Responses of In-School Children, by Race, to the Question, "Which Woman Looks Like Your Mother?"

Racial Category	Most Like Woman of Own Race Per Cent	Most Like Woman of Other Race Per Cent	Like Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
Black (N=50)	78.0	16.0	6.0
White (N=103)	86.4	2.9	10.6

Chi Square = 9.109; df=2; P< .02.

Racial Bias

Three measures were made of what might be termed racial bias or "positive prejudice." For Picture 5 (three black and three white girls) and Picture 6 (three black and three white boys), the respondents were asked which of the girls was the prettiest and which of the boys was the best looking, which of the girls and which of the boys were the best students, and which of the girls and which of the boys were the nicest. Tables 13, 14, and 15 summarize the answers, and they show that in all three cases white respondents were significantly more likely to choose children of their own race than black respondents were to choose children of their race. Pre-school blacks

Table 13. Responses of In-School Children, by Race, to the Questions, "Which Girl is the Prettiest?" and "Which Boy is the Best Looking?"

Racial Category	Children of Own Race Per Cent	Children of Other Race Per Cent	Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
Black (N=50)	46.0	28.0	26.0
White (N=103)	62.1	7.8	30.1

Chi Square = 11.321; df=2; P < .01.

were even less likely than in-school blacks to choose blacks in the pictures as the prettiest and best looking, for only 11.8 percent of the pre-school blacks did so. However, pre-school whites did not differ

significantly from in-school whites in choosing whites in the pictures as the prettiest and best looking.

As seen in Tables 14 and 15, in-school blacks chose whites more frequently than blacks as "best students" and "nicest." Pre-school blacks did not differ significantly from in-school blacks in their choice by race of "best students" and "nicest," and pre-school whites did not differ significantly from in-school whites in choosing whites a majority of times as "best students" and "nicest."

Table 14. Responses of In-School Children, by Race, to the Questions, "Which Girl is the Best Student?" and "Which Boy is the Best Student?"

Racial Category	Children of Own Race Per Cent	Children of Other Race Per Cent	Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
Black (N=50)	36.0	40.0	24.0
White (N=103)	57.3	11.6	31.1

Chi Square = 16.548; df=2; $P < .001$.

Table 15. Responses of In-School Children, by Race, to the Question, "Which Girl is the Nicest" and "Which Boy is the Nicest?"

Racial Category	Children of Own Race Per Cent	Children of Other Race Per Cent	Neither, or Not Sure Per Cent
Black (N=50)	34.0	42.0	24.0
White (N=103)	51.5	13.6	34.9

Chi Square = 15.403; df=2; $P < .001$.

It can be seen that approximately one-third of the white respondents and one-fourth of the black respondents fell into the "Neither, or Not Sure" category on each of these choices, indicating what might be termed a non-biased or unprejudiced response; i.e., one in which the respondents refused to use race as the criterion for evaluation.

Recognition of Racial Terms

In order to find out which racial terms the respondents knew, the interviewer began with Picture 6, the one with six boys, three black and three white, and asked the respondents if they saw a black child in the picture and, if so, to point to him. Respondents were asked in the same way if they saw a white child, a Negro child, a Caucasian child, and a Colored child. As a further check of recognition ability, similar questions were asked about Picture 4, the one with six women, to see which terms respondents could apply to adults. Usually it was clear with the two pictures whether the respondent could apply the racial terms correctly, but if not, the interviewer asked the questions about Picture 5 and then about Picture 3.

It was found that all of the children knew the terms "black" and "white," and could apply them correctly to those in the pictures. When children asked, "Are you black, or are you white?" all but seven of the in-school identified themselves correctly. Five of the seven were not sure, while one of the blacks said he was white and one of the whites said he was black. In contrast, about one-fifth of the pre-school blacks who demonstrated they knew the terms "black" and "white" said they were white, while only one (less than two percent) of the whites who knew the terms said he was black.

Recognition of the other three racial terms by in-school children is shown in Table 16. The term "Colored" is better known than the term "Negro," which is far better known than the term "Caucasian." However, it is of interest that "Caucasian" was better known by black than by white respondents, while "Negro" and "Colored" were equally well known by both races. Ability to recognize these terms among whites was significantly related to the age of the respondent, the older the child the more likely he was to know the term. However, knowledge of the terms was not related to age among the black respondents. In fact, the variation by age in the ability of in-school whites to recognize these three racial terms was the only significant variation by age in any of the measures of racial awareness and attitudes of the children in kindergarten through the third grades.

Table 16. Recognition of the Racial Terms "Colored," "Negro," and "Caucasian" by In-School Children, by Race.

Racial Category	Recognition of "Colored" Per Cent	Recognition of "Negro" Per Cent	Recognition of "Caucasian"* Per Cent
Black (N=50)	88.0	76.0	24.0
White (N=103)	87.4	70.9	5.8

*Recognition of "Caucasian" was significantly different for black and white respondents; chi square = 10.711; df=1; $P < .001$.

Summary

There are two findings that stand out in this study of racial attitudes among the Lynchburg children in kindergarten through the third grade. First, black children in these grades do not show as favorable an attitude toward their race as white children in these grades do toward theirs. There was a statistically significant difference between the responses of black and white children on eight of the nine measures of attitude: blacks were more likely to accept whites than whites to accept blacks; compared to whites, blacks were less likely to prefer their own race, to say they had rather be children of their own race, to identify their fathers and their mothers with members of their own race, to say that children of their own race were prettier, better students, and nicer than whites. In these ways the young black Lynchburg school children are like pre-school blacks studied in Lynchburg and elsewhere and referred to earlier in this report. On only one measure, namely on self-identity in terms of which child the respondents said they looked most like, did the black children not differ significantly from the white children.

The second major finding concerns the differences in racial attitudes between the in-school and pre-school children. In-school whites did not differ significantly from pre-school whites on a single measure, while in-school blacks differed significantly from the pre-school blacks on seven of nine measures. The pre-school blacks were even less likely than the in-school blacks to accept members of their own race, to prefer members of their own race, to say they looked like and would rather be members of their own race, to identify their fathers and mothers as members of their own race, and to say that members of their own race were prettier and better looking than members of the white race. On the "best student" and "nicest" measures pre-school blacks were not significantly different from the in-school blacks because the latter showed as strong a pro-white bias as the pre-school blacks. This significant difference between pre-school and in-school blacks is a new finding, at least from a study using the same measuring instrument, the same time span, and the same community setting. It calls for an explanation, which must, of course, be in the form of hypotheses that require testing.

One explanation is that as the in-school blacks enter school they learn very clearly what racial category they belong to, for under racial balance they are assigned to schools largely on the basis of race. As was hypothesized in pre-school studies by the chief investigator (Morland, 1958; 1962; 1963a; 1963b; 1966; 1969) there has been little emphasis on race per se among nursery school children, and the strong message from American society was that it was preferable to be white than to be black. Hence there was an unconscious preference for and identification with the dominant race. However, with the entry into integrated schools where racial identity became unequivocal, there was movement toward greater identity by blacks with members of their own race and clearer acceptance of their racial identity. It can be assumed that there is an American norm calling for the acceptance of one's own racial or ethnic grouping. Evidence of this is found in the

reaction of the Supreme Court and the public when it was revealed in the studies of Clark and Clark (1947) that black American children were denying their own racial identity. The Supreme Court ruling of 1954 declaring separate to be inherently unequal was based in part on the belief that forced separation by race harmed the self-image and self-respect of black children. This assumption of an American norm supporting identification with and acceptance of one's racial or ethnic category will be explored further in findings about attitudes of older children in the second part of this report.

The other explanation of the differences between the racial attitudes of in-school and pre-school blacks is that the emphasis on racial pride through such slogans as "black is beautiful" and the promotion of black heroes is having an effect on the in-school black children. At the same time, one might wonder why it is not reaching the pre-school black children to the same degree. Also is to be noted the continuing lower racial self-acceptance of in-school blacks compared to in-school whites, even with the emphasis on racial pride and identity. It is also intriguing to note that pre-school whites do not differ significantly from in-school whites, indicating that the hypothesized American norm that it is preferable to identify with one's own racial category reaches white pre-schoolers. Or could it be that the societal message to all pre-schoolers is that it is better to be white than black?

PART II. Racial Attitudes of Older Children

The set of pictures and the interview questions accompanying them were not appropriate for determining the racial attitudes of children beyond the third grade. Therefore different measuring instruments were utilized and different procedures used with the older children. The chief investigator has had experience in using the semantic differential as a measurement of the direction of attitudes (Morland and Williams, 1969; Williams, Morland, and Underwood, 1970) and knew that children in the sixth grade and beyond could understand it. In order to complement the measure of the direction of attitudes, a social distance scale was developed to reveal the content of attitudes. This scale could also be readily used by those in the sixth grade and older. However, neither of these instruments would have been suitable for use with younger children.

Sample

The same kinds of lists of names of students in the Lynchburg public schools as used with the younger children, namely alphabetical listings by year of birth, race, and sex, were employed with the older children. In order to have enough cases in different categories for the purpose of comparison, random samples were drawn from those born in 1954, 1956, 1958, and 1960. These students were primarily in the 12th, 10th, 8th, and 6th grades. Separate samples were drawn for white males, white females, black males, and black females in each age category. A letter describing the study and inviting participation was mailed to each student selected. Since the Lynchburg School Board required that the testing be done outside of the public schools and after school hours, those in the sample were asked to come to Randolph-Macon any afternoon during the week of February 7, 1972. Each participant was promised the sum of four dollars to compensate for his time and transportation. A postcard was enclosed on which the respondent could indicate his willingness to participate and indicate the day of week and time of day he wished to come. A place on the card was also provided for the signature of parent or guardian. A copy of the letter and card is found in Appendix D.

Fifty-five percent of those selected returned cards and actually appeared to take the questionnaires. Additional random samples were taken from each of the age, race, and sex categories until the number in each category was proportionately the same as the total in that category. The final sample came to 156, a 4.6 percent sample of Lynchburg school children born in the stated years, by race and by sex.

Measuring Instruments

The semantic differential provides a means of determining the connotation of words. Much of the research on the semantic differential has been done by Charles Osgood and his associates (1957), who through factor analysis produced a list of polar adjectives with the kind of connotation the adjectives carry. Research has shown that those adjectives with factor loadings on the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential measure the direction of attitudes (Osgood, et. al, 1957: 194-195; Williams and Roberson, 1967). Ten pairs of evaluative adjectives were chosen from Osgood's list, and from them a semantic differential test of attitudes was constructed. Eighteen different concepts were evaluated by the test. First were five race-related color names: red, black, brown, white, and yellow. Next came two reference terms, friend and enemy, which were used to check the validity of the measure. Finally came eight racial-ethnic concepts: American, Chinese American, Black American, Mexican American, Japanese American, White American, Puerto Rican American, and American Indian. Although the chief purpose of the research was to find out how black Americans and white Americans felt about each other, it would have been too obvious if only these two concepts had been included. Also, adding the color names, the reference concepts, and the other racial-ethnic concepts provided information on whether the black and white students reacted in the same way to Americans of other racial and ethnic backgrounds. A copy of the semantic differential test, along with the sheet of directions, is found in Appendix E.

The second measure of the attitudes of older children was a modification of the social distance test. E. S. Bogardus was the originator of the test and has used it to measure racial attitudes in America for more than thirty years (1958). However, the test used by Bogardus was not suitable for the purposes of this project, since some of the questions were not applicable and some not appropriate for the age group. Therefore, questions that were considered appropriate were devised and rated in terms of social distance by Randolph-Macon college students. Seven revisions of the test were required before consistent ratings were given. The form of the questionnaire used asked the respondent to indicate if he would be willing to have a member of the particular group (e.g., American Indian) go to a party he was attending, live in his neighborhood, be a member of his team, live next door, go to a party as his date, marry his brother or sister, be a close, personal friend, marry him. These questions were asked for the following seven groups: American Indians, Black Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, and White Americans. A copy of the social distance test can be found in Appendix F.

This second test was added for two reasons. First, it dealt more directly with the content of attitudes; i.e., what specific behaviors were acceptable and which were not (Woodmansee and Cook, 1967). The semantic differential gives only the direction of attitude. Second, the social distance scale provided the opportunity

for seeing if scores on the semantic differential were similar to those on the social distance scale. If both are measuring racial attitudes, they should give similar results. Future studies of the racial attitudes of Lynchburg school children could be compared with the present scores to see to what degree there was change in the direction of attitude and to what degree there was change in the content of attitude.

Results of the Semantic Differential Test

The particular color, reference group, or racial-ethnic category reacted to in the semantic differential test received a score based on the assignment of the digits 1 through 7 to the positions on each paired set of adjectives. The digit 1 was assigned the most favorable and 7 the least favorable. Thus there were ten numerical assignments for each of the concepts rated, and the mean score was calculated for each concept for each respondent. These scores are summarized for black students, white students, and all students in Table 17.

Table 17. Mean Semantic Differential Evaluative Scores Assigned to Concepts by Older Lynchburg School Children, by Race*

Concepts Evaluated	Black Students (N=50)	White Students (N=106)	All Students (N=156)
Red	3.12	3.15	3.14
Black	2.84	4.71	4.11
Brown	3.46	4.07	3.88
White	3.08	2.21	2.49
Yellow	2.57	2.78	2.71
Friend	2.12	1.54	1.73
Enemy	5.66	5.88	5.81
American	3.07	2.42	2.63
Chinese American	2.93	3.00	2.98
Black American	2.40	3.57	3.20
Mexican American	3.26	3.12	3.17
Japanese American	3.16	2.82	2.93
White American	3.32	2.52	2.78
Puerto Rican American	2.98	3.17	3.11
American Indian	2.88	2.57	2.67

*The lower the score, the more favorable the evaluation. The possible range is from 1.00 (most favorable) to 7.00 (least favorable).

First to be noted in Table 17 are the evaluations of "friend" and "enemy." For both black and white respondents, "friend" is the most favorably evaluated of all the terms, while "enemy" is the least favorably evaluated. Such results support the validity of the semantic differential test, i.e., it appears to be measuring what it purports to measure, namely favorable and unfavorable attitudes.

Among the race-related color names, "red" and "yellow" were evaluated in similar ways by the two races. However, "black," "white," and to a lesser extent "brown," were evaluated quite differently. The black respondents rated the color black in a favorable way, while it was rated least favorably of all the colors by the white respondents. In contrast, the white respondents rated the color white most favorably of all the colors. Black respondents rated the color brown the least favorably of all the colors, but white respondents rated it even less favorably than black respondents did, although whites rated the color black even less favorably than the color brown.

Table 18 shows mean differential scores by race according to year of birth. It can be seen that there is a clear-cut change among black respondents in their evaluations of the colors black and white. The youngest black respondents rated "white" the most favorable of all the colors, with "black" next to the least favorable. However, "white" was rated less and less favorably and "black" more and more favorably by age until among those born in 1954 "black" is the most favorably rated color and "white" the least favorably rated. In contrast, the white repondents tended to rate all five colors in similar ways throughout the age categories.

Table 18. Mean Semantic Differential Evaluative Scores Assigned to Color Names by Older Children, by Race and Year of Birth*

Race and Year of Birth of Respondent	Color Name Evaluated				
	Red	Black	Brown	White	Yellow
Black, 1960	3.17	3.33	3.47	2.73	2.76
Black, 1958	2.32	2.61	4.07	2.79	2.26
Black, 1956	3.43	2.84	3.27	3.27	2.56
Black, 1954	3.32	2.57	3.21	3.40	2.67
White, 1960	2.63	4.73	3.86	2.21	2.50
White, 1958	3.20	4.33	3.86	2.16	2.58
White, 1956	3.05	4.67	4.01	2.25	3.08
White, 1954	3.68	5.15	4.61	2.25	2.98

*The lower the score, the more favorable the evaluation. The possible range is from 1.00 (most favorable) to 7.00 (least favorable).

Among the seven racial-ethnic categories of Americans, the black and white respondents evaluated "Chinese American," "Mexican American," "Japanese American," "Puerto Rican American," and "American Indian" in similar ways. However, as was the case with the color names, black respondents rated "Black American" most favorably and "White American" least favorably, while white respondents did the opposite, rating "White American" most favorably and "Black American" least favorably. It can be noted that when all students are considered this difference is largely blurred, since white students make up two-thirds of the sample. "Black American" was evaluated least favorably by the entire sample and "White American" next to the most favorably rated "American Indian."

The concept "American" requires special attention, since it is more general than the racial-ethnic groupings, and presumably acts as a sort of summary term for all Americans. However, it can be seen in Table 17 that "American" was evaluated more favorably by white than by black respondents. In fact, it was evaluated more favorably than any of the racial-ethnic categories by white respondents and by the sample as a whole. Also to be noted is the similar way in which white respondents evaluated "American" and "White American." Black respondents did not place "American" as close to their own racial category as did whites. It can be assumed that the respondents tended to think of "American" as "White American."

Variations in evaluation of racial-ethnic groups by race and age categories are shown in Table 19. The youngest blacks, those born in 1960, gave a relatively low ranking to "Black American;" in fact, "White American" was rated higher. However, among the oldest blacks, those born in 1954, "Black American" had the most favorable ranking and "White American" the least favorable. Likewise, blacks in the older age categories tended to rate "American" less and less favorably and closer to "White American." At the same time, black respondents tended to rate "Black American" less and less like "American." It might be noted that the major shift in the evaluation of "Black American" by black respondents came in the 1958 age category, a time when most in that category would have left elementary school for junior high school.

White respondents tended to rate "Black American" less favorably in the older age categories, but the differences were not great, and in every age category "Black American" was ranked lowest by whites. Throughout the four age categories, white respondents evaluated "American" very much like they evaluated "White American;" in fact, "American" was more favorably evaluated in three of the four age categories. As was the case in Table 17, there is support for the notion that both black and white respondents thought of "American" as "White American," and that this notion increased with age.

Table 19. Mean Semantic Differential Evaluative Scores Assigned to American and to Racial-Ethnic Categories of Americans by Older Children, by Race and Year of Birth*

Race and Year of Birth of Respondent	Racial-Ethnic Category of American							
	American	Chinese	Black	Mexican	Japanese	White	Puerto Rican	Indian
Black, 1960	2.65	2.70	3.22	3.06	3.01	2.85	2.66	3.28
Black, 1958	2.22	2.73	2.08	3.22	2.55	2.85	2.68	2.27
Black, 1956	3.39	3.02	2.08	3.17	3.36	3.48	3.00	3.01
Black, 1954	3.68	3.18	2.37	3.42	3.56	3.91	3.54	2.82
White, 1960	2.29	2.93	3.44	2.76	2.69	2.39	2.94	2.58
White, 1958	2.40	2.70	3.41	2.71	2.52	2.31	2.81	2.28
White, 1956	2.11	3.10	3.56	3.31	2.98	2.33	3.24	2.35
White, 1954	2.91	3.36	3.89	3.74	3.15	3.10	3.74	3.12

*The lower the score, the more favorable the evaluation. The possible range is from 1.00 (most favorable) to 7.00 (least favorable).

Racial-Ethnic Categories and Social Distance

The social distance scale was designed to determine two aspects of racial attitude: the nearness of relationship accorded members of the category and the kind of relationship that the respondent would be willing to grant. The responses and scoring of the questionnaire were different from those used by Bogardus and others who have employed the scale. For each of the eight questions expressing acceptance (see Appendix F), the respondent could indicate "Yes," "Not Sure," or "No." Each "Yes" was scored 1, each "Not Sure" 4.5, and each "No" 8. The replies for each racial-ethnic category were added and divided by 8 so that the range of responses would be from 1.00 (complete acceptance) to 8.00 (complete rejection). Mean social distance scores for black, white, and all respondents are shown in Table 20.

One striking difference in the scores is the way in which black and white students responded in regard to the two races. They showed greatest nearness to their own race and greatest or next to greatest distance from the other race. It is of significance that this difference is obscured when the mean scores of all students are compared, for in over-all averages, "White American" had the least distance and "Black American" the greatest. However, when race is controlled, the differences already noted appear.

There is no clear-cut pattern that emerges in the way in which black and white respondents rank the other racial-ethnic groupings. Both place the American Indian next to themselves in nearness. White respondents placed "Japanese American" closer to their own racial

Table 20. Mean Social Distance Scores Assigned to Concepts by Older Lynchburg School Children, by Race*

Concept Evaluated	Black Students (N=50)	White Students (N=106)	All Students (N=156)
American Indian	2.92	2.33	2.52
Black American	1.76	4.14	3.38
Chinese American	3.28	2.55	2.78
Japanese American	3.70	2.51	2.89
Mexican American	3.21	2.59	2.79
Puerto Rican American	3.28	2.72	2.90
White American	3.69	1.15	1.96

*The lower the score, the less the social distance. The possible range is from 1.00 (no distance) to 8.00 (greatest distance).

category than black respondents did to theirs.

Table 21 gives the mean social distance score for age categories within the two races. As might have been anticipated, the lowest social distance at each age level was for the respondent's own race. However, for black respondents there was a significant decrease in social distance for "Black American" from the youngest respondents, those born in 1960,

Table 21. Mean Social Distance Scores Assigned to American Racial-Ethnic Categories by Older Students, by Race and Year of Birth*

Race, Year of Birth	American Racial-Ethnic Category						
	Indian	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Mexican	Puerto Rican	White
Black, 1960	4.14	2.75	3.90	4.42	3.90	3.94	3.97
Black, 1958	3.19	1.65	3.76	3.97	3.35	3.27	3.41
Black, 1956	2.67	1.72	3.34	3.93	3.50	3.31	4.37
Black, 1954	1.90	1.00	2.24	2.48	2.02	2.60	2.68
White, 1960	3.06	4.60	3.30	3.29	3.18	3.23	1.26
White, 1958	2.14	4.08	2.46	2.54	2.67	2.74	1.04
White, 1956	2.13	4.13	2.25	2.21	2.43	2.61	1.18
White, 1954	2.01	3.76	2.16	1.99	2.07	2.32	1.14

*The lower the score, the less the social distance. The possible range is from 1.00 (no distance) to 8.00 (greatest distance).

to the older respondents. In fact, there tended to be a reduction in social distance for all racial-ethnic categories on the part of both white and black respondents with an increase in age. Also to be noted was the placing by white respondents of "Black American" at the greatest social distance in every age category. While black respondents did not place "White American" at the greatest social distance of all the racial-ethnic categories in the two younger age categories, they did put "White American" at the greatest social distance in the two older age categories.

Summary

There is additional evidence from the scores on the semantic differential and social distance questionnaires for the presence of an American norm calling for identification with and preference for one's own racial-ethnic category. White respondents in every age grouping consistently scored their own racial category of "White American" most favorably and with the least social distance. It might be assumed, as evidently has been done by Bogardus (1958) and Westie and Morland (1971), that such scoring reflects the generally accepted high status of white Americans by all Americans. Using summary scores of all students, as seen in Tables 17 and 20, this claim for the norm that white Americans are viewed most favorably by all racial-ethnic categories can be made. But, as we have seen, once the racial category of the respondent is controlled, we have a different result. Indeed, older black respondents placed "White American" in the least favorable position and at the greatest social distance of all the categories. Therefore it is probable that Bogardus and those using his test have been demonstrating the attitude of the large majority, namely white Americans, rather than the generalized attitude of all Americans.

Further light on this norm of placing one's own racial-ethnic category in the most favorable position is found in Tables 18, 19, and 21. These tables show that as the age of black respondents increase, from about 12 to 18 years of age, they tend to evaluate "black" more favorably and "white" less favorably, and to evaluate "Black American" more favorably and "White American" less favorably. Also, in the oldest age category, they move to no social distance with "Black American," and although the social distance scores of "White American" tend to decrease with age, the oldest black respondents rate "White American" below all other racial-ethnic groupings. While the picture is a complex one, it appears that with age the black respondents moved toward the assumed American norm of preference for one's own racial-ethnic grouping and away from a favoring of the dominant white grouping. It would be instructive to find out if something similar is followed by those in the other racial-ethnic categories, namely the Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Mexican, and Puerto Rican Americans.

CONCLUSION

A major finding of this study of racial attitudes in Lynchburg school children is support for the existence of an American norm that each racial-ethnic grouping of Americans should have a favorable view of itself. The movement toward this assumed norm was seen in a clear-cut way among the black American children studied. Pre-school black respondents preferred, identified with, and had a strong bias for whites. However, such preference, identification, and bias were significantly less among blacks in kindergarten and primary grades, and by the end of high school black Americans showed a highly favorable evaluation of and no social distance from "Black American."[3] These findings tend to corroborate the reports of Brigham (1971), Hraba and Grant (1970), and Paige (1970) of a favorable self-concept by older black children. However, for the first time this study revealed the developmental pattern of this attitude from pre-school to the final year in high school.

Another significant finding concerns the evaluation of "American" and "White American" by the older respondents. Blacks evaluated both of these terms less and less favorably by age, until among the oldest blacks they were the least favorably evaluated of all the racial-ethnic categories. Whites evaluated these two terms very favorably in every age category, while they evaluated "Black American" in an unfavorable way. It is evident that both races were associating "American" with "White American."

It might appear that these two findings conflict with the normative theory of prejudice in so far as it has been assumed that there is one, general racial-ethnic ranking (Bogardus, 1958; Westie and Morland, 1971). Obviously, the black and white respondents had quite different rankings, at least by the time there were around 18 years of age. These findings suggest that the general norm is that of high evaluation of one's own racial-ethnic category, with the possibility of different rankings of other racial-ethnic categories. There was no evidence of a single ranking on which black and white Americans agreed.

The next step in research is to replicate the study after two years to see if there have been changes in attitudes. According to the normative theory, there should be changes in attitudes with changes in social structure (Morland, 1969). Furthermore, racial balance should promote a condition of equal-status contact under which it can be hypothesized that greater racial acceptance will take place. Finally, the replication can throw light on conflicting assumptions of what happens to black American children under extensive integration (Asher and Allen, 1969). One assumption is that feelings of self-acceptance and competence are enhanced (Erikson, 1950; White, 1959); the other is that these feelings will decrease because of more frequent comparisons with advantaged children (Pettigrew, 1967). Practical use of the replication can be to inform the administration of the Lynchburg public schools what is happening to racial attitudes under racial balance.

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[3] A Spearman rank-order correlation test showed greater and greater similarity in ranking in both the semantic differential and social distance scores by age. The rank-order of racial-ethnic groupings of blacks born in 1960, 1958, and 1956 were compared with those born in 1954. For the semantic differential scores, the results were -.571, .571, .750; for social distance rankings the results were .286, .607, .750. Further tests of the normative theory are being made with measures of standard deviation and analysis of variance within each age-race category.

APPENDIX A.

Letter and Card Sent to Younger Children

Dear

I am in charge of a research project being conducted by Randolph-Macon on children's attitudes. Five college students are assisting me. Your child, , is among those chosen at random to be interviewed, and we would like to have your permission to come to your home to do so. The interview takes about ten minutes and consists of asking your child some questions about a set of pictures. The name of your child will not be used in any way in the study, for all of those interviewed are to remain anonymous.

One of my students would like to visit your home to conduct the interview on a day and at a time of your choosing. She will bring a gift for your child as a way of showing our appreciation for your help with the research project.

Enclosed is a postcard with places for you to indicate the day of the week and the hour of the day that would usually be most convenient for the visit of one of our students. When we receive your reply, we shall either telephone you or come by your home to set up a definite date and hour for the interview. We hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

J. Kenneth Morland
Professor

I am willing for my child to be interviewed: Yes___; No___

_____
(signature of parent or guardian)

Name of child_____
(please print)

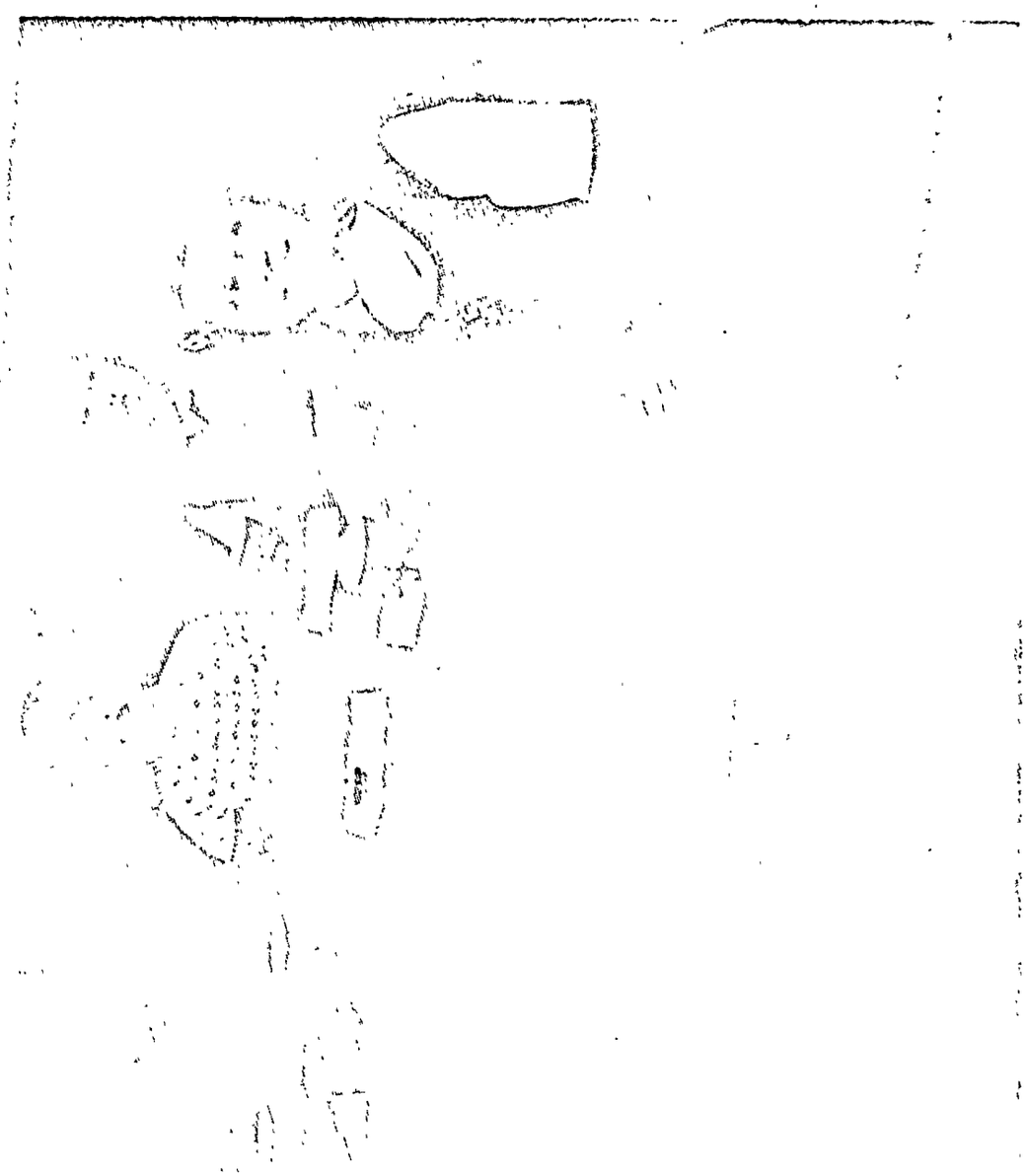
Day of week preferred_____

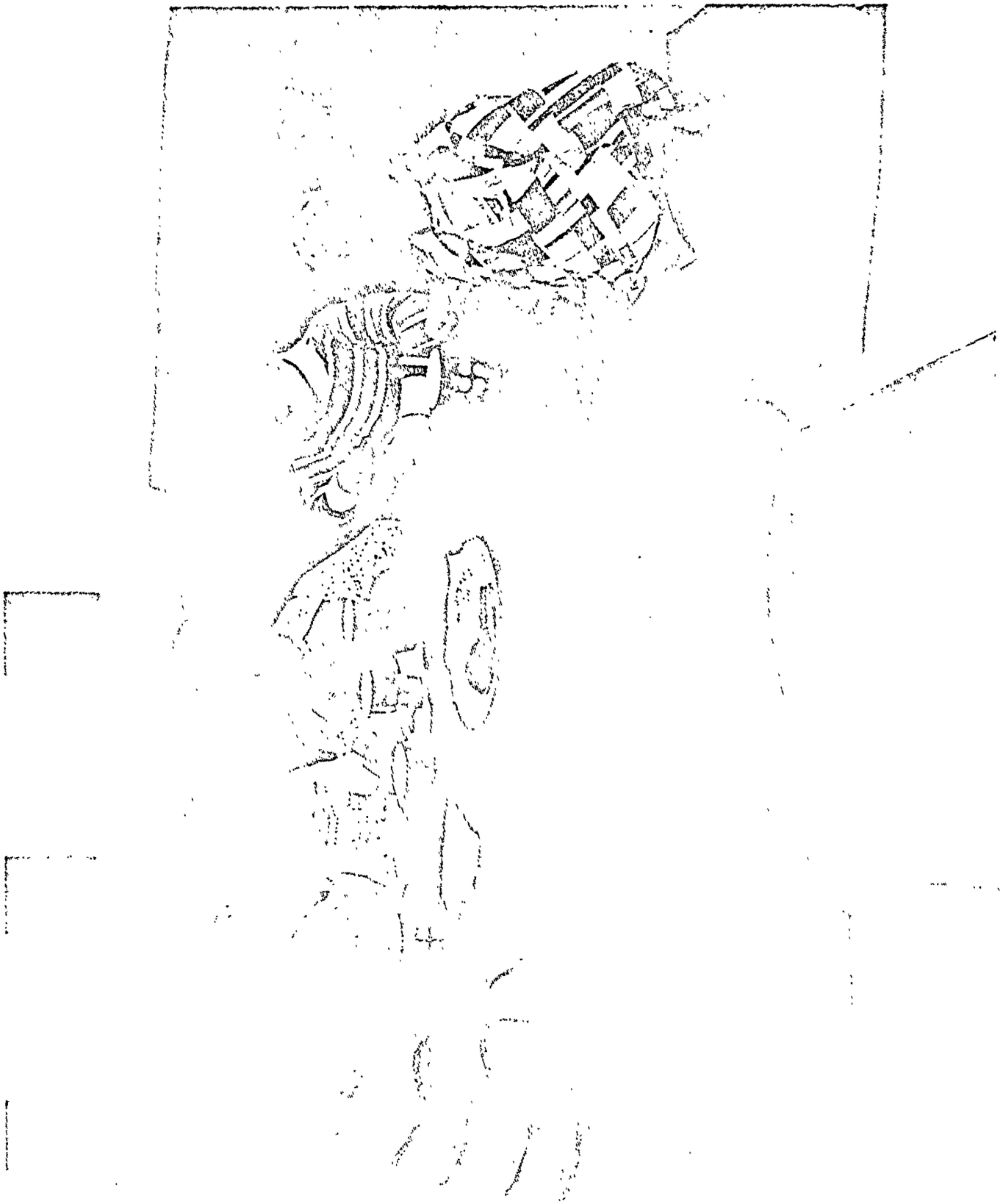
Time of day preferred_____

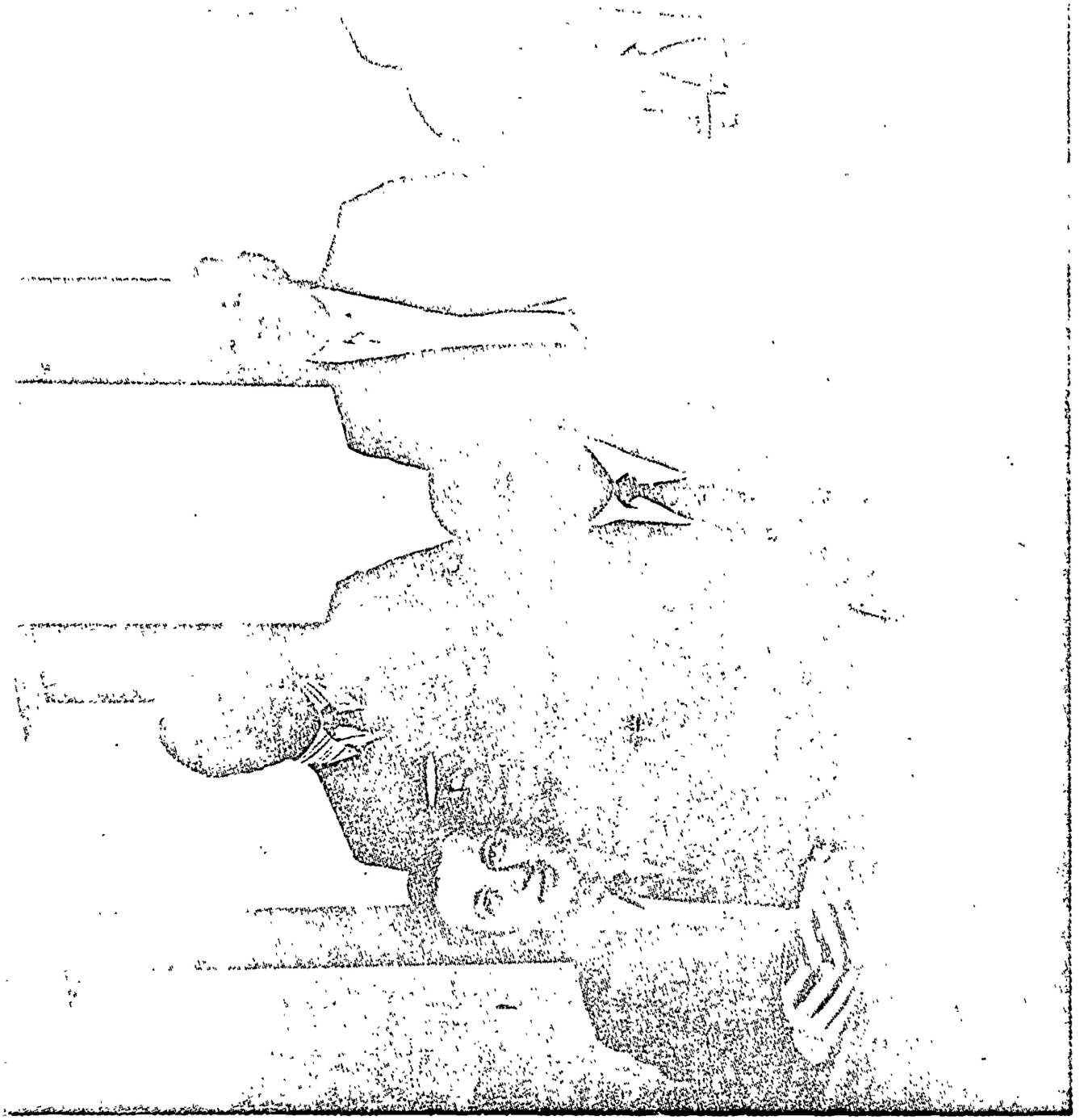
Telephone: Yes___; No___. If yes, Number_____

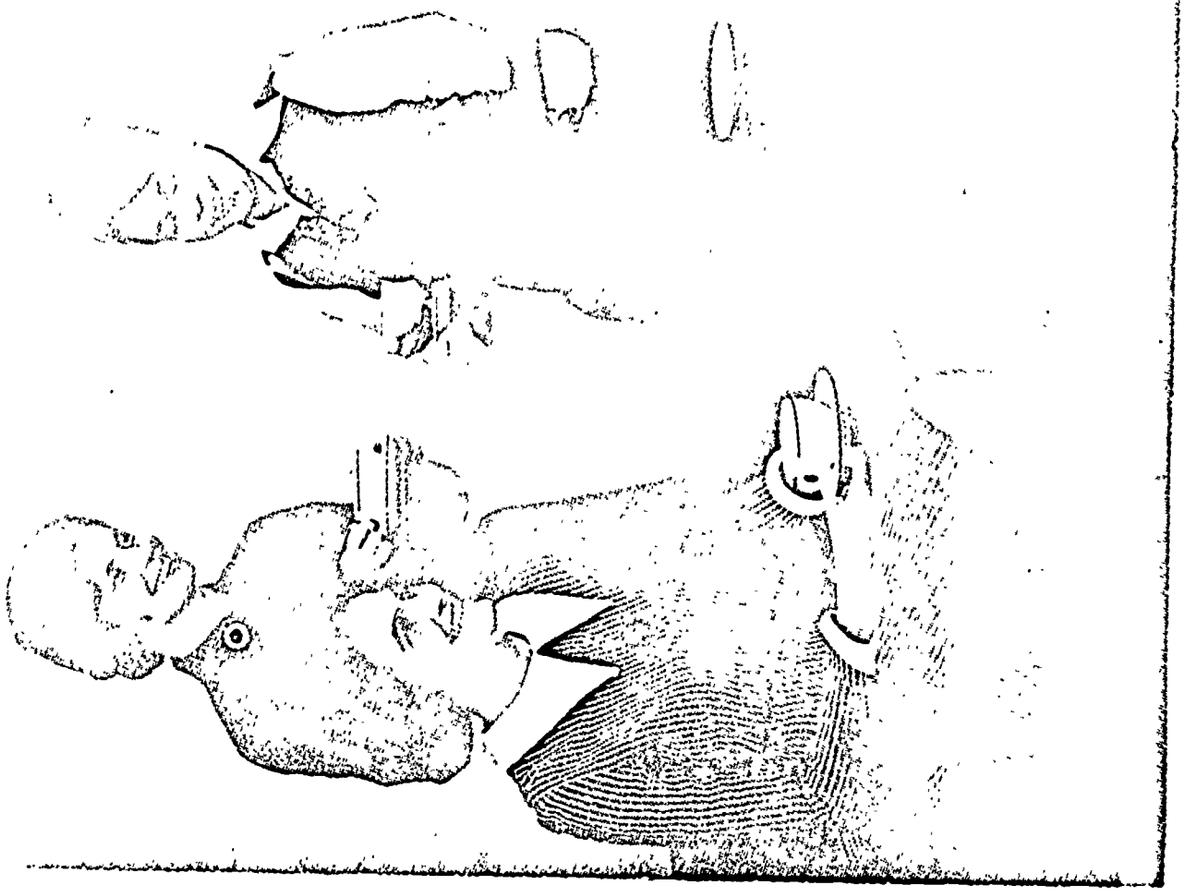
APPENDIX B

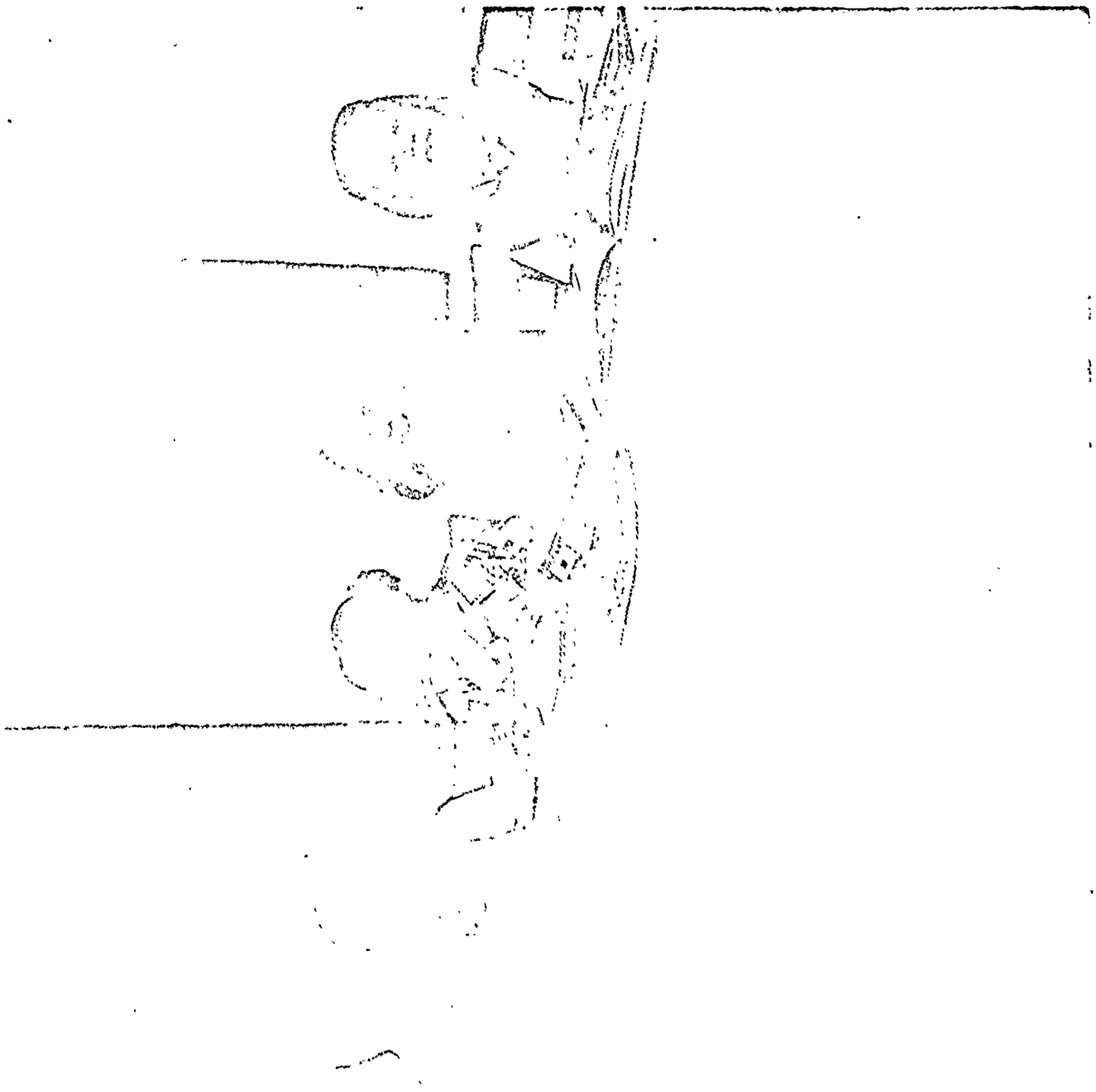
Xeroxed Copies of Colored Pictures Used in Interview Test with Younger Children











APPENDIX C

RACE AWARENESS PICTURE-INTERVIEW

General Explanation

The picture-interview is designed to measure racial acceptance, preference, self-identification, bias, and recognition ability of young black and white children.

There are two parts to the interview. The first makes no mention of race and is designed to find out if the respondent accepts, prefers, and identifies with his own or with the other race. The second part attempts to measure the ability of the respondent to apply racial terms correctly to the persons in the pictures, to the interviewer, and to himself.

Interview Questions

Part I.

I. First (or Second) Picture (six white children, three boys and three girls). [This is the first picture for white respondents, the second for black.]
   1. What do you see in this picture?
      [This is the initial warm-up question for each of the pictures in the first part of the test. It is also designed to see if there is spontaneous racial awareness, which is indicated if the respondent employs any racial term in his answer.]
   2. Would you like to play with these children? Why or why not?
      [This is a measure of Acceptance—if the respondent replies, "Yes"; Non-Acceptance—if the respondent replies, "No," and answers the "Why not?" with a non-racial reason; Rejection—if the respondent replies, "No," and answers the "Why not?" with a racial reason.]

   Second (or First) Picture (six black children, three boys and three girls): [First picture for black respondents, second for white.]
   1. What do you see in this picture?
   2. Would you like to play with these children? Why or why not?
   3. (Pointing to the first and second pictures) Would you like to play with these children, or with these?
      [This is the first measure of preference.]

   Third Picture (six men, three black and three white)
   1. What do you see in this picture?
   2. Does this man look more like your father (point to one of the blacks), or does this one look more like your father (point to one of the whites)? Repeat for the other two racial pairs.

3. (Pointing to all of the men) Which one looks most like your father? Why?
[These questions form a measure of racial identification of the parent.]

Fourth Picture (six women, three white and three black)
(Repeat the questions for the Third Picture, using "mother" instead of "father".)

Fifth Picture (six girls, three black and three white)
1. What do you see in this picture?
2. (Pointing to one of the blacks) Would you like to play with this girl? Why or why not? [an acceptance measure]
3. (Pointing to one of the whites) Would you like to play with this girl? Why or why not? [an acceptance measure]
4. (Pointing to all of the children) Which one would you most like to play with? Why? [a preference question]
5. Which of these girls do you think is the prettiest? [a racial bias question]
6. Which of these girls do you think is the best student? [a racial bias question]
7. Which of these girls do you think is the nicest? [a racial bias question]

(If the respondent is a girl, ask the following questions about the Fifth Picture; if the respondent is a boy, ask the following questions about the Sixth Picture.)

8. (Pointing to one of the blacks and to one of the whites) Do you look more like this girl or like that one? [identity question]
9. (Pointing to all of the girls) Which one do you look most like? [identity question]
10. (Pointing to one of the whites and to one of the blacks) Would you rather be this girl or that one? [identity question]
11. (Pointing to all of the girls) Which one would you most like to be? [identity question]

Sixth Picture (six boys, three white and three black)
(Repeat the first seven questions under the Fifth Picture. If the respondent is a boy, repeat the remaining questions under the Fifth Picture).

Part B. (Tell the subject that you want him to look at the pictures once more. Beginning with the Sixth Picture, and continuing through the remaining pictures, ask him):

1. Do you see a black child in this picture? Point to him.
2. Do you see a white child in this picture? Point to him.
3. Do you see a Negro child in this picture? Point to him.

4. Do you see a Caucasian child in this picture? Point to him.
5. Do you see a Colored child in this picture? Point to him.

~~(Repeat the above questions, using "woman" instead of "child.")~~

(For each of the above terms correctly identified, ask the following, without using the pictures):
1. Are you black, or are you white?
2. Are you a Negro?
3. Are you a Caucasian?
4. Are you Colored?

APPENDIX D

Letter and Card Sent to Older Children

Dear

Randolph Macon is conducting a study of attitudes of young people as part of a senior research project. You are among those who have been randomly chosen to participate in the study. We need your help in answering two questionnaires requiring about thirty minutes of your time. You will be given $4.00 to compensate for your time and transportation.

The questionnaires will be given the week of February 7th through February 12th, Monday through Friday at 4:00 and at 5:00 and Saturday morning at 10:00 and at 11:00 at Randolph-Macon. Come to Main Hall lobby of the College. There a Randolph-Macon student will show you where the questionnaires are to be given. This is a study in which you will not be identified in any way, for all responses are to be anonymous.

Enclosed is a postcard on which you should indicate whether or not you are willing to participate, which of the days and times you plan to come, and a p[illegible]e for your parent or guardian to indicate approval.

I hope very much that you can help us in this research project.

Sincerely yours,

J. Kenneth Morland
Professor

Name (please print)_____

I am willing to participate: Yes___; No___.

I plan to come_____, _____
(Day of Week) (Time of Day)

Signature of parent or guardian:

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE I.

Directions:

The purpose of this study is to find out how students feel about certain words. On each page that follows you will find a different word and beneath it a set of adjectives.

For example, assume that the word at the top of the page is PURPLE. If you feel that this word is very closely related to one of the two pairs of adjectives found on each line, place your check-mark as follows:

beautiful __X__ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ ugly

or

beautiful ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : X ugly

If you feel that this word is quite closely related to one of the two pairs of adjectives found on each line, place your check-mark as follows:

beautiful ____ : X : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ ugly

or

beautiful ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : X : ____ ugly

If you feel that this word is only slightly related to one of the two pairs of adjectives found on each line, place your check-mark as follows:

beautiful ____ : ____ : X : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ ugly

or

beautiful ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : X : ____ : ____ ugly

If you feel that this word is no closer to one adjective than it is to the other, or if the adjectives are unrelated to the word, place your check-mark in the middle space, as follows:

beautiful ____ : ____ : ____ : X : ____ : ____ : ____ ugly

Do not sign your name, but give the following information about yourself:

Date of your birth_____
(Month) (Day) (Year)

Your race_____

Your sex_____

Your school_____

Your grade in school_____

RED

beautiful ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ ugly

clean ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ dirty

sad ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ happy

fair ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ unfair

dishonest ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ honest

unpleasant ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ pleasant

brave ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ cowardly

awful ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ nice

cruel ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ kind

good ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____ bad

(The remainder of the pages of the questionnaire contained the above adjectives with the following terms evaluated: Black; Brown; White; Yellow; ~~Red~~; Friend; Enemy; American; Chinese American; Black American; Mexican American; Japanese American; White American; Puerto Rican American; and American Indian.)

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE II.

Directions:

This study is an attempt to find out how Americans feel about each other.

Do not sign your name, but please give the following information about yourself:

Date of your birth_____
(Month) (Day) (Year)

Your race_____

Your sex_____

When answering questions about the following groups, try to think of the group in general instead of any specific individual. It is your first, quick impression that is wanted.

American Indians. I would be willing to have a member of this group:

1. go to a party I'm attending. Yes____; No____; Not sure____.
2. live in my neighborhood. Yes____; No____; Not sure____.
3. be a member of my team. Yes____; No____; Not sure____.
4. live next door to me. Yes____; No____; Not sure____.
5. go to a party as my date. Yes____; No____; Not sure____.
6. marry my brother or my sister Yes____; No____; Not sure____.
7. be a close, personal friend of mine. Yes____; No____; Not sure____.
8. marry me. Yes____; No____; Not sure____.

(The remainder of the questionnaire contained the above statements to be used with the following racial-ethnic categories: Black Americans; Chinese Americans; Japanese Americans; Mexican Americans; Puerto Rican Americans; and White Americans.)

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