

**A STUDY
OF
CHILDREN IN CHILDCARE PROGRAMS
PERCEPTION OF RACE
AND RACE RELATED ISSUES**

**Submitted to
THE MUNICIPALITY OF
METROPOLITAN TORONTO
CHILDREN SERVICES AND
MULTICULTURAL & RACE RELATIONS DIVISIONS**

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ABSTRACT

A group of boys, 4 year-olds, (two White and one Chinese) were pretending to be bus drivers. They need the chairs that the dolls were sitting on. The two White boys picked up the dolls and said "What should we do with them?" The other boy said "Let's sell them." Both boys laughed. One threw the doll in the corner and the other boy did the same.

Girl: (4 years, chooses the Asian doll) She comes from a different country but I still like her.

Child: I once watched a boy that was Black steal some chocolate off the table and when I see those kinds of boys, I don't like them.

Given the orientation towards multiculturalism in Canadian society, pre-schools, like other institutions, have tended to embed race and corresponding issues in the discussion of culture rather than treating them as separate but interconnected factors. Often in the discussion culture tends to be treated as important values and patterns of behaviour from a country of ethnic or national origin rather than that which has been developed out of, and in response to their Canadian situation. In other words, the culture of minorities tends to be seen as "foreign" or "add-on" rather than an integral part of our Canadian culture.

In order to meet the developmental needs of all children in the pre-school community the issue of race must be addressed directly. Research has repeatedly demonstrated that children are aware of the identity of their own and other racial groups as early as the age of 3 years. These research have also shown that a significant number of 3 year-olds of all races assign the same social value to racial groups as established by the society in which they live (Derman-Sparks, Higa & Sparks, 1980; Milne, 1975).

This investigation sought to obtain information on how children of a variety of racial backgrounds perceive race and issues related to racism. The aim was largely to gather information from children between the ages of 3 and 10 years who participate in childcare programs. Particular attention was paid to those children who are in centres directly operated, and whose services are purchased by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. This investigation was undertaken for the express purpose of providing information for the forum, Towards A New Response: Race Relations in Childcare Programs and is intended

for the exclusive use by participants of this forum in order to stimulate discussion.

This investigation was designed to encourage children to disclose their thinking and feelings about the issue of race. Sixty-nine (69) children (twenty 3-5 year-olds and forty-four 6-10 year-olds) participated in this study. The children were from various racial and ethnic backgrounds including Blacks, Whites, Chinese, East Indian, Philipino and racially mixed (Black and White).

In the findings, we present the children's comments and behaviours. The report is organized around issues related to self-concept, appreciation and acceptance of others; reflection of others; and stereotyping.

Observation reveals that three-year old children do not show any reluctance to play with dolls that are of a different race or colour. In contrast, children of ages four to five are aware of, and inhibited by, people of a different race and background to their own. The older children either made derogatory comments about people with dark complexion or they threw the African dolls aside and refused to play with them.

Female children in the five year old age group said that colour did not matter, but at no time in the study did male children indicate that colour did not matter. However, in all the incidents where negative comments were made, as in the incidents when the children said that she did not like Black boys, they were made by White female children.

A general observation was that children in this age group showed discomfort with talking about race specific issues with regard to interpersonal relations, or self-cognition. For example, very few responses were obtained from discussion exploring their thoughts or feelings of being "different," or Black or "Chinese." They could state clearly, I am Chinese, I am Philipino, I am Black, but couldn't go beyond the statement of the concrete description to say being Chinese/Black/White make me feel.... While the children did not verbalize their feelings, the effects of having to talk about race was evident in their behaviours.

Given the number of racial and ethnic variables present in the Metropolitan Toronto daycare population, the study team would like to point to the need for well designed Canadian research on children's understanding of race as well as the impact of racism on their formulation of self concepts. The team recommends the use of more traditional investigation formats as well as the considerable groundwork that must be done to increase the comfort level of involved adults with this type of research.

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INTRODUCTION

This project sought to obtain information on how children of a variety of racial backgrounds perceive race and issues related to racism. The aim was largely to gather information from children between the ages of 3 and 10 years who participate in childcare programs. Particular attention was paid to those children who are in centres directly operated, and whose services are purchased by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. This investigation was undertaken for the express purpose of providing information for the forum, Towards A New Response: Race Relations in Childcare Programs and is intended for the exclusive use by participants of this forum in order to stimulate discussion.

This study is an exploratory investigation and does not presume to follow rigorous research methodology. The data is a collection of observations and responses gathered from children through activities presented to them as a part of their normal daycare program. Any inferences, analyses, conclusions, or criticisms of Metropolitan Toronto childcare programs or personnel, that use this data as its basis is at least presumptuous and, at worst, irresponsible and detrimental to the progress of anti-racist pre-school education.

BACKGROUND

One of the most remarkable discoveries ...is precisely how early in a child's life he or she begins to develop racial awareness. By this is meant an awareness of differences, between racial groups, the ability to recognize and label these differences, and also to identify oneself in racial terms. (Milner, 1975:80)

While we are less than a decade away from the turn of the century and more than one hundred years beyond the legal end of slavery in Canada, childcare workers are still grappling with fundamental issues around the impact of racism on young children.

Given the orientation towards multiculturalism in Canadian society, pre-schools, like other institutions, have tended to embed race and corresponding issues in the discussion of culture rather than treating them as separate but interconnected factors. Often in the discussion culture tends to be treated as important values and patterns of behaviour from a country of ethnic or national origin rather than that which has been developed out of, and in response to their Canadian situation. In other words, the culture of minorities tends to be seen as "foreign" or "add-on" rather than an integral part of our Canadian culture.

In order to meet the developmental needs of all children in the pre-school community, the issue of race must be addressed directly. For as Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks (1980) point out,

A considerable body of research demonstrates that children in the U.S. are aware, at a very early age, of physical and cultural differences among people, and they learn the prevailing social attitudes toward these differences whether or not they are in direct contact with people different from themselves (p.3).

In writing about the stage at which racial differences begin to be recognized by children, Milne (1975) note that:

A number of studies have identified this phase in children from three to five years old. The lower limit of this phase has not been firmly established but it is clear that for some children it begins at a very early age..... In an early study, (Kenneth Moreland) found that this ability to recognize racial differences improved rapidly over the period from three to six years, the improvement being most marked in the fourth year. And in a later study, he found patterns of self-identification in three-year-old children which did not differ significantly from those of older children, suggesting that they were already well established at this age (p.80).

Researchers have also pointed out that racism has an effect on children's development of self-concepts. For example, Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks (1980) reported that:

While all children seem to experience the task of learning about identity and about racism, we found differences in the focus of their observations and questions. For children from oppressed racial/cultural groups, the order of concern seems to be: 1) questions about one's own identity; 2) questions about racism and about whites; and 3) questions about other groups. For white children, the order seems to be: 1) questions about people of color; 2) comments which reflect stereotypic or negative attitudes; and 3) questions about their own racial/cultural identity. In general, then,

it appears that in dealing with white children, facilitating accurate knowledge about others and anti-racist attitudes have priority; with Third World children, facilitating accurate knowledge and pride in one's identity, as well as providing tools to combat the racism on the individual, would have priority. This does not imply that Third World children do not learn stereotyped information and prejudice toward other groups; nor does it imply that white children do not learn about their own identity (pp.45).

METHODOLOGY

This investigation was designed to encourage children to disclose their thinking and feelings about the issue of race. Sixty-nine (69) children (twenty 3-5 year-olds and forty-four 6-10 year-olds) participated in this study. The children were from various racial and ethnic backgrounds including Blacks, Whites, Chinese, East Indian, Philipino and racially mixed (Black and White).

Several observation methods and activities were used to obtain information related to the children's expressions of attitudes, beliefs about, and experiences with race. They include:

- (a) dramatic play activities;
- (b) block area activities; and
- (c) story-telling and discussion.

The props which were used, included dolls representing various racial groups -- viz. Whites, Asian, Aborigines, Blacks, males and females. The book which was read or story told, contained items relating to people of various racial groups.

While the regular class teachers were always present to conduct the activities, two observers who were members of the research team, were responsible for overseeing the research aspects of the activities. The observers were responsible for recording the interactions between the children and the teacher, the children and the dolls and with other children. Notes were taken of the behaviour gestures and changes both in orientation and position; facial expressions, interruptions, changes in play materials, and entry and exit of children to the play, etc. The verbal exchanges were recorded by audiotape. The observers were persons familiar with the daycare setting and activities and

trained in Early Childhood Education.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

On Self-Concept

Art Area: The children were given cut-out of bodies and the teacher instructed them to colour and dress "the people"

Teacher: (to Girl 1) Why did you choose that colour (peach) for your person?

Girl 1: (*White*) I'm this colour.

Girl 2: (*White*) (colours her picture brown)

Teacher: (to Girl 3) Why did you use that colour(peach)?

Girl 3: (*mixed--Black and White*) I like it.

After reading a story about difference, teasing and a child's exclusion from his group, the teacher asked the children (7-9 year-olds) to talk about their experiences. Initially, children were hesitant to talk about themselves. However, once the first child described her difference as being Black, then others felt more comfortable in identifying their differences in terms of race or ethnicity. Their comments were:

Child #1: (*male, 8 yrs.*) I know, I am Chinese (giggle).

Child #2: (*Black female, 9 yrs.*) I am Black and the other kids in my class are Chinese and some are White, but I don't care.

Teacher: Well ... do the kids tease you about being Black like the kids in this story were teasing Chibi?

Child #2: Sometimes, the kids like to call you names ... Some kids stand in the corridor, right outside Mrs.? door, shaking their hands in each others face and saying words like dummy,. and shouting out real loud.

Teacher: How do you feel when the children are teasing you?

Child #3: (*Chinese male, 7 yrs.*) It made me feel like punching him in the face.

Child #4: (*Philipino female, 7 yrs.*) It hurt your feelings when people call you names.

Child #2: (*Black female, 9 yrs.*) I don't like it when people call me names.

Teacher: What do you do when other kids call you names?

Child #2: (*Black female, 9 yrs.*) I can call them names too.

Child #3: (*Chinese male, 7 yrs.*) I tell them that it is not nice to call names.

The children (6-9 year-olds) were told that they had some new dolls in the Centre and were welcome to play with them.

Child #1: (*Black female, 8 yrs.*) takes up the Asian girl doll, hugs her, pats her back and comments to Child #2 (*Asian*) that she is very pretty. Shows the doll and says that the doll is her daughter.

Child #2: (*Oriental female, 7 yrs.*) takes up the male oriental doll and looks him over. Moves over to the corner with Child #1.

Child #3: (*White female, 10 yrs.*) takes up one of the black dolls, says how nice it smells, takes it over to the teacher and offers her to smell it. Teacher comments that it smells like baby powder.

Child #3: (*White female, 10 yrs.*) plays with doll for a few seconds then drops it and moves to another activity.

Teacher comments on whether the fall might be painful to the doll. The child does not look around and continues on to a new part of the Centre.

Child #4: (*White female, 7 yrs.*) wants to play with a doll. Only the Black doll is lying on the couch now. She looks around and comments "no dolls". Teacher remarks there is a "new" doll on the couch (it was taken from the floor earlier). The child shows no interest and goes over to play with toys at the sink.

Child #1: (*Black female, 8 yrs.*) continues playing with Asian doll, gives it to teacher as she leaves and said, "Take care of her for me."

Child #5: (*Black female, 8 yrs.*) takes Asian doll from the teacher. Cuddles it, plays with the hair. Smoothing and says how shiny it is. Moves away with doll, playing.

Child #4: (*White female, 8 yrs.*) picks up girl Asian doll which was just put down by Child #3. She covers her with a shawl, commenting, "I am a princess and this is my baby."

Child #6: (*Chinese boy, 8 yrs.*) New child enters Drama Centre, browses around and leaves.

Child #7: (*Black, 8 yrs.*) Takes up smaller Asian dolly. "I am a mommy today, and this is my baby." She held the doll momentarily, then arranges it on the couch, with other dolls.

Child #8: (*Black female, 8 yrs.*) Chooses the black boy doll. She plays with it momentarily, then replaces it and takes up the Asian girl doll now lying on the couch.

In admiring the doll she said "She's really pretty." Observer asked what she likes about the doll. Child: "Her hair is pretty and shiny and smooth and I like how she looks. She is pretty."

Child #9: (*Black female, 8 yrs.*) enters Drama Centre. Shows no interest in the children playing with the dolls at first. She goes to the kitchen area of the Centre and comes back to the Central area and joins the two other children playing with cabbage patch, white and Asian dolls. The newcomer takes up the female Asian doll, cuddles it and begins to adjust her clothing.

Comparisons With Other Groups

Two White 4-year old female children entered the 'house area'; there were 4 boys closeby in the 'creative area'. The boys had turned the centre into a make-believe car. The boys asked the girls if they "want to go to drive." The girls said they had to put the "babies to bed." One of the girls folded the blankets and placed them into the cradle. A boy opened the cupboard and placed the chairs in front of the cupboard.

Girl 1: Who gets to go in the car?

Girl 2: (pointing to a black doll and a native doll) This little girl and this boy, even though he's black.

Girl 1: It doesn't matter

Girl 2: (looking directly at observer, a Black woman, picked up both the Native and the black doll and put them in the chair.)

Choosing among people with the nicest/ugliest or funniest characteristics (children 8-10 years old)

Children were shown pictures of a variety of hairstyles worn by people of different races and asked to select which were the nicest or funniest hairstyle. Of 10 children in this particular group, 10 choose hairstyles worn by White characteristics as nicest. Seven chose the threaded braids worn by a Black woman as funniest. They also attributed qualities to it as "spikey", "like worms". There was giggling and embarrassment among the black children. Three thought the hairstyle worn by an American Indian looking person as funniest.

The children were next presented with an array of faces from different racial groups and asked to choose the nicest and funniest noses and lips. White characters with small pointed noses were chosen as the nicest noses and large/long crooked noses were identified as the funniest/ugliest. The funniest noses were portrayed on characters with "brown" skin tones.

In selecting the funniest pair of lips, the children were unanimous in their choice of large lips portrayed on the Black character. Although there were dark-skinned characters with small thin lips, they unanimously chose thin/small lips portrayed on white-skinned characters.

Children were then presented with an array of faces from different racial groups and asked to choose the prettiest/ugliest faces. Ten out of 10 children chose the faces of white characters as prettiest. Though not the same white person, the choice was consistently between two white characters. The ugliest faces were identified as particular representation of Asian features (6) followed by Black faces (4).

This choice pattern was replicated in their choice of beautiful versus ugly faces. Both Black and White children chose the white characters as having the most beautiful faces (10 out of 10). They saw the ugliest/funniest faces as being Asian (6) followed by Black faces (4).

Preference for discrete features such as noses and lips was more ambivalent. Although the white characters with small pointed noses were chosen most frequently as the nicest, the long crooked noses chosen as the funniest/ugliest were portrayed by characters with "brown as well as white skin tones."

There was definite reflection among both White and Black children of the larger lips of the black characters (9 out of 10) and preference for the thin, small lips shown by white skinned characters (10/10). It is important to note that there were white characters with large, full lips and black characters with thin, small lips but children chose the white characters with thin lips as nicest and rejected the black characters with large, full lips as ugliest.

Dolls available for play in the Drama Centre represented 3 racial groups: Asian, Black and White. Three groups of children varying in number from 2-4 on different occasions played in the Centre during the observation period. The Asian doll was chosen most frequently - six out of nine children played with the Asian dolls for at least 3 minutes, next in frequency of play was the white doll (4) and least frequent was the Black (2).

Statements of Appreciation/Acceptance of Others

In block area with Teacher and other (ages 4-5 years old) children with dolls, a White girl asked for, and chose a large black female doll. Two four year old White females chose Native and Asian dolls stating: "These are mine" placing hands firmly on the dolls. Girl 1 sits next to Girl 2 with her dolls. Girl 2 places the darker doll behind her and continues to pat the other two "babies".

For story session, the Teacher showed and read from a picture book depicting children of many races.

Teacher: (To 4-year old Black boy) Do you like this boy?
(Teacher points to a Black child on the page of the storybook)

Boy: "Hm, Hm. (shakes his head up and down indicating yes)

Teacher: Why?

Boy: He's the same colour.

Teacher introduces dolls to a group of 4-5 year-olds

Girl 1: (referring to two black dolls) I want to play with this one.

Girl 2: (referring to two black dolls) I want to play with this one.

Girl 1: Even though they are a different colour, I like them.

Teacher: suggests that each child picks up a doll and tells something about the doll.

Boy 1: (chooses a large black doll) Even though he's brown I still like him.

Teacher: (To girl 3) Why did you choose that doll? (large black doll)

Girl 3: I like Black people and White people. I don't care that she's Black.

Teacher: (to girl 4) Which doll would you like?

Girl 4: (chooses the Asian doll) I don't know what to say.

Girl 5: (chooses the Asian doll) She comes from a different country but I still like her.

Girl 1: (walks up to Teacher, looks at the dolls in her arm and selects the other native doll) Even though it's a boy and from a different country, I still like him. You're supposed to like boys and girls.

Teacher: One doll left and I'm keeping it. (Teacher hugs white doll and rocks him back and forth.)

Girl 1: No, it's not real. Even though he's White, you still like him.

In the Drama Centre (children 7-10 years old) Playing with the Asian doll, a Black girl (8 years old) remarked: "You are my pretty baby, and I am your mommy and tonight I am going to make you the prettiest dress ever, and put these (taking hair) in your hair, to pin it up right here."

In leaving with her mother, a Black girl (age 7) gives the doll to the teacher saying: "Take care of her for me and don't let anyone take her (referring to the Asian doll) because she is my precious, precious baby."

Statements of Rejection

In the Block Area, the four year old children had an opportunity to play with the dolls as they chose. No restrictions or conditions were given for how to play with the dolls. Children selected the area in which they wanted to play. Upon approaching the block area, a White female child expressed her feeling about the large black male doll.

Child 1: "Uh Yuuuuk!"

Teacher: How come you don't like that?

Child 1: It's black and it's a boy.

Teacher: How come you don't like the colour black?

Child 1: It's just not a girl colour

Teacher: Why isn't black a girl colour

Child 1: Well, girls are black, but boys that are black I don't like.

Teacher: Why not?

Child 1: (shrugs her shoulders): Just don't.

Child 2: I like any colour. Peach. I like any colour.

In the dramatic play area. A group of boys, 4 year-olds, (two *White* and one *Chinese*) were pretending to be bus drivers. They need the chairs that the dolls were sitting on. The two White boys picked up the dolls and said "What should we do with them?" The other boy said "Let's sell them." Both boys laughed. One threw the doll in the corner and the other boy did the same.

Responding to the teacher's questions regarding ways in which other kids have ... the children in the group. The children commented

Boy 1: (*Chinese, 8 yrs.*) They say I am stupid.

Boy 2: (Chinese, 9 yrs.) When we are in the playground, K. likes to say that I am a fathead, gaylord.

Boy 3: (Black, 7 yrs.) The children call me slow-poke and dummy.

Boy 4: (Chinese, 8 yrs.) B. likes to use the F word to me.

When a White female (10 yrs.) was confronted about kissing a friend behind the door, she remarked: "I will never kiss a black monkey like him."

Stereotyping

The following is an exchange between the teacher and a four year old White female in the block area.

Teacher: Tell me why you don't like boys who are Black.

Child: I do like G. because he is light brown, but uh, I don't like boys that are Black.

Teacher: You don't like the colour of their skin?

Child: Yes. Just the colour of their skin and the colour of their face. I know they look like G. but I once watched a boy that was Black steal some chocolate off the table and when I see those kinds of boys, I don't like them.

Teacher: But not all boys who are Black steal when they go into shops.

Child: I KNOW (she sharply replied) but when I see those kinds of boys....

COMMENTS

3-5 year-olds

Younger children (3 year old) showed no inhibition toward people of a race or colour that is different to their own. Although children in this age group are less able to express themselves verbally than children of ages four or five, observation reveal that three year old children do not show any reluctance to play with dolls that are of a different race or colour. In contrast, children of ages four to five are aware of, and inhibited by, people of a different race and background to their own. The older children either made derogatory comments about people with dark complexion or they threw the African dolls aside and refused to play with them.

Female children in the five year old age group said that colour did not matter, but at no time in the study did male children indicate that colour did not matter. However, in all the incidents where negative comments were made, as in the incidents when the children said that she did not like Black boys, they were made by White female children.

6-10 year-olds

On Self-Concept

A general observation was that children in this age group showed discomfort with talking about race specific issues with regard to interpersonal relations, or self-cognition. For example, very few responses were obtained from discussion exploring their thoughts or feelings of being "different," or Black or "Chinese." They could state clearly, I am Chinese, I am Philipino, I am Black, but couldn't go beyond the statement of the concrete description to say being Chinese/Black/White make me feel There were definite affects however linked to their self-recognition of being members of a certain race. For example, it was noted when some of the Asian children were identifying their racial membership, it was whispered in the teacher's ear or accompanied by giggles on several occasions, "I am Chinese" (giggle, giggle, giggle); with apprehension on another occasion, "I am Chinese," looking around expectantly for some response from the teacher.

On Appreciation/Acceptance

The most significant information providing insight into children's self-acceptance or appreciation was obtained from two sets of activities. The situation in which children were presented with representational pictures of members of the 4

racial groups and were asked to choose among a number of characteristics identified which was the most pleasing (nicest) and the most objectionable (ugliest/funniest). If children chose characteristics portrayed by members of their own racial groups, this would signify self-acceptance/appreciation, if they did not, one could infer some elements of self-rejection or at least preference for another racial group.

The outcome of this exercise might be instructive. In a setting with Black and White children, children from both racial groups chose hairstyles worn by white characters as nicest and hairstyles worn by black characters as ugly or funny. The Black children, additionally attributed negative descriptions to the hairstyle associating it with "worms," "spikes," etc. The second context providing insight into children's self-acceptance/appreciation was the play time in the Drama Centre. If the frequency of soliciting dolls representative of one's own race were used as a measure of self-acceptance, appreciation then certain inferences could be made about the following outcome.

In the three Centres where 6-10 year-olds participated, the children in the four racial groups represented in the Day Care population, chose to play with the Asian dolls most frequently (27/34) followed by the white dolls (20/34). Of the Black children 6 chose to play with the Black dolls. Of six White kids, one played with the Asian dolls, 3 with the white dolls and 2 with the black. These latter figures may be too small to have any significance beyond chance.

In terms of actual statements about self, either in a prideful or negative way, not much was said. Values of this nature might more easily be inferred from the children's interaction with dolls representing their ethnic group or that of others.

It was felt by the observer that the novelty of the Asian dolls might have influenced the choice factor among children of both Black and White group membership. This interpretation is however contrasted with the lower choice frequency of the Black dolls which were also newly introduced to the Centre by the Observer.

On Comparison of Self with Others

As indicated earlier, the minority children (6-10 year-olds) were generally uncomfortable/embarrassed? about making reference to their race. So very few self-statements were made during these observations. It seemed like an implicit understanding that "You don't talk about such things."

The play in the Drama Centre however, provided some insight

into this process. If the consistency of children's choice of dolls could be taken as an indication of their racial preference, then the data indicates that while children prefer dolls that represent their race, and by extension, this may suggest self-acceptance. The Black children preferred the Asian dolls consistently across Centres. While there were several Asian boys in one of the Centres, they did not generally play in the Drama Centre. There was only one Asian girl, who played with the white doll when she briefly went through the Centre.

EVALUATION AND SUGGESTED FOLLOW-UP

The study was designed to fit into the normal programming design of the centres that volunteered to participate. While the method used was convenient, it reduced the amount of control the study team was able to exercise over human and environmental variables that would allow the results to be reported in any form other than that which has been used: a description of the children's responses to the stimuli provided.

Given the number of racial and ethnic variables present in the Metropolitan Toronto daycare population, the study team would like to point to the need for well designed Canadian research on children's understanding of race as well as the impact of racism on their formulation of self concepts. The team recommends the use of more traditional investigation formats as well as the considerable groundwork that must be done to increase the comfort level of involved adults with this type of research.

The pre-investigation training session with the volunteer teachers was well organized and productive. Six teachers and supervisors from three pre-school programs, and three teachers from school-age programs participated in the all-day training session. Levels of awareness and prior experience with the issues of racism and anti-racist program varied considerably, however, all participants were interested, willing to learn and positive.

The design of the training provided principles and suggestions to guide the delivery of the stimulus material and required the teachers to develop a program which would integrate the materials naturally into their program. It was noted that the pre-school teachers who had the support and input of their supervisors who were also present at the training session were able to proceed with creativity and confidence both in program design and in anticipating and finding solutions for potential problems. The school-age teachers seems less confident and anticipated more problems for which no solutions seemed available. In response to this, the study team moved in to provide greater support for these teachers both during the training and on-site. For future training, the team recommends

that supervisors and teachers participate together in any anti-racist training that impacts curriculum and program delivery. The team recommends that training be delivered in shorter sessions with suitable intervals between to provide for percolation and integration of the ideas presented and the generation of questions.

Much more than a single day's training is required to overcome the natural tendency of teachers to dominate discussions of values and suppress negative behaviour that has its roots in the children's beliefs about race. Central to the success of this project was the requirement that teachers stifle their habitual responses to let the children's own thinking and behaviour emerge. It is a tribute to the skill and good will of the teachers involved in this study that they were able, with a minimum of project-specific training, to permit the results recorded in this report to occur without interference.

The consultant to the study recommended that the books used to stimulate discussion of race and subsequent behaviour contain both racial themes and a storyline involving conflict. The considerable discussion around this approach proved fruitless as it was difficult to obtain books that included both of these themes.

A number of dolls with accurately depicted racial features were located for the study. These dolls were added to those already available in the centre and used in the dramatic play areas to stimulate language and behavioral reactions from the children.

If a similar strategy is adopted in future study, the team recommends that books with strong conflict themes be combined with other materials, such as the dolls, which provide the racial context to see if the results vary with the introduction of conflict.

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