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Abstract	This paper discusses the role of social psychologists in contemporary society. Often the general public asked them to give opinions about various social problems, as if they were specialists in human relations. A case example was the Social Science Statement presented to the Supreme Court of USA in the decision of Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka. In this Statement a heavy emphasis on psychological research was used to support the claim that segregation in public schools had a bad influence on the personality development of Negro children. Twenty-five years on, the Statement has been criticized by some psychologists on the grounds that it was an unfounded statement without valid evidence. To resolve this controversy among social psychologists, the series of doll test by Clark Clark (upon whose results the Statement was said to be based) were subjected to reexaminations.
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Social Science Statement と Doll Test

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This paper discusses the role of social psychologists in contemporary society.

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To resolve this controversy among social psychologists, the series of doll test by Clark & Clark (upon whose results the Statement was said to be based) were subjected to reexaminations.

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1954年アメリカ合衆国最高裁判所は裁判官全員一致の意見として、公立学校における分離教育 (school segregation) を憲法違反と断定する画期的な判決を下すことになった。

この裁判は一般的には Brown 裁判とよばれているが、実際には同様の趣旨のもとに争われていた4件の裁判を総称するものであった。

すなわち、①南カロライナ州のクラレンドン郡で実施されていた「公立学校を分離教育の場」とすることへの異議申したての裁判 (Briggs vs. Elliot), ②所謂ブラウン裁判 (Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas), ③デラウェア州において、「有色人種の地位向上全国委員会」NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) が白人児童と黒人児童がそれぞれ通学する学校の施設や設備を比較した所、両者の間には明らかな差別が見出されるとの理由で学校当局を相手どっておこした裁判 (Belton vs. Gebhart 及び Bulah vs. Gebhart), ④1951年バージニア州のモートン高校の生徒が学校施設や設備の改善を求めて行なったストライキがきっかけとなり、NAACP が乗りだしてきて始まった裁判 (Davis vs. County School District) であった。

またこれに加えて、コロンビア特別地域で実施されていた分離教育が憲法違反にあたるかどうかの法律判断を求めた裁判 (Bolling vs. Sharpe) に対しても、同じ日に最高裁判決が下された (Stephan, 1987)*。

Brown という名前は自宅から5ブロックの所にある小学校への通学を「白人児童のための学校」という理由で拒否され、21ブロックも離れた黒人学校への通学を余儀なくされた8才の女の子の父親 (Oliver Brown) が、教育委員会を相手どっておこした裁判に由来するものであった。

最高裁はその判決文のなかで、「教育が民主主義社会において果たす役

* ①～④においては、segregation が黒人の子供たちの性格形成に悪影響を及ぼしているのかが争点となっており、多数の心理学者が専門家の立場から証言を求められることになった。

割の重要性を考えるならば、教育の機会はすべての国民に等しく与えられなければならない。たとえ物理的な施設や設備が同じ条件であっても、人種の違いを理由にして黒人児童を同年令の白人児童と分離して教育することは、黒人児童から等しい教育を受ける権利を奪ってしまうことになる」と論じた。

さらに「人種の違いを理由にしての分離教育は——特にそれが法律に基づいて実施されている場合には——、黒人児童に劣等感を抱かせることとなり、彼らの学習への動機づけにも悪影響を及ぼすことになる」との心理学者の陳述を判決理由のなかで引用した（付表 1）。

これは下級審（Brown vs. Board of Education）において、原告側の法廷陳述人となった Louisa Holt と Horace English の発言をうけたものであり、この限りでは心理学の知見が最高裁判決を左右したとも考えられる（それは判決文の脚注 11 に見出される）。

この点について、Otto Klineberg（1986）は判決の数年後に最高裁長官 Earl Warren に会ったときの話として、彼の発言 “The members of the Court would probably have come to the same conclusion in any case, but they (and he in particular) felt their position was strengthened by the clear support of the present generation of psychologists” を引用したうえで、これは心理学者の偉大な貢献の一つとみなすべきであると主張した。

しかしながら、他方では「判決文に引用された箇所は最高裁が否定しようとした “separate but equal” doctrine (Plessy vs. Ferguson, 1899) を論駁するテクニクとして持出されたものであり*、その主張自体、格

* Homer Plessy はほとんど白人と見間違ふほどであったが、彼に黒人の血が混じっていたことから、車掌に colored 専用の車両に移動するように命じられた。しかしそれを拒否したために、ルイジアナ州の法律（交通機関における segregation を規定）によって逮捕されることになった。そのときの最高裁判決の理論的根拠となったのが “separate but equal” の原理であった。

別目新しい内容ではなかったことから、単なる注釈の一部とみなすべきである」との冷めた見方もなされている*。

また、NAACP の最高責任者であった Thurgood Marshall は、最高裁判決は長年にわたる法廷闘争の結果である、との立場をとっており、彼によれば、「心理学者の貢献は Social Science Statement を通して、segregation が人道上許されないことを心理学の立場から明らかにしたことにとどまる」とも述べている (Stephan, 1978)。

Social Science Statement

Social Science Statement (以下、Statement と略す) の作成の経緯は、Kenneth Clark が NAACP の弁護士 Robert Carter から、それまでの下級審での心理学者の証言内容を要約するようにとの依頼を受けたことである。Clark はそのときまでに NAACP の要請をうけて原告側証人として出延するなど、この裁判と深い関わりをもっていたが、実際の作業にあたっては Clark のほかに Ishidor Chein と Stuart Cook が参加することになった。そのときのたたき台となったのが、Clark が Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth (1950 年) のために準備したレポートであった。

最終的に NAACP が Statement を Briggs vs. Elliot 裁判の上告書の appendix として採用することを決定すると、Clark と Chein はその内容が自分たちの個人的な意見にとどまるものではないことを明確にするために、できるだけ多くの賛同者を集める作業に取りかかった。

しかしながら、時間的な制約もあり、結局 32 名の署名が得られることになった (付表2)。

* The only reason to have included footnote 11 was as a rebuttal to the cheap psychology of Plessy that said inferiority was only in the mind of the Negro. (Kluger, 1976, p. 706).

Statement の正式名は “The effect of segregation and the consequences of desegregation: A social science statement” であり、州の法律に基づいて実施されていた school segregation が、子供たち（特に黒人児童）にどのような影響を及ぼしているのか、もしそれが廃止されたならば、どのようなことが予想されるのかということについて、社会学者（特に心理学者）の見解をまとめたものであった*。

次にその内容をみていくと、最初に人種に基づく分離、偏見、差別及びそれに付随する社会条件が（住宅事情の悪さ、家族生活の破綻、平均以下の生活水準など）、黒人児童に及ぼす影響が論じられた (Cook, 1979)。

① 黒人児童はそうした生活環境のなかから、自分たちがアメリカ社会では低い地位しか与えられない集団に属していることを知るようになる。その結果として、屈辱感や劣等感を抱くようになり、自分たちはこの社会では二流の扱いしかうけられないと思いつくようになる。こうしたことが自己嫌悪や黒人であることの拒否に結びつく。勿論、こうした体験の受けとめ方は必ずしも一様ではなく、たとえば、low-class に属する者の間では攻撃的行動、反社会的行動、非行といった形をとりやすい。他方、middle-class では社会との関わり拒否、服従、ときには白人の価値観に対する過剰なまでの反応となって現われる。

② 社会的に低い地位しか与えられないとの意識は向上心の欠如、達成動機の低下となって現われる。白人児童の場合には、白人であるがために高い社会的地位を付与されることから、根拠のない優越感を抱くようになる。しかしながら他方では、大人たちが口にするキリスト教の教えや民主主義の原理が、彼らの実際行動と一致していないことを知ることで、道徳的な葛藤やシニシズム (cynicism) を経験する。ときとしてこの

* school segregation は当時、全米の 17 州とコロンビア特別区で実施されており、約 800 万人の白人児童と約 250 万人の黒人児童がその制度下におかれていた (Cook, 1979)。

葛藤は黒人に対する敵意となって現われる。

③ 子供たちにこうした意識を抱かせる主要な原因は、segregation が法に基づいて実施されていることに求められる、と主張した。

次に Statement は desegregation がなされた場合のことを論じており、たとえば school desegregation が実施に移されたときに解決が求められる問題として、次のことをあげている。① 共学 (biracial schooling) が白人児童の学業成績に悪影響を及ぼすのではないか (こうした危惧は、「根拠のないこと」と結論された)、② 黒人児童が学力の点でハンディキャップをもったまま入学してきた場合、共学は彼らにとって逆に不利に作用するのではないか (当初はそうした危惧があるけれども、「それは時間が経つにつれて解消されるであろう」と結論された)、③ 人種間の葛藤が激化するのではないか (この点については、「そうした心配は無用である」と結論された)。

最後に Statement は school desegregation がより友好的な集団関係の形成、好意的な方向への態度変化をもたらすことを指摘した。そのためにはこれまで差別されてきた集団メンバー (minority) が、差別してきた集団のメンバー (majority) とどのように接触するかが問題であり、たとえば次のような条件が必要であるとされた：① 学校だけでなく、社会のあらゆる分野で desegregation が進められること、② 責任のある地位にいる人たちが首尾一貫した態度のもとに desegregation を推進すること、③ 異なる集団同士が接触する場面では、競争だけではなく協力行動が強調されること、④ desegregation が実施に移された場合には、参加者同士の地位や役割に差別がないこと、⑤ お互いに人間同士としてのつきあいが可能になること。以上の条件を勘案すれば、学校は desegregation を進めるうえで最適な実験場面であると結論された。

この Statement は心理学者自身の社会問題への取組みを示したものであるが、そうした努力は今日の心理学者によってどのように評価されてい

るのであろうか (三井, 1988).

Gerard, H. B. (1983) は, 「Statement の内容は 善意にみちたものであっても, 経験的なデータによって裏付けられたものではなかったために, 逆に心理学者自身の無知をさらけだす結果になってしまった」と批判する.

その論拠は カルフォルニア州の Riverside Unified School District が 1965年に実施した desegregation の追跡調査の結果であった (Gerard & Miller, 1975). その計画では minority group の生徒が (メキシコ人 14%, 黒人 9%, その他 2%), 最終的には約 6人 (クラスの約 22%) の割合で白人生徒のクラスに割りふられることになっていた (1965年の実験開始時には約 2.1人).

追跡調査の結果からは, ① minority group の生徒と白人生徒との学力のギャップは, 学年の進行につれて拡大していったこと, ② 共学は minority group の生徒に不安をもたらし, 彼らの self-esteem を低下させるように作用したこと, が明らかにされた.

これに対して, Cook, S. W. (1984) は Statement の起草者の 1人であった立場から, ① Gerard の批判は Statement が起草された当時の社会情勢を無視したものであること, ② Statement の目的は人種の相違を理由にした school desegregation が, 黒人児童に悪影響を及ぼしていることを当時の研究データに基づいて指摘することであり, 共学をどのような形で実施すべきか, それが実施に移された場合にはどのような白人の反発が予想されるのかといったことは, 直接の関心事ではなかったこと, ③ Gerard の研究が従来の知見と全く正反対の結論を導き出していること自体, 彼の結論を一般化することの危険性を示していること, ④ 少なくとも共学の実施が早ければ早いほど, 効果があがることは多くの研究者の指摘する所である, と反論した.

一方, Stephan, W. G. (1978) は school desegregation と偏見, self-esteem, 学業成績との関係について, 次の 4つの仮説のもとに関連研究を

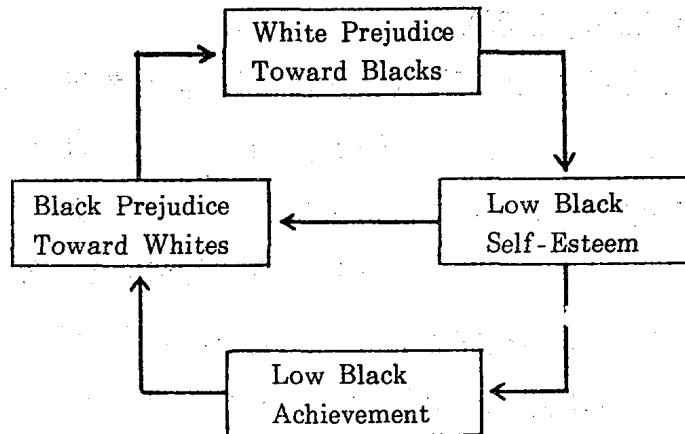


図 1. School desegregation の因果モデル (Stephen, 1978)

レビューした (図 1).

その結果, ① school desegregation は黒人生徒に対する 偏見の減少には結びつかなかったこと, ② 黒人生徒自身の self-esteem は, 共学に移行した場合でも その上昇をもたらさなかったこと, ③ 黒人生徒の 学業成績については, 共学実施後の向上を報告する研究はあるが, 低下を報告する研究はなかったこと, ④ 黒人生徒が 白人生徒に対して抱く 偏見については, より強まったとする報告と弱められたとする報告とが半々であったこと, である.

ところで, Statement が依存したデータは Clark らの doll test, Radke らの projective test から得られたものであるが, それらのテスト結果は一体どのようなものであったのだろうか.

Doll Test と White Preference

自我の形成や自己意識の発達心理学の主要な研究テーマの 1つであるが, ethnic minority の場合には自分が所属する集団をどのように捉えるのかという問題 (race consciousness) が絡んでくる.

Proshansky & Newton (1968) によれば, それは ① racial conception

と ⊕ racial evaluation の兼合い、ということになる。

この点について、Kenneth, B. Clark と Mamie, K. Clark は黒人児童を被験者とする一連の実験を行なった。まず Clark & Clark (1939) は Horowitz, R. E. (1939) の研究を参考にして、Washington D. C. の分離教育実施地域の保育所で3～5才の黒人の子供たちに(150名)、白人の男の子、黒人の男の子、ライオン、犬、ピエロ、ニワトリを描いた線画を示しながら、「自分はどれか」を答えるように求めた(“show me which one is you. which one is _____?”)として、空欄には被験者の名前を入れる)。その結果、①ライオンや犬、ピエロ、ニワトリを選択する誤りは3才児のみに特有な現象であること、②年令の増加とともに、黒人の男の子を選択する割合が増加したことが明らかにされた(表1)。

表 1. 年令別に見た自己意識の発達 (Clark & Clark, 1939)

線 画	3 才 児	4 才 児	5 才 児
	選 択 数 (%)	選 択 数 (%)	選 択 数 (%)
Colored boy	61 (41.2)	81 (55.4)	83 (56.0)
White boy	65 (43.9)	65 (44.5)	65 (43.9)
Irrelevant	22 (14.7)	0	0

(注) 被験者が女の子の場合には、空欄に男の兄弟、男のいとこ、男の友達の名前をあげて、「彼はどれか」と質問した。

次に Clark & Clark (1940) はこうした選択が被験者自身の肌の色 (skin color) とどのように関係しているかを分析した(実験者は medium-brown)、その結果によると、自分の肌の色が light に近づくとつれて、白人の男の子を選択する割合が増加することが示された(表2)。

さらに Clark & Clark (1947) は有名な doll test を実施した*。その

* これらの人形は Clark 自身がニューヨークの125番街の five ten cent store で、1つ50セントで買ったものである (Kluger, 1976, p. 315)。

表 2. 被験者の肌の色と線画の選択 (Clark & Clark, 1940)

線画	Light (N=30)	Medium (N=66)	Dark (N=54)
	選択数 (%)	選択数 (%)	選択数 (%)
Colored boy	31 (36.5)	102 (52.6)	92 (56.4)
White boy	48 (56.5)	81 (41.7)	66 (40.5)

(注) 結果の分析に際して、ライオン、犬、ピエロ、ニワトリといった回答は除外された。

手続きは約 30 cm ほどの黒色の髪と褐色の肌をした人形 (colored) と黄色の髪で白い肌をした人形 (white) を 2 個ずつ用意したうえで (人形は白いおしめを着用), 1 人ずつにそれらを一定順序で提示しながら, 次の 8 つの質問をした。①一緒に遊びたい人形はどれですか (play with), ②すてきな人形はどれですか (nice doll), ③嫌だと思ふ人形はどれですか (looks bad), ④すてきな色の人形はどれですか (nice color), 以上の 4 項目は好みを測定する項目。⑤白人の子供に似ている人形はどれですか (for white), ⑥白人の子供に似ていない人形はどれですか (for colored), ⑦黒人の子供に似ている人形はどれですか (for Negro), 以上の 3 項目は人種の違いを意識化している度合を測定する項目。⑧あなたに似ている人形はどれですか (for you), これは自分のことを正しく認識しているかどうかを測定する項目, であった。被験者は南部のアーカンス州の segregated school に通う黒人児童 134 名と, 北部のマサチューセッツ州の mixed school に通う 119 名であった (年齢は 3 ~ 7 才)。

doll test の結果, ①子供たちは肌の色の違いが白人と黒人という言葉に対応することは知っていたが, 黒人 (Negro) という言葉が一体何を意味しているのか, よく理解していなかったこと, ②子供たちの大多数が white doll を好んでいたこと, ③年齢の上昇につれて colored doll を好む割合が増加したこと, ④南部と北部の地域差については, 南部の子供た

表 3. 居住地域と人形の選択 (Clark & Clark, 1947)

Choice	North (N=119) Mixed School	South (N=134) Segregated School
play with { colored doll white doll	28% 72%	37% 62%
nice doll { colored doll white doll	30% 68%	46% 52%
looks bad { colored doll white doll	71% 17%	49% 16%
nice color { colored doll white doll	37% 63%	40% 57%
for white { colored doll white doll	4% 94%	6% 93%
for colored { colored doll white doll	92% 7%	94% 5%
for Negro { colored doll white doll	74% 20%	70% 19%
for you { colored doll white doll	61% 39%	69% 29%

(注) どちらの人形も選択しなかった者は、パーセントの算出から除かれた。

ちの方が colored doll を好む傾向が強かったことである (“nice doll” と “looks bad” の質問項目で両グループに有意差あり)。Clark らはこの④の結果について、その説明を北部の子供たちに light colored が多かったことに求めている (表 3)。

一方、Radke, Sutherland & Rosenberg (1950) は子供たちの racial attitude を明らかにする目的で、一連のテストを実施した。そのテストは Picture Test であり、8 枚一組のスライド (白人及び黒人の男の子と女の子それぞれ 2 人ずつで構成) が提示され、そのなかから実験者の指定す

表 4. Picture Test にみる Racial Attitude (数字は %)

Descriptive Phrase	Percent of White Subjects Assigning Phrase to;		Percent of Negro Subjects Assigning Phrase to:	
	White Picture	Negro Picture	White Picture	Negro Picture
One of these children is always neat and clean	90	10	64	36
One of these children never swears or uses bad words	86	14	80	20
One of these children is the smartest in school	84	16	80	20
One of these children is always fair and waits his turn	79	21	56	44
One of these children found a purse on the street car...	77	23	55	45
One of these children does not tell lies	74	26	61	39
One of these children is very nice and kind	74	26	61	39
One of these children started a fight...	28	72	32	68
One of these children always comes to school dirty	14	86	21	79

(Radke, etal., 1950)

る人物を選び出すことが要求された (たとえば、「どの人が一番スマートですか」). 被験者はピッツバーグの lower class が住む地域の小学生であり (内訳は 475 人の黒人生徒と 48 人の白人生徒で, 年齢は 7~13 才), 彼らは集団テストの形で実験に参加した. 実験結果からは, ① 白人生徒の場合, 望ましくない属性を黒人に帰属させており, これは各学年を通じての一貫した傾向であったこと, ② 同様に黒人生徒の場合にも, 望ましくない属性を自分たちに帰属させる傾向, が見出された (表 4).

さらに Radke & Trager (1950) はフィラデルフィアの幼稚園児及び小学 1 年, 2 年生を被験者にして (白人 152 名, 黒人 90 名), 着せかえ人形の要領で, 白人と黒人の男, 女性の人形にふさわしい服装, 住居を選び出して, 図版を完成させるように求めた. この場合, 男の子には男性の人

形、女の子には女性の人形が与えられた。その結果によると、①子供たちは非常に早い時期から白人及び黒人についての社会的ステレオタイプを学習していること、②特に白人の子供の場合、理由もわからないままに黒人に低い社会的地位や役割をわりあてていること、が明らかにされた。

こうした研究結果に基づき、Kenneth Clark, Helen Trager は原告側証人として、「segregation が黒人児童に及ぼす悪影響」を弁じたけれども、彼らの陳述に対しては次のような批判があった。

たとえば、Elsa, E. Robinson は NAACP の Robert Carter から原告側証人になるようにと要請されたとき、「これまでの研究結果を検討した所、この問題について明確な結論を導き出す段階に至っていない」ことを理由に、その要請を拒否したとのことである (Kluger, 1976, p. 336)。

また segregation を弁護する側に立った John, W. Davis は、Clark & Clark の論文を仔細に検討したうえで、「南部の子供たちは、北部の子供たちと同程度に white doll を好んだにもかかわらず、colored doll を拒否することが有意に少なかったということは (“nice doll” と “looks bad” の質問)、南部の子供たちは北部の子供たちよりも、心理学的にはより健康であると言えないであろうか」と反論した (Kluger, p. 355)。

さらに Edmond Cahn は「もし黒人の子供が brown doll が自分に似ていると答えれば、Clark は segregation が race を意識させることになったと解釈したのであろうし、white doll が自分に似ていると答えれば、segregation が現実からの逃避を余儀なくさせたと解釈するのであろう」とも批判した (Kluger, p. 355)。

それではその後の追試結果はどのようになっているのであろうか。
Landreth & Johnson (1953) は social class と racial awareness の関係を明らかにする目的で、カルフォルニア州の3都市で3才児と5才児に(各48名)、遊んでいる場面とか、食事の場面を描いた図版を提示して、その完成を求めた(図2)。子供たちは父親の職業や居住地域に基づ

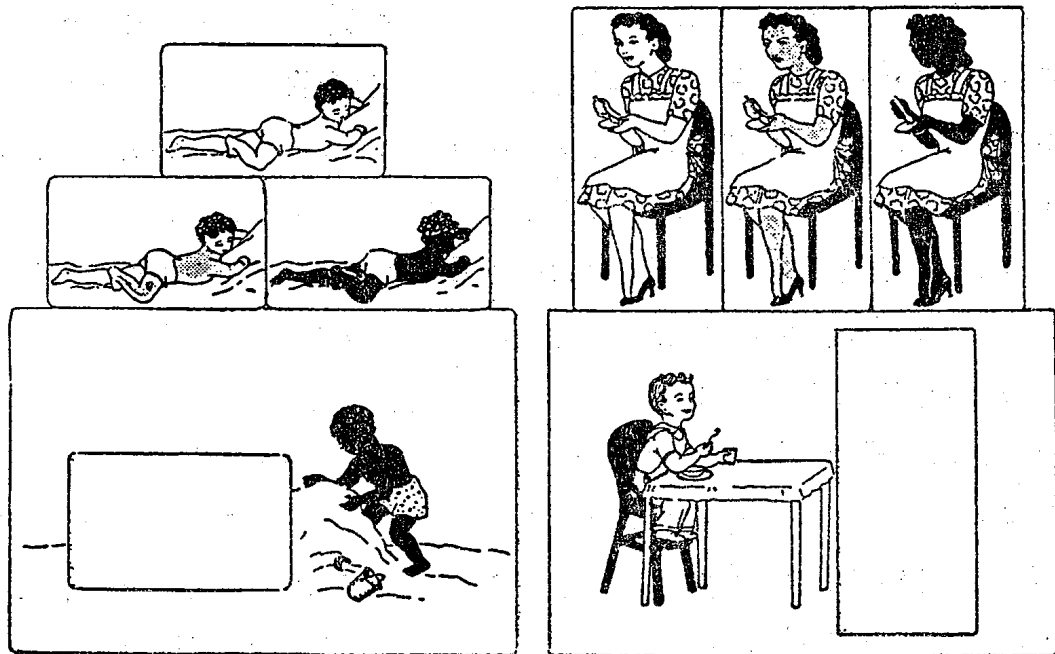


図 2. Picture Test の一部 (Landreth & Johnson, 1953)

いて、lower と upper class に分類された (但し、黒人児童の場合には upper class の該当者がいないために実験条件から除かれた)。その結果によると、①子供たちは3才頃から肌の色 (skin color) の違いをもたらす社会的意味づけを感じとっていること、②特に黒人の子供の場合、その年齢で white が望ましく、dark は望まれていないことを学習してしまっていること、③upper class の白人の子供が肌の色の違いを認知レベルで捉える傾向があるのに対して、lower class の白人の子供はその違いを感情レベルで捉えていること、が明らかにされた。

Moreland, J.K. (1958) もまた同様な実験をヴァージニア州の Lynchburg で幼稚園児に対して行なった (白人 344 名, 黒人 110 名. 年齢は 3 ~ 5 才)。この場合にも、黒人の upper class は該当者なしのため、実験条件から除かれた。子供たちは1人ずつ8枚一組の写真を見ながら、「どの人が white で、どの人が colored か」を答えた。その結果、①人種の違いを識別する能力 (recognition ability) は年齢とともに上昇すること、

②この能力について、性差は見出されなかったこと、③4才児と5才児の場合、白人の子供の方が高い識別力をもっていたこと、④社会階層による差異は見出されなかったこと、⑤被験者のなかで高い識別力を有する子供たちに“Are you white or are you colored?”と質問した所、白人の子供の場合(N=192)、99.5%が「whiteである」と答えたのに対して、黒人の子供の場合には(N=25)、52.0%が「colored」と答え、32.0%が「white」と答えていた。

一方、Stevenson & Stewart (1958) はテキサス州の Austin で、3才～7才までの白人児童(125名)と黒人児童(100名)を対象にして4種類のテストを実施した(discrimination test, doll assembly, doll test, incomplete story)。その結果、①白人と黒人を識別する能力は3才以降、急速に上昇すること、②そうした能力において、白人の子供は黒人の子供を上回っていること、③黒人の子供の場合、自分たちにネガティブな役割を帰属する傾向が強かったこと、が明らかにされた。

Gregor & Mcpherson (1966) は segregation の本拠地とみなされる deep-south で Clark らの doll test を実施した。被験者は6～7才の白人児童(男子45名、女子38名)と黒人児童(男子38名、女子54名)であり、実験は1人ずつの個別実験で、同じ人種の実験者によって行われた。その際、人形は white と black だけが使用された。

その結果、①白人児童の場合、あらゆる項目において white doll を選択する ethnocentrism がみられたこと、②黒人児童の場合、全体として black doll を選択する傾向があり、たとえば、“nice doll”の質問には60%が black doll を選択し、“nice color”の質問には59%が black doll を選択し、“looks bad”の質問には92名中84名が回答を拒否した(この質問には白人児童の93%が black doll を選択した)、③黒人女子の場合には、全ての項目で white doll を選択する傾向が見出された。

ところで、この Gregor & Mcpherson の ② の結果は、Clark & Clark の知見とはまったく異なる内容であった。

この変化については 1954 年の Brown 裁判以降、1955 年の Public Accommodation Bill, 1957 年と 1964 年の Civil Rights Acts, 1961 年の Employment Opportunity Committee の設置、1964 年と 1965 年の School segregation に関する最高裁判決といった政治環境の変化及び黒人自身の政治意識、民族意識の向上がその原因である、と言われている。

この “Black is beautiful” 現象について、Hraba & Grant (1970) はネブラスカ州の Lincoln で 4～8 才の白人児童 (71 名) と黒人児童 (89 名) を被験者とする doll test を行なった。実験手続は Clark らと同じであったが、実験者効果がコントロールされた。被験者は共学であったが、それぞれの学校において黒人児童が占める割合は 3～18% であった。実験結果は Clark らの知見とは異なり、黒人児童のあいだでの ethnocentrism の高まりを示すものであった (表 5)。

この知見は Winnick & Taylor (1977) の実験においても支持されたが、

表 5. Doll Test の結果の比較

Item	Clark & Clark Blacks (1939)	Hraba & Grant Blacks (1969)	Hraba & Grant Whites (1969)	Asher & Allen Blacks (1967)
play with				
{ white doll	67%	30%	83%	69%
{ black doll	32%	70%	16%	30%
nice doll				
{ white doll	59%	46%	70%	76%
{ black doll	38%	54%	30%	23%
looks bad				
{ white doll	17%	61%	34%	24%
{ black doll	59%	36%	63%	73%
nice color				
{ white doll	60%	31%	48%	69%
{ black doll	38%	69%	49%	29%

(注) 年号は各データが集められた年度を示す。

Ascher & Allen の実験結果では逆であった。すなわち Asher & Allen (1969) はニュージャージー州の Newark において、3~8 才までの白人児童 (155 名) と黒人児童 (186 名) に対して doll test を実施した。各被験者は実験者 (同じ人種) からの質問に対する回答として (Clark の質問項目 ①~④ を使用)、目の前に置かれた白人と黒人の人形のどちらか一方を選択した。実験結果からは、① 白人及び黒人児童はどの質問においても white puppet を選択していたこと。特に黒人児童の選択率は Clark らのデータの数字とほとんど変わっておらず、項目によってはさらに white preference が強調される結果となっていたこと (表 5 を参照)、② 性差に関しては Gregor らの知見とは異なり、黒人男子の方が女子に比較して、有意な white preference を示していた、ことである。

このように doll test を用いた結果は必ずしも一致していないのが実状である。

その主たる理由は、条件統制の難しさと方法論上の問題である。まず前者に関しては、① 実験者の ethnicity 及び性別、② 被験者の居住する地域 (南部か北部か)、③ ethnic group 間の接触頻度及び接触の質的内容、④ 被験者の年齢、性別、肌の色、生活環境、などの要因が十分に統制されていないこと、が指摘されている (Brand, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974)。

また提示刺激として使用される人形の大きさ、顔形、肌の色、髪の毛の形状の統制が不十分である、との指摘もある。

たとえば Goodman, M. E. (1946) は Boston で幼稚園児を被験者にして (白人 12 名、黒人 15 名、年齢は 3~4 才)、以下の条件のもとで人形の選択を求めた。条件 1 では色が dark-brown と white の baby doll、条件 2 では dark-brown, light-brown, white の baby doll の間から、条件 3 は被験者の年齢及び性別にふさわしい服装をした medium-brown と white の人形について、“Which looks most like you?” と質問した。その結果によると、黒人児童の 40% が colored、白人児童の 80%

が white doll を選択していた。

Greenwald & Oppenheim (1968) は New York で幼稚園児 (白人 36 名, 黒人 39 名, 年齢は 4~5 才) を被験者にして, dark-brown, mulatto, white の 3 つの人形を示しながら, “Is there a doll that you like to play with best?” といいた質問をした。その結果, 黒人児童が colored doll を拒否したことは, Clark らの知見を支持するものであったが, 「white doll を自分に似ている」と判断する誤りは有意に減少した (Clark では 33%, Greenwald では 13%)。彼らはこのことから, 黒人の子供が自分を白人と誤判断する傾向は, 提示刺激が適切であれば, 一定の誤差範囲内におさまるものであり (Clark らの実験では二者択一), そこに「黒人の子供に見られる self-rejection」といいた解釈を導入する必然性はない, と主張した。

Katz & Zalk (1974) は肌の色だけを black と white にした人形 (髪の色, 目の色は同じ) を幼稚園の年長児 (平均 5 才 2 ヶ月) と年少児 (平均 3 才 11 ヶ月) に提示し, Clark らと同じ質問をした所, 「white doll に対する preference は見出されなかった」と報告している。

他方, 方法論上の問題点として指摘されることは, 黒人の子供にとって “nice doll”, “looks good”, “looks bad” といいた質問が一体何を意味しているのか, ということである。たとえば, 子どもたちが店頭で black doll を見かけることがなければ, その色の人形は ethnicity よりも unfamiliarity を意味するのではないか, との批判である (Brand, et al., 1974)。

この点について, Stephan & Rosenfield (1979) は segregation→self-rejection 仮説には次のような暗黙の前提があったと主張する。すなわち, ① 白い人形と黒い人形はそれぞれ白人と黒人を表わしている。② 白い人形を選択することは黒い人形を否定することであり, それはまた, 黒人を拒否することでもある。③ 黒人に対して好意的でなかったり, 彼らとの同一視を避けることは, self-rejection を表わす, という図式である。し

かしながら、彼らの質問紙調査の結果によれば、黒人生徒の self-rejection は白人生徒よりも高くないことが示されていた。

同じく McCarthy & Yancey (1971) の研究では、lower class の場合には、黒人生徒の方が白人生徒よりも高い self-esteem を示すが、middle-class の場合にはそれが逆転すること、が報告されている。

School Desegregation 以後の研究

1954年の最高裁判決は分離教育を憲法違反と断定したけれども、それは直ちに共学への移行 (biracial schooling) を意味するものではなかった。統合教育は社会目標として掲げられたけれども、それをいつ、いかなる形で実施すべきかの判断は各自治体に委ねられたからである。

その結果、最高裁判決の適用を免れるために、学区の変更を行ったり、学校を閉鎖してしまったり、公立学校から私立学校に衣がえするなど、各地でさまざまな抵抗が試みられた (表 6)。それはまた、黒人の側に新たな裁判闘争を強いるものであった。

表 6. Desegregated された学区の数 (Lewis, 1964)

学 年 度	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
学区の数	150	362	200	38	13	19	17	31	46	166

一方、この問題に対する Dwight Eisenhower 大統領の基本的な立場は静観であり、それは “I don't believe you can change the hearts of men with laws or decision”. というものであった。その結果、Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi といった州で統合教育への動きがみられたのは次の Kennedy 政権になってからのことであった。

そうした政治状況にもかかわらず、school desegregation は黒人児童に一体どのような変化をもたらしたのであるか。

この点については研究者側の立ち遅れ、対応のまずさが指摘されており、折角の研究の好機をみすみすみ逃してしまったと言われている (Cook, 1957, Pettigrew, 1961).

Coleman 報告 (1966) は 1964 年の Civil Rights Act の第 402 条に基づいて実施された全国調査の結果であり、そこでは教育の機会均等がどの程度実現されているのか、白人生徒と黒人生徒間の学力のギャップはどのようになっているのか、といった問題が調査項目に取りあげられた。それによると、① 最高裁判決にもかかわらず 10 年たった後でも、分離教育が公立学校において依然としてまかり通っていたこと、② しかしながら、教育施設に限定するかぎり、両者の格差はあまり大きくなかったこと、③ 学力の点では、④ 黒人生徒の言語能力テストの平均点は、白人生徒の平均点から 1 標準偏差分低かったこと、(d) この差異は学年とともに増大してい

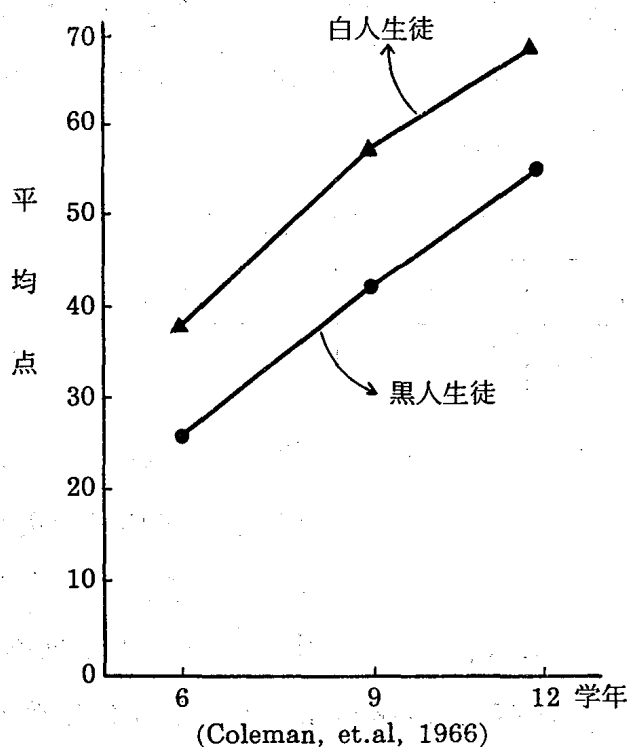


図 3. 白人及び黒人生徒の言語能力テストの結果
(北東部の大都市圏に在学する者の場合)

ること、㊦ 黒人生徒の言語能力テストの成績は学校の設備や教師の能力といったことよりも、白人生徒がクラス内に占める割合によって左右されること、が明らかにされた (図 3)。

St. John, N. H. (1975) はこの問題について、120 にも及ぶ関連研究をレビューしたうえで次のような結論を下している; 「school desegregation は成功したとも、失敗したとも言えない、というのが私の結論である」。確かに学力の面においては black-white gap が急速に解消されたとは言えないが、黒人生徒の学力を低下させることにはならなかった。たとえば、学力の向上は、㊧ 低学年の場合に、㊨ 科目は算数で、㊩ クラス内の白人生徒の構成比率が 50% 以上の場合、に報告されている。しかしながら、これらの知見も断定的なものとは言いがたいと述べている。

一方、Crain & Mahard (1978) は biracial schooling と黒人生徒の学業成績との関係を取りあげた研究についてのメタ分析を行っており、その結果からは、㊪ biracial schooling は黒人生徒の学力の向上をもたらすこと、㊫ しかしそれは強制的にせよ、低学年から共学が実施された場合であること、が明らかにされた。

Jones, L. V. (1984) は National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) 及び College Entrance Examination Board から得られたデータに基づき、「読解力と数学については依然として学力差がみられるものの、その差異は年々縮小しつつあると」結論づけている。

こうした知見を評価する場合、依然として学力差があることを重視するのか、それとも学力差が縮小しつつあることを重視するのかによって、desegregation の効果判定も異なってくることになる。これは個々の研究の積み重ねによって解決される問題ではなく、研究者自身の研究姿勢によって解決すべき問題と思われる (なお、school desegregation の今日的な問題については、Stephan & Feagin (1980) を参照)。

心理学者と School Segregation

本稿では Social Science Statement 及び doll test を通して、心理学者が school segregation の問題に対してどのような役割を演じてきたか、ということが論じられた。

今日の心理学者にとって、doll test の方法論上の問題点を指摘したり、その結果について異なる解釈を提示したりすることは難しいことではない (Banks, 1976; Vaughan, 1986)*。

しかしながら、そうしたことが単なる粗捜しに終わらないためには、正しい事実認識が必要である。すなわち、① Clark らの研究が NAACP の法廷戦術にあわせて行われたものではなく、それとは無関係に 10 年以上も前に行われたものであるということ。② Clark 自身が自らの研究の限界を認めていたこと。具体的には、NAACP の Robert Carter が「school segregation が黒人の子供たちの性格形成に悪影響を及ぼしていること」を立証するために Clark の所へ助言を求めにやってきたとき、Clark は「黒人に対する偏見や差別が制度化されてしまっている社会では、school segregation の要因だけを取り出して、その影響を論じることはできない」と説明したとのことである (Kluger, p. 353)。③ NAACP の Legal Defence Fund (裁判闘争を担当) の内部においても doll test に対しては強い批判があったこと。たとえば、“Jesus Christ, those damned doll I thought it was a joke”。と嘲笑する者もいたとのことである (Kluger,

* 特に問題となったのが、Clark が Briggs vs. Elliot 裁判で証言として持出した Clarendon County の結果であった。これは裁判所の命令で行われたものであるが、16人の黒人児童のうち(年齢は6~9才)、11人が colored doll を“bad”と答え、9人が white doll を“nice”と答えたというものである (Kluger, p. 330)。このデータに Banks の基準を適用すれば、これは有意差なしと結論される。

p. 321).

しかしながら、その後の doll test をめぐる展開は Clark 自身の説明にもかかわらず、doll test のなかから「segregation → self rejection among Negroes」の箇所だけが取り出されて独り歩きすることになってしまった。

このことは心理学の知見が他の分野の人たちによって、どのように利用されるかを示す一例であるが、他方では Clark 自身にも「機会があれば、NAACP の運動に参加したい」との政治運動への参加の願望があったことも指摘されている (Kluger, p. 321)。

「これまでの研究を検討した結果、心理学者として責任ある発言ができない」と証言を断ることも見識であるが、現実の差別を目のあたりにして敢えて証言をかってでるというのも一つの見識である。

勿論、そのツケは自らが負わなければならないが、自然科学の分野では理論上の誤りや自然現象の説明の誤りがさほど強く糾弾されないのに対して、心理学者の発言は得てして批判の対象になりやすいのは一体何故であろうか。

それはともかくとして、こうした状況では心理学者の発言も慎重にならざるをえないが、そうした慎重さがあるかぎり、その発言が大きな間違いをおかすことは少ないようである (Coleman, 1960; Clark, 1963)。

ただそれが実行に移されるかどうかは別問題である。一体いつになったら Martin, Luther, King, JR. 牧師の夢はかなえられるのであろうか*。

* I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal....". I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveholders will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.....

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付 表 1

Text of the Supreme Court Opinions**May 17, 1954**

Mr. Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a non-segregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction.² Argument was heard in the 1952 Term and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.³

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the

views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time.⁴ In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public education had already advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race.⁵ The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson supra*, involving not education but transportation.⁶ American courts have since labored with the doctrine for half a century. In this Court there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education.⁷ In *Cumming v. County Board of Education*, 175 U. S. 528, and *Cong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U. S. 78, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged.⁸ In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U. S. 337; *Sipuel v. Oklahoma*, 332 U. S. 631; *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339

U. S. 629; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U. S. 637. In none of these cases was it necessary to re-examine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter, supra*, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors.⁹ Our decision, therefore cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter, supra*, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, supra*, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considera-

tions: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may effect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system.¹⁰

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority.¹¹ Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹²

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question — the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term.¹³ The Attorney General of the United States is again

invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as *amici curiae* upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.¹⁴

It is so ordered.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA DECISION

Mr. Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court.

This case (*Bolling v. Sharpe*) challenges the validity of segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia. The petitioners, minors of the Negro race, allege that such segregation deprives them of due process of law under the Fifth Amendment. They were refused admission to a public school attended by white children solely because of their race. They sought the aid of the District Court for the District of Columbia in obtaining admission. That court dismissed their complaint. We granted a writ of certiorari before judgment in the Court of Appeals because of the importance of the constitutional question presented. 344 U. S. 873.

We have this day held that the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools.¹⁵ The legal problem in the District of Columbia is somewhat different, however. The Fifth Amendment, which is applicable in the District of Columbia, does not contain an equal protection clause as does the Fourteenth Amendment which applies only to the states. But the concepts of equal protection and due process, both stemming from our American ideal of fairness, are not mutually exclusive. The "equal protection of the laws" is a more explicit safeguard of prohibited unfairness than "due process of law," and, therefore, we do not imply that the two are always interchangeable phrases. But, as this Court has recognized, discrimination may be so unjustifiable as to be violative of due process.¹⁶

Classifications based solely upon race must be scrutinized with particular care since they are contrary to our traditions and hence constitutionally suspect.¹⁷ As long ago as 1896, this Court declared the principle "that the Constitution of the United States, in its present form, forbids, so far as civil and political rights are concerned, discrimination by the General Government, or by the States, against any citizen because of his race."¹⁸ And in *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U. S. 60, the Court held that a statute which limited the right of a property owner to convey his property to a person of another race was, as an unreasonable discrimination, a denial of due process of law.

Although the Court has not assumed to define "liberty" with any great precision, that term is not confined to mere freedom from bodily restraint. Liberty under law extends to the full range of conduct

which the individual is free to pursue, and it cannot be restricted except for a proper governmental objective. Segregation in public education is not reasonably related to any proper governmental objective, and thus imposes on Negro children of the District of Columbia a burden that constitutes an arbitrary deprivation on their liberty in violation of the Due Process Clause.

In view of our decision that the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the Federal Government.¹⁹ We hold that racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia is a denial of the due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

For the reasons set out in *Brown v. Board of Education*, this case will be restored to the docket for reargument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court. 345 U. S. 972.

It is so ordered.

THE SUPREME COURT'S FOOTNOTES

¹ In the Kansas case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of elementary school age residing in Topeka. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas to enjoin enforcement of a Kansas statute which permits, but does not require, cities of more than 15,000 population to maintain separate school facilities for Negro and white students. Kan. Gen. Stat. (Sec.) 72-1724 (1949). Pursuant to that authority, the Topeka Board of Education elected to establish segregated elementary schools. Other public schools in the community, however, are operated on a non-segregated basis. The three-judge District Court, convened under 28 U. S. C. (Secs.) 2281 and 2284, found that segregation in public education has a detrimental effect upon Negro children, but denied relief on the ground that the Negro and white schools were substantially equal with respect to buildings, transportation, curricula, and educational qualifications of teachers. 98 F. Supp. 797. The case is here on direct appeal upon 28 U. S. C. (Sec.) 1253.

In the South Carolina case, *Briggs v. Elliott*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of both elementary and high school age residing in Clarendon County. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. S. C. Const., Art. XI, (Sec.) 7; S. C. Code (Sec.) 5377 (1942). The three-judge District Court, convened under 28 U. S. C. (Secs.) 2281 and 2284, denied the requested relief. The court found that the Negro schools were inferior to the white schools and ordered the defendants to begin immediately to equalize the facilities. But the court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program. 98 F. Supp. 529. This Court vacated the District Court's judgment

and remanded the case for the purpose of obtaining the court's views on a report filed by the defendants concerning the progress made in the equalization program. 342 U. S. 350. On remand, the District Court found that substantial equality had been achieved except for buildings and that the defendants were proceeding to rectify this inequality as well. 103 F. Supp. 920. The case is again here on direct appeal under 28 U. S. C. (Sec.) 1253.

In the Virginia case, *Davis v. County School Board*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of high school age residing in Prince Edward County. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. Va. Const., (Sec.) 140; Va. Code (Sec.) 22-221 (1950). The three-judge District Court, convened under 28 U. S. C. (Secs.) 2281 and 2284, denied the requested relief. The court found the Negro school inferior in physical plant, curricula, and transportation, and ordered the defendants forthwith to provide substantially equal curricula and transportation and to "proceed with all reasonable diligence and dispatch to remove" the inequality in physical plant. But, as in the South Carolina case, the court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program. 103 F. Supp. 337. The case is here on direct appeal under 28 U. S. C. (Sec.) 1253.

In the Delaware case, *Gebhart v. Belton*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of both elementary and high school age residing in New Castle County. They brought this action in the Delaware Court of Chancery to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. Del. Const., Art. X, (Sec.) 2; Del. Rev. Code (Sec.) 2631 (1935). The Chancellor gave judgment for the plaintiffs and ordered their immediate admission to schools previously attended only by white children, on the ground that the Negro schools were inferior with respect to teacher training, pupil-teacher ratio, extra-curricular activities, physical plant, and time and distance involved in travel. 87 A. 2d 862. The Chancellor also found that segregation itself results in an inferior education for Negro children (see note 10, *infra*), but did not rest his decision on that ground. *Id.*, at 865. The Chancellor's decree was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Delaware, which intimated, however, that the defendants might be able to obtain a modification of the decree after equalization of the Negro and white schools had been accomplished. 91 A. 2d 137, 152. The defendants, contending only that the Delaware courts had erred in ordering the immediate admission of the Negro plaintiffs to the white schools, applied to this Court for certiorari. The writ was granted, 344 U. S. 891. The plaintiffs, who were successful below, did not submit a cross-petition.

² 344 U. S. 1, 141, 891.

³ 345 U. S. 972. The Attorney General of the United States participated both Terms as *amicus curiae*.

⁴ For a general study of the development of public education prior to the Amendment, see Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (1953), Pts. I, II; Cubberley, *Public Education in the United*

States (1934 ed.), cc. II-XII. School practices current at the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment are described in Butts and Cremin, *supra*, at 269-275; Cubberley, *supra*, at 288-339, 408-431; Knight, *Public Education in the South* (1922), cc. VIII, IX. See also H. Ex. Doc. No. 315, 41st Cong., 2d Sess. (1871). Although the demand for free public schools followed substantially the same pattern in both the North and the South, the development in the South did not begin to gain momentum until about 1850, some twenty years after that in the North. The reasons for the somewhat slower development in the South (e.g., the rural character of the South and the different regional attitudes toward state assistance) are well explained in Cubberley, *supra*, at 408, 423. In the country as a whole, but particularly in the South, the War virtually stopped all progress in public education. *Id.*, at 427-428. The low status of Negro education in all sections of the country, both before and immediately after the War, is described in Beale, *A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (1941), 112-132, 175-195. Compulsory school attendance laws were not generally adopted until after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, and it was not until 1918 that such laws were in force in all the states. Cubberley, *supra*, at 563-565.

⁶ *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36, 67-72 (1873); *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U. S. 303, 307-308 (1879): "It ordains that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color? The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity, or right, most valuable to the colored race, — the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored, — exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race."

See also *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U. S. 313, 318 (1879); *Ex parte Virginia*, (100) U. S. 339, 344-345 (1879).

⁶ The doctrine apparently originated in *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 59 Mass. 198, 206 (1849), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality. Segregation in Boston public schools was eliminated in 1855. Mass. Acts 1855, c. 256. But elsewhere in the North segregation in public education has persisted until recent years. It is apparent that such segregation has long been a nationwide problem, not merely one of sectional concern.

⁷ See also *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U. S. 45 (1908).

⁸ In the *Cumming* case, Negro taxpayers sought an injunction requiring the defendant school board to discontinue the operation of a high school for white children until the board resumed operation of a high school for Negro children. Similarly, in the *Cong Lum* case, the plaintiff, a child of Chinese descent, contended only that state authorities had misapplied the doctrine

by classifying him with Negro children and requiring him to attend a Negro school.

⁹ In the Kansas case, the court below found substantial equality as to all such factors. 98 F. Supp. 797, 798. In the South Carolina case, the court below found that the defendants were proceeding "promptly and in good faith to comply with the court's decree." 103 F. Supp. 920, 921. In the Virginia case, the court below noted that the equalization program was already "afoot and progressing" (103 F. Supp. 377, 341); since then, we have been advised, in the Virginia Attorney General's brief on reargument, that the program has now been completed. In the Delaware case, the court below similarly noted that the state's equalization program was well under way. 91 A. 2d 137, 149.

¹⁰ A similar finding was made in the Delaware case: "I conclude from the testimony that in our Delaware society, State-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated." 87 A. 2d 862, 865.

¹¹ K. B. Clark, *Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development* (Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950); Witmer and Kotinsky, *Personality in the Making* (1952), c. VI; Deutscher and Chein, *The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation: A Survey of Social Science Opinion*, 26 J. Psychol. 259 (1948); Chein, *What Are the Psychological Effects of Segregation Under Conditions of Equal Facilities?*, 3 Int. J. Opinion and Attitude Res. 229 (1949); Brameld, *Educational Costs, in Discrimination and National Welfare* (McIver ed., 1949), 44-48; Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (1949), 674-681. And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944).

¹² See *Bolling v. Sharpe*, *infra*, concerning the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

¹³ "4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment

"(a) would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or

"(b) may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?"

"5. On the assumption on which questions 4 (a) and (b) are based, and assuming further that this Court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in question 4 (b).

"(a) should this Court formulate detailed decrees in these cases;

"(b) if so, what specific issues should the decrees reach;

"(c) should this Court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to recommending specific terms for such decrees;

"(d) should this Court remand to the courts of first instance with directions to frame decrees in these cases, and if so, what general directions should the decrees of this Court include and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at the specific terms of more detailed decrees?"

¹⁴ See Rule 42, Revised Rules of this Court (effective July 1, 1954).

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¹⁵ *Brown v. Board of Education*, — U. S. —.

¹⁶ *Detroit Bank v. United States*, 317 U. S. 329; *Currin v. Wallace*, 306 U. S. 1, 13-14, *Steward Machine Co. v. Davis*, 301 U. S. 548, 585.

¹⁷ *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U. S. 214, 216; *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U. S. 81, 100.

¹⁸ *Gibson v. Mississippi*, 162 U. S. 565, 591. Cf. *Steele v. Louisville & Nashville R. Co.*, 323 U. S. 192, 198-199.

¹⁹ Cf. *Hurd v. Dodge*, 334 U. S. 24.

(注) Clark, K. B. 1963 *Prejudice and Your Child* (2nd, ed) Boston: Beacon Press より転載.

付 表 2

Appendix to Appellant's Briefs

THE EFFECTS OF SEGREGATION AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF DESEGREGATION: A SOCIAL SCIENCE STATEMENT

I

The problem of the segregation of racial and ethnic groups constitutes one of the major problems facing the American people today. It seems desirable, therefore, to summarize the contributions which contemporary social science can make toward its resolution. There are, of course, moral and legal issues involved with respect to which the signers of the present statement cannot speak with any special authority and which must be taken into account in the solution of the problem. There are, however, also factual issues involved with respect to which certain conclusions seem to be justified on the basis of the available scientific evidence. It is with these issues only that this paper is concerned. Some of the issues have to do with the consequences of segregation, some with the problems of changing from segregated to unsegregated practices. These two groups of issues will be dealt

* No. 8. Oliver Brown, Mrs. Richard Lawton, Mrs. Sadie Emmanuel, *et al.*, Appellants, vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas, *et al.*

No. 101. Appellants, vs. R. W. Elliot, Chairman, J. D. Carson, *et al.*, Members of the Board of Trustees of School District No. 22, Clarendon County, S. C., *et al.*

No. 191. Dorothy E. Davis, Bertha M. Davis and Inez D. Davis, etc., *et al.*, Appellants, vs. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, *et al.*

with in separate sections below. It is necessary, first, however, to define and delimit the problem to be discussed.

DEFINITIONS

For purposes of the present statement, *segregation* refers to that restriction of opportunities for different types of associations between the members of one racial, religious, national or geographic origin, or linguistic group and those of other groups, which results from or is supported by the action of any official body or agency representing some branch of government. We are not here concerned with such segregation as arises from the free movements of individuals which are neither enforced nor supported by official bodies, nor with the segregation of criminals or of individuals with communicable diseases which aims at protecting society from those who might harm it.

Where the action takes place in a social milieu in which the groups involved do not enjoy equal social status, the group that is of lesser social status will be referred to as the *segregated* group.

In dealing with the question of the effects of segregation, it must be recognized that these effects do not take place in a vacuum, but in a social context. The segregation of Negroes and of other groups in the United States takes place in a social milieu in which "race" prejudice and discrimination exist. It is questionable in the view of some students of the problem whether it is possible to have segregation without substantial discrimination. Myrdal¹ states: "Segregation * * * is financially possible and, indeed, a device of economy only as it is combined with substantial discrimination" (p. 629). The imbeddedness of segregation in such a context makes it difficult to disentangle the effects of segregation *per se* from the effects of the context. Similarly, it is difficult to disentangle the effects of segregation from the effects of a pattern of social disorganization commonly associated with it and reflected in high disease and mortality rates, crime and de-

linquency, poor housing, disrupted family life and general sub-standard living conditions. We shall, however, return to this problem after consideration of the observable effects of the total complex in which segregation is a major component.

II

At the recent Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth, a fact-finding report on the effects of prejudice, discrimination and segregation on the personality development of children was prepared as a basis for some of the deliberations.² This report brought together the available social science and psychological studies which were related to the problem of how racial and religious prejudices influenced the development of a healthy personality. It highlighted the fact that segregation, prejudices and discriminations, and their social concomitants potentially damage the personality of all children — the children of the majority group in a somewhat different way than the more obviously damaged children of the minority group.

The report indicates that as minority group children learn the inferior status to which they are assigned — as they observe the fact that they are almost always segregated and kept apart from others who are treated with more respect by the society as a whole — they often react with feelings of inferiority and a sense of personal humiliation. Many of them become confused about their own personal worth. On the one hand, like all other human beings they require a sense of personal dignity; on the other hand, almost nowhere in the larger society do they find their own dignity as human beings respected by others. Under these conditions, the minority group child is thrown into a conflict with regard to his feelings about himself and his group. He wonders whether his group and he himself are worthy of no more respect than they receive. This conflict and confusion leads to self-hatred and rejection of his own group.

The report goes on to point out that these children must find ways with which to cope with this conflict. Not every child, of

course, reacts with the same patterns of behavior. The particular pattern depends upon many interrelated factors, among which are: the stability and quality of his family relations; the social and economic class to which he belongs; the cultural and educational background of his parents; the particular minority group to which he belongs; his personal characteristics, intelligence, special talents, and personality pattern.

Some children, usually of the lower socio-economic classes, may react by overt aggressions and hostility directed toward their own group or members of the dominant group.³ Anti-social and delinquent behavior may often be interpreted as reactions to these racial frustrations. These reactions are self-destructive in that the larger society not only punishes those who commit them, but often interprets such aggressive and anti-social behavior as justification for continuing prejudice and segregation.

Middle class and upper class minority group children are likely to react to their racial frustrations and conflicts by withdrawal and submissive behavior. Or, they may react with compensatory and rigid conformity to the prevailing middle class values and standards and an aggressive determination to succeed in these terms in spite of the handicap of their minority status.

The report indicates that minority group children of all social and economic classes often react with a generally defeatist attitude and a lowering of personal ambitions. This, for example, is reflected in a lowering of pupil morale and a depression of the educational aspiration level among minority group children in segregated schools. In producing such effects, segregated schools impair the ability of the child to profit from the educational opportunities provided him.

Many minority group children of all classes also tend to be hypersensitive and anxious about their relations with the larger society. They tend to see hostility and rejection even in those areas where these might not actually exist.

The report concludes that while the range of individual differences among members of a rejected minority group is as wide

as among other peoples, the evidence suggests that all of these children are unnecessarily encumbered in some ways by segregation and its concomitants.

With reference to the impact of segregation and its concomitants on children of the majority group, the report indicates that the effects are somewhat more obscure. Those children who learn the prejudices of our society are also being taught to gain personal status in an unrealistic and non-adaptive way. When comparing themselves to members of the minority group, they are not required to evaluate themselves in terms of the more basic standards of actual personal ability and achievement. The culture permits and at times, encourages them to direct their feelings of hostility and aggression against whole groups of people the members of which are perceived as weaker than themselves. They often develop patterns of guilt feelings, rationalizations and other mechanisms which they must use in an attempt to protect themselves from recognizing the essential injustice of their unrealistic fears and hatreds of minority groups.⁴

The report indicates further that confusion, conflict, moral cynicism, and disrespect for authority may arise in majority group children as a consequence of being taught the moral, religious and democratic principles of the brotherhood of man and the importance of justice and fair play by the same persons and institutions who, in their support of racial segregation and related practices, seem to be acting in a prejudiced and discriminatory manner. Some individuals may attempt to resolve this conflict by intensifying their hostility toward the minority group. Others may react by guilt feelings which are not necessarily reflected in more humane attitudes toward the minority group. Still others react by developing an unwholesome, rigid, and uncritical idealization of all authority figures — their parents, strong political and economic leaders. As described in *The Authoritarian Personality*,⁵ they despise the weak, while they obsequiously and unquestioningly conform to the demands of the strong whom they also, paradoxically, subconsciously hate.

With respect to the setting in which these difficulties develop, the report emphasized the role of the home, the school, and other social institutions. Studies⁶ have shown that from the earliest school years children are not only aware of the status differences among different groups in the society but begin to react with the patterns described above.

Conclusions similar to those reached by the Mid-century White House Conference Report have been stated by other social scientists who have concerned themselves with this problem. The following are some examples of these conclusions:

Segregation imposes upon individuals a distorted sense of social reality.⁷

Segregation leads to a blockage in the communications and interaction between the two groups. Such blockages tend to increase mutual suspicion, distrust and hostility.⁸

Segregation not only perpetuates rigid stereotypes and reinforces negative attitudes toward members of the other group, but also leads to the development of a social climate within which violent outbreaks of racial tensions are likely to occur.⁹

We return now to the question, deferred earlier, of what it is about the total society complex of which segregation is one feature that produces the effects described above — or, more precisely, to the question of whether we can justifiably conclude that, as only one feature of a complex social setting, segregation is in fact a significantly contributing factor to these effects.

To answer this question, it is necessary to bring to bear the general fund of psychological and sociological knowledge concerning the role of various environmental influences in producing feelings of inferiority, confusions in personal roles, various types of basic personality structures and the various forms of personal and social disorganization.

On the basis of this general fund of knowledge, it seems likely that feelings of inferiority and doubts about personal worth are attributable to living in an underprivileged environment only insofar as the latter is itself perceived as an indicator of low

social status and as a symbol of inferiority. In other words, one of the important determinants in producing such feelings is the awareness of social status difference. While there are many other factors that serve as reminders of the differences in social status, there can be little doubt that the fact of enforced segregation is a major factor.¹⁰

This seems to be true for the following reasons among others: (1) because enforced segregation results from the decision of the majority group without the consent of the segregated and is commonly so perceived; and (2) because historically segregation patterns in the United States were developed on the assumption of the inferiority of the segregated.

In addition, enforced segregation gives official recognition and sanction to these other factors of the social complex, and thereby enhances the effects of the latter in creating the awareness of social status differences and feelings of inferiority.¹¹ The child who, for example, is compelled to attend a segregated school may be able to cope with ordinary expressions of prejudice by regarding the prejudiced person as evil or misguided; but he cannot readily cope with symbols of authority, the full force of the authority of the State — the school or the school board, in this instance — in the same manner. Given both the ordinary expression of prejudice and the school's policy of segregation, the former takes on greater force and seemingly becomes an official expression of the latter.

Not all of the psychological traits which are commonly observed in the social complex under discussion can be related so directly to the awareness of status differences — which in turn is, as we have already noted, materially contributed to by the practices of segregation. Thus, the low level of aspiration and defeatism so commonly observed in segregated groups is undoubtedly related to the level of self-evaluation; but it is also, in some measure, related among other things to one's expectations with regard to opportunities for achievement and, having achieved, to the opportunities for making use of these achieve-

ments. Similarly, the hypersensitivity and anxiety displayed by many minority group children about their relations with the larger society probably reflects their awareness of status differences; but it may also be influenced by the relative absence of opportunities for equal status contact which would provide correctives for prevailing unrealistic stereotypes.

The preceding view is consistent with the opinion stated by a large majority (90%) of social scientists who replied to a questionnaire concerning the probable effects of enforced segregation under conditions of equal facilities. This opinion was that, regardless of the facilities which are provided, enforced segregation is psychologically detrimental to the members of the segregated group.¹²

Similar considerations apply to the question of what features of the social complex of which segregation is a part contribute to the development of the traits which have been observed in majority group members. Some of these are probably quite closely related to the awareness of status differences, to which, as has already been pointed out, segregation makes a material contribution. Others have a more complicated relationship to the total social setting. Thus, the acquisition of an unrealistic basis for self-evaluation as a consequence of majority group membership probably reflects fairly closely the awareness of status differences. On the other hand, unrealistic fears and hatreds of minority groups, as in the case of the converse phenomenon among minority group members, are probably significantly influenced as well by the lack of opportunities for equal status contact.

With reference to the probable effects of segregation under conditions of equal facilities on majority group members, many of the social scientists who responded to the poll in the survey cited above felt that the evidence is less convincing than with regard to the probable effects of such segregation on minority group members, and the effects are possibly less widespread. Nonetheless, more than 80% stated it as their opinion that the effects of such segregation are psychologically detrimental to the majority group members.¹³

It may be noted that many of these social scientists supported their opinions on the effects of segregation on both majority and minority groups by reference to one or another or to several of the following four lines of published and unpublished evidence.¹⁴ First, studies of children throw light on the relative priority of the awareness of status differentials and related factors as compared to the awareness of differences in facilities. On this basis, it is possible to infer some of the consequences of segregation as distinct from the influence of inequalities of facilities. Second, clinical studies and depth interviews throw light on the genetic sources and causal sequences of various patterns of psychological reaction; and, again, certain inferences are possible with respect to the effects of segregation *per se*. Third, there actually are some relevant but relatively rare instances of segregation with equal or even superior facilities, as in the cases of certain Indian reservations. Fourth, since there are inequalities of facilities in racially and ethnically homogeneous groups, it is possible to infer the kinds of effects attributable to such inequalities in the absence of effects of segregation and by a kind of subtraction to estimate the effects of segregation *per se* in situations where one finds both segregation and unequal facilities.

III

Segregation is at present a social reality. Questions may be raised, therefore, as to what are the likely consequences of desegregation.

One such question asks whether the inclusion of an intellectually inferior group may jeopardize the education of the more intelligent group by lowering educational standards or damage the less intelligent group by placing it in a situation where it is at a marked competitive disadvantage. Behind this question is the assumption, which is examined below, that the presently segregated groups actually are inferior intellectually.

The available scientific evidence indicates that much, perhaps all, of the observable differences among various racial and na-

tional groups may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences.¹⁵ It has been found, for instance, that the differences between the average intelligence test scores of Negro and white children decrease, and the overlap of the distributions increases, proportionately to the number of years that the Negro children have lived in the North.¹⁶ Related studies have shown that this change cannot be explained by the hypothesis of selective migration.¹⁷ It seems clear, therefore, that fears based on the assumption of innate racial differences in intelligence are not well founded.

It may also be noted in passing that the argument regarding the intellectual inferiority of one group as compared to another is, as applied to schools, essentially an argument for homogeneous groupings of children by intelligence rather than by race. Since even those who believe that there are innate differences between Negroes and whites in America in average intelligence grant that considerable overlap between the two groups exists, it would follow that it may be expedient to group together the superior whites and Negroes, the average whites and Negroes, and so on. Actually, many educators have come to doubt the wisdom of class groupings made homogeneous solely on the basis of intelligence.¹⁸ Those who are opposed to such homogeneous grouping believe that this type of segregation, too, appears to create generalized feelings of inferiority in the child who attends a below average class, leads to undesirable emotional consequences in the education of the gifted child, and reduces learning opportunities which result from the interaction of individuals with varied gifts.

A second problem that comes up in an evaluation of the possible consequences of desegregation involves the question of whether segregation prevents or stimulates inter-racial tension and conflict and the corollary question of whether desegregation has one or the other effect.

The most direct evidence available on this problem comes from observations and systematic study of instances in which desegregation has occurred. Comprehensive reviews of such instances¹⁹

clearly establish the fact that desegregation has been carried out successfully in a variety of situations although outbreaks of violence had been commonly predicted. Extensive desegregation has taken place without major incidents in the armed services in both Northern and Southern installations and involving officers and enlisted men from all parts of the country, including the South.²⁰ Similar changes have been noted in housing²¹ and industry.²² During the last war, many factories both in the North and South hired Negroes on a non-segregated, non-discriminatory basis. While a few strikes occurred, refusal by management and unions to yield quelled all strikes within a few days.²³

Relevant to this general problem is a comprehensive study of urban race riots which found that race riots occurred in segregated neighborhoods, whereas there was no violence in sections of the city where the two races lived, worked and attended school together.²⁴

Under certain circumstances desegregation not only proceeds without major difficulties, but has been observed to lead to the emergence of more favorable attitudes and friendlier relations between races. Relevant studies may be cited with respect to housing,²⁵ employment,²⁶ the armed services²⁷ and merchant marine,²⁸ recreation agency,²⁹ and general community life.³⁰

Much depends, however, on the circumstances under which members of previously segregated groups first come in contact with others in unsegregated situations. Available evidence suggests, first, that there is less likelihood of unfriendly relations when the change is simultaneously introduced into all units of a social institution to which it is applicable — *e.g.*, all of the schools in a school system or all of the shops in a given factory.³¹ When factories introduced Negroes in only some shops but not in others the prejudiced workers tended to classify the desegregated shops as inferior, "Negro work." Such objections were not raised when complete integration was introduced.

The available evidence also suggests the importance of consistent and firm enforcement of the new policy by those in

authority.³² It indicates also the importance of such factors as: the absence of competition for a limited number of facilities or benefits,³³ the possibility of contacts which permit individuals to learn about one another as individuals,³⁴ and the possibility of equivalence of positions and functions among all of the participants within the unsegregated situation.³⁵ These conditions can generally be satisfied in a number of situations, as in the armed services, public housing developments, and public schools.

IV

The problem with which we have here attempted to deal is admittedly on the frontiers of scientific knowledge. Inevitably, there must be some differences of opinion among us concerning the conclusiveness of certain items of evidence, and concerning the particular choice of words and placement of emphasis in the preceding statement. We are nonetheless in agreement that this statement is substantially correct and justified by the evidence, and the differences among us, if any, are of a relatively minor order and would not materially influence the preceding conclusions.

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(注) Clark, K. B. 1963 Prejudice and Your Child (2nd, ed.) Boston: Beacon Press より転載。但し、脚注は省略。