

Exhibit P-77

in the low F estimates than in estimates by high F Ss.

The Ohio State experimenters have advanced as an explanation of this difference in variability between highs and lows a tendency for the authoritarians to project their own responses upon their partners. As Scodel and Mussen say, "The highs' strong need to identify with an ingroup of superior status results in perceptual distortions which exaggerate and extend the similarities between themselves and their peers" (7, p. 184).

To test this hypothesis we defined projection operationally as the similarity between the pattern of the S's own responses and the pattern of his estimates of his partner. The assumed similarity scores obtained were ordered in a frequency distribution for each sex. These distributions were divided at the median, and the number of high F and low F Ss falling above and below the median assumed similarity score was ascertained. High F Ss were no more likely than low F Ss to have high assumed similarity scores (chi square = 1.12, $p > .20$). Thus, the projection hypothesis was not confirmed.

As an additional test of accuracy of perception, for each S a profile-similarity score was computed comparing his estimate of his partner with the partner's actual responses. The distributions of these profile-similarity scores for each sex were dichotomized. High F and low F Ss did not differ significantly in the accuracy of their estimates as measured by this method (chi square = .12, $p > .70$).

DISCUSSION

It is evident that the results of the present study are strikingly similar to those at Ohio State. A number of explanations of the results are available. One possible explanation assumes that agreement with a number of F-scale items is characteristic of many fundamentalist and conservative social, religious, and political groups in our society. A high F S whose social experiences have been principally within such groups and who has

had little experience with vociferous proponents of contradictory views is likely to believe that a particular person will agree with him unless he has direct information to the contrary. Twenty-minute discussions probably do not provide much direct information about the partner's position on these items. On the other hand, in view of the wide dissemination given conservative, traditional views by our institutions of mass communication and by certain extremely vocal political groups, it would be unlikely for a low F S to avoid recognizing that a considerable number of people disagree with him about certain items of the F scale. Since the low F S's attitudes have not developed in a social vacuum, however he is also likely to be familiar with individuals and groups who share his own opinions. Thus, the overestimation of the degree of authoritarianism and the greater variability of low F Ss may simply reflect contemporary social conditions.

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ETHNIC CLEAVAGE AMONG YOUNG CHILDREN

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AN APPARENT discrepancy exists between the age when preferential or prejudiced attitudes toward ethnically different people develop and the age when preferential or prejudiced behavior appears. A recent summary of research (6) places the appearance of prejudiced attitudes at the third or fourth years compared with the onset

of prejudiced behavior at the eighth to tenth years. Moreno (11) found no sociometric evidence of behavioral cleavage among young children of various ethnic backgrounds until age ten (Grade 5). Criswell (2), using the same technique, studied children from nursery school to the teen ages and found no cleavage until the eighth year (Grade

3). She noted that ethnic cleavage was most pronounced at the tenth year (Grade 5). The age determined by Moreno and Criswell is not only accepted as the established age of onset of prejudiced behavior in children, but their findings are also used as supporting evidence for theories of prejudice (e.g., 6, p. 1037; 8, p. 514).

The appropriateness of Moreno's and Criswell's method is open to question. Standard sociometric questions are often not meaningful to preschool Ss. In preliminary work we found that four- and five-year-olds generally "liked everyone" and "didn't mind" who sat next to them, suggesting that young children may not discriminate favored associates on such issues. Discriminations may be made, however, if the more significant values of preschool children are incorporated in the choosing procedures. To test this possibility, we measured ethnic cleavage among young children with techniques which, we assume, are more meaningful to them.

METHOD

The thirteen Ss of this study comprised the total membership of a small nursery school in Montreal. Six children were of Japanese origin (Oriental) and seven were of Roumanian, Greek, German, and Polish ancestries (Occidental), but all thirteen spoke English fluently. They attended school from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. five days a week since both parents of all the children normally worked in Montreal. The newest member had been in attendance for over two months when the investigation was begun. None of the children in the school lived close enough to one another to play together outside of school. Two of the Oriental and three of the Occidental Ss were male. The ages for Oriental Ss were: 5.1, 5.6, 5.6, 5.8, 5.8, and 6.0; for the Occidental: 3.5, 4.0, 4.2, 5.5, 6.0, 6.0, and 6.2.

The experimenter (Taguchi, an Oriental) was introduced to the children as a guest supervisor (one regular supervisor was a white Canadian, the other an Oriental) and actively participated in the school program once each week for a month before the investigation commenced. All experimental work with the children began at 11:00 A.M. during the recreational period.

Type of choices. Four-year-olds generally place high value on receiving or giving candy and on having their pictures taken. It was assumed that choices of associates would be meaningful to children if these values were made part of the choosing procedure. The Ss were asked (a) to give away a piece of candy to an associate and then receive one for themselves (candy-giving choices); (b) to choose an associate to pose with them for picture taking (picture-taking choices); and (c) to indicate which picture, from among individual poses of each school member, they liked best and would want to keep, excluding their own (picture-choosing choices). In each of these tests the child was taken individually to a side room and given directions for each situation. The candy-giving test was repeated twelve times during a four-week period while the other two tests occurred once only.

TABLE 1
TEST CHOICES OF OCCIDENTAL AND ORIENTAL CHILDREN

	Candy-Giving Choices*		Picture-Taking Choices		Picture-Choosing Choices	
	In group	Out group	In group	Out group	In group	Out group
Occidentals	4	3	5	2	4	3
Oriental	6	0	6	0	6	0
Exact tests of significance		$p = .048†$		$p = .002†$		$p = .048†$

* Mean choices for twelve repetitions of the procedure.

† Two-tailed tests of significance.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The choices made in the three test situations are presented in Table 1. Exact tests of significance (7, p. 303f) indicate a significant association between ethnic background and type of choices made, for all three situations. However, the tendency for Occidental children to choose within their own ethnic group is not a significant one since the probabilities of obtaining differences equal to or greater than a 4-3 and 5-2 split by chance alone are, respectively, 1.00 and .453 using an exact two-tailed test. Ethnic cleavage is clearly apparent, however, with the Oriental children. The Orientals' within-group preference is significant since the probabilities of obtaining a difference equal to or greater than a 6-0 split is .031 for each instance.

The findings indicate that ethnic cleavage appears among preschool children. We maintain that other researchers have not found prejudiced behavior at earlier ages because their methods of observation have not penetrated to the significant values of the younger Ss. Further research is clearly necessary in order to generalize this finding beyond Occidental-Oriental Ss and beyond so small and compact a group as that used here.

Davitz (3) has recently suggested that people have a basic need to be similar to valued persons, this need manifesting itself in a child's striving to be like his parents or an important peer. Davitz turns to Mowrer's theory of developmental identification (12) to account for such a need. For Mowrer, identification is equated with the secondary reward value of a person for the infant. Developmental identification starts with the interaction between the infant and the others in his social environment who satisfy his needs. When drive reduction and the cues associated with those who reduce the drives are repeatedly paired, the cues themselves take on secondary reward value for the infant. On a similarity gradient, school-

mates of the same ethnic background would be more alike, at least in physical characteristics, the family members with whom the child has identified. Any secondary reward generated during the identification process would be more likely to generalize to like schoolmates.

It is apparent that Mowrer's theory accounts for the behavior of our Oriental Ss but does not explain the Occidental group's behavior. Our finding of "one-way" cleavage is not unique. Many researchers have noted the preferential choice of within-group members with school-age children. Criswell (2) noted that, when racial cleavage did appear, it was the Negro Ss who were the first to segregate themselves. Radke *et al.* (13) found that Jewish children, 5-9 years old, were more emotionally identified with their own group than were Catholic or Protestant children. At the high-school age, Loomis (9), Goodnow and Tagiuri (5), and Lundberg (10) have all noted ethnic and religious within-group segregation.

It appears that minority group members (members of groups toward whom prejudice is commonly directed) are generally the first to segregate themselves from the majority group, this self-segregation occurring with preschool and young children as well as at the high-school level. Mowrer's and Davitz's theories can be extended to account for this empirical fact. Nurturance needs arising in infancy are satisfied by people who have distinguishable cue properties. The cues, acting alone as secondary reward agents, may become more active agents whenever nurturance-type needs are activated. Minority status, with its aspects of threat, would regenerate similar needs and concomitantly intensify the significance and vividness of cues associated with own-group members. The secondary reward accompanying the cue properties of within-group associates will reduce the nurturance needs of minority group members in a mixed-group situation. Majority group members, with less environmental threats, will not experience increased nurturance-type needs in a mixed-group situation and will accordingly receive less reward from within-group situations.

G. Allport has discussed the self-segregation phenomenon in other terms. He believes that within-group cohesion mitigates the problems of minority group members by assuring them friendship (1, p. 149), and permits them easier interaction where they need not learn new habits of social intercourse (1, p. 18).

A recent study by Goodman (4), however, poses

problems for both Mowrer and Allport, and suggests that further attention should be given to prejudiced behavior among young children. Goodman found that Negro preschool children often showed preference for *white* characters in stories, white dolls, and even white people.

SUMMARY

Ethnic cleavage among preschool children was studied using various test situations where choices of associates could be observed. It was found that ethnic cleavage does exist when choices are made significant to young children. The results are compared with other related findings and attempts are made to explain them theoretically.

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