

THE RACE AND SEX FACTORS IN THE
FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCES OF
WHITE PRESCHOOL AGED CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

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by Alan I. Sugawara

Studies in the area of race awareness has pointed out that an awareness of race and sex differences does exist at the preschool age level. However, with respect to the correlated variables of age/race awareness and age/sex awareness, conflicting trends have been reported. Some researchers conclude that children of preschool ages place a greater emphasis upon sex rather than race in their choice of playmates; others conclude that children of preschool ages place a greater emphasis upon race rather than sex in their choice of playmates; while still others conclude no consistent patterns to be present in the choice of playmates among preschool aged children.

The primary purpose of this thesis, therefore, focuses upon seeking further information regarding the question, "Which factor (race or sex) is more influential in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children?"

A total sample of sixty white preschool aged children, thirty boys and thirty girls, ranging in ages from 3.5 to

5.5 years, were randomly selected from six all-white nursery school classes held at the Michigan State University. All subjects came from homes in which either one or both of their parents were enrolled as students in the university.

A Picture-Preference Test designed for this study was used as the research instrument. The test included twelve 5" by 7" black and white facial photographs of children between the ages of 3.5 to 5.5 years. Of the twelve photographs, three were of dark-skinned Negro boys, three were of dark-skinned Negro girls, three were of white boys, and three were of white girls. These photographs were chosen by a board of five adult judges from a larger sample of twenty-five photographs according to criteria described in this thesis.

Statistical measures were used to analyze the frequency preferences obtained on the Picture-Preference Test, while a descriptive technique was used to analyze the descriptive data (responses subjects made to questions asked about their preferences).

Findings resulting from these analyses indicated that: 1) white children of preschool ages preferred friends of their own sex when the variable of race was held constant; 2) white children of preschool ages preferred friends of their own race when the variable of sex was held constant; 3) white boys of preschool ages preferred friends of their own sex when the variables of race and sex were varied; and

4) white girls of preschool ages preferred friends of their own race when the variables of race and sex were varied.

These findings add further to the controversy regarding the race and sex factors in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children. The conflicting trends occurring in previous research mentioned earlier were not acceptable. For white boys of this sample, sex rather than race occurred as more influential in their friendship preferences, while race rather than sex was more influential for girls.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the course of the last decade the United States has experienced two historic milestones in the area of race relations. These two milestones include: 1) the Supreme Court's decision of May, 1954, which outlawed segregation in the public schools; and 2) the 1957 enactment by Congress of the first federal Civil Rights Bill since Reconstruction.⁽³⁶⁾ Following these milestones researchers in the field of early childhood education have recently focused attention upon questions concerned with the development of race awareness, attitudes and prejudices in young children.

Of the studies done in the area of race awareness, research points out that an awareness of race differences in young children does exist at the preschool age level. This fact has been well established and the relationship between age and awareness is fairly clear.^(3,13,36,82) However, with respect to the correlated variables of age/awareness and sex, conflicting evidences have been seen. Three conflicting trends have emerged in research which indicates: 1) that children of preschool ages place a greater emphasis upon sex rather than race in their choice of

playmates;^(1,26,46,68) 2) that children of preschool ages place a greater emphasis upon race rather than sex in their choice of playmates;^(56,65,81) and 3) that no consistent patterns are present in the choice of playmates among preschool children.^(57,83)

Purpose of the Study

The controversy centering on research mentioned above has continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century. No definite solution has yet been found. This thesis, therefore, will focus upon exploring a similar problem. The primary question to be investigated is: "Which factor (race or sex) is more influential in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children?"

Definition of Terms

The definition of terms as operationalized in this thesis are:

- 1) Children of preschool ages--defined as those children between the age range of 3.5 to 5.5 years.
- 2) Influence--as measured by the results of the Picture-Preference Test designed for this study. It represents the total score derived by summing the choices (preferences) of all subjects on specific tasks in the Picture-Preference Test.

- 3) Friendship preference--designated as the choices the subjects make on the Picture-Preference Test designed for this study.
- 4) Descriptive Data--designated as those responses subjects make to questions asked about their preferences in specific tasks of the Picture-Preference Test.

Assumptions

- 1) Most children of preschool ages are aware of race differences between themselves and other children. (3,13,36,86)
- 2) Most children of preschool ages are aware of sex differences between themselves and other children. (13,24,50,51)
- 3) The use of the Picture-Preference Test designed for this study is an effective means of obtaining research data from children of preschool ages. (1,46,81)

Hypotheses

The hypotheses in this thesis to be tested include:

- 1) White children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own sex when the variable of race is held constant; that is:

- a) white girls will choose white girls when a choice between a white boy and a white girl is given to them.
 - b) white girls will choose Negro girls when a choice between a Negro boy and a Negro girl is given to them.
 - c) white boys will choose white boys when a choice between a white boy and a white girl is given to them.
 - d) white boys will choose Negro boys when a choice between a Negro boy and a Negro girl is given to them.
- 2) White children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own race when the variable of sex is held constant; that is:
- a) white girls will choose white boys when a choice between a white boy and a Negro boy is given to them.
 - b) white girls will choose white girls when a choice between a white girl and a Negro girl is given to them.
 - c) white boys will choose white boys when a choice between a white boy and a Negro boy is given to them.
 - d) white boys will choose white girls when a choice between a white girl and a Negro girl is given to them.

- 3) White children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own sex when the variables of race and sex are varied; that is:
- a) white boys will choose white boys when a choice between a white boy and a Negro girl is given to them.
 - b) white girls will choose white girls when a choice between a white girl and a Negro girl is given to them.
 - c) white boys will choose Negro boys when a choice between a Negro boy and a white girl is given to them.
 - d) white girls will choose Negro girls when a choice between a Negro girl and a white boy is given to them.

An analysis of both the frequency preferences and descriptive data (responses of subjects to questions asked about their preferences) will be undertaken to test these hypotheses. Also additional content analysis of the descriptive data will be done to determine other findings on sex awareness and value judgments, and race awareness and value judgments.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A review of literature related to the problem of this thesis falls into three categories: Section I focuses upon the development of race awareness and attitudes in the preschool aged child; section II deals with the development of sex awareness in the preschool aged child; section III deals with the race and sex factors in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children.

Race Awareness and Incipient Attitudes: The Preschool Aged Child

The first six years of life are important for the development of all social attitudes, though it is a mistake to regard early childhood as alone responsible for them. A bigoted personality may be well under way by the age six, but by no means fully fashioned.

(3, p. 279)

These generalizations were made by Gordon Allport and are supported by many relevant studies concerned with the development of race awareness in young children.

Research findings indicate that the development of race awareness and attitudes is a continuous process throughout childhood. (4, 17-22, 35, 36, 38, 48, 57, 58, 69, 70, 78, 81-84, 87, 89)

Three essential and overlapping phases are distinguishable.

These include: Phase I: Awareness--the consciousness of self and others in terms of race identity; Phase II: Incipient Attitude (orientation)--the learning and synthesizing of race-related words, value judgments and preferences; Phase III: True Attitude--the establishment of full-fledged attitudes involving enduring presuppositions about other people, object situations and ideas concerned with race.^(35, 36)

Phase I and Phase II of the developmental process are present during the preschool ages.^(3,4,17,19-22,34,36, 38,48,56-58,65,69,70,78,81-84,87,88) True Attitudes (Phase III) among preschool children are rarely found. Only upward of five years, are indications of true attitudes present. Radke, Trager and Davis^(76,77) in their studies of 242 Negro and white children from both middle and lower socioeconomic backgrounds found that among some five year olds,

Concepts and feelings about race frequently included adult distinctions of status, ability, character, occupations and economic circumstances. Among older children expressions of hostility and aggression were frequent and attitudes more crystalized.

(76, p. 476)

Kutner's study⁽⁵⁴⁾ supported the generalization made by Radke, Trager and Davis.^(76,77) Employing seven year old children from the Boston area in his research, he found 12% (sixty children) "clearly prejudiced." Many other studies concerned with the development of race attitudes among children five years or older are present.^(2,3,8,10,28,32,33,41, 54,79,88)

Race Awareness (Phase I)

Age Differences

Awareness (Phase I) of race differences among pre-school children was first cited in a classical study written by Lasker.⁽⁵⁸⁾ From scattered incidents of anecdotal records written on children, he infers the possibility of race awareness in a few children one year of age.

At the age of two or two-and-a-half, however, more children are likely to begin to give evidence of consciousness of their own and others racial characteristics.^(4,36,48,83) The Horowitz Picture Test,⁽⁴⁸⁾ Ammon's interview with children,⁽⁴⁾ Goodman's interview with mothers⁽³⁶⁾ and Stevenson and Stevenson's observational records⁽⁸³⁾ of both Negro and white children, provide the basis upon which this inference is made.

At three years of age the majority of children are aware of race differences.^(17,19-22,35,38,58,81-84) Among three year old Negro children from both Northern and Southern communities, 75% showed that they were conscious of differences between "white" and "colored."^(17,19-22) These findings clearly supported the conclusion that race awareness is present in Negro children at the age of three. Other investigators^(35,38,57,81-84) show the same to be true of white children as well. Dolls, pictures, photographs, interviews, observations, puzzles and clay, were used to collect data from which this conclusion was made.

By four years of age all children studied showed significant awareness of race differences. (17,19-22,36,38,46,48,69,70,82,87,89) The extensive study by Goodman⁽³⁶⁾ of 103 Negro and white children from a Northern city provided substantial evidence for this generalization. Horowitz⁽⁴⁸⁾ and Clark and Clark^(17,19-22) concluded from their studies that at four years of age, children ceased to identify themselves with pictures of animals or clowns, but identified themselves with pictures of Negro and white children. Morland^(69,70) also indicated that the racial recognition ability of children progressed most rapidly between the third and fourth year of a child's life.

By five years, race awareness in young children becomes significantly more definite. (4,17,19-22,35-38,48,58,69,70,76,77,81-84,87-89) Radke, Trager and Davis^(76,77) in their studies suggests that at this age, beginnings of true attitudes are not unlikely.

Thus, the assumption that most children of preschool ages are aware of race differences is well documented and established.

Race Differences

Despite the fact that the relationship between age and race awareness is fairly well established, conflicting evidences are seen with respect to the correlated variables of race and awareness. (36,38,48,81,84,87-89) It is not

surely established whether race awareness is likely to dawn earlier in Negro children or in white children.

Horowitz⁽⁴⁸⁾ in her study of both Negro and white boys, two to five years of age, inferred that white boys seemed to have more difficulty in identifying themselves, then Negro boys on a Picture-Identification Test. On the whole, her white subjects presented a more confused picture than did her Negro subjects. Sixty-six percent of her Negro subjects identified themselves correctly by race, while only 40% of her white subjects made correct identifications.

A more recent study directed by Goodman⁽³⁶⁾ supported the inference made by Horowitz.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Although she found 85% of both her Negro and white subjects to be of medium and high awareness, only 24% of her white subjects were of high awareness. Forty percent of her Negro subjects were regarded as "highly aware." Such high awareness among Negro subjects indicated that 1) they had a clearer perception of color and other racial attributes, 2) used race terms more numerous and accurately, and 3) had a strong sense of racial differentiation and separation.

However, other studies have found the reverse to be true. Stevenson and Stewart⁽⁸⁴⁾ in their study of 225 children, three to six years of age, from both Negro and white groups, found white children to make more correct identifications on a Picture-Discrimination Test, a Doll Selection Test, and a Doll Assembly Test. Although the difference

between the scores of both races were not significant at the .05 level of confidence, a tendency was noted. Also, Morland⁽⁶⁹⁾ in his study of 454 Negro and white children found similar results. White children made more correct identifications than Negro children.

These conflicting evidences, however, may all be plausible. Both Horowitz's⁽⁴⁸⁾ and Goodman's⁽³⁶⁾ studies involved subjects from Northern communities, while Stevenson and Stewart's⁽⁸⁴⁾ and Morland's⁽⁶⁹⁾ studies involved subjects from Southern communities.

Goodman⁽³⁶⁾ emphasized the point that minority group children were somewhat more susceptible to the development of race awareness. Proshansky⁽⁷⁴⁾ in reviewing studies done on race awareness, supported Goodman's findings. Stevenson and Stewart⁽⁸⁴⁾ and Morland,⁽⁶⁹⁾ however, indicate that for Southern children, white subjects were more aware of race differences than Negro subjects. The normative character of Negro-white relationships found in the south made these children more sensitive to racial differences.^(69,84) More studies are necessary to delineate a clearer understanding of this difference in race awareness.

Three studies are present regarding race awareness among preschool children from different cultures. Vaughn^(87,88) in his studies of 180 Maori (Negroid) and 180 white New Zealand children, four to twelve years of age, found his white subjects making more correct race identifications than Maori subjects. This tendency was seen at every age level.

Studying 287 preschool children in Hawaii, three to six years of age, Springer⁽⁸⁰⁾ also discovered her white subjects to make more correct race identifications than Oriental and part-Oriental subjects. A tendency was seen at all age levels, although all racial groups were aware of race differences at a significant level of confidence ($p = .05$).

Using the Clark Doll Test, Greagor and McPherson⁽³⁸⁾ in their study of thirty-five, three to seven year old Bantu (Negroid) and white children from South Africa, found that subjects from both groups showed marked proficiency in identifying appropriate racial groups and themselves. No significant difference was discovered between the Bantu and white groups. Both showed almost equal correct identifications.

Ingroup Differences: The Negro Child

The extensive studies of Clark and Clark^(17,19-22) provide the most significant findings for this section. Most of the generalizations made herein are based on their findings.

Skin Color Differences: Studying 150 Negro children, three to seven years of age, varying in degrees of skin color (light, medium, dark) Clark and Clark^(17,19-22) reported that dark Negro children were consistantly more accurate in their identifications of appropriate racial groups than medium and light Negro children. From such findings the generalization that dark Negro children had a more definite knowledge of

race differences than medium or light children was made. Goodman's⁽³⁶⁾ findings in research with similar children supported this generalization. Her study also indicated that Negro children with dark skin colors represented visually a dramatic contrast to persons of white skin color, and thus became aware of race differences at an earlier age. Vaughn's study⁽⁸⁸⁾ of light, medium and dark Maori children reported similar findings.

An analysis of age differences and race awareness among light, medium and dark Negro children also provides interesting insights. In Clark and Clark's study⁽²²⁾ dark Negro children, three years of age, consistently identified themselves with pictures and dolls of Negro children, while light Negro children identified themselves with pictures and dolls of white children. The medium Negro children, like the light Negro children identified themselves with pictures and dolls of white children. The generalization that dark Negro children were earlier in their development of race awareness, was thus made.

At the age of four, however, an interesting reverse is indicated. While light Negro children as well as dark Negro children remain consistent in their identifications, medium Negro children identified themselves with pictures and dolls of Negro children. Clark and Clark⁽²²⁾ see this reverse as signifying a developmental stage in race awareness among medium Negro children. Negro children of medium

color follow dark Negro children in their awareness of race differences. Vaughn's⁽⁸⁹⁾ study of Maori children also reported similar findings.

At five years of age, light Negro children still remain consistant in their identification with pictures and dolls of white children. However, an analysis of age trends indicate a slight decrease in identification with pictures and dolls of white children and a slight increase in identification with pictures and dolls of Negro children. Clark and Clark⁽¹⁷⁾ suggested this to signify developmental aspects of race awareness among light Negro children. They see this as a trend toward identification with a socially defined "race" meaning, based on physical characteristics other than skin color. For five year old dark Negro children, however, a reverse in identification is seen. Dark Negro children now identify themselves with pictures and dolls of white children, indicating another developmental stage in race awareness; Phase II of the developmental process. This will be discussed later under the section "Incipient Attitudes." Negro children of medium color still remain consistant in their identifications with pictures and dolls of Negro children at this age.

Sex Differences: Four studies concerned with sex differences in race awareness among Negro children are available.^(21,36,38,69) Conflicting evidences are encountered in these research findings.

Clark and Clark,⁽²¹⁾ Morland⁽⁶⁹⁾ and Greagor and McPherson⁽³⁸⁾ in their studies of Negro children three to seven years of age, report no significant difference in race awareness between sex groups. Also Clark and Clark's⁽²¹⁾ study showed that no significant differences exist between sex groups of Negro children with varying skin colors. Goodman,⁽³⁶⁾ however, in her recent study encountered reverse findings. She reported that Negro girls were more aware of race differences than Negro boys. Data collected from administering a Puzzle Test, a Doll Test, a Picture Test, a test with clay of different colors and also recording spontaneous reactions of children during these test situations, provided evidence for her generalization. With such evidence she concludes that such may well be plausible, as among Americans, personal appearance is more stressed for girls than for boys.

Interracial Contacts: The studies of Clark and Clark⁽²¹⁾ and Goodman⁽³⁶⁾ provide information for generalizations in this section. However, there is insufficient evidence for delineation of any reliable conclusions.

In studying Negro children from racially integrated, semi-segregated and segregated groups, Clark and Clark⁽²¹⁾ report that at three and four years of age, Negro children from both segregated and semi-segregated groups showed an increase in appropriate race identifications. With Negro children in mixed groups, however, confusion was found.

Also, whereas Negro children from segregated and semi-segregated groups ceased to identify themselves with pictures of animals and clowns at four years of age, some Negro children in mixed groups continued to do so. This suggested that the awareness of race differences in Negro children from mixed groups occurred later than Negro children from segregated and semi-segregated groups. Clark and Clark⁽²¹⁾ also suggested that such confusion and retardation among Negro children from mixed groups may indicate that other factors are present in segregated and semi-segregated groups that lead them to make more clear cut racial identifications.

Goodman,⁽³⁶⁾ after studying four and five years olds from mixed groups and segregated Negro groups, reports similar findings. She indicates high awareness "a little more frequent" among children in her segregated all Negro groups than among children in mixed groups. She continues to state, however, that the frequency of interracial contact is probably less significant than the type of contact with different racial groups a child experiences in his life.

Contacts incidental to a generally pleasant situation, like nursery school, are certainly conducive to friendly acceptance across color lines. But this favorable association can easily be cancelled out by street play conflict, parental cautioning against Negro and a large number of other factors.

(36 p. 205-206)

North/South Differences: Only one relevant study concerned with the relationship between geographical location

and race awareness among Negro children was found. Again, a definite need for more research in this area is indicated. Employing Negro children, three to seven years of age in their study, Clark and Clark⁽¹⁸⁾ discovered no significant difference in race awareness between Northern Negro children and Southern Negro children. However, they indicate in their findings the tendency of Northern Negro children to make more identifications with white dolls than Southern Negro children.

Socioeconomic Background Differences: Morland⁽⁶⁹⁾ in studying Negro children three to six years of age, from upper and lower socioeconomic backgrounds report no significant differences in race awareness between such groups.

Ingroup Differences: The White Child

Studies of ingroup difference among white preschool children are sparse, but two divisions regarding these differences can be made. These divisions include studies dealing with the variables of 1) race awareness and sex differences,^(36,57,69,81) and 2) race awareness and socioeconomic background differences.^(59,69)

Sex Differences: Limited research findings indicate the existence of conflicting evidence concerning sex differences in race awareness among white preschool children. Morland's study⁽⁶⁹⁾ of Southern white preschool children report no sex difference in race awareness. Springer⁽⁸¹⁾ in

her study of white children from Hawaii, also found no sex difference in race awareness.

Goodman,⁽³⁶⁾ however, in comparing sex differences of her white subjects found more girls rated "highly aware" than boys. The generalization that among American children, personal appearance is stressed more for girls than for boys, was made to support this finding.

Landreth and Johnson⁽⁵⁷⁾ in their study reported still other findings. Studying white children from both upper and lower socioeconomic backgrounds they found that among upper socioeconomic background children, girls were more aware of race differences than boys, while among lower socioeconomic background children, boys were more aware of race differences than girls. Further study is necessary, if a clearer understanding of this problem is to be acquired.

Socioeconomic Background Differences: Two studies present findings that concern this section. Landreth and Johnson⁽⁵⁷⁾ in their study of children from upper and lower socioeconomic backgrounds report that children from upper socioeconomic backgrounds were more aware of race differences than children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Such findings were obtained by administering a Picture and Inset Test Design which required a matching procedure.

Morland,⁽⁶⁹⁾ however, in studying similar white children, reported findings which revealed no significant difference in race awareness among children from both groups. Additional research in this area must still be done.

Incipient Attitudes: Phase II

Research findings concerned with Phase II of the developmental process in race awareness among children two to five years of age are also present. (4,17,19-22,35,36,57,69,70,78,82-84,89) The learning and synthesizing of race-related words, value judgments and preferences are clearly present in research findings. Most of these come from spontaneous reactions of children in testing situations.

Race-Related Words and Value Judgments

Children three to five years of age are not only aware of race differences, but also use race-related words and value judgments in expressing their knowledge and feelings about these differences. (4,17,19-22,35,36,48,58,69,78,82-84,89) Evidence of responses indicate the use and some understanding of such words as "black, brown, colored, Negro and white." (4,36,57,82,83) Also, valuing of racial groups are sometimes encountered. Whiteness is regarded as positively valued (good, clean, nice, pretty, fine, friendly), while Negro-ness is regarded as negatively valued (bad, ugly, lazy, dirty). (4,36,57,82,83)

At three to four years of age, the use of race-related words and value judgments increase. (17,19-22,35,36,38,48,58,69,70,82,84,89) It is between four and five years of age, however, that such words and value judgments increase rapidly, (17,19-22,35,36,38,48,59,69,70,82,84,89) and becomes more definite at the age of five. (18,76,77)

Clark and Clark^(17,19-22) from their studies conclude that between the ages of four and five, the association of awareness of race differences with "rudimentary evaluation" of these differences is present. They further state that the child cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about race. Goodman⁽³⁶⁾ in her study of Negro and white children, report similar findings. Of her subjects, 85% used race terms from "fairly often" to "often." Also 85% of her subjects thought in terms of color differences, had a sense of racial differentiation and separation and held strongly to values concerning each racial group. Phase II of the developmental process then, is well underway by the time the child enters the public school.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Racial Preference

Negro and white children, three to five years of age, not only show an increased ability with age to use race terms in making value judgments about different racial groups, but also indicate interesting patterns of racial preference among and between different racial groups.^(4,17,19-22,36,38,48,57,70,81,84,88)

The Negro Child: For the Negro child, a strong "out-group orientation" is present. In Horowitz's study⁽⁴⁸⁾ some

Negro children as young as two years of age indicated a "wish" to be "white." Other studies using subjects between the ages of three to five^(4,17,19-22,36,38,84,88) repeatedly report similar findings. Also suggested in these findings were indications that Negro children reject children of their own racial groups. This rejection of one's own racial group is likely to be accompanied not only by self-rejection, but also by insecurity, anxiety, and a sense of helplessness.^(20,36,57,69,74,84)

Concerning age differences, although race awareness and the use of race-related words and judgments increase with age during the preschool period, preference for outgroup affinity among Negro children decreases with age.^(20,22,36) This decrease in outgroup affinity is suggested by Clark and Clark^(20,22) to indicate the young Negro child's growing realization of a "realistic self-identification." They further state that at seven years of age, the Negro child can no longer escape such realistic self-identification. It should be mentioned, however, that although a decrease in outgroup affinity is seen between the ages two to five, a majority of these children remain outgroup oriented.

Only one study which reports findings on sex differences in racial preference was found. Greagor and McPherson,⁽³⁸⁾ reported that among Bantu (Negroid) children of South Africa, more males than females remained outgroup

oriented at all age levels. The limited research done in this area, however, prevents any valid generalizations.

Clark and Clark's⁽²¹⁾ study dealing with the variables of geographical location and racial preference, also indicate the presence of variations among Negro children. They report findings which suggest Northern Negro children to be more definite in their preference for white children than Negro children from Southern communities. Southern Negro children preferred children of their own racial groups. Also, Southern Negro children were more verbal and acted "matter-of-factly" to questions of preference, while Northern Negro children verbalized more escape responses, or indicated emotional strain when questions of preference were asked of them. This tended to support the hypothesis that Northern Negro children have a tendency to repress or escape the painful fact of the "meaning" of color difference in American society.

The only study concerned with the variables of socioeconomic backgrounds and racial preference is Vaughn's⁽⁸⁸⁾ study of Maori (Negroid) children from New Zealand. His results were inconclusive, but a tendency was reported. There was a tendency for more "lower status" Maori subjects to favor persons or objects signifying their own race, than "high status" Maori subjects.

Research in relation to the variables of skin color (light, medium, dark) is also limited. However, studies of

Clark and Clark⁽²²⁾ and Vaughn⁽⁸⁸⁾ are present. Clark and Clark⁽²²⁾ report findings which indicate light Negro children to be more outgroup oriented than medium and dark Negro children. The conclusion that an earlier development of race awareness based on skin color among dark and medium children was previously mentioned. The findings of Clark and Clark⁽²²⁾ summarized above led them to accept such inference with more confidence.

Vaughn⁽⁸⁸⁾ in his study on ethnic attitudes among Maori children of varying skin colors, also supported the results reported by Clark and Clark.⁽²²⁾ A consistent and significant tendency was observed in Vaughn's study ($p = <.02$) between Maori children with varying skin colors.⁽⁸⁸⁾

The pattern of outgroup orientation in racial preference among Negro children is well supported by many relevant studies. However, with respect to the correlated variables of racial preference and sex, geographical location, socioeconomic backgrounds and skin color, research is limited and sparse.

The White Child: Studies of white children three to five years of age indicate an "ingroup orientation" to be present.^(4,36,38,57,81,84,88) Such ingroup orientation involves a consistent tendency for white children to prefer persons and objects signifying their own race. Some studies report white children to express negative responses toward Negro children. These include feelings of rejection,

hostility and aggression. (4,36,38,57,76,77,85) There is a positive relationship between increasing age, and the extent to which white children express their hostilities toward Negro children. (36,48,70,79)

Studies concerned with the correlated variables of racial preference and sex, socioeconomic backgrounds and geographical location are sparse. More research is necessary for a clearer understanding of racial preference among white children of preschool ages.

Awareness of Sex Differences: The Preschool Aged Child

"A sex role standard refers to a learned association between selected attributes, behavior and attitudes on one hand, and the concepts of male and female on the other. . . . during the period three to seven years of age, the child gradually realizes that people fall into one of two related language categories--boys and girls, men and women, father and mother." (50, p. 138) These generalizations were recently made by Jerome Kagan and supported by many relevant studies concerned with the development of sex awareness in young children.

A review of literature concerned with this aspect of the child's development indicates that the awareness of sex differences among children is a continuous process throughout childhood. (9,11,13-15,23,24,27,29,42-44,47,51, 67,80,90) Like race awareness, reseachers have attempted

to distinguish between essential and overlapping phases in its development; however, difficulty has been encountered.^(13, 15,44,62) For the purpose of this thesis the awareness of sex differences among preschool children will be considered from three aspects of the developmental process. These aspects include understanding the child's awareness of sex differences in terms of 1) differences in physical attributes, 2) differences in toy preferences and sex cleavage and 3) differences in overt behaviors.

Evidence supports the assumption that young children four years of age have dichotomized the world into male and female people, and are concerned with boy and girl differences.^(5,23,29,30,51,63,75)

Physical Attributes

The early discrimination of sex differences among preschool children is facilitated by the presence of a wide variety of clearly discernable physical cues. These cues (attributes) include a person's clothing, hair, body form and proportion (genitals and breasts) and urinal posture. Research indicates that some children two to three years of age are already aware of sex differences.^(11,12,29,34,52,53) Though not in the majority, Brieland and Nelson⁽¹¹⁾ state that those two year olds who showed an ability to discriminate between the sexes, did so when presented with paired photographs of clothed and nude children. All paired photographs were identical save the single variable of view,

segment of the body, hair and external genitals. Goodenough⁽³⁴⁾ made similar generalizations through the use of a Picture Drawing Test. Her study indicated that some children two years of age drew figures of male and female with discernable physical characteristics. Koch,^(52,53) Brim,⁽¹²⁾ and Dillon,⁽²⁹⁾ however, made their generalizations from observations of children in play situations and at toilet time.

For two year olds, consciousness of sex differences is understood in terms of clothing and hair, rather than genitals or breasts. Only few children consider the genitals and breasts as sex differentiating characteristics at this age. Research points out this to be true of children three to five years of age also.^(12,24,29,34,75,80)

However, the ages between three and four are most crucial in the development of sex awareness in young children.^(5,24,29,30,51,63,75,80) By the age of four, children have a clear conception of "boy" and "girl."^(24,29,30,51,63,75,80) Dillon⁽³¹⁾ reports that children three-and-a-half years of age have no "misapprehension" of the words "boy" and "girl." Emmerich⁽³⁰⁾ indicates that at four, children distinguished not only between boys, girls, fathers, and mothers, but also perceived these differences in terms of power relationships. Smith⁽⁸⁰⁾ reports from her records of verbal responses among children, questions of sex differences asked by four year olds. Mamiya⁽⁶³⁾ after studying four year old Japanese children reported his subjects to show a clear consciousness of their own sex role.

Though clothing and hair still remain the dominant sex differentiating characteristics at this age, Conn⁽²⁴⁾ and Katcher⁽⁵¹⁾ reported an increasing number of children considering breast development, urinal posture and genitals in their differentiations. One-third of Katcher's⁽⁵¹⁾ four year olds and one-half of his five year olds were aware of genital and breast differences. At the age of six, this increased to three-fourths.

Thus, research clearly points out that most children of preschool ages are aware of sex differences. The majority of their differentiations are based upon clothing and hair, but an appreciable amount consider the breasts and genitals as sex differentiating characteristics.

Toy Preference and Sex Cleavage

The games, toys and play materials chosen by pre-school children have also been utilized as an indicator of sex awareness among young children. A large body of research on children's game and toy preference indicates that boys chose objects related to sports, machines, aggression, speed and strength, while girls selected games and objects associated with the kitchen, home, babies and personal appearance. (7,13,15,23,31,34,38,39,43,44,47,50,59,66,67,75,86) These preferences for certain types of toys denoting "masculinity" and "femininity" were even seen among children two years of age. (7,34,66,67,85)

Many of the studies conducted in this area of research have used their own test device to assess the toy and game preferences of preschool children. The ITSC (It Scale for Children) created by Brown⁽¹³⁾ has become most popular. Other studies have utilized the direct choice technique^(7,24,43,75) or interview with parents⁽³⁴⁾ to obtain their data.

The major results of these instruments indicate that a majority of boys and girls between the ages of two and five, preferred sex-appropriate toys. Also suggested was the generalization that boys exhibited a much clearer preference for masculine toys than girls did for feminine ones. This was found to be most pronounced at the age of five. A consistent increase in boys' preferences for masculine toys is seen with age, while girls show more variability. At the age of five, several girls indicated a strong preference for masculine toys. However, other research findings report conflicting evidences. Lefkowitz⁽⁵⁹⁾ reports that girls have as much preference for the feminine sex role, as boys have for the masculine one. Lansky⁽⁵⁵⁾ adds to this conflict by indicating that boys were more variable than girls in their choices of sex-appropriate toys. Girls showed more stability in their choices of sex-appropriate toys.

Children of preschool ages not only show preference for sex-appropriate toys, but also show sex cleavage in

play situations. Observation reports^(16,43,44,60,89) Picture-Preference Tests^(1,46,80) and Sociometric Techniques^(26,68) indicate that sex cleavage does exist at the ages two to five. Boys favored boys in play situations and also chose boys as recipients of their affectional ties, while girls favored girls and chose girls as recipients of their affectional ties.^(1,16,21,46,52,60,68,81,90) However, like research findings present on preference for sex-appropriate toys, research on sex cleavage also suggests that boys show a tendency toward stronger sex cleavage than girls. Sex cleavage among girls were more variable.^(16,52,53,58,90)

Additional research is necessary to clarify the conflicting evidences present in toy preferences of children three to five years of age, and also differences in sex cleavage among them.

Overt Behavior

A review of literature on the third aspect of sex awareness also lends support to the assumption made, that most children of preschool ages are aware of sex differences. Children at this age level are not only aware of sex differences based on physical attributes, or have preferences for sex-appropriate toys and show sex cleavage, but also indicate some form of "identification"--molding their behaviors in accordance with a standard appropriate to their biological sex.

Kagan⁽⁵⁰⁾ states:

The cultures differential standards regarding the behavioral face to be exposed to the public are not as clearly delineated as the standards for physical attributes, but these rules are strongly felt nonetheless.
(50, p. 138)

These involve a realization and identification with behavioral characteristics of aggression and inhibition appropriate for boys and girls; men and women. Research points out that this standard requires the inhibition of verbal or physical aggression among girls; but gives boys license and encouragement in expressing aggression when attacked, threatened or dominated by another male. Among preschool children, it is rather difficult to find a sound study in which aggressive behavior is not more frequent among boys than among girls.^(27, 45,49,64,72,90) Dawe⁽²⁷⁾ in her study of two and three year olds indicated that boys quarrelled more often than girls. Boys were also more aggressive during their quarrels, and this aggressiveness increased with age. Hattwick⁽⁴⁵⁾ also studying children two to four-and-a-half years of age reports boys showing more "aggressive-extroverted behaviors" than girls. Grabbing toys, attacking others, refusing to share, refusing to comply, breaking up toys, rushing into danger and activeness were more present among boys than girls. Recently, McCandless⁽⁶⁴⁾ conducted observations of children three to five years of age. His findings indicated that boys initiated more conflicts and were more aggressive in their play than girls.

This difference is also present in make believe themes children tell to pictures and dolls^(6,73) and in children's differential preceptions of adult males and females. When children were asked which parent was more dangerous or punitive (aggressive) both boys and girls agreed that the father was more aggressive than the mother.⁽³⁰⁾

In reference to the behaviors of inhibition, withdrawal, dependency, passivity and conformity, studies indicate girls to have greater license in exhibiting these behaviors than boys.^(45,64) Hattwick⁽⁴⁵⁾ reports from her observations that girls two to four years of age exemplified "withdrawn and introverted tendencies." They avoided play, expressed jealousy, shrank from notice, sought praise from teachers, stayed near adults, sucked their thumbs, feared people and places, and avoided risks more often than boys. This was true at all age levels studied. Recently, McCandless⁽⁶⁴⁾ also reported that girls showed more dependency upon adults than boys, and asked teachers to solve their problems of conflicts more often. Girls shied away from conflict situations.

Thus, most children of preschool ages are not only
 1) aware of sex differences based on physical attributes,
 2) show preference for sex-appropriate toys and 3) indicate sex cleavage, but also 4) show some form of molding their behaviors in accordance with standards appropriate to their biological sex.

Race and Sex Factors in the Friendship
Preferences of White Preschool
Aged Children

The review of literature on studies done in the area of race awareness and sex awareness has pointed out that the awareness of race differences and sex differences does exist at the preschool age level. This fact has been well established and the relationship between age and awareness of both race and sex differences is fairly clear. However, with respect to the correlated variables of age/race awareness and age/sex awareness, conflicting evidences have been seen. These conflicting evidences have occurred in research done by: 1) Moreno,⁽⁶⁸⁾ Criswell,⁽²⁶⁾ Helgersen,⁽⁴⁶⁾ and Abel and Sahinkaya,⁽¹⁾ whose studies showed that children of preschool ages placed a greater emphasis upon sex rather than race in their choice of playmates; 2) Lambert and Taguchi,⁽⁵⁶⁾ McCandless and Hoyt,⁽⁶⁵⁾ and Springer,⁽⁸¹⁾ whose studies showed that children of preschool ages placed a greater emphasis upon race rather than sex in their choice of playmates, and 3) Landreth and Johnson⁽⁵⁷⁾ and Stevenson and Stevenson,⁽⁸³⁾ whose studies showed no consistent patterns present in the choice of playmates among preschool children.

The controversy between the research findings is a continuing one. No definite solution has yet been found. To understand more fully the depth of such a controversy, the researcher of the present study has attempted briefly to critique the techniques used by previous researchers.

This is done to provide a basis for the present study. These techniques fall into four basic categories which include: 1) a Picture-Preference Test Technique, 2) a Sociometric Test and Interview Technique, 3) an Observation Technique, and 4) a Picture and Inset Test Design Technique.

The Picture-Preference Test Technique

Helgerson,⁽⁴⁶⁾ Abel and Sahinkaya⁽¹⁾ and Springer⁽⁸¹⁾ all utilized the Picture-Preference Test Technique to obtain their data. Facial photographs of children from varying racial backgrounds were employed. In Helgerson's⁽⁴⁶⁾ study, facial photographs of Negro and white children (male and female) with different facial expressions (sober and laughing) were used. These photographs were paired together, creating three different sets. In these sets the variables of race, sex and facial expressions were controlled. Set I held the variables of race and facial expressions as constants; Set II held the variables of sex and facial expressions as constants; Set III held the variables of race and sex as constants. Limits were encountered, however, in Helgerson's⁽⁴⁶⁾ neglect of presenting all possible paired choices to his subjects. His Picture-Preference Test allowed subjects to choose between 1) a Negro boy and a Negro girl, 2) a white boy and a white girl, 3) a white boy and a Negro boy, and 4) a white girl and a Negro girl, with varying facial expressions. However, such a test did not allow subjects to choose between 1) a Negro girl and a white boy, and

2) a white girl and a Negro boy. Generalizations made from data collected by this Picture-Preference Test, therefore, were limited in nature.

Abel and Sahinkaya⁽¹⁾ also employed paired photographs of Negro and white children (male and female) to obtain their data. Like Helgersen⁽⁴⁶⁾ their Picture-Preference Test showed definite limitations in reference to the possible number of paired choices they presented their subjects. Unlike Helgersen,⁽⁴⁶⁾ however, Abel and Sahinkaya⁽¹⁾ allowed their subjects to make choices between 1) a Negro girl and a white boy, 2) a white girl and a Negro boy, 3) a white boy and a Negro boy, and 4) a white girl and a Negro girl. The omission of the paired choices of 1) a white boy and a white girl and 2) a Negro boy and a Negro girl was seen. Generalizations made from their study, therefore, were also limited in nature.

Unlike Helgersen⁽⁴⁶⁾ and Abel and Schinkaya,⁽¹⁾ Springer⁽⁸¹⁾ in her study of children from Hawaii, utilized another variation of the Picture-Preference Test. This technique included three series of five photographs of children from different racial groups (Chinese, Japanese, Caucasian, Filipino and Part-Hawaiian). In these photograph series the variables of age (each series included photographs of children from different age levels), and race (each series included photographs of children from five racial groups) were controlled. The variables of sex and facial expressions, however, were left uncontrolled.

Aside from the neglect of 1) presenting all possible paired choices to their subjects, and 2) controlling some significant variables (i.e. facial expression and sex) studies mentioned above made the assumption that choices (preferences) subjects made on the Picture-Preferences Tests indicated race or sex cleavage. Such an assumption was left unsupported by research evidence, thus, the questioning of such an assumption indicated a major limitation in the Picture-Preference Tests employed.

The Picture-Preference Test of the present study has attempted to meet all three limitations encountered, so as to increase its effectiveness as the research instrument. It presented all possible paired choices to the subjects, attempted to take into account the variables of race, sex and facial expression, and also recorded descriptive data on all subjects which strengthened the assumption made by previous researchers about the Picture-Preference Test.

The Sociometric Test and Interview Technique

Both Moreno⁽⁶⁸⁾ and Criswell⁽²⁶⁾ in their studies of ethnic cleavage in children employed a standard Sociometric Technique (a study of proximity) to gather their data. Standard sociometric questions which involved asking their subjects: 1) "Which child in the group would you like to sit next to?" or 2) "Which child would you choose to sit next to?" were used. Since both Moreno's⁽⁶⁸⁾ and Criswell's⁽²⁶⁾

data provided evidence stating that racial cleavage among children was not present until the age of ten, the appropriateness of their methods were questioned by Lambert and Taguchi.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Lambert and Taguchi⁽⁵⁶⁾ felt that the questions employed by Moreno⁽⁶⁸⁾ and Criswell⁽²⁶⁾ did not lead children to discriminate "favored associates." They believed that children of preschool ages "didn't mind" or generally "liked everyone" who sat next to them. Because of this, Lambert and Taguchi⁽⁵⁶⁾ incorporated within their choosing procedures, what they believed to be "more significant" questions for preschool children. This involved asking their subjects: 1) to give a piece of candy to an associate, then receive one for themselves, 2) to choose an associate to pose with for picture-taking, and 3) to indicate which picture among individual poses of each school member they liked best and would want to keep. Using such questions in their choosing procedures, Lambert and Taguchi⁽⁵⁶⁾ reported findings which countered the studies of Moreno⁽⁶⁸⁾ and Criswell.⁽²⁶⁾

Though the critique Lambert and Taguchi⁽⁵⁶⁾ made of Moreno's⁽⁶⁸⁾ and Criswell's⁽²⁶⁾ methods remain an important one, all three studies mentioned above overlooked one major limitation in their techniques. The use of standard sociometrics involved subjects to make choices of "favored associates" from among children known to them. Because of this, numerous variables, such as the individual child's

interests, needs and personality traits, were left uncontrolled. Generalizations made from their data, therefore, were quite global in nature, and in need of support by other more precise techniques.

The critique of past sociometric techniques indicate major limitations in: 1) the kinds of questions asked of the subjects about their preferences and 2) the numerous extraneous variables left uncontrolled by allowing subjects to make choices of "favored associates" from among children already known to them. In reference to the first limitation, questions in the present Picture-Preference Test were simple in nature. These questions were chosen because of their successful employment in numerous studies dealing with attitudes of young children. Also an attempt at remedying the second limitations was made. In the present Picture-Preference Test photographs of children unknown to the subjects (a hypothetical group) were used. This was done in an attempt to control some of the numerous variables left uncontrolled by the previous Sociometric Test and Interview Techniques.

The Observational Technique

McCandless and Hoyt⁽⁶⁵⁾ and Stevenson and Stevenson⁽⁸³⁾ utilized observational techniques to investigate the interaction patterns of children in integrated nursery school situations. McCandless and Hoyt⁽⁶⁵⁾ obtained forty-five,

fifteen minute observations of their subjects over a period of three-and-a-half months. Three trained observers were employed to record the type and duration of interactions encountered by their subjects. The use of these trained observers tended to cancel out the individual bias of observers, however, other limitations were present. One major limitation involved the researchers' selection of certain observable social behaviors to indicate race or sex cleavage. Such a selection neglected a total concern for the complex dynamics of interpersonal relationships that exist between children in interaction situations. Also, Proshansky⁽⁷⁴⁾ in reviewing studies on racial preference indicates that studies of very young children clearly suggests that there is little relationship between "racial behavior" and "racial orientation"; or between what young children say and do publicly, and what they indicate privately or reveal on doll and picture tests. He cites Goodman's⁽³⁶⁾ study to support this generalization.

Stevenson and Stevenson⁽⁸³⁾ obtained fourteen, forty-five minute observations of children at the beginning of the nursery school year, and six at its end. No mention of control for observer bias was made in their study. This may indicate a major limitation in their research. Criticisms made of McCandless and Hoyt's⁽⁶⁵⁾ study are also applicable here.

Of the limitations encountered in past Observational Techniques, those mentioned were: 1) observer bias, and 2) the selection of specific observable social behaviors to indicate race or sex cleavage. The present Picture-Preference Test attempted to meet these limitations by: 1) allowing all subjects to make their own choices on tasks in the Picture-Preference Test, and 2) using direct statements and responses of children to indicate whether their choices were made on the basis of race or on the basis of sex. These methods controlled much of the numerous variables left uncontrolled by previous Observational Techniques.

The Matching Technique

Landreth and Johnson⁽⁵⁷⁾ employed their own Picture and Inset Test Design to obtain their data. The Picture and Inset Test required subjects to choose one of three inset pictures designed to reveal their reactions to persons of different skin color. The insets, as well as the pictures were of drawings of a man, woman, boy, girl or baby. The size and shape of each picture and inset were similar. The only difference was in skin color.

Regarding this technique, both Landreth and Johnson⁽⁵⁷⁾ indicated that their data on white subjects showed them choosing an inset picture because of correct racial matching, rather than actual preference. For this reason, the appropriateness of their entire Picture and Inset Test

Design is questioned. This test may obtain data on race awareness, but whether it reveals information regarding racial preference is questioned.

Conflicting evidences in research findings concerned with the race and sex factors in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children, and the limitations encountered in previous research techniques employed to understand such a problem, indicate a need for more research in the area. The critique on previous techniques employed, provide the basis upon which the research of the present study designed his own Picture-Preference Test.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The Picture-Preference Test

A Picture-Preference Test designed for this study was used as the research instrument. The test was made up of twelve 5" by 7" black and white facial photographs of children between the ages of three-and-a-half to five-and-a-half. The twelve photographs were chosen by a board of five adult judges from a sample of twenty-five photographs of Negro (dark-skinned) and white children (six Negro boys, five Negro girls, seven white boys and seven white girls) taken by the researcher with a Kodak 804 Instamatic Camera. All photographs were taken on a white background to lessen the bias effect of the environmental conditions. The criteria for choosing these photographs included: 1) that the photographs chosen be distinguishable by race, 2) that the photographs chosen be distinguishable by sex, 3) that the photographs chosen be of children with smiling faces, and 4) that the photographs chosen consist of three white boys, three white girls, three Negro boys and three Negro girls.

After this selection was made, the photographs were paired together, creating six tasks. These tasks were again

combined to create three sets. These three sets are described in the following paragraphs.

Set I: Tasks One and Two comprise Set I. Task One involves a choice between a white boy and a white girl. Task Two involves a choice between a Negro boy and a Negro girl. This set was designed to test the first hypothesis set forth in this thesis; that is: "White children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own sex when the variable of race is held constant."

Set II: Tasks Three and Four comprise Set II. Task Three involves a choice between a white boy and a Negro boy. Task Four involves a choice between a white girl and a Negro girl. This set was designed to test the second hypothesis set forth in this thesis; that is: "White children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own race when the variable of sex is held constant."

Set III: Tasks Five and Six comprise Set III. Task Five involves a choice between a white boy and a Negro girl for boys, and a white girl and a Negro boy for girls. Task Six involves a choice between a Negro boy and a white girl for boys, and a white boy and a Negro girl

for girls. This set was designed to test the third hypothesis set forth in this thesis; that is: "White children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own sex when the variables of race and sex are varied."

Three paired pictures of cats and dogs were used as practice samples. These samples were incorporated into the testing procedures and presented to the subjects prior to the actual administration of the Picture-Preference Test. This was done to familiarize the subjects with the procedures of the test and to establish the needed rapport with the subjects. To introduce both practice samples and the Picture-Preference Test to the subjects, the researcher said:

(Child's name), I would like to show you some pictures of animals and children, and would like to ask you some questions about them. Which animal (child) would you like to choose as a pet (friend)?

After each task was administered, the researcher then asked:

Can you tell me why you chose this animal (child)? Tell me more. Tell me still more.

This was done to obtain descriptive data concerning the child's friendship preferences.

The Reliability of the Picture-Preference Test

The test-retest method was used to determine the reliability of all tasks in the Picture-Preference Test. The reliability of a research instrument refers to the

extent to which repeated applications of the test to the same population yields the same scores.

One-half of the original sample (30 subjects) were randomly selected from three nursery school groups of the original six, for retesting. The retesting took place two weeks after the final testing was done. This decision to allow two weeks to pass before retesting was based upon the factors of memory and learning of the subjects. The length of time between the testings kept memory at a minimum. Since during the final testing no indication was given to the subjects concerning the correctness of their choices, the possibility of learning was also kept at a minimum.

A phi-correlation coefficient was obtained for Task One of the Picture-Preference Test. This statistic was used because each of the variables in the task were dichotomous variables. However, due to the nature of the choices presented to the subjects in Tasks Two, Three, Four, Five and Six, the phi-correlation technique could not be utilized. Percentages were obtained for subjects making the same choices on two administrations of these tasks in the Picture-Preference Test. Table I lists the reliability coefficient for Task One and the percentages obtained for Tasks Two, Three, Four, Five and Six.

Both the reliability coefficient and the percentages reveal a high reliability for all tasks in the Picture-Preference Test.

TABLE I: A Reliability Coefficient for Task One and Percentages for Tasks Two, Three, Four, Five and Six Obtained From Two Administrations of Each Task in the Picture-Preferences Test for Thirty Subjects

Task One	Task Two	Task Three	Task Four	Task Five	Task Six
Correlation Coefficient	Percent-age	Percent-age	Percent-age	Percent-age	Percent-age
.80	96 2/3	96 2/3	90	100	86 2/3

The Validity of the Picture-Preference Test

During the pilot study an attempt was made to establish an index of validity for the present Picture-Preference Test. Added to the procedures of the test were questions regarding the photographs of children used in three sets of the Picture-Preference Test. These questions were asked of each subject after the administration of the entire test. The questions included: 1) Sex Identification: Which two children are boys? and which two children are girls?; 2) Race Identification: Which two children are Negro (colored or black)? and which two children are white?; and 3) Facial Expression Identification: Are all the children smiling?

All subjects (n=11) were able to identify photographs of both their own and opposite sex and racial groups used in three sets of the Picture-Preference Test. In reference to race identification, those subjects who made correct identifications when the word "Negro" was used (n = 3) made correct

identifications when the words "colored" and "black" were used. Those who made correct identifications when the word "colored" was used ($n = 4$), made correct identifications when the word "black" was used.

Of the responses concerned with the facial expressions of children in the photographs, all subjects of the pilot study agreed that these photographs were of children with smiling faces. No negative responses were recorded.

Data obtained from subjects of the pilot study for an index of validity, therefore, indicate that the photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test were distinguishable by sex, race and facial expression. This provided a basis for the assumption that the Picture-Preference Test is effective as a research instrument for understanding the race and sex factors in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children.

The Pilot Study

A pilot study was undertaken to test the effectiveness of the proposed Picture-Preference Test. Subjects used in the pilot study were selected from two all white nursery school classes at the Michigan State University cooperative nursery school (Spartan Nursery School). These subjects were randomly chosen from such groups after the subjects for the final study were selected. Eleven children, five boys and five girls, aged 3.9 to 4.10 years, served as subjects for the pilot study.

During the pilot study attention was particularly focused upon: 1) the acquaintance of the researcher with the procedures of the Picture-Preference Test, 2) the efficiency and clarity of instructions, 3) the use of a tape recorder to record subjects' responses to questions of preference (descriptive data), 4) the scoring sheet (See appendix), and 5) the establishment of some index of validity for the photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test (previously described).

After the results of the pilot study were evaluated, two major modifications in the test procedures were undertaken. The appreciable amount of subjects not responding to the questions of preference indicated a need for modification in this portion of the test. After experimenting with a variety of questions focused on eliciting responses from subjects, two additional questions were incorporated into the test procedures. This will be discussed later in the section on procedures of the final study.

Also a decision not to use the type recorder as a research instrument was made. Statements and responses of subjects were short and simple, thus allowing for the easy recording of such data by a shorthand method. This also cancelled the distractable character of the tape recorder, preserving the initial enthusiasm with which the subjects involved themselves in the test.

The Final Study

Description of Subjects

Sixty white children of preschool ages, thirty boys and thirty girls, ranging in ages from 3.5 to 5.2 years were randomly selected from six all white nursery school classes held at the Michigan State University (Spartan Nursery School). All subjects came from homes in which either one or both of their parents were enrolled as students within the university.

Of the sixty subjects, fifteen boys and fifteen girls were between the ages of 3.5 to 4.2 years, and fifteen boys and fifteen girls were between the ages of 4.5 to 5.2 years. The mean age for subjects between the ages 3.5 to 4.2 was 3.9 for both boys and girls. The mean age for subjects between the ages 4.5 to 5.2 was 4.8 for boys and 4.7 for girls.

Those subjects between the ages 3.5 to 4.2 years will hereafter be known as the younger group in this study, while those between the ages 4.5 to 5.2 years will be known as the older group (see Table II).

Since this study was an attempt to familiarize the researcher with the problems present in the field of race awareness in young children, the sample has been limited to white children only. Other research will be done in the future with subjects from both integrated and non-integrated Negro groups.

The overall permission to conduct this study at the Michigan State University Nursery Schools was granted by the

TABLE II: Age and Sex of Subjects Employed in This Study

YOUNGER GROUP

Subject No.	Boys (Age)	Girls (Age)
1	3.5	3.5
2	3.5	3.6
3	3.5	3.9
4	3.7	3.9
5	3.8	3.10
6	3.9	3.10
7	3.10	3.10
8	3.10	3.10
9	3.10	3.11
10	4.1	4.0
11	4.1	4.1
12	4.1	4.1
13	4.2	4.1
14	4.2	4.2
15	4.2	4.2
Mean =	3.9	Mean = 3.9

OLDER GROUP

Subject No.	Boys (Age)	Girls (Age)
1	4.5	4.5
2	4.5	4.5
3	4.6	4.5
4	4.6	4.6
5	4.8	4.6
6	4.8	4.6
7	4.9	4.7
8	4.9	4.7
9	4.9	4.8
10	5.0	4.10
11	5.0	5.0
12	5.0	5.0
13	5.1	5.0
14	5.1	5.2
15	5.2	5.2
Mean =	4.8	Mean = 4.7

Department of Home Management and Child Development in the College of Home Economics.

The Establishment of Rapport

In order to facilitate a successful presentation of the Picture-Preference Test, time was spent in establishing rapport with the subjects. Participation in nursery school groups from which the subjects were selected occurred over a period of three weeks. Consequently at the time of testing, most of the subjects were willing to participate in the study.

In approaching the subjects for participation in the study, the researcher said:

(Child's name), I brought the pictures of animals and children to school today, and would like to show them to you. Would you like to see them now?

Although most of the subjects responded willingly, several subjects who, because of their involvement in some other activity in the nursery school room, refused to participate. For these subjects the researcher said:

Oh, you're busy now. Maybe later on.

Only those subjects who were willing to participate were used in the study. The subjects were approached three times before help was sought from the teacher. Two subjects from the original sample refused to participate in the study. A matching procedure with age and sex as variables was used to select two more subjects to fulfill the sample's quota.

The Test Room

A small room adjoining the nursery proper was used to test the majority of the subjects (53 subjects). Seven subjects were tested in another room of similar size at the opposite end of the nursery building.

Presentation of the Picture-Preference Test

Only one subject and the researcher were present in the room during the interview. During this interview situation the subjects were seated in a chair at a small table with the researcher to the left of him. In the center of the table, in front of both the subjects and the researcher was placed the Picture-Preference Test. The paired photographs in each task of the Picture-Preference Test were mounted on pieces of stiff cardboard with a neutral (white) background. The position of the photographs on the stiff cardboard were randomly arranged.

Both the presentation of the practice samples and the actual Picture-Preference Test were the same as previously described. In reference to the questions of preferences, however, modifications were undertaken.

When subjects made their preferences, but gave no reason for them, the researcher said to the subjects:

What about this one? (Pointing to the photographs the subjects did not choose).

If the subjects answered negatively to this question, the researcher proceeded to ask:

Can you tell me why you don't like this one? (pointing to the photographs to which the subjects responded negatively). Tell me more. Tell me still more.

However, if the subjects answered affirmatively to such a question, the researcher then proceeded by saying:

Then tell me why you chose this one first (pointing to the subjects' original choice). Tell me more. Tell me still more.

These additional questions greatly helped the researcher in obtaining responses from the subjects. All subjects made some form of response in the final study.

Collection of Data

The collection of data occurred over a period of eight days, during the nursery school's free play session. One hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon were utilized for testing. About seven or eight subjects were tested each day.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Data collected for this study were analyzed to test the three hypotheses set forth in this thesis. Statistical measures were used to analyze the frequency preferences obtained on all tasks and sets of the Picture-Preference Test, while a descriptive technique was used to analyze the descriptive data. Results of both the frequency preferences and the descriptive data were organized and reported separately.

Additional content analyses of the descriptive data were done. Age and sex differences were also determined for all data collected. Only where significant differences occurred were they reported.

Frequency Preferences

The chi-square test of independence was used to test the first hypothesis by analyzing the frequency preferences obtained on Set I (Tasks One and Two) of the Picture-Preference Test. This statistic was used to test the independence of two variables in the first hypothesis; that of the sex of the subjects and the sex of the photographs chosen by the subjects. In order not to reject this hypothesis a chi-square

value of 6.64 with one degree of freedom ($p = .01$) was needed for each task in Set I of the Picture-Preference Test.

The binomial method was used to test the second and third hypotheses by analyzing the frequency preferences obtained on Set II (Tasks Three and Four) and Set III (Tasks Five and Six) of the Picture-Preference Test. This statistic was used to determine whether the results obtained differed significantly from chance. In order not to reject these hypotheses a z-score of 2.06 ($p = .01$) was needed for each task.

Set I (Tasks One and Two)

The hypothesis to be tested for Set I of the Picture-Preference Test stated that "white children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own sex when the variable of race is held constant; that is: 1) white girls will choose girls when a choice between a white boy and a white girl is given to them; 2) white girls will choose girls when a choice between a Negro boy and a Negro girl is given to them; 3) white boys will choose boys when a choice between a white boy and a white girl is given to them; and 4) white boys will choose boys when a choice between a Negro boy and a Negro girl is given to them."

For Task One and Two of Set I, chi-square values of 39.16 and 33.04 with one degree of freedom were obtained respectively. This indicated that there was a significant

difference between the two variables present in the first hypothesis; that is between the sex of the subjects and the sex of the photographs chosen ($p = <.01$). Boys and girls preferred friends of their own sex when the choices between 1) a white boy and a white girl (Task One), and 2) a Negro boy and a Negro girl (Task Two), were given to them. The hypothesis set forth for Set I of the Picture-Preference Test is therefore not rejected. These results suggest that a significant number of subjects showed signs of sex cleavage in Tasks One and Two of the Picture-Preference Test. This is in harmony with previous studies of sex cleavage among children of preschool ages. Table III lists the total number of frequency preferences made by all subjects on Set I of the Picture-Preference Test.

TABLE III: Frequency Preferences of Sixty Subjects On Set I (Tasks One and Two) of the Picture-Preference Test

Sex	Task One ($p = <.01$)			Task Two ($p = <.01$)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Boys	25	5	30	26	4	30
Girls	<u>1</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	26	34	60	28	32	60
	x^2 value = 39.16			x^2 value = 33.04		

Set II (Tasks Three and Four)

The hypothesis to be tested in Set II of the Picture-Preference Test stated that "white children of preschool

ages will prefer friends of their own race when the variable of sex is held constant; that is: 1) white girls will choose white boys when a choice between a white boy and a Negro boy is given to them; 2) white girls will choose white girls when a choice between a white girl and a Negro girl is given to them; 3) white boys will choose white boys when a choice between a white boy and a Negro boy is given to them, and 4) white boys will choose white girls when a choice between a white girl and a Negro girl is given to them."

For Task Three of the Picture-Preference Test, a z-score of 6.91 was obtained ($p = <.01$). Both boys and girls chose photographs of their own race in Task Three of the Picture-Preference Test.

For Task Four of the Picture-Preference Test, a z-score of 6.30 was obtained. ($p = <.01$). Both boys and girls chose photographs of their own race in Task Four of the Picture-Preference Test. The hypothesis set forth for Set II of the Picture-Preference Test is therefore not rejected. These results suggest that a significant number of subjects showed signs of racial (ingroup) cleavage in Tasks Three and Four of the Picture-Preference Test. This is in harmony with previous studies of racial preference among white children of preschool ages. Table IV presents the total number of frequency preferences made by all subjects on Set II of the Picture-Preference Test.

TABLE IV: Frequency Preferences of Sixty Subjects On Set II (Tasks Three and Four) of the Picture-Preference Test

Sex	Task Three (p = <.01)			Task Four (p = <.01)		
	Own Race Choice	Opp. Race Choice	Total	Own Race Choice	Opp. Race Choice	Total
Boys	28	2	30	27	3	30
Girls	<u>29</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	57	3	60	54	6	60
	z-score = 6.91			z-score = 6.30		

Set III (Tasks Five and Six)

The hypothesis set forth for Set III of the Picture-Preference Test stated that "white children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own sex when the variables of race and sex are varied; that is: 1) white boys will choose white boys when a choice between a white boy and a Negro girl is given to them (own race-own sex choice); 2) white girls will choose white girls when a choice between a white girl and a Negro boy is given to them (own race-own sex choice); 3) white boys will choose Negro boys when a choice between a Negro boy and a white girl is given to them (opposite race-own sex choice); and 4) white girls will choose Negro girls when a choice between a Negro girl and a white boy is given to them (opposite race-own sex choice)."

For Task Five of the Picture-Preference Test, all subjects made friendship preferences of their own race-own sex photographs (see Table V); white boys did choose white

boys, and white girls did choose white girls as hypothesized for Task Five of the Picture-Preference Test. However, despite the fact that all subjects chose photographs of their own race and own sex, their choices tell us nothing about whether these choices were made on the basis of their own race or their own sex. Descriptive data, to be discussed later, is needed to clarify this finding.

For Task Six, a z-score of .26 was obtained for subjects making choices of their opposite race-own sex photographs. The hypothesis set forth for Set III of the Picture-Preference Test was therefore rejected.

However, further analysis of frequency preferences for Task Six indicate interesting differences between sex groups. Twenty-three out of thirty boys chose photographs of their opposite race-own sex (Negro boy). The use of a binomial test to analyze this data yielded a z-score of 2.90 ($p = <.01$). For boys, the hypothesis that white preschool children will prefer friends of their own sex when the variables of sex and race are varied, may well be plausible. However, the data reveal that this is not true for girls in this sample. Twenty-two out of thirty girls chose photographs of their own race-opposite sex used in Task Six of the Picture-Preference Test. The use of the binomial method to analyze this data yielded a z-score of 2.55 ($p = <.01$). For girls, then, the hypothesis stating that white preschool children will prefer friends of their own sex when the

variables of sex and race are varied, is rejected. Instead girls seem to indicate choices opposed to the hypothesized direction; that is making their choices on the basis of their own race rather than their own sex. Thus, findings on boys seem to support the conclusion that white preschool children placed a greater emphasis upon sex rather than race in their choice of playmates, while girls seem to support the opposite conclusion made that white children of pre-school ages placed a greater emphasis upon race rather than sex in their choice of playmates. Table V lists the total number of frequency preferences made by boys and girls in Set III of the Picture-Preference Test.

TABLE V: Frequency Preferences of Boys and Girls on Set III (Tasks Five and Six) of the Picture-Preference Test.

Sex	Task Five ($p = <.01$)			Task Six		
	Own Race- Own Sex Choice	Opp.Race- Opp.Sex Choice	Total	Own Race- Opp.Sex Choice	Opp.Race- Own Sex	Total
Boys	30	0	30	7	23($p=<.01$)	30
Girls	<u>30</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>22($p=<.01$)</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	60	0	60	29	31	60
	z-score = 7.75			z-score for boys = 2.90 z-score for girls = 2.55		

Although statistical measures could be utilized for an analysis of age and sex differences between entire age and sex groups, the size of the sample did not allow for an analysis within sex and between age groups. However, a

descriptive technique was used to discover differences that occurred within sex and between age groups. Frequency preferences obtained for Task Six of the Picture-Preference Test indicated that more boys in the older group preferred photographs of their opposite sex and own race ($n = 6$) than did boys in the younger group ($n = 1$). This seems to suggest the possibility that a developmental pattern may be involved in the racial preference of white preschool aged boys. For girls, however, data indicated that both younger and older groups were almost equal in their preferences for photographs of their opposite sex and own race ($n = 12$ for younger group; $n = 10$ for older group). Accordingly, if a developmental pattern does indeed exist, then girls would appear to reach a more mature level at an earlier age than do boys.

Descriptive Data

A descriptive technique was used to test the three hypotheses in this thesis by analyzing the descriptive data obtained from the Picture-Preference Test.

Criteria for Evaluating the Data

Before an analysis of the descriptive data could be done, some criteria for evaluating this data had to be established and this data quantified. In reference to the establishment of some criteria for evaluating the

descriptive data, three categories were established for each task in the Picture-Preference Test. For Tasks One and Two of Set I, the categories of own sex choice, opposite sex choice and uncertain were established; for Tasks Three and Four of Set II, the categories of own race choice, opposite race choice and uncertain were established; and for Tasks Five and Six of Set II, the categories of own race choice, own sex choice and uncertain were established.

The criteria for assigning the descriptive data to each of these categories were as follows:

- 1) Own Sex or Own Race Choice: This included responses made by subjects which indicated: a) a definite like for one's own sex (I like boys or girls) or race (I like white); b) a definite dislike for one's opposite sex (I don't like girls or boys) or race (I don't like black, brown, dark or colored people); c) a positive value judgment of one's own sex (see Table XI) or race (see Table XVI); and d) a negative value judgment of one's opposite sex (see Table XI) or race (see Table XVI).
- 2) Opposite Sex or Opposite Race Choice: This included responses made by subjects which indicated: a) a definite like for one's opposite sex (I like girls or boys) or race (I like

black, brown, dark or colored people); b) a definite dislike for one's own sex (I don't like boys or girls) or race (I don't like white); c) a positive value judgment of one's opposite sex (see Table XI) or race (see Table XVI); and d) a negative value judgment of one's own sex (see Table XI) or race (see Table XVI).

- 3) Uncertain: This included responses made by subjects that could not be assigned to any one of the categories listed above. If any question arose in reference to any response being evaluated, such a response was assigned to this category.

With regard to the quantification of this descriptive data, a numerical value of one was assigned to each response made by subjects on all tasks of the Picture-Preference Test. These values were then summed, giving a total score for each category which could be descriptively analyzed.

Set I (Tasks One and Two)

A numerical score of fifty-four out of sixty was obtained from subjects making their own sex choice on Tasks One and Two of the Picture-Preference Test. These scores indicate that boys as well as girls preferred friends of their own sex, when the variable of race was

held constant. Descriptive data, therefore, indicate a non-rejectance of the first hypothesis set forth in this thesis. The inference made from frequency preferences, that subjects in the sample showed signs of sex cleavage is acceptable. This set did provide the researcher with information regarding the sex factor in the friendship preferences of subjects studied (see Table VI).

TABLE VI: Descriptive Data of Subjects On Set I of the Picture-Preference Test

Sex	Task One				Task Two			
	Own Sex Choice	Opp. Sex Choice	Uncer- tain	Total	Own Sex Choice	Opp. Sex Choice	Uncer- tain	Total
Boys	25	3	2	30	26	3	1	30
Girls	<u>29</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	54	4	2	60	54	4	2	60

Set II (Tasks Three and Four)

Numerical scores of fifty and forty-seven out of sixty were obtained for subjects making their own race choice on Tasks Three and Four of the Picture-Preference Test respectively. These two scores indicate that boys as well as girls preferred friends of their own race when the variable of sex was held constant (see Table VII). Descriptive data, therefore, also indicated a non-rejectance of the second hypothesis set forth in this thesis. The inference made from frequency preferences, that subjects in the sample showed signs of racial (ingroup)

cleavage is acceptable. This set did provide the researcher with information regarding the race factor in the friendship preferences of the subjects studied.

TABLE VII: Descriptive Data of Subjects on Set II of the Picture-Preference Test

Sex	Task Three				Task Four			
	Own Race Choice	Opp. Race Choice	Uncer- tain	Total	Own Race Choice	Opp. Race Choice	Uncer- tain	Total
Boys	27	0	3	30	26	1	3	30
Girls	<u>23</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	50	1	9	60	47	4	9	60

Set III (Tasks Five and Six)

Numerical scores of twenty-three out of thirty were obtained for boys making choices of their own sex photographs on Task Five and Task Six of the Picture-Preference Test, while numerical scores of nineteen out of thirty were obtained for girls making their own race choices on both tasks. These scores suggest that boys seem to prefer friends of their own race when the variables of race and sex were varied (see Table VII). Descriptive data, therefore, indicate a rejection of the third hypothesis set forth in this thesis. The inference made from frequency preferences obtained on Set III of the Picture-Preference Test is acceptable. As previously

stated antithetical results concerning the race and sex factors in the friendship preferences of white preschool children was found. For boys sex rather than race was more influential in their friendship preferences, while race was more influential for girls. The frequency preferences obtained on Task Five of the Picture-Preference Test did not indicate this, but descriptive data on Task Five, and both frequency preferences and descriptive data on Task Six, supported this inference.

TABLE VIII: Descriptive Data of Subjects On Set III of the Picture-Preference Test

Sex	Task Five				Task Six			
	Own Race Choice	Own Sex Choice	Uncer- tain	Total	Own Race Choice	Own Sex Choice	Uncer- tain	Total
Boys	7	23	0	30	7	23	0	30
Girls	<u>19</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	26	31	3	60	26	31	3	60

As with frequency preferences, an analysis of descriptive data obtained on subjects within sex and between age groups for Tasks Five and Six of the Picture-Preference Test was also undertaken. Despite the limits present due to the sample size ($n = 60$), descriptive data obtained for both tasks also indicated that more boys in the older group preferred friends of their own race ($n = 6$) than boys in the younger group ($n = 1$). This again seems

to suggest the possibility that a developmental pattern may be involved in the racial preference of white pre-school aged boys. For girls, however, descriptive data indicated that both younger and older groups were equal ($n = 9$ for both groups) in their preference for friends of their own race. Accordingly, if a developmental pattern does indeed exist, then girls would appear to reach a more mature level at an earlier age than do boys.

Other Findings

Aside from interest in testing the three hypotheses set forth in this thesis, additional content analyses of the descriptive data were undertaken. The findings determined through this analysis are reported in two sections which include: 1) sex awareness and value judgments, and 2) race awareness and value judgments. Both the binomial method and the chi-square test of independence previously described were used to analyze the data wherever possible. In binomial tests, a z-score of 2.06 was necessary for significance at the .01 level; in the chi-square test of independence, a chi-square value of 3.84 with one degree of freedom was necessary for significance at the .05 level.

Sex Awareness and Value Judgments

A content analysis was undertaken of descriptive data concerned with sex awareness and value judgments made by subjects in describing photographs of their own sex and

opposite sex used in the Picture-Preference Test. Findings from this analysis are reported under the topics: 1) sex-related words, 2) value judgments, 3) types of value judgments and 4) words of value judgments.

Sex Related-Words

In reference to the sex-related words used by subjects, data indicate that all subjects ($n = 60$) used the words "boy, him or he" and "girl, her or she" correctly in describing photographs of their own sex and opposite sex used in the Picture-Preference Test. This suggested that the subjects of the sample were well aware of sex differences between themselves and other children.

Value Judgments (see Table IX)

The binomial method was also used to analyze the data obtained regarding the number of subjects making value judgments (for examples see Table XI) of their own sex and opposite sex photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test. These value judgments included both positive and negative type value judgments made by subjects. A z-score of 4.11 was obtained ($p = <.01$). A significant number of subjects, therefore, made value judgments of their own sex and opposite sex photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test.

Also, a chi-square test of independence was used to analyze this data. This statistic was used to test the

independence of two variables; that of age groupings (older and younger) and those subjects making and not making value judgments in describing their own sex and opposite sex photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test. A chi-square value of 5.95 was obtained, indicating a significant difference to be present ($p = <.05$). Older subjects made more value judgments of their own sex and opposite sex photographs than younger subjects.

TABLE IX: Subjects Making and Not Making Value Judgments of Their Own Sex and Opposite Sex Photographs Used in the Picture-Preference Test

Age	Making	Not Making	Total
Younger	19	11	30
Older	<u>27</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	46	14	60
z-score = 4.11 χ^2 value = 5.95			

Types of Value Judgments

In reference to the types of value judgments made by subjects of their own sex and opposite sex photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test, the binomial method yielded a z-score of 2.33 for subjects making positive value judgments of their own sex photographs ($p = <.01$). Only two subjects of the sixty made positive type value judgments of their opposite sex photographs, one subject made a negative type value judgment of his own sex photograph, and seven subjects (girls) made negative type value

judgments of their opposite sex photographs (see Table X). Since a significant number of boys and girls made positive type value judgments of their own sex photographs, data suggests that subjects of the sample showed signs of sex cleavage.

TABLE X: Types of Value Judgments Made by Subjects of Their Own Sex and Opposite Sex Photographs Used in the Picture-Preference Test

Photographs	<u>POSITIVE TYPE</u>		Total
	Making	Not Making	
Own Sex	38(p=<.01) z-score = 2.33	22	60
Opposite Sex	2	58	60

Photographs	<u>NEGATIVE TYPE</u>		Total
	Making	Not Making	
Own Sex	1	59	60
Opposite Sex	7	53	60

Words of Value Judgments

A listing of the words of value judgments used by subjects in describing their own sex and opposite sex photographs in the Picture-Preference Test are included in Table XI. Value judgments such as best, better, better than, first, looks better, nicer (nice), pretty, and good, were used by subjects to describe photographs of their own sex. Value judgments such as bad, beats me, fights, mean,

TABLE XI: Words of Value Judgments Used by Subjects In Describing Their Own Sex and Opposite Sex Photographs Used in the Picture-Preference Test

OWN SEX PHOTOGRAPHS		OPPOSITE SEX PHOTOGRAPHS	
Words of Positive Value Judgments	Subjects	Words of Negative Value Judgments	No. of Subjects
best	4	bad	1
better	20	beats me	1
better than	16	fight	1
first	14	hits me	1
looks better	1	mean	1
nicer (nice)	3	naughty	1
pretty	2		
good	1		
OWN SEX PHOTOGRAPHS		OPPOSITE SEX PHOTOGRAPHS	
Words of Negative Value Judgments	No. of Subjects	Words of Positive Value Judgments	No. of Subjects
fight	1	looks better	1
funny	1	pretty	1

naughty, and hits me, however, were used by a few subjects to describe photographs of their opposite sex. Own sex photographs were positively valued, while a few subjects (girls) indicated opposite sex photographs to be negatively valued.

Race Awareness and Value Judgments

A content analysis of descriptive data concerned with race awareness and value judgments made by subjects in describing photographs of their own race and opposite race used in the Picture-Preference Test was also undertaken. Findings in this section are reported under the topics: 1) race-related words, 2) kinds of race-related words, 3) value judgments, 4) types of value judgments, 5) words of value judgments, and 5) definite statements of dislike.

Race-Related Words

Table XII summarizes the number of subjects using (correctly) and not using race-related words in describing photographs of their opposite race (Negro). The binomial method was used to analyze this data obtained on subjects using race-related words correctly. A z-score of 3.61 was calculated ($p = <.01$). This finding indicates that a significant number of subjects in this study were able to use race-related words correctly in describing photographs of their opposite race.

TABLE XII: Race-Related Words Used (Correctly) and Not Used By Subjects in Describing Photographs of Their Opposite Race Used in the Picture-Preference Test

Sex	Used (correctly)	Not Used	Total
Boys	24	6	30
Girls	<u>20</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	44	16	60
z-score = 3.61			

Kinds of Race-Related Words

The kinds of race-related words and physical attributes used by subjects to describe their own race and opposite race photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test are listed in Table XIII. Physical attributes such as skin color (not white, black, dark, colored, brown) and hair (curly) were used by subjects to describe photographs of their opposite race. Three subjects used the word "Negro," while one subject mentioned eye color differences and another mentioned speech differences.

The physical attributes of skin color (white, not black, light, isn't colored) and hair (not curly) were also used by subjects in describing photographs of their own race (white). Data on race-related words and physical attributes used by subjects in describing photographs of their own race and opposite race, suggest skin color to be the determining factor in race differentiations.

TABLE XIII: Kinds of Race-Related Words and Physical Attributes Used By Subjects in Describing Their Own Race and Opposite Race Photographs Used in the Picture-Preference Test

OWN RACE PHOTOGRAPHS		OPPOSITE RACE PHOTOGRAPHS	
Kinds	No. of Subjects	Kinds	No. of Subjects
not curly hair	2	curly hair	5
white (hair, face)	8	not white	3
not black (face, skin)	3	Black (people, children, face, skin, head)	19
light (people, lighter)	4		
isn't colored	2	dark (people, darker)	9
		colored (people, skin)	9
		brown (people, faces)	7
		Negro	3
		different (looks, skin, face)	9
		different eyes	1
		different speech	1

Value Judgments

Table XIV summarizes the data on subjects making and not making value judgments of their own race and opposite race photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test. These value judgments included both negative and positive value judgments made by subjects (see Table XVI for examples). The binomial method was used to analyze the data obtained on subjects making value judgments. A z-score of 3.61 was obtained ($p = <.01$). This indicated that

significant number of subjects made value judgments of their own race and opposite race photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test.

Also, a chi-square test of independence was used to analyze the data. This statistic was used to test the independence of two variables; that of age groupings, and those subjects making and not making value judgments in describing photographs of their own race and opposite race used in the Picture-Preference Test. A chi-square value of 5.46 was obtained, indicating a significant difference to be present ($p = <.05$). Older subjects made more value judgments of their own race and opposite race photographs than younger subjects (see Table XIV).

TABLE XIV: Subjects Making and Not Making Value Judgments of Their Own Race and Opposite Race Photographs Used in the Picture-Preference Test

Age	Making	Not Making	Total
Younger	18	12	30
Older	<u>26</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	44	16	60
z-score = 3.61		χ^2 value = 5.46	

Types of Value Judgments

A summary of the amount of subjects making different types of value judgments of their own race and opposite race photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test is presented in Table XV. The use of the binomial method yielded a

z-score of 2.58 for those subjects making positive value judgments of their own race photographs ($p = <.01$). Only five subjects of the sixty made positive value judgments of their opposite race photograph, one subject made a negative value judgment of his own race photograph, while twenty subjects made negative value judgments of their opposite race photographs. Data again suggests an ingroup (racial) cleavage to be present. A significant number of subjects made positive value judgments of their own race photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test.

TABLE XV: Types of Value Judgments Made by Subjects of Their Own Race and Opposite Race Photographs Used in the Picture-Preference Test

Photographs	POSITIVE TYPE		Total
	Making	Not Making	
Own Race	40 ($p = <.01$) z-score = 2.58	20	60
Opposite Race	5	55	60
Photographs	NEGATIVE TYPE		Total
	Making	Not Making	
Own Race	1	59	60
Opposite Race	20	40	60

Words of Value Judgments

A list of the words of value judgments used by subjects in describing their own race and opposite race photographs in the Picture-Preference Test are summarized in

in Table XVI. Value judgments such as better (better than, best), good guys (boys), nice (nicer than, nice face), pretty (prettier, prettier than), and others were used by subjects to describe their own race photographs. Value judgments such as bad guys (boys, not good), ugly (uglier, doesn't look good, looks awful, not so cute), not pretty, not nice, and others were used by subjects to describe their opposite race photographs. Already incipient attitudes about racial groups seem to be present among the subjects studied. "Whiteness" seems positively valued, while "Negro-ness" (dark-skinned) negatively valued.

Definite Statements of Dislike

The number of subjects making and not making definite statements of dislike concerning photographs of their opposite race used in the Picture-Preference Test are summarized in Table XVII. The binomial method was used to analyze the data obtained on subjects making definite statements of dislike. These include statements such as: 1) I don't like black people, 2) I don't like black children, 3) I don't like brown people, 4) I don't like that (pointing to photograph of Negro child), and 5) I don't like colored people. A z-score of 2.58 was obtained ($p = <.01$). A significant number of subjects in the study, therefore, were not only aware of race differences, could use race-related words correctly, and made value judgments regarding their own race and opposite race photographs,

TABLE XVI: Words of Value Judgments Used by Subjects in Describing The Own Race and Opposite Race Photographs Used in the Picture-Preference Test

OWN RACE PHOTOGRAPHS		OPPOSITE RACE PHOTOGRAPHS	
Words of Positive Value Judgments	No. of Subjects	Words of Negative Value Judgments	No. of Subjects
better, better than, best	22		
doesn't scratch	1	scratches	1
don't fight	1	fights	1
good guys, good boys	4	bad guys, bad boys, not good	5
looks good, handsome, cute	5	doesn't look good, looks awful, ugly, uglier, not so cute, isn't handsome	7
nice, nice face, nicer than	21	not nice, not so nice	10
pretty prettier, prettier than	19	not pretty, not so pretty	6
		hits	1
		takes bikes and things	1
OWN RACE PHOTOGRAPHS		OPPOSITE RACE PHOTOGRAPHS	
Words of Negative Value Judgments	No. of Subjects	Words of Positive Value Judgments	No. of Subjects
looks funny	1	prettier than	2
		nicer (teeth, smile)	3
		pretty	2

but also indicated a definite dislike for photographs of their opposite race (Negro) at this young an age.

TABLE XVII: Subjects Making and Not Making Definite Statements of Dislike Concerning Photographs of Their Opposite Race Used In the Picture-Preference Test

Sex	Making	Not Making	Total
Boys	19	11	30
Girls	19	11	30
Total	28	22	60
z-score = 2.58			

Additional Use of the Picture-Preference Test

Aside from an interest in understanding the race and sex factors in the friendship preferences of white pre-school aged children, the researcher (Oriental) incorporated into his final testing procedures two additional questions regarding Task Four (which included photographs of a Negro girl and a white girl) of the Picture-Preference Test.

The two questions were asked of the subjects after the entire test was administered to each subject. They included: 1) Which little girl do you think is my little girl? and 2) Why do you think that is my little girl?

The reasons for incorporating these procedures into the final study were highly exploratory in nature. The researcher of the present study was interested in: 1) discovering with what racial group (Negro or white) subjects of the sample placed persons of Oriental ancestry,

2) discovering whether children at preschool ages were aware of differences between Oriental, white and Negro persons, and 3) understanding the reasons subjects gave for their choices.

Data collected in reference to the first interest are summarized in Table XVIII. The binomial method was used to analyze the data obtained on subjects who chose the photograph of a white girl as the researcher's "little girl." To be significant at the .01 level of confidence, a z-score of 2.06 was needed. A z-score of 2.58 was obtained ($p = <.01$). A significant number of subjects, therefore, chose the white girl as the researcher's little girl.

Although such results remain interesting, no definite conclusions can be made regarding the subjects' awareness of race differences between Oriental and Negro or white persons. Descriptive data including reasons subjects gave for their choices were often unrelated to the concern of the researcher or difficult to interpret (see Table XIX). Also more than half of the subjects did not respond to the question asked of them after they made their choices. Further research in this area should be undertaken.

TABLE XVIII: Choice of Photograph Subjects Made to the Question: "Which Little Girl Do You Think Is My Little Girl?"

Sex	White	Negro	Total
Boys	23	7	30
Girls	<u>17</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	40	20	60
z-score = 2.58			

TABLE XIX: Reasons Subjects Gave To The Question: "Why Do You Think That Is My Little Girl?"

SUBJECTS CHOOSING WHITE GIRL	
Reason	No. of Subjects
Because she looks like your little girl (looks like you; like you)	8
Because she's nice and you're nice	1
Because she has a prettier face	2
Because I like her	1
Because her shirt	1
Because she is	<u>1</u>
Total	14
SUBJECTS CHOOSING NEGRO GIRL	
Reason	No. of Subjects
Because she's Negro (black)	2
Black hair looks like you	1
Because she looks like you (it looks like you, just like you)	6
Because she's not like you (pointing to white girl)	1
Because that's your little girl	1
Because I like her	<u>1</u>
Total	12

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Of the studies done on race awareness, the review of literature has pointed out that an awareness of race and sex differences in young children does exist at the preschool age level. However, with respect to the correlated variables of age/race awareness and age/sex awareness, conflicting evidences have been reported. Some researchers conclude that children of preschool ages placed a greater emphasis upon sex rather than race in their choice of playmates; others conclude that children of preschool ages placed a greater emphasis upon race rather than sex in their choice of playmates; while still others conclude no consistent patterns to be present in the choice of playmates among preschool children.

The controversy centering upon these research findings has continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century. No definite solution has yet been found. The primary purpose of this thesis, therefore, was focused upon seeking further information on the question,

"Which factor (race of sex) is more influential in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children?"

Sixty white children of preschool ages, thirty boys and thirty girls, ranging in ages from 3.5 to 5.5 years were randomly selected from six all white nursery school classes held at the Michigan State University. All subjects came from homes in which either one or both of their parents were enrolled as students within the university.

A Picture-Preference Test designed for this study was used as the research instrument. The test was made up of twelve 5" by 7" black and white facial photographs of children between the ages of 3.5 to 5.5 years. Of the twelve photographs, three were of Negro (dark-skinned) boys, three were of Negro (dark-skinned) girls, three were of white boys and three were of white girls. These photographs were chosen by a board of five adult judges from a largersample of twenty-five photographs according to the criteria described earlier in this thesis.

After the selection was made, the photographs were paired to create six tasks. These tasks were again combined to create three sets. These three sets and their related hypotheses are summarized in the following paragraphs:

Set I: Tasks One and Two comprise Set I. Task One involved a choice between a white

boy and a white girl. Task Two involved a choice between a Negro boy and a Negro girl. This set was used to test the first hypothesis set forth in this thesis; that is: "White children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own sex when the variable of race is held constant."

Set II: Tasks Three and Four comprise Set II.

Task Three involved a choice between a white boy and a Negro boy. Task Four involved a choice between a white girl and a Negro girl. This set was used to test the second hypothesis set forth in this thesis; that is: "White children of preschool ages will prefer friends of their own race when the variable of sex is held constant."

Set III: Tasks Five and Six comprise Set III. Task

Five involved a choice between a white boy and a Negro girl for boys, and a white girl and a Negro boy for girls. Task Six involved a choice between a Negro boy and a white girl for boys, and a white boy and a Negro girl for girls. This set was used to test the third hypothesis set forth in this thesis; that is: "White children of

preschool ages will prefer friends of their own sex when the variables of race and sex are varied."

After each task of the Picture-Preference Test was administered to the subjects, questions regarding the subjects' preferences were asked. This was done to obtain descriptive data concerning the subjects' friendship preferences.

Findings resulting from an analysis of frequency preferences and descriptive data indicate that:

- 1) white children of preschool ages preferred friends of their own sex when the variable of race was held constant ($p = <.01$).
- 2) white children of preschool ages preferred friends of their own race when the variable of sex was held constant ($p = <.01$).
- 3) white boys of preschool ages preferred friends of their own sex when the variables of race and sex were varied ($p = <.01$).
- 4) white girls of preschool ages preferred friends of their own race when the variables of race and sex were varied ($p = <.01$).

Although statistical measures could be utilized for analysis of age and sex differences between entire age and sex groups, the size of the sample did not allow for an analysis within sex and between age groups. However, a

descriptive technique was used to discover differences that occurred within sex and between age groups. Both frequency preferences and descriptive data obtained on Task Six of the Picture-Preference Test indicated that more boys in the older group preferred friends of their own race than did boys in the younger group. This seems to suggest the possibility that a developmental pattern may be involved in the racial preference of white preschool aged boys. For girls, however, data indicated that both younger and older groups were almost equal in their preferences for friends of their own race. Accordingly, if a developmental pattern does indeed exist, then girls would appear to reach a more mature level at an earlier age than do boys.

Implications

Implications of these findings add further to the controversy regarding the race and sex factors in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children. The conclusions made by Moreno, Criswell, Helgerson and Abel and Sahinkaya, that preschool children placed a greater emphasis upon sex rather than race in their choice of playmates, is in harmony with the findings on boys of the present study. The findings on girls, however, reveal conclusions opposed to the hypothesized direction. For girls, the conclusions made by Lambert and Taguchi, McCandless and Hoyt, and Springer, that children of preschool ages placed a greater emphasis upon race rather than sex in their choice of playmates was acceptable. For boys, sex rather than race occurred as more influential in their friendship preferences, while race rather than sex

was more influential for girls. This sex difference was discovered in data obtained from subjects in Set III of the Picture-Preference Test.

Implications of findings for Set I and Set II of the Picture-Preference Test are also present. The findings of Set I, indicate that subjects of the sample showed signs of sex cleavage. Boys preferred photographs of boys, while girls preferred photographs of girls. This finding is in harmony with studies done on sex cleavage among children of preschool ages.

The findings on Set II, indicate that subjects of the sample also showed signs of racial cleavage. White subjects of the sample preferred photographs of their own race used in the Picture-Preference Test. This finding is in harmony with studies done on racial preference among white children of preschool ages.

Other Findings

Additional content analysis of descriptive data concerned with sex awareness and value judgments and race awareness and value judgments indicate other significant results.

Sex Awareness and Value Judgments

An analysis of descriptive data concerned with sex awareness and value judgments made by subjects in describing their own and opposite sexed photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test indicated:

- 1) that all subjects in the study used sex-related words such as "boy, him or he" and

"girl, her or she" correctly. This suggested that the subjects of the sample were well aware of sex differences between themselves and other children.

- 2) that a significant number of subjects made value judgments (both positive and negative) in describing photographs of their own sex and opposite sex ($p = <.01$). Also older subjects made more value judgments of their own sex and opposite sex photographs than younger subjects ($p = <.05$).
- 3) that a significant number of subjects made positive type value judgments in describing their own sex photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test ($p = <.01$). This data suggested that subjects of the sample showed signs of sex cleavage.
- 4) that a large number of the value judgments used by subjects of their own sex photographs were positively valued (best, better, better than, first, looks better, pretty, nicer, good), while a few subjects (girls) indicated opposite sex photographs to be negatively valued (bad, beats me, fights, mean, naughty and hits me).

These findings on sex awareness and value judgments are in harmony with other studies done on sex awareness and cleavage.

Race Awareness and Value Judgments

An analysis of data concerned with race awareness and value judgments made by subjects in describing their own race and opposite race photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test indicated:

- 1) that a significant number of subjects used race-related words in describing their opposite race photographs correctly ($p = <.01$). This finding suggests that subjects in this study were well aware of children of the opposite race.
- 2) that the majority of the kinds of race-related words and physical attributes used by subjects in describing photographs of their own and opposite race, showed skin color to be the determining factor.
- 3) that a significant number of the subjects made value judgments (both positive and negative) of their own race and opposite race photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test ($p = <.01$). Also older subjects made more value judgments of their own race and opposite race photographs than younger subjects ($p = <.05$).
- 4) that a significant number of subjects made positive value judgments of their own race

photographs used in the Picture-Preference Test ($p = <.01$). This finding suggests an ingroup (racial) preference to be present among subjects of the sample.

- 5) that a large number of value judgments made by subjects of their own race photographs were positively valued (better, better than, good guys, nice, nicer than, prettier, prettier than), while an appreciable number of subjects indicated opposite race photographs to be negatively valued (bad, not nice, awful, uglier, not pretty). Already incipient attitudes about racial groups seemed present among the subjects studied. "Whiteness" seemed positively valued, while "Negro-ness" (dark-skinned) seemed negatively valued.
- 6) that a significant number of subjects made definite statements of dislike regarding photographs of their opposite race used in the Picture-Preference Test ($p = <.01$).

These findings on race awareness and value judgments are in harmony with studies done previously on race awareness and incipient attitudes.

Limitations Encountered In The Study

Although attempts at overcoming pertinent limitations in this study were undertaken, still a number of problems were encountered which inhibited successful efforts in this direction. These limitations are briefly discussed in the following sections.

Limitations of the Sample

The major limitations encountered in reference to the sample of this study included: 1) the restriction of subjects to children from student families within the university, 2) the restriction of the sample to white children from non-integrated nursery school groups, 3) the absence of controlling the variables of extent of interracial contacts and parental attitudes toward race, and 4) the sample size.

The restrictions of the sample to subjects 1) from student families within the university, and 2) from all white non-integrated nursery school groups, suggests that generalizations of the results to the larger population is limited.

Also, the absence of control of variables concerning interracial contacts outside of the nursery school and parental attitudes toward race posed problems. Research studies on older children suggest that these variables are related to the development of race awareness and attitudes in young children.

Finally, although the size of the present sample (60 subjects) allowed for an analysis of age and sex differences between entire age and sex groups, this analysis was not possible within and between age and sex groups.

Limitations of the Picture-Preference Test

The major limitations encountered in the use of the Picture-Preference Test as the research instrument for this study centered around 1) the use of black and white photographs of children from both Negro and white racial groups,

and 2) the use of photographs of dark-skinned Negro children to represent the totality of the Negro race.

The black and white photographs reduced the effectiveness whereby these photographs represented both the "white" and Negro racial groups. Whether these photographs did in fact depict the essential characteristics of "whiteness" or "Negro-ness" is questioned.

In addition, the use of photographs of dark-skinned Negro children set further limitations. The factor of varying degrees of skin color found among Negro persons was left uncontrolled. The results obtained from this study, therefore, provided information which was limited to reactions of white preschool aged children to Negro persons of dark skin color.

Recommendations For Further Study

As an outgrowth of this present study of the race and sex factors in the friendship preferences of white preschool aged children, several recommendations for further study have emerged. First, the use of a larger sample in order to understand the developmental aspects of the friendship preferences of white boys and girls of preschool ages is suggested. An analysis of age differences within sex groups previously mentioned, suggested the possibility of a developmental pattern in the racial preference of white preschool aged boys. These data also suggested that girls may precede

boys in their development of racial preference. A larger sample would allow for a clarification of these tendencies.

Second, a study of white children from mixed groups is also suggested. The present study has been limited to white children from non-integrated groups. Differences between white children from mixed groups and from non-integrated groups need to be assessed. Likewise, a study of Negro children from both non-integrated and mixed groups would be helpful so that differences within racial groups (non-integrated or mixed) and between racial groups (Negro and white) could be further studied. Studies providing this type of information are lacking.

Next, the variable of parental attitudes toward race should be of major concern in future studies, since research with older children suggests that this variable is related to the development of racial attitudes in young children.

Fourth, if the Picture-Preference Test Technique is used to assess the racial preference of preschool children, this researcher suggests that colored photographs of children be used in order to accentuate varying skin colors (dark, medium and light). This would in all likelihood increase the effectiveness of the Picture-Preference Test, and also provide more pertinent information about the reactions of preschool children to individuals with varying skin tones.

Finally, additional questions about the Picture-Preference Test were asked in order to ascertain whether the subjects in the sample were cognizant of Oriental persons per se. Although a significant number of subjects chose the white girl to be related to the researcher (Oriental), the reasons given by the subjects showed no indication that they were aware of differences between Oriental, Negro and white persons. Investigations for understanding this problem might be undertaken in view of the fact that research in this area is nil.

Summarizing briefly, an analysis of the data for this study revealed that the conflicting conclusions occurring in previous research; namely, that preschool children placed a greater emphasis upon sex rather than race in their friendship preferences; that preschool children placed a greater emphasis upon race rather than sex in their friendship preferences; and that no consistent patterns are present in the friendship preferences among preschool children were not acceptable. White boys of preschool ages in this sample placed a greater emphasis upon sex rather than race in their friendship preferences, while the white girls placed a greater emphasis upon race rather than sex.

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APPENDIX

DATA COLLECTION

Name: _____ Age: _____ Sex: _____
 Teacher: _____ Group: _____
 Pretest: _____ Final: _____ Retest: _____

(Circle One)

Set I:

Task One	WB	WG
Task Two	NB	NG

Set II:

Task Three	WB	NB
Task Four	WG	NG

Set III:

Task Five		
Boys	WB	NG
Girls	WG	NB
Task Six		
Boys	WG	NB
Girls	WB	NG

Researcher Identification

White	Negro	Neither
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COMMENTS:

Task One:

Task Two:

Task Three:

Task Four:

Task Five:

Task Six:

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