

EXAMINATION OF EXAMINER EFFECTS ON PERFORMANCE OF
THE PRESCHOOL RACIAL ATTITUDE MEASURE TEST II
(PRAM II): A REPLICATION

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	v
ABSTRACT	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
METHOD	9
Subjects	9
Examiners	9
Apparatus	11
Procedure	12
RESULTS	16
Frequency Distribution of Scores	17
Analysis of Variance	21
Race of Examiner Effects	22
DISCUSSION	28
Examiner Inquiry	28
Interpretation of Findings	30
Summary	36
APPENDIX A. PRAM PICTURES AND STORIES	38
REFERENCES	43

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Mean and SD for Black and Caucasian Subjects on RA and SR Scales	18
2. Frequency Distribution of Total RA Scores	19
3. Frequency Distribution of Total SR Scores	20
4. Analysis of Variance	21
5. Frequency of Response of Subjects on RA Items	23
6. Race of Examiner Effect on RA and SR Scores	24
7. Comparison of Present Study to Williams' Study of Race of Examiner Effects: Per Cent of Caucasian Subjects Scoring in Each Range	25
8. Comparison of Present Study to Williams' Study of Race of Examiner Effects: Per Cent of Black Subjects Scoring in Each Range	26

ABSTRACT

The Preschool Racial Attitude Measure II (PRAM II) has been used as a device to measure racial attitudes of preschool and early school grade children. It has been shown that both Black and Caucasian children show a significant preference for pictures of Caucasian children. Previous studies provide contradictory results as to the effects of examiner race on the performance of the children.

The present study looked at the race of examiner effects on the performance of Black and Caucasian children in grades K through three. Forty Black and forty Caucasian subjects were used. Examiners consisted of four Black and four Caucasian undergraduate students with minimal psychology experience. Each subject received one full administration of the PRAM II from one examiner. A significant main effect for race of subject was found. Caucasian subjects scored high in the manner described in previous PRAM research. The Black subjects scored low (or reversals) compared to the previously obtained results of Blacks. The author attributed the reversal of the Black subjects to a problem of external validity due to the presentation on television of the program Roots one month prior to administration of the test.

INTRODUCTION

It is an indisputable fact of life that racial prejudice has been a part of our society from its earliest times. Gordon Allport (1958), in his book, The Nature of Prejudice, states race prejudice was believed to be an innate quality. In 1896, the United States Supreme Court adopted the "separate but equal" doctrine of race relations by noting that "legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts" (Plessy vs. Ferguson, 1896). It was considered natural to dislike those individuals who were different and to identify with those who were similar.

This "myth" has been destroyed in the last thirty years due to more methodical studies of the phenomenon. Race prejudice is now generally viewed by social scientists as a learned behavior. Racial attitudes appear early in the life of children and develop gradually. Clark (1963) cites a study of White kindergarten children in New York that shows a clear preference for Whites and rejection of Blacks. In his 1944 study, Clark states that young Black children tend to express their self-hatred by concrete and direct rejection of brown skin color (in Clark, 1963).

The reasons for the development of racial prejudice in children are still not completely understood. Some of the variables that have been examined are parental

attitudes, disciplinary techniques, defense mechanisms, community norms, economic factors, and interactions of two or more of these variables (Allport, 1958). A recent study (Katz, Sohn, and Zalk, 1975) has concluded that of all the factors that possibly contribute to the cause of negative racial attitudes in children, only one has elicited general agreement among theorists. This factor is the early perceptual processes of the child. Perceptual differentiation (the ability to distinguish differences) in racial groups is an essential prerequisite to later attitude development.

Despite the existence of contradictory results, the major findings in studies of Caucasian/Black racial attitudes is that children of both races tend to exhibit a preference for whiteness (or more accurately, light-coloredness) (Morland, 1958). Studies have shown that negative attitudes toward Blacks are present in White children by age four (Goodman, 1946, 1964; Morland, 1966). Many Black children show a clear preference for white dolls also by age four (Clark and Clark, 1939). Studies by Williams and Roberson (1967) conclude that those findings are still representative to that time. A more recent study by Williams et al. (1973) states that the development of the Black identity movement in the intervening years has not modified the affective meanings of racial concepts or color concepts.

There is a distinction between the terms "racial awareness" and "race attitudes." Racial awareness is defined by most investigators as knowledge of both the visible differences between racial categories and the perceptual cues by which one classifies people into these divisions (Porter, 1971). Race attitudes differ from race awareness in that a child may show a clear preference for one race over another without being aware of racial distinctions.

Racial prejudice in America involves not only a pattern of preferred status on the basis of perceptual cues but also feelings of hostility and negativity (Clark, 1963). These feelings of hostility and negativity could possibly affect the Black child in a way that, at an early age, he has difficulty accepting himself as the brunt of such strong feelings. Clark (1963, p. 8) confirms this by stating: "If society says it is better to be White, not only White people but Negroes come to believe it. A child may try to escape the trap of inferiority by denying the fact of his own race."

Williams and Roberson (1967) devised a method of assessing racial attitudes and awareness in preschool children. The method was devised because traditional measurement procedures (questionnaire scales) were not appropriate to the test-taking abilities of young children. Although a variety of other methods were developed to

assess children's racial attitudes, none of them yielded a measure of attitude which could be coordinated with the traditional measurement procedures (Williams and Roberson, 1967). Williams and Roberson's method originated from the findings of Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) that evaluative scores from the semantic differential were highly correlated (.80) with scores on traditional attitude tests. Osgood et al.'s evaluative adjectives could be employed as a measure of attitudes in young children, since many of the words used could be found in the vocabulary of young children (Williams and Roberson, 1967).

A series of pictures was devised depicting two human figures, one with Caucasoid characteristics (blond hair and pink-tan skin) and the other with Negroid characteristics (black hair and brownish skin). Each picture was accompanied by a story containing either a positive or negative evaluative adjective pertaining to the picture. Six of each type of the evaluative adjectives were used. At the end of each story, the child was asked to select one of the two figures in response to the adjective. This test was named the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure I (PRAM I). The PRAM I has been administered in a number of investigations over various age ranges and social class variables, with both Caucasian and Black examiners, and in both the north and south regions of the country.

All prior studies with the PRAM I indicated strong evidence of pro-Caucasian/anti-Negro attitudes for both Black and White children, with Black children showing less of a bias. Thompson (note, 1968, unpublished, as cited in Williams and Morland, 1976) conducted the only study in the western United States.

The PRAM I was revised by Williams, Best, Boswell, et al. (1975) so that the two figures on each picture were identical except for skin color. Twenty-four pictures of both sexes were used. Twelve additional pictures, each depicting a male and female figure of the same race (half represented Caucasians, half Negroes) was also used. These items assessed the child's knowledge of sex-stereotyped behaviors as a control measure of general conceptual development. This revision was named the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure II (PRAM II). The results of the administration of the PRAM II showed significant main effects for race of subject and race of examiner. A non-significant main effect for sex of subject was found. No interactions were found to be significant.

Williams and Roberson (1967) have demonstrated that preschool children show little reluctance to identify persons as belonging to a racial group on the basis of skin color alone. They elaborated by saying that since the only difference in the PRAM II figures is skin color,

this would make the PRAM II a valid instrument for measuring racial awareness. The addition of the evaluative adjectives would justify its use as a measure of racial attitudes.

Williams, Best, and Boswell (1975) have concluded that the PRAM II procedure is a useful method of assessing racial bias in young school-age children, as well as pre-schoolers. Children were used from the first four grades of school. In that study, race of examiner effects were inconclusive.

The present study attempted to look at race of examiner effects on the performance of early school-age children. Rosenthal and Rosnow (1969) discussed a number of different effects the experimenter could have upon research. An interactional effect which operates by affecting the actual subject responses was one of their basic concerns. The sex, age, and race of the investigator have all been found to affect the results of research (Rosenthal, 1966). Rosenthal and Rosnow (1969) further state it is not known whether subjects respond differentially to these factors or if experimenters varying in these factors behave differently toward the subjects. Rosenthal and Rosnow (1969) mention two studies (Summers and Hammonds in 1966 and Wenk in 1966) which show the race of the experimenter is a factor that can affect the performance of both White and Black subjects.

Best (1972) studied the examiner effects on the racial attitude responses of preschool children. It was concluded that the PRAM II may be given by either a Caucasian or Negro examiner without concern for examiner effects. Although no race of examiner effects were found by Best, Williams (1971b) found an examiner effect for Caucasian children in the standardization study of PRAM II. These children gave more pro-Caucasian/anti-Negro responses to a Caucasian examiner than to a Negro examiner. Although a pro-Caucasian bias may still exist for both Caucasian and Black children, it is desirable to know how much effect the race of the examiner will have on their choices.

The present study attempted to provide some answers to the question of examiner effects with the use of early school grade children. Examiner effects were defined as the race of the person administering the measure as a possible variable affecting the performance of the subjects.

The dependent variable was the number of positive evaluative adjectives (PEA) given for pictures of White figures and the number of negative evaluative adjectives (NEA) given for pictures of Black figures by subjects of both races on the 24 racial attitude items. The independent variable was the race of examiner. The 12 sex-role items on the PRAM II served as a control measure to test the child's general conceptual development, as was done by

Williams (1971b) in the standardization study on the PRAM II.

The experimental hypothesis was that both Black and Caucasian children would give more PEA's for pictures of Caucasian figures and more NEA's for pictures of Black figures on the 24 racial attitude items. It was further hypothesized that White children with Black examiners would show less of a tendency to rate pictures of Caucasian figures high and pictures of Black figures low, than Caucasian subjects with a Caucasian examiner. The performance of the Black subjects was expected to remain stable, regardless of the examiner's race.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects consisted of eighty children from the kindergarten through third grade population of the University Heights Elementary School of Tucson School District I. Forty Black and forty Caucasian students were used for the study. The use of a student was determined by permission of the child's parents to participate and availability of the child during the times the testing was conducted. The University Heights Elementary School was racially integrated (47% Black, 39% Caucasian, and 14% others). It was located in a lower-middle- to middle-income area of the city, close to The University of Arizona campus. Subjects ranged in age from five to nine years old, with a mean age of 6.5 years for the Black subjects and 6.6 years for the Caucasian subjects. Thirty-seven males were used in the study, with a mean age of 6.6 years. A mean age of 6.5 was found in the group of 43 females used for the study.

Examiners

Examiners were chosen from the undergraduate population of The University of Arizona. Eight examiners were used, four Caucasian and four Black. The examiners

were from all four undergraduate levels. They were chosen for the study on the following criteria: (1) little or no exposure to psychological principles (no examiner had more than an introductory course in psychology) and (2) willingness to participate in the study.

All examiners were instructed in the administration of the PRAM II by the experimenter. Each examiner was taken to the University Heights School, introduced to the principal, and given a briefing on where and how to make contact with the subjects. The briefing consisted of instructing the examiners to only test the children who were willing to volunteer and had the necessary permission slip from the parents. Examiners were also told to present a positive appearance to the teachers and subjects (both in dress and manner).

The examiners were encouraged by the experimenter to spend time prior to administering the test, talking with each child. Suggested topics were the child's name, age, feelings about school, and favorite school subject and television programs. The examiners were told this was necessary to relax the child and make the subject more accepting of the test situation.

The examiners were given no information as to the experimental hypotheses of the study nor were they given any results of previously conducted research. Each examiner was told that the test she would be administering

would be a test of racial attitudes in children and it was required that she test an equal number of children of each race. An inquiry of each examiner was held after completion of the data collection to determine to what degree the examiners were able to detect the actual hypotheses of the study.

Apparatus

The Preschool Racial Attitude Measure Test II was the apparatus used in the study. Racial-attitude test cards and evaluative stories (Appendix A) were interspersed every third position by sex-role test cards and stories. Each of the stimulus cards consisted of two full-length drawings of human figures varying from 4-1/2 to 8 inches tall, displayed side by side on an 8 x 10 inch card. The twenty-four racial-attitude test cards showed two figures which were identical except for skin color. One figure ("Caucasian") had pinkish-tan skin, while the other figure ("Black") had medium-brown skin. The figures were drawn with minimal facial characteristics and were posed in "neutral" standing, walking, or sitting positions on a plain background. The age levels of the figures depicted were of young boys and girls, teenage boys and girls, and adult men and women.

The twelve sex-role pictures which occupied every third position of the test consisted of two figures, one

male and one female, of the same age level. Both figures had the same skin color and were depicted with minimal facial characteristics in standing or walking postures. Half of the pictures represented Caucasians and half represented Blacks.

The total thirty-six pictures were administered once to each subject with a different story told for each picture. The same order of presentation was used for each subject in the study. The standardization of the PRAM II from 1970-72 revealed an internal consistency "reliability" of racial-attitude T scores of .80, using the "split-half" comparisons (odd-even; first half-second half). The same study (reported in Williams and Morland, 1976) showed a Series A vs. Series B comparison with a correlation of .71 between A and B scores, with virtually identical means (A = 8.20; B = 8.24) and standard deviations (A = 2.74; B = 2.79). The conclusion drawn by the authors was the two series could be considered as equivalent 12-item short forms of the PRAM II.

Procedure

Each examiner wore a name tag and presented herself to the class as someone who had a game to play with them. The examiners took the signed permission slips to the classroom and asked for each subject in turn by name. No child was tested who did not have a signed permission slip.

Besides providing the subject's name, each permission slip indicated the child's race, teacher, classroom number, and sex, when the name was ambiguous. The procedure was administered in a small patio area adjacent to the school. This was necessary due to lack of available private testing rooms. Both examiner and subject sat on a stone bench with the PRAM II test booklet facing the child. The testing area was relatively free from distractions. After a 5-10 minute initial conversation, the examiner read the following instructions to the subject: "What I have here are some pictures I'd like to show you, and stories to go with each one. I want you to help me by pointing to the person in each picture that the story is about. Here, I'll show you what I mean."

The examiner then opened the notebook to the first picture and read the first story. Once the testing had begun, examiners were instructed to work quickly in order to maintain interest and not permit any digressions from the test.

The examiner recorded the subjects' responses on answer sheets provided for the test. The answer sheet included the subject's age, sex, and race, along with a number provided for each subject. The form also included a number for each examiner.

The procedure and scoring used were according to the methods devised and used by Williams (1971a) for

administration of the PRAM II. During the administration of the test, no reinforcement was given by examiners to subjects for responding to either figure. If the child made an ambiguous answer, he/she was asked again to respond. In cases of continual ambiguity, the last response was recorded as the subject's answer. Any unusual remarks or answers were recorded on the answer form by the examiner. If a subject questioned a picture or responded that neither figure was the right one, the story was repeated and the child was asked to guess which one might be the right one. In all cases, one answer was recorded for each story and picture presented.

Examiners were instructed not to prompt the subject on how to answer either the racial-attitude or sex-role items. Any difficulties the child had in making a decision were to be recorded on the answer sheet by the examiner.

After all thirty-six stories were read and the answers recorded, the examiner thanked the subject for his/her cooperation and urged the child not to discuss the test with the other children, as this would take away from the other children's fun with the game.

The PRAM II was scored in the following manner. The racial attitude score was determined by giving one point for the selection of the light-skinned ("Caucasian") figure in response to a positive adjective, and one point for the selection of the dark-skinned ("Black") figure in

response to a negative adjective. The total racial attitude score based on all twenty-four items ranges from 0 to 24, with a high score indicating a pro-Caucasian/anti-Black bias (C+/B-). Low scores indicate a pro-Black/anti-Caucasian bias (B+/C-). Mid-range scores (around 12) indicate no bias.

The twelve sex-role items were scored by giving one point for each conventional sex-appropriate response. The total sex-role score ranged from 0 to 12. High scores indicate a high sex-role awareness and mid-range scores (around 6) indicate no sex-role awareness. Williams and Morland (1976) point out that in previously conducted research, virtually all children score in the 6-12 range on sex-role items, with a majority obtaining scores of 9 or higher. Williams and Morland (1976) also stated that the sex-role score has been shown to be a useful measure of general conceptual development, correlating positively with both age and IQ among preschool children. In the PRAM II standardization study, racial-attitude and sex-role scores showed a positive correlation of .16, indicating that the two PRAM II scores are essentially independent of one another (Williams and Morland, 1976).

RESULTS

The principal data for analysis consisted of two measures for each subject:

1. The racial-attitude score (RA), obtained by counting the number of times subjects chose brown-skinned persons for NEA's and pinkish-tan-skinned persons for PEA's. The possible range of scores for each subject was 0-24, with 12 a neutral mid-point.
2. The sex-role score (SR), obtained by counting the number of times subjects indicated the male figure for a traditional masculine activity and a female figure for a traditional feminine activity. The possible range of scores for each subject was 0-12, with six as the neutral mid-point on the SR items.

Preliminary analyses to assess the effect of the following variables yielded negative results: (1) age of subject, (2) age of subject tested by Black versus Caucasian examiners, (3) order of presentation (split-half), (4) prompting of subject by examiner, and (5) discovery of actual purpose of study by examiner.

In the earlier studies, Williams used the range of scores from 0-7 as definite pro-Black/anti-Caucasian bias;

scores from 8-9 as probable pro-Black/anti-Caucasian bias; 10-14 as no bias; 15-16 as a probable pro-Caucasian/anti-Black bias; and 17-24 as a definite pro-Caucasian/anti-Black bias.

Table 1 contains the means and standard deviations of age, racial-attitude scores, and sex-role scores for Black and Caucasian subjects, plus a combined total. T-tests revealed no statistical differences in the ages of the Black and Caucasian subjects on their sex-role scores. Racial-attitude scores statistically were significantly different between Black subjects and Caucasian subjects ($p < .001$). According to Williams' classifications, the Black subjects would be considered at the lower end of the "no bias" category and the Caucasian subjects would be in the middle of the "probable pro-Caucasian/anti-Black bias" category. The combined RA mean of 12.80 is almost exactly at the neutral mid-point of twelve, but the combined RA standard deviation (5.46) shows a great deal of variation in the obtained scores. The total RA mean of 12.8 for all obtained scores on the PRAM II is misleading. A look at the frequency distribution will further reveal how the data were dispersed.

Frequency Distribution of Scores

Table 2 presents the frequency distribution of racial-attitude scores along with the expected frequency by

Table 1. Mean and SD for Black and Caucasian Subjects on RA and SR Scales

	Black (n=40)		Caucasian (n=40)		Total (n=80)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Age	6.50	0.987	6.63	0.979	6.56	0.979
RA	10.03	5.22	15.58	4.16	12.80	5.46
SR	11.30	1.16	11.68	0.656	11.49	0.955

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Total RA Scores

RA Total Score	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (Per Cent)	Expected Frequency (Per Cent)	Cumulative Adjusted Frequency (Per Cent)
0	0	0.0	<0.001	0.0
1	2	2.5	<0.001	2.5
2	1	1.2	<0.1	3.7
3	4	5.0	<0.1	8.8
4	1	1.2	0.1	10.0
5	1	1.2	0.2	11.2
6	1	1.2	0.8	12.5
7	2	2.5	2.1	15.0
8	4	5.0	4.4	20.0
9	2	2.5	7.8	22.5
10	3	3.7	11.7	26.2
11	11	13.7	14.9	40.0
12	8	10.0	16.1	50.0
13	4	5.0	14.9	55.0
14	7	8.8	11.7	63.8
15	6	7.5	7.8	71.2
16	5	6.3	4.4	77.5
17	2	2.5	2.1	80.0
18	3	3.7	0.8	83.7
19	4	5.0	0.2	88.8
20	2	2.5	0.1	91.2
21	0	0.0	<0.1	91.2
22	4	5.0	<0.1	96.2
23	2	2.5	<0.001	98.7
24	1	1.2	<0.001	100.0

chance and the cumulative frequency. Total scores ranged from 1-24 on the racial-attitude items. A close look at the distribution reveals a large amount of variability in the racial attitude scores of the subjects. Fifty per cent of all subjects are accounted for at the neutral mid-point score of 12. Twenty per cent of all subjects showed a clear reversal from the pro-Caucasian/anti-Black direction to fall into the probable or definite pro-Black/anti-Caucasian categories. Approximately 37% of all subjects were in either the definite or probable pro-Caucasian/anti-Black category.

Table 3 depicts the same distribution for sex-role scores. The sex-role scores ranged from 8-12 for all subjects. As expected, almost all subjects obtained a perfect score of 12 on the sex-role items, with no subject showing a clear reversal of traditional sex roles.

Table 3. Frequency Distribution of Total SR Scores

SR Total Score	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (Per Cent)	Expected Frequency (Per Cent)	Adjusted Frequency (Per Cent)
8	2	2.5	4.4	2.5
9	3	3.7	1.8	6.3
10	5	6.3	0.7	12.5
11	14	17.5	0.1	30.0
12	56	70.0	0.01	100.0

Analysis of Variance

An analysis of variance performed on the data for main effects and interactions on the RA scores is shown in Table 4. A significant main effect for race of subject was found with an F of .001. Sex of subject was not significant, while the race of examiner showed a marginal significance ($F = .091$). No interactions were statistically significant, although the two-way interaction of the subject's sex and examiner's race was also found to be marginal.

Table 4. Analysis of Variance

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	F	Significance of F
Main Effects				
Race	610.274	1	29.012	.001
Sex	.371	1	.018	.895
ERace	61.620	1	2.929	.091
Two-way Interactions				
Race-CSex	3.983	1	.189	.665
Race-ERace	32.204	1	1.531	.220
Sex-ERace	74.381	1	3.536	.064
Three-way Interactions				
Race-Sex-ERace	59.117	1	2.810	.098

The marginal effect due to race of examiner will be scrutinized further in a subsequent subheading. A closer examination of the marginal effect of the interaction of subject's sex and examiner's race revealed that female subjects scored relatively low with Black examiners ($m=10.95$) and high with Caucasian examiners ($m=14.30$), while male subjects held stable with both Black and Caucasian examiners ($m=12.90$; $m=13.05$, respectively). The significant main effect of race of subject basically means Black and Caucasian subjects scored differently on the RA scale. As was seen in Table 1, Black subjects had a mean RA score of 10.03, while Caucasian subjects had a mean RA score of 15.58. Black subjects and Caucasian subjects scored in opposite directions, with overlap at the neutral point (12). An item analysis listed in Table 5 provides a closer look at these results.

The Black subjects as a group scored reversals (i.e., pro-Black/anti-Caucasian) on all of the RA items except for the NEA's "wrong," "sad," and "sick" and the PEA "nice." The Caucasian children as a group gave pro-Caucasian/anti-Black responses to all 24 RA items.

Race of Examiner Effects

The race of the examiner was not found to be a significant factor for all subjects in this study. Table 6 shows the RA and SR means for Black and Caucasian subjects

Table 5. Frequency of Response of Subjects on RA Items

RA Items	Adjectives	Black Subjects (n=40)		Caucasian Subjects (n=40)	
		+Bl/-Cau	+Cau/-Bl	+Bl/-Cau	+Cau/-Bl
1	kind	20	20	10	30
2	ugly	23	17	17	23
3	friendly	22	18	18	22
4	wrong	15	25	18	22
5	nice	19	21	11	29
6	bad	24	16	14	26
7	healthy	24	16	7	33
8	sad	17	23	14	26
9	clean	22	18	12	28
10	stupid	23	17	19	21
11	selfish	23	17	13	27
12	wonderful	24	16	15	25
13	pretty	26	14	11	29
14	naughty	26	14	14	26
15	happy	20	20	11	29
16	cruel	28	12	20	20
17	mean	26	14	8	32
18	good	27	13	12	28
19	helpful	26	14	12	28
20	unfriendly	27	13	17	23
21	smart	23	17	15	25
22	dirty	30	10	12	28
23	right	25	15	19	21
24	sick	19	21	18	22

Table 6. Race of Examiner Effect on RA and SR Scores

Tests	Means for Black Subjects		Means for Caucasian Subjects	
	With Black Examiner (n=20)	With Caucasian Examiner (n=20)	With Black Examiner (n=20)	With Caucasian Examiner (n=20)
RA	9.70	10.35	14.15	17.00
SR	10.90	11.70	11.45	11.90

tested by Black and Caucasian examiners. The Black subjects showed little difference in RA means with race of examiner. The Caucasian subjects showed a lower mean with Black examiners than with Caucasian examiners. The combination yielded a marginal statistically nonsignificant effect for race of examiner.

The SR scores in Table 6 are also of interest. The more traditional responses to the SR items were given to Caucasian examiners. The group of Black subjects tested by Black examiners gave the least traditional SR responses.

Tables 7 and 8 compare the differences between the present study and the 1970-72 standardization study by Williams in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The main difference is in the performance of Black children. In

Table 7. Comparison of Present Study to Williams' Study of Race of Examiner Effects: Per Cent of Caucasian Subjects Scoring in Each Range

		Caucasian Subjects			
		Caucasian Examiner		Black Examiner	
Score Range	Chance (%)	Williams' Study (n=68)	Present Study (n=20)	Williams' Study (n=68)	Present Study (n=20)
0-7	3.3	1.4	10.0	5.9	0.0
8-9	12.1	0.0	0.0	5.9	5.0
10-14	69.2	11.8	15.0	30.9	50.0
15-16	12.1	14.7	15.0	13.2	30.0
17-24	3.3	72.1	60.0	44.1	15.0

Table 8. Comparison of Present Study to Williams' Study of Race of Examiner Effects: Per Cent of Black Subjects Scoring in Each Range

		Black Subjects			
		Caucasian Examiner		Black Examiner	
Score Range	Chance (%)	Williams' Study (n=68)	Present Study (n=20)	Williams' Study (n=68)	Present Study (n=20)
0-7	3.3	8.8	25.0	11.8	25.0
8-9	12.1	0.0	5.0	4.4	20.0
10-14	69.2	35.3	55.0	35.3	45.0
15-16	12.1	11.8	5.0	13.2	5.0
17-24	3.3	44.1	10.0	35.3	5.0

Williams' study, the Black subjects had high PRAM II RA scores as opposed to the low RA scores in the present study. The Caucasian subjects showed a race of examiner effect in both studies. The more apparent differences were the move toward the mean by the Caucasian subjects in the present study and the shift to the lower score ranges by the Caucasian subjects in the Williams study.

DISCUSSION

The Caucasian subjects in this study performed as expected. Caucasian subjects scored high with both types of examiners, but showed lower RA scores with Black examiners. The performance of the Caucasian subjects and the consistency of the Black subjects was stated earlier in this thesis as the experimental hypothesis. This was actually found in this study. The unexpected finding was the performance of the Black subjects being a reversal from previously obtained results on Black children taking the PRAM II.

Examiner Inquiry

Each examiner was questioned after all the data were collected to determine to what extent the examiners and subjects complied with the test instructions and testing situation. The examiners stated no subject was prompted on how to respond to a question; no subject stated the actual purpose of the test (although there were several guesses); nor did the examiners feel that any subject should be disqualified. All of the examiners spent time before the test to make the subject more comfortable. Subjects were asked their favorite school subjects, television programs, and foods. An approximate average

of seven minutes was spent with each subject by the examiners.

Two examiners (both Caucasian) suspected the actual purpose of the study toward the end of their testing. This was partially due to the amount of information it was necessary to place on consent forms for the subjects' parents. Neither of these two examiners felt they were influenced by their suspicions and a careful examination of the data collected by these examiners revealed no significant departures from the other examiners.

Examiners were asked to relate any unusual behaviors or statements by the subjects. One examiner stated a Black child told her she was picking the pictures of Blacks for the good words shortly after the testing was started. Another examiner was told that both pictures were the same by a Caucasian subject. The examiner stated, "The child seemed in distress. She couldn't make up her mind. She would reluctantly point to the Black for the bad stories and to the White for the good stories."

The statement by the examiners that the Caucasian subjects appeared "in conflict" was very common. The Black examiners stated they noticed the Caucasian children would look at them and hesitate before responding, but the Black children would just go on and take the test.

In light of some of these statements and the performance of Caucasian subjects on the PRAM II, it

appears that something is going on with the subjects who take this test. Whether the "conflict" and change in scores is due to examiner effects or pangs of conscience by fairly socialized children is unclear. Surely, as Williams states, the race of examiner effect is an inconsistent phenomenon which bears a closer look.

Interpretation of Findings

There are several possible explanations for the performance of the Black children. The racial balance of the University Heights School is a possible factor. Blacks made up 47% of the school population. Caucasian children were 39% of the total with the remainder spread amongst the other ethnic groups. The exposure to each other could have been a major factor in the obtained results. Blacks and Caucasians might have been polarized to each other. The children might be more aware of race and racial identifications.

The PRAM II measure is double-edged in that it provides pro and anti ratings with the same score. Are the Blacks of this study more prejudiced toward Caucasians or do they have better self-concepts? A case can be made for either direction. Blacks rated themselves as good and, in the process, they rated Caucasians as bad. Racial integration or racial tension; the performance of the Caucasian

children followed the results from all the previously conducted studies.

It is also possible that external events had a major effect on the Black children's performance. One month prior to the beginning of the data collection, the program, Roots: The Saga of an American Family, was shown on television. In order to minimize the effects due to history (external validity), the study was postponed for one month so that the subjects would not show results affected by the documentary-story.

The principal of the elementary school reported that teachers were using the television program as a teaching tool, dealing with American history. Students were encouraged to discuss their reactions to Roots in the classroom. It was further reported that the children had incorporated the characters of Roots into their play and games in the schoolyard. For several weeks following the television program, which itself ran for a seven-day period, the children talked about very little except Roots. It was reported that the children were encouraged to discuss their feelings about the program at home with their parents.

Toward a better understanding of the possible effect of Roots on the children's performance on the PRAM II, an attempt was made to view this unusual situation as a modification of racial attitudes in the natural environment via the television media and discussions at home and

in school. An offshoot from the original works by Williams and his associates with the PRAM procedure has produced studies of racial attitude change through the use of behavior modification (Williams and Edwards, 1969; Shanahan, 1972; Whiteside, 1975). The majority of the studies show an effective weakening of the pro-Caucasian/anti-Black bias that has been traditionally found in Black and Caucasian children. All of the behavior modification studies proved not only to alter the children's racial attitudes, but also displayed the conventional learning-theory phenomena (i.e., extinction, reversals, stimulus generalization, and discrimination).

Special studies on racial attitude change have been conducted using classroom curriculum programs (Walker, 1971; McAdoo, 1970). The special curriculum procedures contained a complexity of effects not easily understood. Yancey, note, 1972, unpublished, as cited in Williams and Morland, 1976) used the special curriculum program with an active involvement of Black and Caucasian children in the change of Black/Caucasian racial attitudes. Her results showed a significant change for the experimental group in the pro-Black/anti-Caucasian direction on the PRAM II. No significant changes were found in the control group.

The re-enactment of the story Roots by the Black children of University Heights Elementary School in combination with the classroom discussions and talks with

their parents parallels the procedures used by Yancey. It appears reasonable that the impact of the television program on the children, together with the emphasis at home and at school of Black history, may have affected the performance of the Black subjects. It is of interest to note that only the negative adjectives "wrong," "sad," and "sick" were attributed to the Black figure by the Black children as a group. They did not see themselves as bad, cruel, ugly, stupid, dirty, selfish, unfriendly, naughty, or mean. In the context of the program Roots, seeing themselves as sad or sick would certainly seem to be consistent with the characters. The adjective "wrong" could apply to various school-related functions.

The Black children attributed only one positive adjective to the picture of a Caucasian. The adjective was "nice" and referred to a woman. This exception to their group responses might reflect feelings toward the school teachers, since the test was administered at school and all teachers that were involved were Caucasian. The association of the pictures of Caucasian figures to negative adjectives may also be a result of attitudes developed on the playground where the Black Roots characters were considered "the good guys" and the Caucasian Roots characters "the bad guys." The responses of the Black subjects as a group were consistently strong not to be affected by the presence of an examiner.

The Caucasian subjects showed more of a tendency to follow the traditional pattern for Caucasians taking the PRAM II. Their responses were consistently pro-Caucasian/anti-Black. The Caucasian children as a group did not attribute a negative adjective to Caucasians or a positive adjective to Blacks. They did show a total mean RA score lower than what has been reported in previous studies. The lower RA score may reflect some change in intensity of racial bias on the part of the Caucasian subjects. The Caucasian subjects did show a race of examiner effect in the present study. The Caucasian children gave less pro-Caucasian/anti-Black responses to the Black examiners. The effect that was obtained appears to be similar to the one found by Williams in the 1970-71 standardization study of the PRAM II. During the examiner inquiry, Black examiners related to the experimenter that Caucasian children appeared more hesitant to respond than Black children. Caucasian examiners did not report this behavior for any of the groups tested by them. It must be stated that no dramatic reversal of racial attitude was found in the Caucasian children. The fact that a race of examiner effect was found in the Caucasian subjects raises some important and unavoidable realities. The Caucasian children were less biased in the presence of the Black examiners, but their responses were still in the prejudice direction as a group. In comparison, the Black

children reversed their responses. The overall mean score obtained by the Black children (10.03) is in the "no bias" classification. The overall mean score (15.58) for Caucasian subjects is in the "probable bias" classification. Although this is a slight improvement from prior studies, the Caucasian children still showed a biased racial attitude.

It is beyond the purpose of this study to state reasons for racial bias, but due to the results of the study, possible ways of alleviating the bias can be suggested. The presence of a race of examiner effect for the Caucasian children points out that the racial bias can be modified toward the "no bias" classification. The mean of 14.15 for Caucasian subjects with Black examiners is in the "no bias" area.

The continual addition of Black adult role models is suggested. The presence of a Black examiner was capable of altering responses by Caucasian subjects. The interaction of the children with Black adults in the roles of school psychologists, principals, teachers, librarians, counselors, and teacher's aids is recommended. The effect would not be detrimental to the children, but would increase awareness and acceptance. It is further suggested that Black community and religious leaders be invited to attend school functions, such as "Career Days" and

"Awareness Weeks" in order to expose the children to positive Black adult models. The establishment of such functions and the encouraging of Black parents to participate in school activities will be an effective step toward reversing biased racial attitudes in Caucasian children.

The existence of an "effect" attributable to the television program Roots has yet to be proven. Certainly, the program caused a renewed interest in Black history and culture throughout this country. That the program did not affect Caucasian children the same is understandable. Being from the Black slaves' perspectives, Caucasians were not presented in the most positive manner. It is also possible that it is more difficult for Caucasians to identify with the characters since Black heroes have existed in scarce numbers in our society.

Summary

The results of the present study are inconclusive as to the presence of a race of examiner effect with the PRAM II. The study was confounded by the performance of the Black subjects in an unexpected manner. There appeared to be some race of examiner effect present in the interaction of the Caucasian subjects and the examiners. The use of more examiners of both races might help in the discovery of a race of examiner effect. The increased number

would greatly reduce any confounding of results due to the personalities of the examiners.

The use of semi-automated teaching machines, with examiners of different races introduced at various intervals, could provide more hard evidence as to whether the presence of another person in the testing situation affects the performance of the child on the PRAM II.

A systematized study using pre- and posttests with the PRAM II may reveal that the combination of specially presented Black history curriculum and active participation by subjects in theatrical-type re-enactments will produce an alteration in attitude not only toward one's own race, but also toward those of other races.

The Black subjects were consistently low in their scores. The author attributes the difference to a problem in the external validity of the study. The reported and observed effect of the television program Roots one month prior to the administration of the test appeared to have an impact on the performance of the Black subjects. Whether this effect exists and is of a short or long term duration would be of interest in future research.

APPENDIX A

PRAM PICTURES AND STORIES

(SR = Sex Role Items; RA = Racial Attitude Items)

Series A

1. SR--Caucasian girl--Caucasian boy--sitting

Here are two children. One of these children has four dolls with which they like to have tea parties. Which child likes to play with dolls?

2. RA--Black little boy--Caucasian little boy--walking

Here are two little boys. One of them is a kind little boy. Once he saw a kitten fall into a lake and he picked up the kitten to save it from drowning. Which is the kind little boy?

3. RA--Caucasian little girl--Black little girl--standing

Here are two little girls. One of them is an ugly little girl. People do not like to look at her. Which is the ugly little girl?

4. SR--Black teenage boy--Black teenage girl--sitting
Here are two children. They are thinking about what they want to be when they grow up. One of them wants to be a policeman. Which one wants to be a policeman?

5. RA--Caucasian teenage boy--Black teenage boy--standing

Here are two boys. One of them is a friendly boy. He has a lot of friends. Which one is the friendly boy?

6. RA--Black teenage girl--Caucasian teenage girl--walking

Here are two girls. When a lady asked one of them where she lived, the girl gave the wrong answer. Which is the wrong girl?

7. SR--Caucasian man--Caucasian woman--walking

Here are two people. After supper one of these people clears the table and washes all the dishes. Which person washes the dishes?

8. RA--Caucasian woman--Black woman--sitting

Here are two women. One of them is a nice woman. She does nice things for her husband and children. Which is the nice woman?

9. RA--Black man--Caucasian man--standing

Here are two men. One of them is a bad man. He took money out of his children's piggy bank and never put it back. Which is the bad man?

10. SR--Black teenage girl--Black teenage boy--standing

Here are two young people. One of them works at a gas station after school. Which one works at a gas station?

11. RA--Black man--Caucasian man--standing

Here are two men. One of them is a healthy man. He never has a cold or a high temperature. Which is the healthy man?

12. RA--Caucasian woman--Black woman--sitting

Here are two women. One of them is a sad woman. She has been left alone with no one to talk to. Which is the sad woman?

13. SR--Caucasian woman--Caucasian man--standing

Here are two people. One of these people has baked two delicious apple pies. Which person baked the pies?

14. RA--Caucasian little boy--Black little boy--standing

Here are two little boys. One of them is a clean little boy. Whenever he washes his face he also washes behind his ears. Which is the clean little boy?

15. RA--Black teenage girl--Caucasian teenage girl--sitting

Here are two girls. One of them is a stupid girl. She doesn't even know how to spell her name. Which is the stupid girl?

16. SR--Black man--Black woman--standing

Here are two people. When the car won't run, one of them is always able to fix it. Which person can fix the car?

17. RA--Caucasian man--Black man--sitting

Here are two men. One of them is a very selfish man. He does not care about anyone except himself. Which is the selfish man?

18. RA--Black woman--Caucasian woman--walking

Here are two women. People say that one of them is a wonderful woman. She can do almost anything. Which is the wonderful woman?

Series B

19. SR--Caucasian little girl--Caucasian little boy--standing

Here are two children. One of them wants to grow up and be a cowboy. Which child wants to be a cowboy?

20. RA--Black little girl--Caucasian little girl--sitting

Here are two little girls. Everyone says that one of them is very pretty. Which is the pretty girl?

21. RA--Caucasian little boy--Black little boy--sitting

Here are two little boys. One of them is a very naughty boy. He drew pictures on the walls of his house with his crayons and upset his mother. Which is the naughty little boy?

22. SR--Black little boy--Black little girl--standing

Here are two children. One of them likes to dress up in their mother's clothes and pretend that they are grown up. Which child likes to dress up in their mother's clothes?

23. RA--Caucasian teenage girl--Black teenage girl--standing

Here are two girls. One of them is a happy girl. She smiles almost all of the time. Which one is the happy girl?

24. RA--Black teenage boy--Caucasian teenage boy--sitting

Here are two boys. One of them is a cruel boy. When he comes home from school and his dog runs to meet him, he kicks his dog. Which is the cruel boy?

25. SR--Caucasian woman--Caucasian man--sitting

Here are two people. One of them likes to go shopping. When they go shopping they like to buy new dresses. Which person likes to buy new dresses?

26. RA--Caucasian man--Black man--walking

Here are two men. One of them is a mean man. He throws rocks at dogs and cats when they come into his yard. Which is the mean man?

27. RA--Black woman--Caucasian woman--standing

Here are two women. One of them is a good woman. She does things for her neighbors and her children. Which is the good woman?

28. SR--Black man--Black woman--sitting

Here are two people. One of them built a barn for their animals to live in. Which person built the barn?

29. RA--Black woman--Caucasian woman--standing

Here are two women. One of them is a helpful woman. Whenever someone is sick she goes to help them. Which is the helpful woman?

30. RA--Caucasian man--Black man--sitting

Here are two men. One of them is an unfriendly man. He will not speak to any of the children playing in his neighborhood. Which is the unfriendly man?

31. SR--Caucasian woman--Caucasian man--standing

Here are two young people. One of them likes to play football every afternoon after school. Which one likes to play football?

32. RA--Caucasian teenage boy--Black teenage boy--walking

Here are two boys. One of them is a smart boy. When the TV set breaks, he can fix it all by himself. Which is the smart boy?

33. RA--Black little girl--Caucasian little girl--walking

Here are two little girls. One of them is a dirty little girl. People say she does not take a bath very often. Which is the dirty little girl?

34. SR--Black teenage boy--Black teenage girl--walking

Here are two young people. One of them likes to wear lipstick. Which one likes to wear lipstick?

35. RA--Caucasian man--Black man--walking

Here are two men. One of these men is right. When someone asks him a question, he always knows the right answer. Which man is right?

36. RA--Black woman--Caucasian woman--standing

Here are two women. One of them is a sick woman. She has to stay in the house most of the time. Which is the sick woman?

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