ETHNIC/RACIAL ATTITUDES AND SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF BLACK JAMAICAN AND WHITE NEW ENGLAND CHILDREN

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A total of 411 children from urban and rural areas of Jamaica and from rural New England were examined by both White and Black interviewers for their skin color and body size preferences and for self-identification, using a modified dolls test. Overall, children from all three communities showed White favoritism and average body size favoritism. Within communities, there were age and gender differences. Kindergartners from rural Jamaica did not show skin color or body size bias, and White fifth/sixth graders from New England showed reverse, pro-Black and pro-chubby favoritism. In Jamaica, boys displayed more bias than girls. Correct racial self-identification was greater among New England than Jamaican children, possibly related to the choice of White as an ideal self among some Jamaican children. Examiner skin color influenced both color and body size preference; self-identification was influenced by examiner skin color only among the rural Jamaican children.

Keywords: *skin color and body size preference; U.S. and Jamaican children*

There is considerable evidence that children's ethnic attitudes are determined by skin color and that young North American children display a negative bias toward people of dark skin color (e.g., Aboud, 1987; K. B. Clark & Clark, 1947; Katz, 1987). This bias has been found as early as age 3 (Aboud, 1987; Gopaul-McNicol, 1995). It appears to peak at kindergarten and then decrease, with a low point at the end of the elementary school years (Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995). Likewise, with North American White children, a similar negative bias toward overweight individuals has been demonstrated, beginning as early as age 3 (Cramer & Steinwert, 1998; Powlishta, Serbin, Doyle, & White, 1994; Sigelman, Miller, & Whitworth, 1986), although this bias is less apparent in North American Black children (Strauss, 2000).

There are several different but overlapping explanations of how skin color bias develops and the reasons for its apparent decrease in later childhood. Presumably, the same reasons might apply to body size bias as well. These explanations may be divided into four large groups: population factors, perceptual/cognitive factors, affective factors, and social learning.

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POPULATION FACTORS

The importance of living in a particular population—for instance, its ethnic/racial makeup—for developing racial identification and attitudes has been explained by several overlapping principles. First is the issue of a homogeneous versus heterogeneous society. In a homogeneous society, awareness of racial cues develops more slowly, as does racial self-identification and own-group preference (e.g., Kowalski & Lo, 2001). Related to this is the issue of familiarity. Children will have a more positive attitude toward the familiar than the unfamiliar (e.g., Aboud, 1987). Also related is the issue of distinctiveness, or salience. Ethnicity is more salient in an individual's self-concept in an ethnically mixed society and is more salient in the minority than in the majority group (e.g., Aboud, 1987). Finally, the majority/minority principle also includes the idea that, by sheer virtue of number and thus real or perceived power, the majority group will have higher status (Aboud & Skerry, 1984).

PERCEPTUAL/COGNITIVE FACTORS

Young children in Euro-American cultures, ages 4 to 7, are in the preoperational stage of cognitive development. Their thinking is dominated by perceptual cues, and they rely on perceptual information to understand the world. However, lacking conservation ability, they tend to focus on only one cue and then use that cue to decide if another person is similar or dissimilar to themselves. Assuming that the child makes positive self-evaluations, the similar other person is then evaluated positively (e.g., Sigelman et al., 1986). In contrast, those who are perceived to be physically different will be negatively evaluated (Ramsey & Myers, 1990), based on the overgeneralization error that if they differ on one dimension, then they will differ on others (e.g., not be nice persons). Once children reach the stage of concrete operations, the timing of which may vary across cultures (Dasen & de Ribaupierre, 1987; Greenfield, 2000), a decrease in this type of out-group bias occurs (Doyle, Beaudet, & Aboud, 1988). Preoperational children may also lack racial constancy—the understanding that racial identity does not change, even if one wishes it to (Aboud, 1984).

AFFECTIVE AND SOCIAL LEARNING FACTORS

However, research shows that in-group favoritism may occur prior to the capacity for judgments of perceptual similarity and may continue after reaching the stage of concrete operations, due to both affective and social learning factors. Children are able to indicate liking/disliking and good/bad judgments prior to the time their judgments are based on cognitive factors (Aboud & Skerry, 1984). Barring innately determined responses, such affective reactions are likely based on social learning. As children develop, social learning continues to play an important role in their evaluation of racial and body size groups. Socially transmitted attitudes will influence children's association of positive or negative attributes with racial groups, and with body size groups. There is ample evidence, for example, that White adults hold negative attitudes toward racial minorities. However, as children grow older, they may also learn that the expression of racial or body size prejudice is socially undesirable, and so they alter the nature of their responses, if not their beliefs. Alternatively, having learned about prejudice based on stereotypes, children may modify their personal beliefs (Devine, 1989).

THE SOCIAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT IN WHICH CHILDREN'S RACIAL ATTITUDES HAVE BEEN STUDIED

The majority of studies of children's skin color and body size bias have been carried out in North America. In the few North American studies that have been carried out with children from communities in which Black is the majority, Black children show less own-group preference at early ages, in contrast to White children from White communities. Rather, Black children have been found to favor out-group White figures or to show no consistent preference. At the same time, their attitude toward in-group Black figures may become more positive with age, or show no change, again in contrast to White children. Assessment of self-identification also indicates that a sizable portion of North American young Black children will identify themselves as White (e.g., Aboud, 1987; K. B. Clark & Clark, 1947; Katz, 1987).

However, as pointed out by Black-Gutman and Hickson (1996) and Katz (1987), to understand the relative contribution of cognitive development as compared to social learning in the development of children's attitudes, studies of Black children growing up in Black societies are needed. Presumably, if perceived power is a function only of majority status, then in communities in which the majority is Black, there should be in-group Black favoritism. We located three studies of the racial attitudes of Black children living in a non–North American predominantly Black society. Gopaul-McNicol (1988) studied Black preschool children in Trinidad and New York and found that the majority of the children in both locations showed pro-White favoritism, both in racial preference and in self-identification. In a second study, Gopaul-McNicol (1995) interviewed Black children, ages 3 to 5 years, from four different Caribbean countries, again finding pro-White favoritism. Bagley and Young (1988) found that kindergarten children in rural Jamaica showed strong pro-White favoritism, which increased with age.

Two studies were located that addressed the question of children's body size attitudes in a Caribbean Black community. Smith and Cogswell (1994) found that Jamaican adolescent girls were less biased against heaviness as compared to North American girls; rather, positive attitudes toward plumpness were noted. Also, although adolescent males had a negative attitude toward obesity, they preferred fat women (Bockarie, 1992). Positive attitudes by adult women toward obesity have been reported in Barbados (Hoyos & Clarke, 1987).

In general, the majority/minority principle does not explain the racial attitudes of Blacks growing up in Black Caribbean societies. Based on the reasoning from North America, the majority—that is, people of African descent—should be seen as having status and power by virtue of being the majority; instead, the minority—people of European descent—is favored. However, attitudes toward body size are more consistent with the majority/minority principle, for the prevalence of female plumpness and even obesity is relatively high in Black Caribbean societies.

SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS IN JAMAICA

Although the majority of Jamaicans are of African descent,[1] there is considerable variation in skin color. Furthermore, "race" in Jamaica is not dichotomous (White/Black) but is seen as a continuum, primarily determined by skin color, facial features, and hair texture. Most important, social class and skin color are closely correlated: The lighter the skin color, the more likely the individual is, and is seen as, part of middle- or upper-class society. Light-colored skin is thus taken as an indicator of wealth and status, whereas there is a mild

prejudice against very dark skin, which tends to be associated with the lower classes (Foner, 1977; Nettleford, 1998). Also, lighter-skinned children are likely to be favored by teachers, and parents are more likely to buy White than Black dolls for their children (Gopaul-McNicol, 1995). Men favor marrying lighter-skinned women to "raise the color" of the family, whereas women, perhaps of necessity, are more accepting of dark-skinned men (M. Anderson, personal communication, July 16, 2001; Richmond, 1955). One further implication, and complication, of the association of wealth with "Whiteness" is that a wealthy dark-skinned child may think of himself or herself as White because that is what Whiteness means culturally. Likewise, "dark-skinned Jamaicans who became doctors or lawyers . . . or high-level civil servants . . . were often thought of 'as if' they were White by those of lower status" (Foner, 1977, p. 130).

This "shade-consciousness," however, may be more salient among urban than among rural Jamaicans. In the countryside, the majority of people would be considered dark skinned, and children rarely encounter a White person, whereas many fair-skinned people reside in the city. Furthermore, as compared to rural children, urban children are much more likely to have exposure to North American culture and media (magazines, TV), in which Black characters are underrepresented and have low status and menial jobs (Graves, 1999).

In addition, North American media present images of the ideal female as being significantly underweight, such that beauty or desirability become equated with thinness. Children in the urban areas of Jamaica have ample exposure to these media-borne ideas. In the rural areas, where media exposure is considerably less, attitudes toward body size are more likely to be influenced by the countervailing view that plumpness is a positive attribute. Because many rural children are undernourished, due to low income, a plump body is a sign of health and of prosperity in the family.

EXPERIMENTER EFFECTS

Many studies of North American children's racial attitudes have been conducted by White examiners. An early review by Sattler (1970) concluded that children's racial responses were influenced by the examiner's skin color, such that they became more favorable toward the group to which the examiner belongs. Consistent with this conclusion, it was found that when White children were tested by a Black examiner, favorable attitudes toward Blacks increased but only in children above age 7 (A. Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Katz, Sohn, & Zalk, 1975).

These effects were initially attributed to the older children's concerns about social desirability—that older children wished to please the Black examiner. More recent studies have questioned this interpretation. Furthermore, as Milner (1973) pointed out, if one argues that the effect of a Black examiner on White children is to increase attitudes consistent with the examiner's identity (i.e., increase pro-Black attitudes), then it is logical to assume that the presence of a White examiner will increase pro-White attitudes in Black children. Clearly, what is required is a research design in which both Black and White examiners interview both Black and White children.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study makes use of this design and is conducted in two different countries, one with a White majority, the other with a Black majority. Using both a Black and a White examiner to assess children of two age groups, we studied children's racial attitudes in three

different populations: Black communities in rural Jamaica and urban Jamaica and a White community in rural New England.

In the rural Jamaican community of St. Andrew, the primary occupation of both men and women is farming; many women also work for a local sewing company. Both occupations pay low wages. The presence of a White person is rare. However, because rural girls go to market in the city with their mothers, they are more likely to encounter light-skinned people than are rural boys, who stay in the country and work in the fields. The average educational level of adults is less than ninth grade. Also, the influence of the media is less in rural than in urban Jamaica.

The urban community of St. Andrew is considered part of the commercial center of Jamaica, and the economic and educational level is higher than in rural areas. There is a sizable middle class and professional population.[2] The ethnic/racial diversity in the urban area is considerably greater than in the rural area: Whites, Asians, East Indians, and mixtures of these groups are present in the city, along with foreign immigrants. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV are readily accessible in the urban community, and most of the TV programs come from the United States.

In the rural New England town, parental occupations include farming, unskilled and skilled workers, small businesses, tradesmen, and professionals. One of the largest employers in this rural town is a liberal arts college. The majority (83%) of parents have at least a high school degree. More than 90% of the residents are White; children have little direct interaction with African Americans. Nearly all families have access to TV and other media.

PREDICTIONS REGARDING SKIN COLOR AND BODY SIZE EFFECTS

1. *Skin color and body size preference:* Overall, White will be preferred to Black skin color and average to chubby body size (Story Task, Playmate Preference Task), but this will be modified by age and location differences.

1a. Age differences: Preference for the child's own racial group will be stronger among younger children, who focus on perceptual cues, whereas older children are influenced by cognitive development and greater exposure to social learning influences. Preference for average body size will be stronger among older children, due to social learning.

1b. Location differences: White New England children will show White and average size preference. Urban Black Jamaican children will also show White preference and average size preference, due to greater exposure to North American media and to shade-consciousness. Rural Jamaican children are not predicted to show White or average body size preference, due to familiarity, to less media exposure, and to the association of chubbiness with prosperity.

2. *Self-identification:* Overall, children will show correct racial self-identification, and more will self-identify as average than as chubby.

2a. Age differences: This will be greater among older than younger children, due to younger children's lacking racial or size constancy.

2b. Location differences: Correct racial self-identification is more likely in urban Jamaican and White North American children than in rural Jamaicans, as a result of the distinctiveness effect. No location differences are expected for size self-identification.

3. *Ideal self:* Due to social learning, selection of White and average body size will be greater than Black and chubby body size.

3a. Age differences: Older children will show the above effects more than younger children, due to increased exposure to social learning influences.

3b. Location differences: New England and urban Jamaican children will select White more than Black, due to increased exposure to social learning influences. Rural Jamaican children are less likely to differentiate between White and Black as a result of the distinctiveness effect and the lack of exposure to media.

PREDICTIONS REGARDING EXAMINER EFFECTS

We do not expect body size choices to be influenced by the racial of the examiner.

4. *Skin color preference:* Black targets will be chosen more often with a Black than a White examiner; White targets will be chosen more often with a White than a Black examiner.
5. *Self-identification:* The presence of an examiner of different racial identity will increase the child's correct self-identification, due to distinctiveness.
6. *Ideal self:* The presence of an examiner of different racial identity will increase the child's ideal self choice that matches his or her actual identity, due to increased correct self-identification.

METHOD

Data were collected from three sites: rural St. Andrew, Jamaica; urban St. Andrew, Jamaica; and a rural predominantly White New England town, United States. At each site, children at the kindergarten level and at fifth-/sixth- grade level were examined either by a Black Jamaican female or a White North American female. The same procedures were administered to all children. Children's ethnic/racial and body size bias, and their awareness of their ethnic/racial and body size group membership, were assessed by having them respond to drawings of Black, White, average-size, and chubby-size children. Participants always responded to pictures that were the same gender as themselves. Each interview lasted about 15 minutes. For all children who participated, parental permission slips were obtained. The permission letter explained that the child would listen to several short stories and then be asked to "match a set of paper dolls that differ in size and skin color to the characters in the stories." In addition, the child would be asked which picture looks "like themselves and which they would like to be."

PARTICIPANTS

Jamaica. Participants were solicited from five schools in St. Andrew, Jamaica: two rural schools and three urban schools. All of the Jamaican children were Black. Rural Jamaican children were from predominantly lower-class backgrounds, and urban Jamaican children came from predominantly middle-class backgrounds.[3]

Rural Jamaica (St. Andrew). A total of 115 Black children participated (58 girls, 57 boys; 54 kindergartners, mean age = 5.8; 61 fifth/sixth graders, mean age = 11.4). All of these children attended government-funded public schools. The large majority of these children pay minimal or no school fees because they are sponsored either by the government or by private sources.

Urban Jamaica (St. Andrew). A total of 146 Black children participated (83 girls, 63 boys; 89 kindergartners, mean age = 5.0; 57 fifth/sixth graders, mean age = 10.9). All of these children attended private, preparatory schools, indicating that their parents had the financial means to pay the relatively high school tuition fees.

New England, United States. A total of 150 children participated (78 girls and 72 boys; 70 kindergartners, mean age = 6.3; 80 fifth/sixth graders, mean age = 11.6). All children attended the single public elementary school in the town, in which nearly all of the students were White.

EXAMINERS

A Black Jamaican and two White North American females served as examiners. A Black and a White examiner interviewed children at all grade levels at all schools. Approximately half of the children at each grade level and each school were interviewed by the Black examiner and half by a White examiner.

MATERIALS

Target figures. For each grade and gender combination (e.g., kindergarten girls) two sets of target figures were created. Each set contained four pictures: a pair of White children and a pair of Black children; within each pair, one was a chubby figure and one an average-size figure. For kindergartners, the target figures portrayed a young child, 9.8 cm tall and either 3.2 cm wide (average size) or 4.2 cm wide (chubby). For Grades 5 and 6, the target figures portrayed a preadolescent child, 8.5 cm tall and either 2.5 cm wide (average size) or 3.6 cm wide (chubby). Figures within each set had identical clothing, facial features, hair color, and style, differing only in skin color and body size; across the two sets, the figures differed in the color of their clothes. These figures were used in the Story Task, the Playmate Preference Task, and the Personal Body Attitudes Task.

PROCEDURE

Each examiner was introduced by a teacher to her classroom. It was explained that the examiner would be talking with some of the students in a quiet room. The examiner accompanied the child from the classroom to the interview room, spending a few minutes in general conversation.

Each child was then interviewed individually for about 15 minutes during which time three tasks were administered: the Story Task, the Playmate Preference Task, and the Personal Body Attitudes Task. Several other measures, not relevant for the present article, were also used.

Story task. Four short vignettes, with interchangeable boy and girl names depending on the gender of the participant, were read to the child. The names in each story were chosen to be familiar to the children of each society. Each vignette involved two characters: one character was portrayed as nice, and the other was portrayed as mean. For each story, four target figures from one set were placed in front of the child. The two sets of figures were alternated for each story, and the position of the four target figures was randomized. The child was told, "I am going to read you a story. Listen carefully, for I will ask you some questions about the story afterwards." An example story follows:

> Jenny and Susan were eating lunch together. Jenny had two cookies and offered one to Susan. Susan said, "No! I don't want your cookie," and then stuck her tongue out.[4]

After each story, the child was asked to point to the target figure who is "nice" and then to point to the figure who is "mean." The order of the two follow-up questions (nice, mean) was reversed with each story.

Children received one point for each target figure selected (Black average, Black chubby, White average, or White chubby). Choices were summed over the stories (possible range 0 to

4). The use of four target figures obviates some of the difficulty associated with a forced-choice method—for instance, having chosen a Black target for one question did not preclude the child from choosing a Black target for the second question.

Playmate preference task. The four target figures from one set, randomly arranged, were placed in front of the child. The child was then asked, "Which child would you like to play with?" In each case, the child was to point to his or her choice, which was given one point.

Personal body attitudes task. The four target figures from one set, randomly arranged, were placed in front of the child, who was then asked, "Which picture do you look like?" (self-identification). After making a choice, the other set of figures was presented, and the child was then asked, "Which picture would you *like* to look like?" (ideal self). One point was given to the self-identification choice, and one point to the ideal self choice.

RESULTS

For each task, the results are presented for each site separately. For each site, we first present the effects of grade and gender on target choice, followed by the effect of examiner skin color on target choice. In every case in which group differences are discussed, these differences are statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level or better.

STORY TASK: NICE

The results for the question "nice" were generally the opposite of those for the question "mean." To conserve space, only the "nice" results are reported. A Grade (2) × Gender (2) × Target Skin Color (2) × Target Body Size (2) × Examiner (2) MANOVA, with target skin color and body size as repeated measures, was used to analyze children's choices of the target figures as nice.

Rural Jamaica. (See Table 1.[5]) There was a significant main effect for target skin color (henceforth "color"), $F(1, 107) = 7.21$, $p < .008$, eta = .25. Overall, children chose the White targets as nice more often than the Black targets. A significant Grade × Color interaction, $F(1, 107) = 4.05$, $p < .05$, eta = .19, indicated that this main effect was due to the fifth/sixth graders, who chose the White targets ($M = 2.46$) as nice more often than the Black targets ($M = 1.54$); the kindergartners chose the White ($M = 2.07$) and Black targets ($M = 1.93$) equally often. A significant Gender × Color interaction, $F(1, 107) = 4.82$, $p < .03$, eta = .21, also qualified the main effect: Boys chose the White targets ($M = 2.47$) as nice more often than the Black targets ($M = 1.53$); girls chose White and Black equally often (Ms = 1.91 and 2.04).

There was also a significant main effect for target size (henceforth "size"), $F(1, 107) = 9.47$, $p < .003$, eta = .28. Overall, children chose the average-size targets ($M = 2.37$) as nice more often than the chubby targets ($M = 1.63$). This effect is qualified by a significant Grade × Size interaction, $F(1, 107) = 5.11$, $p < .03$, eta = .21. Among the fifth/sixth graders, the average target ($M = 2.57$) was chosen more often than the chubby ($M = 1.43$). For the kindergartners, there was no significant difference (Ms = 2.13 and 1.87).

TABLE 1
Rural Jamaica: Preferred Targets (Nice, Playmate)

	Black				*White*			
	Average		*Chubby*		*Average*		*Chubby*	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
				Nice				
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	1.19	(0.83)	0.94	(1.00)	1.00	(0.89)	0.88	(0.72)
Girls	1.07	(1.00)	1.64	(1.28)	0.71	(0.61)	0.57	(0.76)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	1.00	(0.88)	0.57	(0.51)	1.71	(0.99)	0.71	(0.73)
Girls	1.12	(0.99)	0.47	(0.62)	1.29	(1.16)	1.12	(0.99)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.80	(1.08)	0.20	(0.56)	1.80	(1.08)	1.20	(1.08)
Girls	0.56	(0.53)	1.33	(1.12)	1.22	(1.09)	0.89	(0.78)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.92	(0.90)	0.42	(0.67)	1.58	(0.90)	1.08	(1.31)
Girls	1.17	(1.01)	0.44	(0.62)	1.50	(0.99)	0.89	(1.08)
Total (N = 115)	1.01	(0.94)	0.71	(0.92)	1.36	(1.01)	0.92	(0.95)
				Preferred playmate				
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.31	(0.48)	0.38	(0.50)	0.19	(0.40)	0.13	(0.34)
Girls	0.21	(0.43)	0.36	(0.50)	0.36	(0.50)	0.07	(0.27)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.14	(0.36)	0.07	(0.27)	0.71	(0.47)	0.09	(0.27)
Girls	0.29	(0.47)	0.06	(0.24)	0.41	(0.51)	0.24	(0.44)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.27	(0.46)	0.07	(0.26)	0.53	(0.52)	0.13	(0.35)
Girls	0.11	(0.33)	0.33	(0.50)	0.11	(0.33)	0.44	(0.53)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.17	(0.39)	0.00	(0.00)	0.67	(0.49)	0.17	(0.39)
Girls	0.39	(0.50)	0.11	(0.32)	0.44	(0.51)	0.06	(0.24)
Total (N = 115)	0.25	(0.44)	0.17	(0.37)	0.43	(0.50)	0.15	(0.36)

Urban Jamaica. (See Table 2.) There was a significant main effect for color, $F(1, 138) = 21.12$, $p < .001$, eta = .36. Overall, children chose the White targets ($M = 2.37$) as nice more often than the Black targets ($M = 1.63$). A significant Gender × Color interaction, $F(1, 138) = 6.35$, $p < .01$, eta = .21, indicated that the main effect was due to the boys, who chose the White targets ($M = 2.60$) as nice more often than the Black targets ($M = 1.40$). For girls, the difference between White ($M = 1.81$) and Black ($M = 2.19$) targets was not significant.

There was also a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 138) = 43.54$, $p < .001$, eta = .49. Overall, children chose the average-size targets ($M = 2.60$) as nice more often than the chubby targets ($M = 1.40$).

New England, United States. (See Table 3.) There was a significant main effect for color, $F(1, 142) = 6.44$, $p < .01$. Overall, children chose the White targets ($M = 2.22$) as nice more often than the Black targets ($M = 1.78$). This main effect was qualified by a significant Grade × Color interaction, $F(1, 142) = 25.27$, $p < .001$, eta = .39. Kindergartners chose the White targets ($M = 2.70$) as nice more often than the Black targets ($M = 1.30$). Fifth/sixth graders, on the other hand, chose the Black targets ($M = 2.20$) as nice more often than the White targets ($M = 1.80$).

TABLE 2
Urban Jamaica: Preferred Targets (Nice, Playmate)

	Black				*White*			
	Average		*Chubby*		*Average*		*Chubby*	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
				Nice				
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	1.07	(0.91)	0.53	(0.68)	1.50	(1.11)	0.90	(0.80)
Girls	1.03	(0.89)	0.80	(0.81)	1.33	(0.96)	0.83	(0.79)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	1.00	(0.82)	0.40	(0.52)	1.10	(1.88)	1.50	(1.08)
Girls	1.38	(0.89)	0.44	(0.63)	1.56	(1.89)	0.63	(0.72)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.64	(0.81)	0.27	(0.64)	2.27	(1.01)	0.82	(0.98)
Girls	0.50	(0.86)	0.94	(1.11)	2.17	(1.12)	0.94	(1.16)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	1.00	(0.85)	0.33	(0.49)	2.17	(1.11)	0.50	(1.17)
Girls	1.53	(0.96)	0.58	(0.77)	1.42	(1.07)	0.48	(0.77)
Total (N = 146)	1.04	(0.92)	0.59	(0.77)	1.56	(1.07)	0.81	(0.92)
				Preferred playmate				
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.30	(0.47)	0.23	(0.43)	0.40	(0.50)	0.07	(0.25)
Girls	0.33	(0.48)	0.13	(0.35)	0.33	(0.48)	0.20	(0.41)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.20	(0.42)	0.20	(0.42)	0.30	(0.48)	0.30	(0.48)
Girls	0.50	(0.52)	0.13	(0.34)	0.31	(0.48)	0.06	(0.25)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.09	(0.30)	0.00	(0.00)	0.73	(0.47)	0.18	(0.41)
Girls	0.11	(0.32)	0.06	(0.24)	0.61	(0.50)	0.22	(0.43)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.42	(0.52)	0.00	(0.00)	0.50	(0.52)	0.08	(0.29)
Girls	0.37	(0.50)	0.00	(0.00)	0.53	(0.51)	0.10	(0.32)
Total (N = 146)	0.30	(0.46)	0.11	(0.31)	0.45	(0.50)	0.14	(0.35)

There was also a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 142) = 27.46$, $p < .001$, eta = .40. Overall, children chose the average-size targets (M = 2.52) as nice more often than the chubby targets (M = 1.48). A significant Grade × Size interaction, $F(1, 142) = 6.04$, $p < .02$, eta = .20, indicated that whereas kindergartners chose the average-size targets (M = 2.74) as nice more often than did the fifth/sixth graders (M = 2.33), fifth/sixth graders chose the chubby targets (M = 1.68) as nice more often than did the kindergartners (M = 1.23).

EXAMINER EFFECTS: STORY TASK: NICE

Rural Jamaica. (See Table 1.) There was an Examiner × Color interaction, $F(1, 107) = 7.20$, $p < .008$, eta = .25. Children interviewed by the Black examiner chose the Black targets (M = 1.98) more often than those interviewed by the White examiner (M= 1.42); children interviewed by the White examiner chose the White targets (M = 2.57) more often than those interviewed by the Black examiner (M = 2.02).

Urban Jamaica. (See Table 2.) There was an Examiner × Color × Size interaction, $F(1, 138) = 7.82$, $p < .006$, eta = .23. Children interviewed by the White examiner chose the

TABLE 3
New England, United States, Preferred Targets (Nice, Preferred Playmate)

	Black				*White*			
	Average		*Chubby*		*Average*		*Chubby*	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
				Nice				
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	1.19	(1.67)	0.24	(0.54)	1.62	(1.02)	0.95	(1.02)
Girls	0.75	(0.72)	0.25	(0.64)	2.20	(1.06)	0.80	(0.95)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	1.20	(0.95)	0.80	(0.62)	1.35	(0.99)	0.65	(0.67)
Girls	1.47	(0.73)	0.70	(0.70)	1.03	(0.96)	0.80	(0.71)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.75	(1.13)	0.63	(0.89)	1.63	(1.26)	1.00	(1.03)
Girls	1.15	(1.35)	0.31	(0.63)	1.62	(1.19)	0.92	(1.44)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	1.20	(1.01)	0.93	(0.88)	0.67	(0.82)	1.20	(0.86)
Girls	1.40	(0.83)	1.20	(1.08)	0.73	(0.70)	0.67	(0.72)
Total (N = 150)	1.16	(0.98)	0.62	(0.79)	1.36	(1.09)	0.86	(0.91)
				Preferred playmate				
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.38	(0.50)	0.00	(0.00)	0.48	(0.51)	0.14	(0.36)
Girls	0.35	(0.49)	0.00	(0.00)	0.50	(0.51)	0.15	(0.37)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.55	(0.51)	0.10	(0.31)	0.30	(0.47)	0.05	(0.22)
Girls	0.70	(0.47)	0.07	(0.25)	0.17	(0.38)	0.07	(0.25)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.13	(0.34)	0.19	(0.40)	0.56	(0.51)	0.13	(0.34)
Girls	0.08	(0.28)	0.08	(0.28)	0.46	(0.46)	0.39	(0.51)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.47	(0.52)	0.13	(0.35)	0.33	(0.48)	0.07	(0.26)
Girls	0.53	(0.52)	0.20	(0.41)	0.27	(0.46)	0.00	(0.00)
Total (N = 150)	0.43	(0.50)	0.09	(0.28)	0.37	(0.48)	0.11	(0.32)

White average target (M = 1.78) as nice more often than the other three targets (Black average, Black chubby, and White chubby: Ms = 0.95, 0.58, and 0.68); children interviewed by the Black examiner chose the White average (M = 1.41) and the Black average (M = 1.10) as nice equally often.

New England, United States. (See Table 3.) There was an Examiner × Size interaction, $F(1, 142) = 4.87$, $p < .03$, eta = .18. Children interviewed by the Black examiner chose the average targets (M = 2.68) more often than the chubby (M = 1.32) and more often than those interviewed by the White examiner (M = 2.27).

PLAYMATE PREFERENCE TASK

A Grade (2) × Gender (2) × Color (2) × Body Size (2) × Examiner (2) ANOVA, with skin color and body size as repeated measures, was used to analyze children's choices of the target figures in response to being asked which target they would like to play with.

Rural Jamaica. (See Table 1.) There was a significant main effect for color, $F(1, 107) = 3.95$, $p < .05$, eta = .19. Overall, children chose the White targets ($M = 0.58$) for preferred playmates more often than the Black targets ($M = 0.42$). A significant Grade × Color interaction, $F(1, 107) = 4.78$, $p < .03$, eta = .21, indicated that fifth/sixth graders chose the White targets ($M = 0.67$) for a preferred playmate more often than the Black targets ($M = 0.33$), while the kindergartners chose the White ($M = 0.48$) and Black targets ($M = 0.52$) equally often.

There was also a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 107) = 15.51$, $p < .001$, eta = .36. Overall, children chose the average-size targets ($M = 0.69$) for preferred playmates more often than the chubby targets ($M = 0.31$). A significant Grade × Size interaction, $F(1, 107) = 11.43$, $p < .001$, eta = .31, indicated that fifth/sixth graders chose the average-size targets ($M = 0.80$) for a preferred playmate significantly more often than the chubby targets ($M = 0.20$), whereas kindergartners chose the average ($M = 0.56$) and chubby ($M = 0.44$) targets equally often. A significant Gender × Size interaction also qualified the main effect, $F(1, 107) = 3.83$, $p < .05$, eta = .19; boys displayed a stronger preference for the average targets ($M = 0.74$) than did girls ($M = 0.64$).

Finally, there was a significant Color × Size interaction, $F(1, 107) = 4.48$, $p < .04$, eta = .20; the White average target ($M = 0.43$) was chosen more often than all the others for a preferred playmate.

Urban Jamaica. (See Table 2.) There was a significant main effect for color, $F(1, 138) = 7.37$, $p < .007$, eta = .23, and a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 138) = 43.03$, $p < .007$, eta = .49. Children chose the White targets ($M = 0.59$) for preferred playmate more often than the Black targets ($M = 0.41$), and they chose the average targets ($M = 0.75$) more often than the chubby ($M = 0.25$).

New England, United States. (See Table 3.) There was a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 142) = 70.07$, $p < .001$, eta = .57. Overall, children chose the average-size targets ($M = 0.80$) for a preferred playmate over the chubby targets ($M = 0.20$). There was also a significant Grade × Color × Size interaction, $F(1, 142) = 4.47$, $p < .04$, eta = .18. Kindergartners chose the White average target ($M = 0.50$) for a preferred playmate significantly more often than the other three targets, whereas fifth/sixth graders chose the Black average target ($M = 0.59$) for a preferred playmate more often than the other three targets.

EXAMINER EFFECTS: PREFERRED PLAYMATE

Rural Jamaica. (See Table 1.) There were no predicted examiner effects.[6]

Urban Jamaica. (See Table 2.) There was an Examiner × Color interaction, $F(1, 138) = 8.18$, $p < .005$, eta = .24. Children interviewed by the White examiner chose the White targets ($M = 0.73$) for a preferred playmate more often than the Black targets ($M = 0.27$); children interviewed by the Black examiner chose the White ($M = 0.49$) and Black ($M = 0.51$) targets equally often. There was also an Examiner × Size interaction, $F(1, 138) = 4.72$, $p < .03$, eta = .18; children interviewed by the White examiner chose the average-size targets ($M = 0.83$) for a preferred playmate more often than did children interviewed by the Black examiner ($M = 0.67$).

TABLE 4
Rural Jamaica: Self-Identification, Ideal Self
(Totals Based on Fifth/Sixth Grade Only)

	Black				*White*			
	Average		*Chubby*		*Average*		*Chubby*	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
Self-identification								
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Girls	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.29	(0.47)	0.21	(0.43)	0.50	(0.52)	0.00	(0.00)
Girls	0.47	(0.51)	0.00	(0.00)	0.41	(0.51)	0.12	(0.33)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.33	(0.49)	0.20	(0.41)	0.27	(0.46)	0.20	(0.41)
Girls	0.11	(0.33)	0.11	(0.33)	0.56	(0.53)	0.22	(0.44)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.58	(0.52)	0.00	(0.00)	0.42	(0.52)	0.00	(0.00)
Girls	0.61	(0.50)	0.33	(0.49)	0.00	(0.00)	0.06	(0.24)
Total ($N = 61$)	0.49	(0.50)	0.15	(0.36)	0.31	(0.47)	0.05	(0.22)
Ideal self								
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Girls	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.14	(0.36)	0.00	(0.00)	0.36	(0.50)	0.50	(0.52)
Girls	0.41	(0.51)	0.00	(0.00)	0.41	(0.51)	0.18	(0.39)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.20	(0.41)	0.13	(0.35)	0.33	(0.49)	0.33	(0.49)
Girls	0.00	(0.00)	0.67	(0.50)	0.22	(0.44)	0.11	(0.33)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.50	(0.52)	0.00	(0.00)	0.33	(0.49)	0.17	(0.39)
Girls	0.28	(0.46)	0.06	(0.24)	0.44	(0.51)	0.22	(0.43)
Total ($N = 61$)	0.33	(0.47)	0.02	(0.13)	0.39	(0.49)	0.26	(0.44)

New England, United States. (See Table 3.) There was a significant Examiner × Size × Color interaction of borderline significance, $F(1, 142) = 3.44$, $p < .06$, eta = .18. Children interviewed by the Black examiner chose the Black average-size target ($M = 0.52$) more frequently than did children interviewed by the White examiner ($M = .30$), and they chose the Black average more frequently than the White average target ($M = 0.34$, $p < .07$).

PERSONAL BODY ATTITUDES: SELF-IDENTIFICATION

Rural Jamaica. (See Table 4.) Because kindergartners in rural Jamaica were tested only by the White examiner on the personal body attitudes tasks (self-identification and ideal self), an analysis of their responses might reflect examiner rather than grade effects. Thus, we present only the results for the fifth/sixth graders from rural Jamaica.

For the fifth/sixth graders, there was a significant main effect for color, $F(1, 57) = 4.54$, $p < .04$, eta = .27. Overall, fifth/sixth graders identified themselves as looking like the Black targets ($M = 0.64$) more often than the White targets ($M = 0.36$).

TABLE 5
Urban Jamaica: Self-Identification, Ideal Self

	Black				*White*			
	Average		*Chubby*		*Average*		*Chubby*	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
Self-identification								
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.27	(0.46)	0.33	(0.49)	0.20	(0.41)	0.20	(0.41)
Girls	0.27	(0.46)	0.33	(0.49)	0.33	(0.49)	0.07	(0.26)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.50	(0.53)	0.30	(0.48)	0.10	(0.32)	0.10	(0.32)
Girls	0.88	(0.34)	0.06	(0.25)	0.06	(0.25)	0.00	(0.00)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.55	(0.52)	0.00	(0.00)	0.18	(0.41)	0.27	(0.47)
Girls	0.33	(0.49)	0.22	(0.43)	0.28	(0.46)	0.17	(0.38)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.75	(0.45)	0.25	(0.45)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Girls	0.74	(0.45)	0.21	(0.42)	0.05	(0.23)	0.00	(0.00)
Total (N = 116)	0.53	(0.50)	0.22	(0.41)	0.16	(0.36)	0.09	(0.29)
Ideal self								
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.13	(0.35)	0.13	(0.35)	0.33	(0.49)	0.40	(0.51)
Girls	0.53	(0.52)	0.13	(0.35)	0.27	(0.46)	0.07	(0.26)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.50	(0.53)	1.00	(0.32)	0.30	(0.48)	0.10	(0.31)
Girls	0.63	(0.50)	0.06	(0.25)	0.31	(0.48)	0.00	(0.00)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.36	(0.51)	0.18	(0.41)	0.27	(0.47)	0.18	(0.41)
Girls	0.39	(0.50)	0.00	(0.00)	0.39	(0.50)	0.22	(0.43)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.75	(0.45)	0.00	(0.00)	0.25	(0.45)	0.00	(0.00)
Girls	0.74	(0.45)	0.05	(0.23)	0.21	(0.42)	0.00	(0.00)
Total (N = 116)	0.51	(0.50)	0.08	(0.27)	0.29	(0.46)	0.12	(0.33)

There was also a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 57) = 41.26$, $p < .001$, eta = .65. Children identified themselves as looking like the average-size targets ($M = .80$) more often than the chubby targets ($M = .20$).

Urban Jamaica. (See Table 5.) Of the 87 urban Jamaican kindergartners, 15 boys and 15 girls were not examined for personal body attitudes. Data from the remaining 57 kindergartners were included in the following analyses.

There was a significant main effect for color, $F(1, 108) = 41.25$, $p < .001$, eta = .53. Overall, children identified themselves as looking like the Black targets ($M = 0.75$) more often than the White targets ($M = 0.25$). This main effect is qualified by a significant Grade × Color interaction, $F(1, 108) = 20.03$, $p < .001$, eta = .39. Although fifth/sixth graders chose the Black targets ($M = 0.93$) more often than the White targets ($M = 0.07$), kindergartners chose the Black ($M = 0.57$) and White ($M = 0.43$) targets equally often.

There was also a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 108) = 18.20$ $p < .001$, eta = .38. Overall, children identified themselves as looking like the average-size targets ($M = 0.69$) more often than the chubby targets ($M = 0.31$). Qualifying this main effect was a significant

Grade × Color × Size interaction, $F(1, 108) = 5.71$, $p < .05$, eta = .22. Fifth/sixth graders chose the Black average target ($M = 0.74$) as looking like themselves significantly more often than all the other targets. Kindergartners, on the other hand, chose all four targets equally often.

New England, United States. (See Table 6.) There was a significant main effect for Color, $F(1, 142) = 1{,}624.97$, $p < .001$, eta = .96. Overall, children identified themselves as looking like the White targets ($M = 0.98$) more often than the Black ($M = .02$).

There was also a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 142) = 161.84$, $p < .001$, eta = .73. Overall, children identified themselves as looking like the average-size targets ($M = 0.86$) more often than the chubby ($M = .14$). Qualifying this main effect was a significant Grade × Color × Size interaction, $F(1, 142) = 14.32$, $p < .001$, eta = .30. Although all children identified themselves as the White average target more often than the other three targets, the fifth/sixth graders identified themselves as the White average ($M = 0.95$) target more often than did the kindergartners ($M = 0.74$).

EXAMINER EFFECTS: SELF-IDENTIFICATION

Rural Jamaica. (See Table 4.) Considering only the fifth/sixth graders, there was a significant Examiner × Color interaction, $F(1, 57) = 5.67$, $p < .02$, eta = .30. Those interviewed by the White examiner identified themselves as Black ($M = 0.80$) more often than as White ($M = 0.20$), whereas those interviewed by the Black examiner identified themselves as White ($M = 0.51$) and Black ($M = 0.49$) equally often.

Urban Jamaica. There were no examiner effects for self-identification.

New England, United States. There were no examiner effects for self-identification.

PERSONAL BODY ATTITUDES: IDEAL SELF

Rural Jamaica. (See Table 4.) Kindergartners were not examined for this variable. For fifth/sixth graders, there was a significant main effect for color $F(1, 57) = 6.18$, $p < .05$, eta = .31. The White targets ($M = 0.66$) were chosen as ideal more often than the Black targets ($M = 0.34$).

For fifth/sixth graders, there was also a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 57) = 14.55$, $p < .001$, eta = .45. The average targets ($M = 0.72$) were chosen as ideal more often than the chubby targets ($M = 0.28$).

Urban Jamaica. (See Table 5.) There was a significant Grade × Color interaction, $F(1, 108) = 7.01$, $p < .009$, eta = .25; fifth/sixth graders chose the Black targets ($M = 0.71$) as ideal more often than the White targets ($M = 0.28$). Kindergartners, on the other hand, chose the Black ($M = 0.46$) and White ($M = 0.54$) targets equally often.

There was a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 108) = 68.43$ $p < .001$, eta = .62; overall, children chose the average-size targets ($M = 0.80$) as ideal more often than the chubby targets ($M = 0.20$). There was also a significant Grade × Size interaction, $F(1{,}108) = 12.33$, $p < .001$, eta = .32; fifth/sixth graders chose the average-size targets ($M = 0.93$) as ideal more often than did the kindergartners ($M = 0.68$), while kindergartners chose the chubby targets

TABLE 6
New England: Self-Identification, Ideal Self

	Black				*White*			
	Average		*Chubby*		*Average*		*Chubby*	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
Self-identification								
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.00	(0.00)	0.05	(0.22)	0.81	(0.40)	0.14	(0.36)
Girls	0.05	(0.22)	0.00	(0.00)	0.80	(0.41)	0.15	(0.37)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.95	(0.22)	0.05	(0.22)
Girls	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.93	(0.25)	0.07	(0.25)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.06	(0.25)	0.00	(0.00)	0.69	(0.48)	0.25	(0.45)
Girls	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.62	(0.51)	0.39	(0.51)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	1.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Girls	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.93	(0.26)	0.07	(0.26)
Total (N = 150)	0.01	(0.12)	0.01	0.08	0.85	(0.35)	0.13	(0.33)
Ideal self								
Black experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.38	(0.50)	0.05	(0.22)	0.52	(0.51)	0.05	(0.22)
Girls	0.35	(0.49)	0.05	(0.22)	0.40	(0.50)	0.20	(0.41)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.20	(0.41)	0.00	(0.00)	0.80	(0.41)	0.00	(0.00)
Girls	0.37	(0.49)	0.00	(0.00)	0.60	(0.50)	0.03	(0.18)
White experimenter								
Kindergarten boys	0.19	(0.40)	0.06	(0.25)	0.50	(0.52)	0.25	(0.45)
Girls	0.31	(0.48)	0.00	(0.00)	0.46	(0.52)	0.23	(0.44)
Fifth-/sixth-grade boys	0.13	(0.35)	0.00	(0.00)	0.80	(0.41)	0.07	(0.26)
Girls	0.27	(0.46)	0.00	(0.00)	0.60	(0.51)	0.13	(0.35)
Total (N = 150)	0.29	(0.45)	0.02	(0.14)	0.59	(0.49)	0.11	(0.31)

as ideal (M = 0.32) more often than did the fifth/sixth graders (M = 0.07). There was also a significant Gender × Size interaction, $F(1, 108) = 3.83$, $p < .05$, eta = .18. Girls (M = 0.87) chose the average-size targets as ideal more often than boys (M = 0.71), whereas boys (M = 0.29) chose the chubby targets as ideal more often than did girls (M = 0.13). Finally, there was a significant Color × Size interaction, $F(1, 108) = 7.09$, $p < .01$, eta = .25. Children chose the Black average target (M = 0.51) as ideal more often than all the other targets.

New England, United States. (See Table 6.) There was a significant main effect for color, $F(1, 142) = 27.80$, $p < .001$, eta = .40. Overall, children chose the White targets as ideal (M = 0.70) more often than the Black targets (M = 0.30).

There was also a significant main effect for size, $F(1, 142) = 173.56$, $p < .001$, eta = .74. Overall, children chose the average-size targets as ideal (M = 0.87) more often than the chubby targets (M = 0.13). In addition, there was a significant Grade × Color × Size interaction, $F(1, 142) = 5.29$, $p < .02$, eta = .19. Fifth/sixth graders chose the White average target as ideal (M = 0.69) more often than the White chubby (M = .05) and the Black average (M = 0.26). Kindergartners also chose the White average (M= 0.48) more often than the White chubby (M = .17), but White average and Black average (M = 0.30) targets were chosen

equally often. Fifth/sixth graders also chose the White average as ideal ($M = 0.69$) more often than did the kindergartners ($M = 0.48$).

EXAMINER EFFECTS: IDEAL SELF

There were no examiner effects for rural or urban Jamaica or for New England, United States.

DISCUSSION

This study investigated the attitudes of White North American and Black Jamaican (rural and urban) children toward others and self, based on differences in skin color and body size. As predicted, we found White favoritism and average body size favoritism were manifest both by White New England and Black Jamaican children, whether from rural or urban communities.

Self-identification. New England children correctly identified themselves as White (effect size = .96), and rural and urban Jamaican children correctly identified themselves as Black (effect sizes = .27 and .53). Whereas 100% of the New England fifth/sixth graders and 93% of the urban Jamaican fifth/sixth graders made a correct self-identification, only 64% of the rural fifth-/sixth-grade Jamaican children did so. Among kindergartners, 96% of the New England, 57% of the urban Jamaican, and 38% of the rural Jamaican (White examiner only) children made a correct racial self-identification. Thus, it appears that Black Jamaican children do not develop a clear racial identity as early as do White New England children. Children from all three locations self-identified as being of average body size, rather than chubby, and the effect sizes are quite large (.65, .38, and .75). Again, however, there are age effects; it is the older children who are more likely to self-identify as average size.

In considering choices for an ideal self, in all three locations, children chose an average body size as ideal, with large effect sizes (.45, .62, and .74). Older children were more likely to show size bias (urban Jamaica and New England). White color favoritism was found in New England and older rural Jamaicans,[7] whereas older urban Jamaicans showed Black color favoritism.

The self-identification of a sizable number of young Black children as being White raises interesting questions. One possibility is that this is a cognitive problem—either these children do not know what they look like and/or they lack racial constancy. Although we do not have evidence in this sample for the conservation status of the kindergartners, and some have argued that this concept should be modified for non-Western cultures (e.g., Dasen & de Ribaupierre, 1987; Greenfield, 2000), studies of children of this age in Western cultures suggest that the kindergartners may lack conservation ability. If so, then a possible explanation for the absence of own-group identification among the younger Jamaicans may be the absence of racial and body size constancy.

Alternatively, they may use other characteristics, such as activities, to judge similarity to another. Thus, if Black children can act like White children, they may say they *are* like White children (Aboud, 1987). Another possibility is that young Black children's self-identification as White may represent what they *want* to look like, rather than what they actually look like, in keeping with the fantasy that change is possible (Ramsey, 1987; Vaughan, 1987). As discussed by Aboud (1987), until age 6 or 7, Black children in her research believed they could

become White if they really wanted to. This possibility is supported in the present study by the finding that when asked about their ideal self, urban Jamaican kindergartners chose the White figure as often as they chose the Black figure, and rural Jamaicans chose the White figure more often than the Black.[8] Yet another possibility is that our Black/White categorization is inadequate for assessing racial identity in a population in which this identity is based on a continuum, rather than a dichotomy.

Preference. Across all three locations, children's preference favored the White and the average-size target figures. However, these general findings are qualified by age, gender, and examiner skin color. In New England, kindergartners preferred the White and average-size figures, whereas fifth-/sixth-grade children preferred the Black and chubby figures. Rural Jamaican kindergartners did not show color or size bias, but by fifth/sixth grade, rural children manifest both White and average body size favoritism. Furthermore, in both rural and urban Jamaica, boys were largely responsible for the preference for White targets as nice. Rural boys also showed a greater preference for the average-size targets as a playmate, as compared to the girls.

Population principles alone cannot explain these results. Although homogeneity and majority might explain the White children's pro-White favoritism, it cannot explain the pro-White favoritism of both groups of Jamaican children. Similarly, whereas low distinctiveness might explain the absence of bias in young Jamaican children, it cannot account for the presence of bias in the young White children. These principles also cannot account for age differences in racial or size bias.

Nor are principles based only on cognitive development sufficient. Although positive attitudes toward out-groups increase with age for the rural Jamaican and New England children, this does not occur with the urban Jamaican children. Furthermore, body size bias increases with age in rural Jamaican children but reverses in older New England children. However, as suggested above, if younger Black Jamaicans have less racial constancy, as seen in their self-identification results, this could affect their preference choices; if they do not clearly differentiate between Black and White, then their preference choices would not be biased. This possibility is supported by previous research (Aboud & Doyle, 1995) showing that Black favoritism was weaker in Black children who lacked racial constancy, a capacity that was not yet clearly established among the kindergarten children.

Overall, it would appear that social learning factors, in conjunction with cognitive development, best explain both the racial and body size biases displayed by these children. Young rural Jamaican children are less aware of the social significance attached to skin color; thus, they display no bias. However, the greater exposure to stereotyping in young urban Jamaican children and young White New England children produces negative attitudes toward dark skin color. Subsequent exposure to biased attitudes continues the pro-White favoritism for older urban Jamaicans and fosters it in the older rural Jamaican children. In contrast, further social learning in the older New England children reverses the pro-White to a pro-Black favoritism. These children either have modified their responses in accord with social desirability or they have changed their personal beliefs as a result of cognitive development and/or education.

Social learning factors are also likely to explain the body size findings. Until rural Jamaican children are exposed to the "thin is beautiful" message from North American media, they do not discriminate against chubby body size. With some media exposure, this bias against chubbiness develops in rural Jamaican children. In New England and urban Jamaica, young children have earlier exposure to the media message and thus demonstrate a negative bias

against chubbiness. However, older New England children show a reverse in body size bias, as they did for skin color bias, likely for the same social learning reasons.

The finding that Jamaican boys, both rural and urban, were more likely to display racial bias than girls may in part reflect the raising the color issue discussed earlier. However, previous research has also found greater racial bias among adult men (Hoxter & Lester, 1994; Qualls, Cox, & Schehr, 1992). At least with adults, this gender difference has been suggested as being due to males' having greater awareness of the White male power structure, whereas females have a more tolerant and nurturing nature. Gender differences in the expression of bias have also been previously found with children (Powlishta et al., 1994).

EXAMINER EFFECTS

Finally, we consider the effect of examiner identity on children's responses. We would expect that if there are to be examiner effects, these would occur in connection with the children's skin color choices. We do find such effects for skin color preference, where children matched their choices to examiner skin color. Thus, for preference measures, social desirability—that is, pleasing the examiner—seems a likely explanation of the examiner-determined differences.

However, with the exception of older rural Jamaican children, self-identification and ideal self choices were unaffected by examiner racial identity. Older rural Jamaican children who were interviewed by the White examiner identified themselves as Black more often than White, whereas those with a Black examiner identified themselves as Black or White equally often. It is unlikely that this is due to the children's believing that White people from the United States consider all Black people to be Black because rural Jamaican 11-year olds are not aware of White American attitudes, and Jamaican Whites know and use the color gradations as well as Jamaican Blacks (M. Anderson, personal communication, July 16, 2001). Rather, the finding suggests that the distinctiveness of the White examiner highlights the importance of perceptual cues; in contrast to the White examiner, the children were more likely to see themselves as Black. These perceptual cues are not made salient with the Black examiner, and so the issue of being Black or White is determined less by skin color than by other factors, such as status or position in the community, as well as wishful thinking.

One of the more curious findings of this study is that examiner skin color affected children's attitudes toward body size. Although the examiners were of average body size and could not be considered chubby, their racial identity influenced children's body size responses. Black Jamaican children interviewed by the White examiner, and White New England children interviewed by the Black examiner, showed a greater preference for average body size.

In earlier studies, it was suggested that the less biased attitudes of older children, especially when tested by an other-group adult, were due to social desirability responding (e.g., Aboud & Skerry, 1984). More recently, however, the focus has been on older children acquiring personal attitudes that run counter to prejudice (Doyle et al., 1988). Although this explanation of out-group favoritism may be accurate for White New England children, it may not be accurate for Black Jamaican children. Older Black children may show out-group—that is, White—preference not because they have learned about prejudice but rather because they have learned that Whiteness is in fact associated with the positive characteristics of status, power, and wealth. Thus, whereas in the broadest sense social learning explains age differences in racial preference, the particular preference expressed is clearly a function of existing social factors.

Finally, several limitations of the present study should be noted. The use of a forced-choice method did not allow for a "none" response, meaning that the children were required to display some favoritism in their responses (Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2001). The use of a continuous rating scale might be one solution to this issue, although such rating scales may not be appropriate for very young children. Also, the use of figure drawings may be less likely to elicit attitudes about real people than the use of colored photographs, although in the latter case, issues of comparable attractiveness must be considered. In addition, the effect of examiner skin color was confounded with ethnicity. Conceivably, Black North American and White Jamaican examiners might have produced different effects.

The findings regarding the attitudes of White children are obviously limited to those of children residing in a small New England town; however, they are generally consistent with those reported from another similar town (Ramsey, 1991). More important, there is no reason to think that the attitudes expressed by these children are unique, as they are entirely consistent with those repeatedly reported in the literature for more than 60 years (e.g., Aboud, 1987; K. B. Clark & Clark, 1947; Katz, 1987). In a similar vein, the rural Jamaican children in the study came from one particular area of the country. The social customs of this area may be somewhat different from those of other rural areas. However, disposition toward chubbiness and limited access to media are generally characteristic of rural Jamaica; in this sense, our sample is representative of rural Jamaican children.

It is also unlikely that the age differences found in the White sample represent cohort differences because similar age differences have continued to appear over several generations of White children. However, for the Jamaican sample, cohort effects should not be ruled out, inasmuch as rural Jamaican children tested in 1983 were found to express more positive attitudes toward Blackness than did children tested in 1977 (Bagley & Young, 1988), possibly due to the rise of the Black Power movement during that time. Katz (1987) also noted that the extent of other-group preference in North American minority children seemed to be decreasing, as compared to earlier samples.

As a final point, principles used to explain children's racial or body size bias in North American White society are likely to be different from those that explain children's biases in Black societies. Furthermore, even when the same principle is invoked, it may lead to different outcomes in different societies, as in the case of social learning leading to decreased out-group bias in White children but increased out-group favoritism in Black children.

NOTES

1. Over 90% belong to the Black racial group, according to *The World Factbook* (2000).

2. Although there is also a population of poor people in the urban area of Kingston, the schools that we visited were from the middle-class area of St. Andrew.

3. The term *middle class* refers to standing in Jamaican society and not to North American categories.

4. Names and terms were modified to be appropriate to the social group. For Jamaica, the names for this story were Marie and Jackie, and the word 'biscuits' was substituted for 'cookies.'

5. Because the *n*s of the separate participant groups vary, and thus their contribution to the overall mean is weighted, the composite means reported in the text (e.g., choice of White target, by all rural boys) may differ slightly from the mean of the means given in each table.

6. There was an Examiner × Grade × Gender × Target Size interaction, $F(1, 107) = 5.68$, $p < .02$, eta = .22. Kindergarten boys interviewed by the White examiner chose the average-size targets ($M = 0.80$) for a preferred playmate more often than the chubby targets ($M = 0.20$), whereas kindergarten boys interviewed by the Black examiner chose the average ($M = 0.50$) and chubby ($M = 0.50$) targets equally often.

7. Rural kindergartners were not examined for this variable.

8. Because the White kindergartners chose Black as frequently as White for an ideal self, this suggests the interesting possibility that young White children may believe they could become Black, if they wanted to.

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