DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 131 166 95 UD 016 567

AUTHOR Morland, J. Kenneth
TITLE Racial Attitudes and Racial Balance in Public Schools: A Case Study of Lynchburg, Virginia. Final Report.
INSTITUTION Randolph-Macon Woman's Coll., Lynchburg, Va.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Oct 76
GRANT NIE-G-76-0040
NOTE 46p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Age Differences; Attitude Tests; *Elementary School Students; *Integration Effects; *Longitudinal Studies; Measurement Techniques; Negro Attitudes; Public Schools; *Racial Attitudes; Racial Balance; Racial Differences; Racial Recognition; School Integration; *Secondary School Students; Student Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS *Virginia (Lynchburg)

ABSTRACT

Beginning with the 1971-72 school term, the public schools of Lynchburg, Virginia, were racially balanced. In the elementary and junior high schools, this was achieved by busing; in the high schools it was achieved by having all ninth and tenth grade students attend the same school, and by having all eleventh and twelfth graders attend the same school. The two races involved were blacks and whites, making up approximately one-third and two-thirds of the school population, respectively. Early in 1972, a study of racial attitudes of Lynchburg school children was made in order to provide a base-line measurement at the time racial balance was instituted. In the spring of 1976, the 1972 study was replicated in order to find out what was happening to racial attitudes under racial balance. It was found that racial attitudes between the races were more favorable, that social distance between the races had decreased slightly, and that there was greater racial self-acceptance and a more favorable own race evaluation by both races in 1976. These findings gave limited support to the "structural normative theory" or prejudice and to the "equal status contact" theory. They also suggested that racial attitudes were more likely to become more favorable in racially balanced schools under certain conditions. (Author/JM)

Final Report

Grant No. NIE-G-76-0040
Project No. N/A

J. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia 24503

RACIAL ATTITUDES AND RACIAL BALANCE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: A CASE STUDY OF LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

October 1976

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official National Institute of Education position or policy.

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

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

ABSTRACT

A representative sample of Lynchburg, Virginia public school children were tested on racial attitudes in 1972 just as racial balance was instituted throughout the school system. In 1976, after four years of racial balance, the 1972 study was replicated in order to find out if changes had taken place in racial attitudes. It was found that racial attitudes between the races (black and white) were more favorable, that social distance between the races had decreased slightly, and that there was greater racial self-acceptance and a more favorable own-race evaluation by both races in 1976. These findings gave limited support to the structural-normative theory of prejudice and to the equal-status contact theory. They also suggested that racial attitudes were more likely to become more favorable under racial balance if certain conditions were present.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES (cont.)

INTRODUCTION

Beginning with the 1971-72 school term the public schools of Lynchburg, Virginia were racially balanced. In the elementary and junior high schools this was achieved by busing; in the high schools it was achieved by having all 9th and 10th grade students attend the same school, and by having all 11th and 12th graders attend the same school. The two races involved are blacks (Afro-Americans) and whites (Euro-Americans),[1] making up approximately one-third and two-thirds of the school population respectively. Early in 1972 the author made a study of racial attitudes of Lynchburg school children (Morland, 1972) in order to provide a base-line measurement at the time racial balance was instituted. In the spring of 1976, four years later, the 1972 study was replicated in order to find out what was happening to racial attitudes under racial balance. This report gives the findings of the 1976 study.

The replication study had several objectives. First, it sought to test the structural-normative theory of racial attitudes, namely that such attitudes are a function of social structure and norms rather than being the product of particular personality traits or an innate consciousness of kind (Westie, 1964; Morland, 1969; Westie and Morland, 1971). The instituting of racial balance altered social structures and norms in the public schools. Consequently, it could be expected that changes in attitudes would result, provided the period of time was sufficient for the alterations in structure and norms. The earlier study modified the structural-normative theory by showing that the American

1. The author prefers the more neutral terms "Afro-American" and "Euro-American" to the more commonly used "black" and "white." However, all four terms will be used to designate the two races. (See Williams and Morland, 1976).

norm was not one of the high evaluation of Euro-Americans by all Americans, as implied in previous studies (Bogardus, 1958; Morland, 1958; 1962; 1963a; 1966; 1969; Westie and Morland, 1971), but rather the American norm is that persons should place the highest evaluation on their own race (Morland and Suthers, 1975). Thus, under racial balance Afro-American children would be expected to rate their own race more favorably at an earlier age than they did in 1971-72. Second, the study sought to provide a test for the equal-status contact theory. Under such a theory it is to be expected that racial bias would be reduced with racial balance (Pettigrew, 1971; VanderZanden, 1972: 460-69). Racial balance presumably provides for a greater opportunity to know members of another race as individuals than was the case under racial segregation. As a result, it should be less likely that school children will react to members of the other race in a categorical, stereotyped fashion. Third, the study tried to throw light on the question of what happens to self-esteem under racial integration (Asher and Allen, 1969). One hypothesis is that the feelings of self-acceptance and competence of minority children are enhanced (Erickson, 1950; White, 1959), while the other predicts that self-acceptance and competence will be lowered because of more frequent comparisons and direct competition with the more advantaged majority (Pettigrew, 1967). Finally, it was hoped that practical contributions could be made. School administrators and teachers might be better informed regarding what is happening to the attitudes of their students under racial balance. The research could give a more carefully measured finding than could be gained from impressions, rumors, and dramatic events.

This report of findings is divided into two parts, as was true of the earlier study. The first part deals with pupils in kindergarten through the third grade, and the second with pupils in the sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades.

PART I. RACIAL ATTITUDES OF YOUNGER CHILDREN

The Sample

The 1972 procedure for drawing the sample of younger children was followed in the 1976 study. Lists of names of pupils in the public schools, arranged alphabetically by year of birth, sex, and race, were obtained from the Lynchburg schools. From these lists a five percent random sample was drawn of pupils born in 1970, 1969, 1968, and 1967, almost the same as those in kindergarten through the third grade. The parents of those selected were written a letter explaining the project and asking for permission to interview their child in their home. A card was enclosed so that parents could sign to indicate their approval of the interview and suggest a time for a visit from the interviewer. Copies of the letter and card are found in Appendix A. From the initial mailing there was a 65 percent response from parents, so additional names were drawn at random until the five percent goal was reached. The total in the final sample was 157, reflecting very closely the age, race, and sex distribution of children in kindergarten and the first three grades of the public schools.

Data Collection

The measuring instrument used to test racial attitudes was the Morland Picture Interview (MPI), exactly the same instrument employed in the 1972 study. The MPI consists of six 8 x 10 color photographs about which questions are asked. The photographs were made by a professional photographer, and the Afro- and Euro-American children and adults who served as models were chosen so that there would be variety in skin color and hair form. Nonracial characteristics, including dress and facial expressions, were kept as similar as possible. The children were of ages four through seven, and the adults were of ages similar to those of the parents of the children,

and in most cases they were the actual parents of the children.

The following description of the photographs is given in the order in which they are shown to the respondent:

Photograph 1. Six children of the respondent's race, three boys and three girls, sitting at a table drinking punch and eating cookies.

Photograph 2. Six children of the other race, three boys and three girls, sitting at the same table drinking punch and eating cookies.

Photograph 3. Six men, three of each race, holding cups and looking at a book.

Photograph 4. Six women, three of each race, holding cups and talking with one another.

Photograph 5. Six girls, three of each race, sitting around a table and looking at books.

Photograph 6. Six boys, three of each race, sitting around the same table and looking at books.

Interviewers were carefully trained in the administration of the MPI and the use of a precoded sheet to record answers. They interviewed children only of their own race. When in the home, the interviewers requested to be alone with the respondent, and this request was almost always granted. An interview took from six to ten minutes, and, as promised, the child was given a present at the end of the questioning.[2]

The respondents were shown the set of photographs twice. The first time no mention of race was made, and the respondents were asked which of the children in the photographs they would be willing to play with, which they looked most like, which they would rather be, which was the best looking, which was the best student, and which was the nicest. They were also asked which of the men looked most like their father, and which woman looked most

---

2. The interviewers were Robin Chambers, Robin Giorgi, and Lyn Morland. Leighton Clarke and Linda Quintero helped to draw the sample and send out letters. Robin Giorgi, Elke Hellstern, Kathy Morland, and Lyn Morland helped with the data analysis, and Linda Kelley typed the entire manuscript. The author gratefully acknowledges the help of these college students.

like their mother. The second time the photographs were shown, the respondents were asked for each picture whether they saw a black person, a white person, a colored person, a Negro, and a Caucasian. The complete set of questions used in the interview is found in Appendix B.[3]

The interview was designed to determine the following aspects of racial attitudes: racial acceptance; racial preference; racial self-preference; perception of racial similarity of self and of parents; racial bias; and racial classification ability. The findings for each of these aspects in the 1976 study will be compared with the findings in 1972.

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 Photographs 1 and 2 (groups), Photograph 5 (girls), and Photograph 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, "Nonacceptance" if they said most frequently they would not like to play with those in the photographs for any non-racial reason, and "Rejection" if they said they would not like to play with those depicted for racial reasons.[4] Table 1 shows no significant difference between the two time

3. There is also a full description of the MPI, including tests of validity and race-of-examiner effects in Williams and Morland, 1976: 183-84; 329-35.

4. An answer scored as "Nonacceptance" was: "Because I don't know who he is." Answers scored as "Rejection" were: "Because white children are mean," and "I don't like blacks."

periods for either race in own-race acceptance. The great majority of both races readily accepted the models of their own race, and no respondent rejected any one of his own race. There was an increase in even greater acceptance in both racial categories in 1976, but the differences were not statistically significant.

Table 1. Acceptance of Own Race by Public School Pupils of Ages Six through Nine, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Acceptance (Percent)	Nonacceptance (Percent)	Rejection (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)	92.0	6.0	0.0
1976 (N=51)	96.1	3.9	0.0
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)	90.3	9.7	0.0
1976 (N=106)	97.2	2.8	0.0

Table 2 gives the results for the acceptance of the other race. Afro-American students in 1976 did not differ significantly from those in 1972 in their willingness to accept the Euro-American models in the photographs, with well over three-fourths accepting them in both years. However, there was a statistically significant increase in the acceptance of Afro-American children by Euro-Americans, and, interestingly, just about the same percentage of the Euro children accepted Afro children in 1976 as Afro children accepted Euro

Table 2. Acceptance of Other Race by Public School Pupils of Ages Six through Nine, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Acceptance (Percent)	Nonacceptance (Percent)	Rejection (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)	86.0	8.0	6.0
1976 (N=51)	84.3	9.8	5.9
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)*	66.0	15.5	18.5
1976 (N=106)	83.0	10.4	6.6

*Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .02 level, by X2 test.

children in 1976. This finding can be interpreted as giving support to the equal-status contact theory, which, in turn supports the structural-normative theory. As white children met black children in a situation of greater equality in status, brought about by a change in structure, the whites were significantly more likely to accept blacks and far less likely t[illegible] or racial reasons.

Racial Preference

Immediately following each of the questions on acceptance, the respondents were asked which ones in the photographs they would prefer to play with if they could not play with them all. They were asked to choose between the two racial groups of children (Photographs 1 and 2), between girls of the two races (Photograph 5), and between boys of the two races (Photograph 6). Replies were scored as "Prefer Own," "Prefer Other," or "Prefer Neither," depending on the most frequent response. Table 3 compares the replies for the two races in 1972 and 1976. There are several significant differences in the findings. Both Afro- and Euro-American children were more likely in 1976 than in 1972 to prefer models of their own race. This change might be expected from the

Table 3. Racial Preference of Public School Pupils of Ages Six through Nine, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Prefer Own (Percent)	Prefer Other (Percent)	Prefer Neither (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)*	54.0	26.0	20.0
1976 (N=51)**	64.7	33.3	2.0
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)†	78.6	6.8	14.6
1976 (N=106)	88.7	7.5	3.8

*Significantly different from Afro-American: 1976 at .02 level, by X2 test.
**Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .001 level, by X2 test.
†Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .001 level, by X2 test.

equal-status contact theory so far as Afro children, but not for the Euro children. Nor would the logic of equal-status contact predict the increase in Afro-American preference for the other race and the significant decrease in both racial groupings in the "Prefer Neither" category. Perhaps some of the decrease in the latter category and the increase in preference for own race can be related to greater clarity by the respondents of the American norm that a person should prefer and identify with his own racial grouping (Morland and Suthers, 1975). However, it should be noted also that Euro children were significantly more likely to prefer models of their race than Afro children to prefer models of their race both in 1976 as well as in 1972. In all likelihood this difference is a reflection of the continued superior place of Euro-Americans in the American social structure.

Racial Self-Preference

Racial self-preference was determined by asking the respondents which of the models in the photographs they would rather be. Girls were shown Photograph 5 and boys Photograph 6, and they were asked in regard to each of the racial pairs in the photographs, "Would you rather be this girl (boy), or this one?" Then pointing to all of the children in the picture, the interviewer asked, "Which one would you most rather be?" Answers to this question are summarized in Table 4. For both Afro and Euro respondents there was an increase in self-preference for one's own race, with the difference being statistically significant for the Euro but not for the Afro children. This can be interpreted to mean that there was an increased tendency to conform to the American norm that a person should prefer and identify with his own racial category. As was true in the racial preference findings, however, the Euro respondents were significantly more likely to indicate

a self-preference for models of their own race than were the Afro respondents, a finding that can be interpreted as reflecting the more favorable position of whites in American society.

Table 4. Racial Self-Preference of Public School Pupils of Ages Six through Nine, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Prefer Own (Percent)	Prefer Other (Percent)	Prefer Neither (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)	64.0	32.0	4.0
1976 (N=51)*	70.6	29.4	0.0
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)**	78.6	12.6	8.7
1976 (N=106)	91.5	7.5	0.9

*Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .01 level by X2 test.
**Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .02 level by X2 test.

Perception of Racial Similarity

Three measures were made of the respondents' perception of racial similarity: to self, to father, and to mother. In the earlier study these measures were called racial-self identification responses. The expression, "racial self-identification," however, carries a complex of meanings, and so the term racial similarity has been used because it is more precise and descriptive.

Similarity to Self. To determine the respondents' perception of racial similarity to self, they were shown the photograph of the six children of their own sex, three of each race, and were asked about each racial pair, "Which one do you look more like?" Subjects were then asked of all six children in the photograph, "Which one do you look most like?" Responses to this latter question are summarized in Table 5. Two significant differences appear in the table, similar to some of the findings in Tables 2, 3, and 4. The 1972 Euro subjects were significantly less likely than the 1976 Euro subjects to say they looked like one of the Euro models, showing a change among

the Euro but not among the Afro subjects between the two time periods. It can also be noted that the Euro-Americans were significantly more likely to say they looked like Euro models than the Afro models were to say they looked like Afro models.

Table 5. Perception of Racial Similarity to Self of Public School Children Ages Six through Nine, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Similarity to Own (Percent)	Similarity to Other (Percent)	Similarity to Neither (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)	82.0	[illegible].0	[illegible] 6.0
1976 (N=51)*	8[illegible]	[illegible].6	0.0
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)**	78.6	6.8	14.6
1976 (N=106)	96.2	1.9	1.9

*Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .01 level by X2 test.
**Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .001 level by X2 test.

Similarity to Father. Photograph 3 of the six men, three of each race, was used to determine perception of similarity to father. The subject was asked for each of the three racial pairs, "Which one looks more like your father?" and then in regard to all six, "Which one looks most like your father?" Table 6 gives the responses of the two racial groupings in 1972 and in 1976. No statistically significant differences were found for either the Afro or Euro subjects when the 1976 results were compared with those of

Table 6. Perception of Racial Similarity to Father of Public School Children of Ages Six through Nine, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Similarity to Own (Percent)	Similarity to Other (Percent)	Similarity to Neither (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)	76.0	14.0	10.0
1976 (N=51)	87.1	9.8	3.1
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)	8[illegible]	2.9	12.6
1976 (N=106)	8[illegible]	9.4	5.6

1972. It is also of interest to note that when the Afro and Euro subjects were compared there were likewise no statistically significant differences, for the Afro subjects were as likely as the Euro subjects to say that their fathers looked most like a model of their own race.

Similarity to Mother. The procedure for determining the respondents' perception of racial similarity of the models to their mothers was similar to that for the fathers, with the photograph of six women, three of each race, being used. For each racial pair in the photograph, subjects were asked which one looked more like their mother and, then, which of the six looked most like their mother. The findings are reported in Table 7, which shows that neither of the races differed significantly in their responses in 1976 from the ones that had been given in 1972. Once again, however, Euro-American respondents were significantly more likely to identify their mothers with one of the Euro models than Afro-American respondents to identify their mothers with one of the Afro models. One other statistically significant difference can be noted when the 1976 Afro-American responses in Tables 6 and 7 are compared. The 1976 Afro respondents were significantly more likely to say their fathers looked like one of the Afro models than they were to say

Table 7. Perception of Racial Similarity to Mother of Public School Children of Ages Six through Nine, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Similarity to Own (Percent)	Similarity to Other (Percent)	Similarity to Neither (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)	78.0	16.0	6.0
1976 (N=51)*	67.7	31.4	1.9
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)	86.4	2.9	10.6
1976 (N=106)	90.6	5.6	3.8

*Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .001 level by X2 test.

that their mothers looked like one of the Afro models. Logically one might expect that these young children who have probably had much more contact with their mothers than their fathers would have responded in the opposite way. This same finding, however, has occurred in other studies of young Afro-Americans (Williams and Morland, 1976: 199-200) and poses an interesting problem for investigation.

Racial Bias

Three measures were made of what might be termed racial bias or "positive prejudice." For Photograph 5 (girls of both races) and Photograph 6 (boys of both races), 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. Answers were recorded in terms of the race of the model selected.

Table 8 summarizes the replies to which girl was considered prettiest and which boy the best looking. There were no statistically significant differences between the two years for either the Afro or the Euro respondents, although both racial groupings increased their "Neither Race" or "Not Sure" responses in 1976. When the 1972 responses of Afro and Euro subjects were

Table 8. Responses of Public School Children of Ages Six through Nine to the Questions, "Which Girl Is the Prettiest?" and "Which Boy Is the Best Looking?" by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Children of Own Race (Percent)	Children of Other Race (Percent)	Neither Race, or Not Sure (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)	46.0	28.0	26.0
1976 (N=51)	45.1	11.8	43.1
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)	62.1	7.8	30.1
1976 (N=106)	57.5	3.8	38.7

compared, there was a statistically significant difference, with the Euro more likely to choose models of their own race. However, in 1976 there was no statistically significant difference between the replies of the Afro and the Euro subjects.

The replies to the questions of which of the girls and boys, in terms of the race of the model, were the nicest are found in Table 9. The Euro-American

Table 9. Responses of Public School Children of Ages Six through Nine to the Questions, "Which Girl Is the Nicest?" and "Which Boy Is the Nicest?" by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Children of Own Race (Percent)	Children of Other Race (Percent)	Neither Race, or Not Sure (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)*	34.0	42.0	24.0
1976 (N=51)	29.4	23.5	47.1
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)	51.5	13.6	34.9
1976 (N=106)	49.1	15.1	35.8

*Significantly different from Afro-American: 1976 at .04 level by X^2 test.

subjects responded in a similar way in 1976 and 1972, but the Afro-Americans responded in a significantly different way in the two years. In 1976 fewer of the Afro subjects said that Euro models were nicest, and more of them indicated that the models of one race were no nicer than models of the other race. More of the Euro children than Afro children responded that models of their own race were nicest, but these differences were not statistically significant for the 1976 respondents. However, there had been a statistically significant difference between the 1972 Afro and Euro children. This finding indicates a move toward greater similarity of response by the two racial groupings in 1976.

The third question on racial bias asked the subjects which of those

in the photographs were the best students. The replies are given in Table 10. Euro-American subjects were significantly more likely to indicate models of their race than Afro-American subjects were to indicate models of their race, the same results that had been found in 1972. The 1976 Afro subjects did not differ significantly from the 1972 Afro subjects, nor did the 1976 Euro subjects differ significantly from the 1972 Euro subjects.

Table 10. Responses of Public School Children of Ages Six through Nine to the Questions, "Which Girl Is the Best Student?" and "Which Boy Is the Best Student?" by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	Children of Own Race (Percent)	Children of Other Race (Percent)	Neither Race, or Not Sure (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)	36.0	40.0	24.0
1976 (N=51)*	43.1	33.3	23.5
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)	57.3	11.6	31.1
1976 (N=106)	55.7	14.2	30.2

*Significantly different from Euro-American: 1976 at .02 level by X2 test.

Racial Classification

The final measure on the MPI concerns the ability of the subjects to classify persons in a racially "correct" manner, i. e., to apply racial labels in the way adults in our society do. Racial self-classification is determined by asking the subjects to which racial category they belong. As indicated earlier, this is the first time the MPI uses racial terms in an explicit manner. The measures of racial acceptance, preference, similarity, and bias did not involve any mention of the race of the persons depicted, while racial classification ability and racial self-classification did use the racial terms themselves.

Racial Classification Ability. One of the problems in the measurement of the ability to classify races correctly is to determine which racial

designations are currently in widest use. So far as the major term to identify Euro-Americans is concerned, the problem has been minimal, for "white" has been consistently employed. "Caucasian" has occasionally been used, but not in everyday speech. On the other hand, there have been changes in the popularity of terms used for designating Afro-Americans. When the test was in the late 1930s and early 1940s they reported that "colored" was the term most familiar to their subjects in both the north and south (Clark and Clark, 1947). Later the term "Negro" was widely used, followed by "black" toward the end of the 1960s. Today, "black" is the designation that dominates, not only to denote the racial category but also to connote a philosophical and political position of considerable importance for many Afro-Americans. Actually, the MPI tested for the recognition of all of these terms. It did so by beginning with Photograph 6 (three Afro and three Euro boys) and asking the respondents if they saw a white person, and, if so to point to the white person. For the same photograph, questions were asked about a black person, a Negro, a Caucasian, and a colored person. The same questions were then asked about Photograph 5 and the remaining photographs. If the subjects were correct each time, or if they missed only once, they were scored "High" in racial classification ability for the term in question. They were scored "Low" if they missed more than once.

The terms "black" and "white" could be applied correctly to those in the pictures by all of the Afro-American respondents and by all but three of the Euro-Americans. This result was very similar to that found in 1972, when all of the subjects, both Afro and Euro, scored "High" in their knowledge of these two terms.

Quite different results were found, however, in the ability to use the other three terms, as Table 11 shows. There was a significant decline in

the number of respondents, both Afro and Euro, who could use the terms "colored" and "Negro" with high ability. "Caucasian" continued to be known by comparatively few of the subjects. A similar proportion of Afro and Euro respondents scored "High" in their ability to use these terms in both 1972 and 1976. These results show how racial terminology can change dramatically in the relative short span of four years.

Table 11. Public School Children of Ages Six through Nine Scoring "High" in Their Ability to Use "Colored," "Negro," and "Caucasian," by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Racial Category and Year	High Ability to Use "Colored" (Percent)	High Ability to Use "Negro" (Percent)	High Ability to Use "Caucasian" (Percent)
Afro-American: 1972 (N=50)*	88.0	76.0	24.0
1976 (N=51)	64.9	27.5	17.6
Euro-American: 1972 (N=103)**	87.4	70.9	5.8
1976 (N=106)	60.4	27.4	14.2

*Significantly different from Afro-American:1976 in ability to use "Colored" at .01 level and in ability to use "Negro" at .001 level by X2 test.
**Significantly different from Euro-American:1976 in ability to use "Colored" at .001 level and in ability to use "Negro" at .001 level and in ability to use "Causasian" at .05 level by X2 test.

Racial Self-Classification. The final question asked on the MPI determined racial self-classification of the respondents. Immediately after the questions on racial classification ability had been concluded, the respondents were asked, "Are you black, or are you white?" All of the 1976 respondents, both Afro and Euro, who scored "High" in their ability to use these two terms, answered correctly. In 1972 all but seven of the subjects had placed themselves in the correct racial category.

It could be expected that when children are assigned to schools and to classes within the schools on the basis of race in order to achieve racial

balance that they would realize to which race they belonged because of their assignment, if they did not already know their racial affiliation. But the fact that all of these children in kindergarten through the third grade did know their race takes on special importance when compared with the racial self-classification of preschool children in Lynchburg. Between one-fourth and one-third of the Afro-American preschool children scoring high in racial classification ability have classified themselves as white in past studies. The latest of these studies was conducted in the spring and summer of 1975, and 35 percent of the Afro preschoolers who had demonstrated that they knew how to apply the terms "black" and "white" correctly to the models in the photographs said they were white (Savory, 1976). For the Afro children in the beginning grades of the public schools, then, the 100 percent correct racial self-classification constitutes a change of considerable magnitude. Incidentally, the preschool Euro children of high racial classification ability rarely if ever place themselves in the incorrect racial category.

Summary

There were several significant changes in the responses of young Lynchburg public school children after four years of racial balance. Before summarizing these we need to remind ourselves that while the children being compared were of the same ages and in the same grades they were not the same children. In other words, we are not talking about differences in the responses of identical children but rather the differences in the responses of children in a school system that has changed from being racially segregated to being racially balanced. We assume that the differences found in racial attitude are related to differences that have occurred in the school setting, although we cannot claim that the alteration in the school system alone

brought about the differences in response. Other alterations have occurred in the Lynchburg community and in the nation that might well have affected attitudes.

The major finding that supports the equal-status contact theory is that Euro students in 1976 were significantly more likely to accept Afro students than was the case in 1972. A corollary of the equal-status contact theory suggested by this study is that equal-status contact not only promotes more favorable attitudes across racial lines but also greater racial self-acceptance. The latter is particularly logical in a country where a basic norm is that a person should identify with and be proud of the race to which the society says that person belongs (Morland and Suthers, 1975). In support of this corollary of the equal-status contact theory is the significantly greater preference for Afro-Americans by Afro subjects in 1976. And we need to recall that results of the MPI show that preference for one's own race does not mean rejection of the other race when no choice is involved. It might also be noted that for Euro subjects there were significant increases in 1976 in preference for own race, own race / self-preference, and perception of similarity to own race.

Although the findings show that there was greater preference for and identification with their own race by both Afro and Euro respondents, the Euro children were significantly more likely to identify with their race than the Afro with theirs on six of the measures made in 1976. Significantly more Euro than Afro children preferred their own race, indicated own race self-preference, perceived themselves and their mothers as similar to models of their own race, and indicated that those of their race were the best students. These findings can be interpreted through the structural-normative theory to be a reflection of the greater power, status, and privilege Euro-Americans continue to have in American society.

Although not necessarily related to racial attitude, one other significant difference between the 1972 and 1976 respondents was the decline in the number of Afro and Euro children who knew the terms "Negro" and "colored."

PART II. RACIAL ATTITUDES OF OLDER CHILDREN

The MPI was not appropriate for determining the racial attitudes of children beyond the third grade. Therefore different measuring instruments were used with the older children, a semantic differential test to determine the direction of attitude and a social distance test to reveal the content of attitude.

The 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 in drawing the sample of older children. Random samples were drawn from those born in 1958, 1960, 1962, and 1964 in order to replicate the sample of the 1972 study. These students were primarily in the 12th, 10th, 8th, and 6th grades. A letter describing the study and inviting participation was mailed to each student selected. As was the procedure in 1972, the students were invited to Randolph-Macon to fill in the questionnaires at specific times during the week. Each participant was promised the sum of five dollars to compensate for time and travel. A post card was enclosed on which the respondent could indicate his willingness to participate and the time he would like to come. A place on the card was provided for the signature of the parent or guardian to give approval for their child to participate. A copy of the letter of invitation and of the card enclosed is found in Appendix C. About sixty percent of those selected returned cards saying they would participate and actually came for the testing. Additional names were chosen at random until the sample totaled 160, about five percent of the Lynchburg public school children born in the stated years. Of the 160,

53 were Afro-Americans and 107 Euro-Americans, almost exactly the same proportion of the two races in the age categories from which the sample was drawn. Also, males and females were almost equal in number in the age and racial categories. Table 12 compares the make-up of the 1972 and 1976 samples. It would have been possible to have exactly matched the 1972 sample in the numbers in each age and racial category in the 1976 sample, but this would have made the latter non-random. The random sample made it possible to generalize to all of the Lynchburg public school children of those ages for 1976 as well as for 1972.

Table 12. Number of Students in the 1972 and 1976 Random Samples of Older Public School Children, by Race and by Age

Age of Respondent	Race of Respondent			
	Afro-American		Euro-American	
	1972	1976	1972	1976
12 Years of Age	11	12	25	27
14 Years of Age	10	12	29	30
16 Years of Age	17	19	27	28
18 Years of Age	12	10	25	22
Totals	50	53	106	107

Data Collection

The same measuring instruments used in 1972 were used in 1976 in order for direct comparisons to be made. The semantic differential test was constructed by taking ten pairs of evaluative adjectives from those which had been factor analyzed by Osgood and his associates (1957). There is considerable evidence which shows that these evaluative adjectives measure attitude (Morland and Williams, 1969; Williams and Roberson, 1967). Eighteen different concepts were evaluated by the semantic differential test. First were five race-related color names: red, black, brown, white, and yellow. Next came two reference terms, friend and enemy, which served to check the validity of the measure. Finally came eight racial-ethnic terms: American, Chinese American, Black American,

Mexican American, Japanese American, White American, Puerto Rican American, and American Indian. A sample sheet from the semantic differential test, along with the set of directions, is found in Appendix D.

The second measure of the attitudes of older children was a modified Bogardus social distance test (Bogardus, 1958). Questions similar to those on the standard social distance test were devised and tested with Randolph-Macon students. Seven revisions of the test were made before consistent social distance ratings were given. The form of the test used asked the respondents to indicate if they would be willing to have a member of the particular category in question (e.g., American Indian) to go to a party they were attending, live in their neighborhood, be a member of their team, live next door, go to a party as their date, marry their brother or sister, be a close friend, marry them. These questions were asked for the following: American Indian, Black American, Chinese American, Japanese American, Mexican American, Puerto Rican American, and White American. One page of the social distance test and the directions for taking it are found in Appendix E.

The semantic differential and social distance tests supplement each other. The semantic differential gives the direction of attitude, while the social distance test gives insight into the content of the attitude (Woodmansee and Cook, 1967). Used together, these two tests can show whether there has been a change in direction or in content of racial attitudes, or in both.

Results of the Semantic Differential Test

The particular color name, 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 between each paired

set of adjectives. The digit 1 was assigned the most favorable response and 7 the least favorable. With ten adjective pairs in the test, there were ten numerical assignments for each of the concepts rated for each of the respondents. The mean evaluative scores calculated for each concept by race of the respondent and for each of the two years of testing are summarized in Table 13.

Table 13. Mean Semantic Differential Evaluative Scores* Assigned to Concepts by Older** Public School Children, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Concept Evaluated	Race of Respondent: Afro-American 1972	Afro-American 1976	Euro-American 1972	Euro-American 1976
Red	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.3
Black	2.8	3.2	4.7	4.8
Brown	3.5	2.9	4.1	4.2
White	3.1	2.7	2.2	2.2
Yellow	2.6	2.4	2.8	2.5
Friend	2.1	1.9	1.5	1.8
Enemy	5.7	5.4	5.9	5.9
American	3.1	2.2	2.4	2.4
Chinese American	2.9	2.7	3.0	2.9
Black American	2.4	2.3	3.6	3.5
Mexican American	3.3	2.8	3.1	3.5
Japanese American	3.2	2.8	2.8	2.8
White American	3.3	2.8	2.5	2.6
Puerto Rican American	3.0	2.9	3.2	3.0
American Indian	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.5

*The lower the score, the more favorable the evaluation. The possible range is from 1.0 (most favorable) to 7.0 (least favorable).
**Random samples of ages 12, 14, 16, and 18.

There are several findings that stand out in this table. First, the Afro-American students in 1976 gave a more favorable evaluation of "White American" than did the Afro-American students in 1972. Likewise, Euro-American students in 1976 had a more favorable evaluation of "Black American" than was the case with Euro-American students in 1972. These results are in accord with what would be expected from the equal-status

contact theory. Another significant finding is that "American" was more favorably evaluated by Afro-American students in 1976 than in 1972, and it was evaluated very much like "Black American" in 1976 in contrast to the 1972 study. In fact, "American" was evaluated more favorably by Afro- than by Euro-Americans. It is interesting to note that both Afro and Euro students evaluated "American" more favorably than any other racial-ethnic category, including the one to which the respondent belonged. It can also be noted that almost all of the racial-ethnic categories were evaluated more favorably in 1976 than in 1972 by both racial groupings, possibly reflecting the renewed emphasis in American society on cultural pluralism and ethnicity.

Two other findings will be noted. The color "Black" was rated less favorably by both Afro- and Euro-American students in 1976 compared to 1972. This was not expected because of the emphasis on black being beautiful during the four-year period. Finally, the concepts "Friend" and "Enemy" again served as a useful check on the validity of the semantic differential test as a measure of favorable and unfavorable attitudes. "Friend" was rated most favorably and "Enemy" least favorably of all the concepts by both racial groupings.

In the 1972 semantic differential scores there were systematic variations by age among the Afro-American students but not among the Euro. In the scores of that year, the Afro respondents rated "American" and "White American" less and less favorably and "Black American" more and more favorably with the increase in respondent age. On the other hand, the Euro respondents did not vary by age, or at least they had no patterned variation. Table 14 gives responses by age for both races for 1972 and 1976. The Afro-American respondents did not vary as systematically

Table [illegible], Mean Semantic Differential Evaluation Scores* Assigned to American, Black American, and White American by Older Public School Students, by Race and by Age, in 1972 and 1976

Race and Age of Respondents	Category Evaluated: American		Black American		White American	
	1972	1976	1972	1976	1972	1976
Afro-American:						
12 Years of Age	2.7	[illegible]	3.2	2.3	2.3	2.1
14 Years of Age	2.2	[illegible]	2.1	2.5	2.9	2.9
16 Years of Age	3.4	1.[illegible]	2.1	2.8	3.5	2.5
18 Years of Age	3.7	2.[illegible]	2.4	2.9	3.9	3.1
Euro-American:						
12 Years of Age	2.3	2.1	3.4	3.1	2.4	2.2
14 Years of Age	2.4	2.4	3.4	3.5	2.3	2.6
16 Years of Age	2.1	2.6	3.6	3.3	2.3	2.6
18 Years of Age	2.9	2.5	3.9	3.9	3.1	3.1

*The lower the score, the more favorable the evaluation. The possible range is from 1.0 (most favorable) to 7.0 (least favorable).

by age in 1976 as they did in 1976. In this way they were closer to the Euro respondents in having no clear-cut relationship between response and age. This break-down by age shows us that in all but one of the age categories the Afro-American respondents had a more favorable response to "American" and "White American" than was true in 1972. Further inspection of the data shows that Afro-Americans continued to rate "White American" more favorably than Euro-Americans rated "Black American."

Results of the Social Distance Test

The Bogardus social distance scale is designed to determine two aspects of racial attitude, the nearness of relationship accorded members of the category in question and the kind of relationship that the respondent would be willing to grant. The modified social distance scale utilized in this study sought to do these two things, but it changed the possible responses by adding "Not Sure" to the "Yes" and "No" replies usually found

on the Bogardus scale. This means that the scoring was somewhat different on the modified scale. Each "Yes" response was scored 1, each "Not Sure" 4.5, and each "No" 8. The total of these replies for the eight questions on the social distance test were added and divided by 8, so that the possible range of responses would be from 1.0 (the least social distance) to 8.0 (the most social distance).

The mean social distance scores, by race of the respondents, are given in Table 15 for 1972 and 1976. In general way these responses follow the directions of the responses on the semantic differential. The least social distance, as might be expected, was for the racial category to which the respondent belonged. Afro-Americans showed less social distance for "White American" than Euro-Americans showed for "Black American."

Table 15. Mean Social Distance Scores* Assigned to Racial-Ethnic Categories by Older** Public School Children, by Race, in 1972 and 1976

Concept Evaluated	Race of Respondent: Afro-American 1972	Afro-American 1976	Euro-American 1972	Euro-American 1976
American Indian	2.9	2.9	2.3	2.1
Black American	1.8	1.9	4.1	3.9
Chinese American	3.3	3.3	2.6	2.5
Japanese American	3.7	3.5	2.5	2.5
Mexican American	3.2	3.3	2.6	2.3
Puerto Rican American	3.3	3.7	2.7	2.4
White American	3.7	3.1	1.2	1.2

*The lower the score, the less the social distance. The possible range is from 1.0 (least distance) to 8.0 (most distance).
**Random sample of ages 12, 14, 16, and 18.

Although the social distance scores in 1976 were very close to those in 1972, there were two important differences. Afro-American respondents had a lower social distance score for "White American" in 1976 than in 1972, and Euro-Americans had a lower social distance score for "Black American" in 1976 compared to 1972. Once again, this decrease in social

ist ace, although not great, is in accord with the equal-status contact theory.

Table 16 gives the mean social distance scores for the four age categories within each of the races. Afro-American responses showed less social distance from "White American" in three of the four age categories in 1976 as compared to 1972. Also, in 1976 there was a consistent decrease in social distance from "White American" by age among the Afro-American students. Both of these findings lend some support to the equal-status contact theory. There were sizeable decreases in the 1976 Euro-American social distance

Table 16. Mean Social Distance Scores* Assigned to Black American and to White American by Older Public School Students, by Race and by Age, in 1972 and 1976

Race and Age of Respondent	Racial Category Scored: Black American 1972	Black American 1976	White American 1972	White American 1976
Afro-American:				
12 Years of Age	2.8	2.7	4.0	3.3
14 Years of Age	1.7	2.0	3.4	3.2
16 Years of Age	1.7	1.7	4.8	3.0
18 Years of Age	1.0	1.6	2.7	2.9
Euro-American:				
12 Years of Age	4.6	4.1	1.3	1.4
14 Years of Age	4.1	4.2	1.0	1.3
16 Years of Age	4.1	3.4	1.2	1.2
18 Years of Age	3.8	3.8	1.1	1.1

*The lower the score, the less the social distance. The possible range is from 1.0 (least distance) to 8.0 (most distance).

scores for "Black American" in two of the age categories, compared to the 1972 scores. In the other two age categories, however, there was almost no difference between the mean scores in the two years. Again, these findings give limited support to the equal-status contact theory.

As was the case in 1972, Afro-American students showed a decrease in social distance for "Black American" with an increase in age. This

change is more logically related to the increasing clarity of the societal norm that Americans should prefer and identify with their own racial category, rather than to the consequences of equal-status contact itself. As stated earlier, the clarification of this norm can be thought of as a corollary to the equal-status contact theory. Euro-American students, however, had less social distance from "White American" than Afro-American had from "Black American" in each age category, once again reflecting the more favorable position of whites in American society.

Summary

The major finding in comparing the responses of the older public school students in 1972 and 1976 is a more favorable attitude in 1976 of the two races toward one another. Both the direction of the attitude (as measured by the semantic differential) and the content of the attitude (as measured by the social distance scale) were more favorable. This finding is in accord with the structural-normative and equal-status contact theories, and it raises an interesting question about the conclusion of a recent study of the effects of equal-status contact. In that study, Robinson and Preston (1976) found that contact between black and white teachers in an in-training institute on school desegregation in Houston, Texas was more effective in bringing about a lessening of prejudice in whites than in blacks. The authors attributed the difference to the ways in which blacks and whites viewed the contact. For whites the interracial institute was perceived as equal-status contact, but blacks did not view it this way. In Lynchburg the students of both races had more favorable attitudes toward one another after four years of racial balance. It would be informative to know if both Afro and Euro students considered the contact in the schools to be on the basis

equality. There are, however, two other factors in the Lynchburg situation that were not present in the Houston study, the greater amount of time and the younger ages of the participants. Both of these factors might well have contributed to differences in the results of the studies.

Another important finding with the older students that needs to be highlighted is the change by Afro-American students to a more favorable evaluation of "American" and to a greater similarity in the evaluation of "American" and "Black American" in 1976. This finding can be interpreted to mean that these Afro-American students thought of themselves as Americans in 1976 more than Afro-American students did in 1972.

CONCLUSION

This replication study had both theoretical and practical objectives. Basically, it sought to find out what happens to the racial attitudes of school children under racial balance in a public school system, that is, in a situation in which the social structure is changed so that a different kind of relationship between races is required, presumably one in which there is equal-status contact among the participants. According to the structural-normative theory, it is the social structure that is crucial in the formation of norms that support prejudice, and with the change in structure, provided there has been sufficient time, there will be a change in norms. With the creation of greater equality in status with racial balance (a change in social structure), two kinds of predictions can be made: there will be a reduction of prejudice across racial lines and greater racial self-acceptance by those in the minority race (changes in norms).

To a limited extent, both of these things appeared with the Lynchburg public school children during four years of racial balance. In 1976 there were greater acceptance and more favorable attitudes across racial lines, and less social distance between the races than there had been in 1972. Also, there were greater racial self-acceptance and, generally, more favorable own-race evaluation by both races on the measures where there was no significant change in the direction of more favorable racial attitudes. There was in no instance a change that could be considered an increase in unfavorable racial attitudes under racial balance.

In practical terms, this study supports the contention that racial balance in public schools can lead toward more favorable racial attitudes among the students involved. At the same time, it does not mean that movement into racially balanced schools is a sufficient condition for promoting more favorable attitudes between the races. One variable that affects the outcome of a change in structure that makes equal-status contact more likely, as already pointed out, is the attitude of participants toward that change. If the participants, and more especially the parents of the participants, see the change in structure toward greater equality of status as desirable, then there is greater likelihood for a reduction in racial prejudice to result (Allport, 1966; Robinson and Preston, 1976). Lynchburg is relatively small, with whites and blacks living in all parts of the city. Although housing tends to be segregated in these various parts of the city, such segregation is by no means rigid. Racial balance did not involve busing over long distances or away from well-established ethnic neighborhoods, nor did it involve sending children into what might be considered "dangerous" neighborhoods. While busing to achieve racial balance was by no means welcomed in Lynchburg, it was adhered to, reluctantly by many, but without significant development of

private schools or the moving of families into surrounding counties in order to avoid extensive integration. Also, school and city officials were determined that the transition to racially balanced schools would be peaceful and that the treatment of races in the schools would be equal.

Additional studies need to be made of the various conditions under which racial balance in schools has taken place and how these conditions are related to racial attitudes. Such studies could test further the structural-normative and equal-status contact theories.

APPENDIX A

Letter and Card Sent to Younger Children

Dear Parent,

I am in charge of a research project on children's attitudes being conducted by Randolph-Macon. From a list of all the school children in Lynchburg, I chose a few names at random, and your child, [name of child], is among those chosen to be interviewed. The interview takes less than ten minutes and consists of asking questions about a set of pictures. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions, and children enjoy the "picture game." When the project is completed, I shall be happy to mail you a copy of the written report if you wish. The name of your child will not be used in any way in the report, for all of those interviewed are to be 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 the student. When you return your card, the student who is to do the interviewing will telephone you to set up a definite day and hour for the visit. Or you may call me at Randolph-Macon, 846-7392, Extension 433.

I hope your reply is favorable and that you will return the card 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

Morland Picture Interview (MPI)

General Explanation

The picture interview is designed to measure racial acceptance, preference, self-preference, perception of racial similarity, bias, and racial classification ability of young 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 sees himself and his parents as similar to his own or to the other race. The second part attempts to measure the ability of the respondent to apply racial terms correctly to the models in the pictures, to the interviewer, and to himself.

Interview Questions

Part A.

I. First (or Second) Photograph (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 scored as 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 reply is "No" for a racial reason.]

II. Second (or First) Photograph (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 both the first and second photographs) Would you rather play with these children, or with these?
      [This is the first measure of racial preference.]

III. Third Photograph (six men, three black and three white).
1. What do you see in this picture?
2. Does this man look more like your father or does he? (point to men of different races, and repeat the question for the other two racial pairs.)
3. (pointing to all of the men) Which one looks most like your father? [a measure of perception of racial similarity]

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

V. Fifth Photograph (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?) [a preference measure]
5. Which of these girls is the prettiest? [a bias question]
6. Which of these girls is the best student? [a bias question]
7. Which of these girls is the nicest? [a bias question]

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

8. (Pointing to each pair of black and white models) Do you look more like this girl or like that one? [measures of perception of similarity to self]
9. (Pointing to all of the girls) Which one do you look most like? [measure of perception of similarity to self]
10. (Pointing to each racial pair) Would you rather be this girl or that one? [measures of racial self-preference]
11. (Pointing to all of the girls) Which one would you most like to be? [measure of racial self-preference]

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

Part B.

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

1. Do you see a black person in this picture? Point to the black person.

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

3. Do you see a Negro in this picture? Point to the Negro.

4. Do you see a colored person in this picture? Point to the colored person.

5. Do you see a Caucasian in this picture? Point to the Caucasian.

(For each of the terms above that the respondent gets correct each time, or misses only once--i. e., for which the respondent scores "High"--ask the following without using the pictures):

1. Am I /the interviewer/ black?

2. Am I white?

3. Am I a Negro?

4. Am I colored?

5. Am I a Caucasian?

6. Are you /the respondent/ black?

7. Are you white?

8. Are you a Negro?

9. Are you colored?

10. Are you a Caucasian?

APPENDIX C

Letter and Card Sent to Older Children

Dear Student,

I am in charge of a research project on student attitudes which is being conducted by Randolph-Macon. 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. This is a study in which you will not be identified in any way, for all responses are to be anonymous. You will be given $5.00 to compensate for your time and transportation.

The questionnaires will be given at Randolph-Macon at the following times:

Wednesday, May 5th, at 4:00 and 5:00 PM
Thursday, May 6th, at 4:00 and 5:00 PM
Friday, May 7th, at 4:00 and 5:00 PM
Saturday, May 8th, at 10:00 and 11:00 AM
and
Thursday, May 13th, at 4:00 and 5:00 PM
Friday, May 14th, at 4:00 and 5:00 PM
Saturday, May 15th, at 10:00 and 11:00 AM

You may choose any one of these times that is convenient. Enclosed is a postal card on which you can indicate whether or not you wish to participate, which of the days and times you plan to come, and a place for your parent or guardian to indicate approval. Come to Main Hall Lobby of the College, and ask at the Information Desk for Room 138, which is on the corridor just to the left as you enter Main Hall.

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

Sincerely yours,

J. Kenneth Morland
Professor

Name (please print)_____

I am willing to participate: Yes____; No____.

I plan to come:_____ at _____
(day of week) (time of day)

Signature of parent or guardian:

_____

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire I: Semantic Differential

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 grade in school _____

YELLOW

beautiful _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ ugly

clean _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ dirty

sad _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ happy

fair _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ unfair

dishonest _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ honest

unpleasant _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ pleasant

brave _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ cowardly

awful _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ nice

cruel _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ kind

good _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ bad

(Each of the remaining pages of the questionnaire contained the above adjectives, with the following additional terms on separate pages: Red; Black; Brown; White; Friend; Enemy; American; Chinese American; Black American; Mexican American; Japanese American; White American; Puerto Rican American; and American Indian.)

APPENDIX E

Questionnaire II: Social Distance Test

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_____

Your grade in school_____

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____.

Comment:

(The rest 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.)

REFERENCES

Asher, S. R. and V. L. Allen. 1969. "Racial Preference and Social Comparison Processes," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES 25: 157-66.

Bogardus, E. S. 1958. "Racial Distance in the United States During the Past Thirty Years," SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH 43: 127-35.

Clark, K. B. and M. P. Clark. 1947. "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children. In READINGS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY ed. by T. M. Newcombe and E. L. Hartley. New York: Holt, pp. 169-78.

Erikson, E. H. 1950. CHILDHOOD AND SOCIETY. New York: Norton.

Litton, Greer. 1966. A Study of the Relationship between Biracial Contact and Attitudes. Senior Thesis, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

Morland, J. K. 1958. "Racial Recognition by Nursery School Children in Lynchburg, Va." SOCIAL FORCES 37: 132-37.

_____. 1962. "Racial Acceptance and Preference of Nursery School Children in a Southern City," MERRILL-PALMER QUARTERLY 8: 271-80.

_____. 1963a. "The Development of Racial Bias in Young Children," THEORY INTO PRACTICE 2: 120-27.

_____. 1963b. "Racial Self-Identification: A Study of Nursery School Children," AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW 24: 231-42.

_____. 1966. "A Comparison of Race Awareness in Northern and Southern Children," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ORTHOPSYCHIATRY 36: 22-31.

_____. 1969. "Race Awareness among American and Hong Kong Chinese Children," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY 75: 360-74.

_____. 1972. "Racial Attitudes in School Children: from Kindergarten through High School." Final Report, Project 2-C-009, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Morland, J. K. and Ellen Suthers. 1975. "Racial Attitudes of Children: Perspectives on the Structural-Normative Theory of Prejudice." Paper presented at Southern Sociological Society Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C.

Morland, J. K. and J. E. Williams. 1969. "Cross-Cultural Measurement of Racial and Ethnic Attitudes by the Semantic Differential," SOCIAL FORCES 48: 107-12.

Osgood, C. E., et al. 1957. THE MEASUREMENT OF MEANING. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Pettigrew, T. F. 1967. "Social Evaluation Theory: Convergence and Applications." In NEBRASKA SYMPOSIUM ON MOTIVATION, ed. by D. Levine. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 241-311.

_____. 1971. RACIALLY SEPARATE OR TOGETHER? NY: McGraw-Hill.

Robinson, J. W. and J. D. Preston. 1976. "Equal-Status Contact and Modification of Racial Prejudice," SOCIAL FORCES 54: 911-24.

Savory, Laina. 1976. A Test of the Developmental Theory of Color and Race Bias. Honors Thesis. Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

VanderZanden, James. 1972. AMERICAN MINORITY RELATIONS, Third Edition. New York: Ronald Press.

Westie, Frank R. 1964. "Race and Ethnic Relations." In HANDBOOK OF MODERN SOCIOLOGY, ed. by R. E. L. Faris. Chicago: Rand-McNally, pp. 576-618.

Westie, Frank R. and J. K. Morland. 1971. The Development of Prejudice: Childhood to Adulthood. A paper read at the Southern Sociological Society Annual Meeting, Miama, Florida.

White, R. W. 1959. "Motivation Reconsidered: The Concept of Competence," THE PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW 66: 297-333.

Williams, J. E., J. K. Morland, and W. L. Underwood. 1970. "Connotations of Color Names in the United States, Europe, and Asia," THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY 82: 3-14.

Williams, J. E. and J. K. Roberson. 1967. "A Method for Assessing Racial Attitudes in Preschool Children," EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MEASUREMENT 27: 671-89.

Williams, J. E. and J. K. Morland. 1976. RACE, COLOR, AND THE YOUNG CHILD. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Woodmansee, J. J. and S. W. Cook. 1967. "Dimensions of Verbal Racial Attitudes: Their Identification and Measurement." JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY 7: 240-50.