Minority children's perception of race: A child-centered ethnographic approach

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Considering that it meets the conditions to apply for the title of Doctor and for its presentation before the corresponding committee.

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To my beloved husband, Ricardo Rial Martinez, who supported me with everything he had and to my father-in-law, Jose Maria Gómez-Reino Lecoq, who walked with me literally through my studies until he died.

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Abstract

This doctoral thesis examines young minority children's perception of race in relation to other socially constructed concepts, ethnicity, culture, and nationality. All these historically and socially crucial concepts and children's perspective are explored from an ethnographic perspective in an NGO, which includes participant observation, a doll study, and child-centered activities as well as a focus group discussion with the staff of the NGO. By using triangulation methodology, the study tries to cover the subject, race, from different aspects and in different contexts in the daily lives of children of minority origin. Accordingly, based on the collected data through various complementary methods in various contexts, the study suggests that children of minority origin have a very complex way of constructing race, ethnicity, culture, and nationality in terms of both physical and cultural traits.

Keywords: race, ethnicity, culture, religion, skin color, children of minority origin, triangulation methodology.

Resumen

Esta tesis doctoral analiza la percepción acerca de la raza que tienen los/as niños/as pequeños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales en relación con otros conceptos construidos socialmente, como la etnicidad, la cultura o la nacionalidad. Se exploran la construcción social e histórica de estos conceptos, así como la perspectiva de los/as niños/as, a partir de una perspectiva etnográfica en una ONG, que incorpora la observación participante, el *"doll study"*, actividades centradas en los/as niños/as, así como un grupo de discusión con el personal de la ONG. Por medio de la triangulación metodológica, el estudio aborda el tema de la raza bajo diversos aspectos y en diferentes contextos de la vida diaria de los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales. En consecuencia, el estudio sugiere que estos/as niños/as tienen una forma muy compleja de construir la raza, la etnicidad, la cultura y la nacionalidad en términos tanto de rasgos físicos como culturales.

Palabras clave: raza, etnicidad, cultura, religión, color de la piel, niños/as de minorías raciales, triangulación metodológica.

Resumo

Esta tese de doutoramento analiza a percepción da raza que teñen os/as nenos/as pequenos/as pertencentes a minorías raciais en relación con outros conceptos construídos socialmente, como a etnicidade, a cultura ou a nacionalidade. A construción social e histórica destes conceptos, así como a perspectiva da infancia, son exploradas dende unha perspectiva etnográfica nunha ONG, que incorpora a observación participante, o "*doll study*", actividades centradas nos/as nenos/as, así como un grupo de discusión con persoal da ONG. A través da triangulación metodolóxica, o estudo aborda o tema da raza baixo diversos aspectos e en diferentes contextos da vida cotiá dos/as nenos/as pertencentes a minorías raciais. En consecuencia, o estudo suxire que teñen unha forma moi complexa de construír a raza, a etnicidade, a cultura e a nacionalidade en termos de trazos físicos e culturais.

Palabras chave: raza, etnicidade, cultura, relixión, cor de pel, nenos/as de minorías raciais, triangulación metodolóxica.

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Introduction

A group of three- to seven-year-old children sit in a classroom in an after-school program provided by an NGO. All of them were born to migrant families from African or Latin American countries. Just to make conversation, I ask them what seems like a very simple question: "What did you eat today at school?" The response given by a three-year-old boy of Senegalese origin, however, took me by surprise; "The Blacks ate chicken with rice, and the Whites ate chorizo[1] with potatoes." This raises questions about the social and cognitive processes that contribute to such generalizations. How many concepts, symbols, and observed messages have influenced this deduction? It is fascinating to analyze how children construct categories related to race, culture, and nationality.

Children hold great importance in our society, especially for our future, as they provide alternative perspectives that can help adults broaden their worldviews. However, people and academic literature tend to relate and think of children in two specific contexts more than others: family and education. Although this has started to change recently, the weight of these contexts can still be seen clearly in some specific ways in the academic literature. While family can be a more social place and educative at the same time, education is mainly reduced to schools or academic achievement as if the learning process is confined to classroom desks, within the walls of schools or limited to exam grades. What many ignore or forget is that learning is an ongoing process that occurs throughout life, regardless of age. Once we can look from this perspective, a child's position can also change, and she or he can be considered an active and influential part of society. Especially considering the institutional caring for children, which has emerged strongly in more industrialized countries –daycare, early childhood education, and NGOs (non-governmental organizations)–, children begin to engage with the outside world much earlier than before in most of the developing and developed countries. This should also make us reconsider the significance of understanding children's perspectives in other contexts. A straightforward example may help to clarify this. When a child goes out to buy a loaf of bread, she or he simultaneously employs various verbal and non-verbal skills. The simple interaction between the seller, the child, and the environment are processed, observed, and most likely serves as a learning opportunity for a child, even though it may seem like a very basic activity to do for an adult.

[1] "a spicy or sweet ground pork sausage that is seasoned especially with smoked paprika, is used chiefly in Spanish cooking, and is typically sold dried and cured in casings" (Merriam-Webster, 2023).

Each person has their background and perspective; therefore, as much as being different or even unique in ways that differ from others, we sometimes also have physical features and ways of thinking in common. The similarities can bring people together as well as the differences. Studies conducted with young children show that children as young as three years old start to make sense of differences and similarities in the things that they can see and touch. This includes the physical characteristics of people such as appearance, family background, and economic background, and depend on the quality and quantity of the products that they use, the neighborhood in which they live, the attitude the teachers have toward the children personally and in front of others, and their success or failure in school subjects. (Clark & Clark, 1947; Derman-Sparks, 2012; Goodman, 1964; Katz, 2003). All these similarities and differences, along with other factors, can create problems or, on the contrary, can ease the lives of children and directly affect their perspectives. Of these differences, I focus on race (mainly as an appearance like skin color), culture, religion, ethnicity, and identity (nationality or belonging), most of which have visible repercussions in the daily lives of children of minority origin as they have a different background and perspectives in this study.

Unlike most studies, this thesis addresses these complex issues not in a school but in an NGO, which I call a semi-formal setting, because children do not have a formal authority figure, strict rules, or schedule to follow as they do in schools. In order to do this, I spent time with children in a class-like room where different activities were conducted in the NGO, but also in playgrounds and extracurricular activities outside the NGO during one academic year. I believe that to be able to see the reasons behind an action or a sentence of a child about race, culture, or identity; it is essential to cover various factors, because sometimes, when children say something, they may not necessarily be saying the thing we (adults) understand at first hearing and in a specific context.

Humans are biologically disposed to binary perception that, on an evolutionary level, help us to make snap judgements that ensure our safety –dividing others into insider and outsider categories based on superficial characteristics. This does not mean we are born racists, nationalist, Islamophobic, xenophobic, or ethnocentric. However, we are all born into societies where racist, nationalist, and ethnocentric ideas play a crucial role, and, in some ways, these shape our perceptions consciously or unconsciously. Therefore, I believe we should start from an earlier point to see how these concepts emerge and take shape as human beings get older and gain experience. This (may) require using distinct methods together, especially in this globalized world and in a country like Spain, where many different historical, racial, ethnic, religious, economic, and cultural backgrounds inhabit altogether.

The emergence of the topic of the study and the researcher's perspective

Not being conditioned to the things that have been said or labeled is almost impossible in the society in which we grow up. Through personal and historical experiences, as a person or in a society, we are inclined to judge people based on generalizations (based on what we think we know) about countries, nations, events, physical features, social practices, and history. When I realized this, my actual research began.

I was born in Istanbul (Türkiye[2]) and have been a migrant since I was born if we consider internal migration. I lived in various cities in Türkiye (Marmaris, Antalya, Ankara, and Istanbul) for different reasons. I studied Sociology at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara until mid-2014. After graduating, I moved back to Istanbul to work, and in the middle of 2015, I moved to A Coruña to volunteer at an NGO for a year. Since the middle of 2016, I have been living in Barcelona, and I still do not think the migration journey has stopped for me yet. Meanwhile, I obtained Spanish nationality around 2020.

I went to Tbilisi (Georgia) in 2011 for the Turkish-Armenian relations project of AEGEE Ankara (Association des états généraux des étudiants de l'Europe). The project involved collaboration between Turks and Armenians. To avoid any potential hostile attitudes that might have arisen in either country due to their closed border, it was decided that the project meeting would be held in Georgia—a neutral ground and a neighboring country to both parties. Therefore, the participants were not only from Türkiye, Armenia, or Georgia, but others from Slovenia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Germany, and Italy, who were also interested.

Attending my first international meeting outside of Türkiye made me realize that my identity was strongly tied to my country, which was associated with prevalent media interpretations of Türkiye's characteristics and religious practices. Although this may seem like a critique of the other participants, I came to understand that I was also thinking and acting similarly to them, as I reflected on my interactions in the days following the event.

I think there are two main reasons why this happened and called my attention, maybe more than it should have been. One of them is because we talked about our countries, and how the position of Türkiye in geopolitical, social, cultural, historical, and political terms differed from the others. Other participants who have not been to Türkiye or met a Turkish person said that Turkish people in person were different than how they expected given their representation in the media. I believe that was because Turkish people were and are mainly represented as

[2] The name "Turkey" was changed to "Türkiye" by the Republic of Türkiye in December 2021 (Resmî Gazete, 2021).

The name change from "Turkey" to "Türkiye" is also accepted officially by the US (*DOS*, (n.d.)).

Muslims, teetotalers, conservatives, and wearing hijabs. The second reason is, like the other people in the AEGEE group, I also had expectations and prejudices that I was not aware of when I was in my country, more for some than others, naturally depending on historical relationships and representations such as for Georgians, Italians, Germans, and Azerbaijanis.

In 2013, I went to Lisbon (Portugal) for a six-month Erasmus study. Everybody in Türkiye prepared me for the very likely difficulties that I might come across in Portugal (Europe). As much as the weight of responsibility as a representative of Türkiye, this time, I developed a defense mechanism for the possible discussions about the Ottoman Empire, Islam, pork, alcohol, Germany, kebab, and the country's European Union candidacy. All these concerns passed quickly because I realized that Turkish people were not an important part of the public imaginary in Portugal, but the Brazilians were. Then, I began to understand and had the chance to look at things from the outside. The Portuguese focus on Brazilians was more complex than simple or direct rejection (aversion, prejudice…), but in many instances was conditioned by deep-seated and apparently unconscious racist attitudes. The historical colonial relationship and the current political relationship play a crucial role, among other factors. As part of a course assignment, Portuguese Migration in Local Perspective, given by Miguel Moniz at ISCTE/University Institute of Lisbon, I needed to conduct research, and I used this chance to compare my impression of the feelings of Brazilians living in Portugal. Through this curiosity, I researched how Brazilians living in Portugal, permanently or temporarily, perceive Portugal and Portuguese people and how Brazilians think Portuguese people perceive them. The results confirmed my expectations. Most Brazilian participants living in Lisbon believed that Portuguese people were biased against them. The reason for that went beyond historical relations and was also about the economic situation in Portugal. Portuguese people were mainly concerned about job competition with Brazilians in their own country. During those six months of Erasmus, I visited Galicia (Spain) several times, and I could not see the same tense relationship between the Galician/Spanish people and immigrants. Upon further reflection, I came to understand that my limited visit prevented me from exploring the subject matter in greater depth.

In 2015, I came to A Coruña (Galicia, Spain) as a volunteer at an NGO, mainly helping immigrants, for a year with a project of the European Union (EU) called European Volunteer Service (EVS). During this period, I had the chance to observe real prejudices, expectations, migrants, migration, racism, ethnocentrism, Black, White, Brown, Latin, non-European, Muslim, and other kinds of differences that I was not able to see when I was only visiting Spain or living in Türkiye. Furthermore, I also did master's research on international migration studies that year at the University of A Coruña. Since I was working both with adults and

children and mainly with immigrants, I had a chance to deeply observe their lives and the obstacles they faced by conducting a study with them as a part of my course requirement. Eventually, I decided to conduct research with children of minority origin for my thesis because of an incident that happened in my first months of volunteering at the NGO. This early event, referred to as "the critical incident" in the study, strongly defined my research trajectory, shaping my research design for my master's thesis, which served as a pilot study for my doctoral thesis.

The critical incident

I spent time volunteering in the NGO's after-school tutoring program for children of minority origin when I witnessed an incident that involved three children in August 2015. I was with two other Spanish volunteers. Coming back from the athletics activity as the volunteers and children always did, the girls (whose ages ranged from nine to twelve) were talking to each other, at least in the beginning. Later, they began to get louder, and the talk turned into an argument. In a moment, even before anybody could say or do something, one of the girls was on the ground, and the other two girls—with origins in Colombia and Bolivia and whose skin colors were lighter than hers—began kicking the girl and saying that she deserved it because she was Black.

In the beginning, as volunteers and those responsible for the children, we did not interfere because they had fun out loud with each other all the time. However, we were shocked when we heard that the issue was about skin color, and that it turned into aggression. After separating them, we talked to the children to see why they did this and whether they knew what they were talking about. The answers were even more surprising than the incident; they did not have any concrete idea what they were saying when they teased her for her skin color. However, one of the girls mentioned that she heard an argument about it in the school. In the end, they apologized to her, and in the following months, we did not witness a fight related to this subject among the children at the NGO.

In this incident, there were three main significant points of distinction: the children's age range, skin color, and the subject of the discussion. Even as young as nine to twelve, without having acquired adult concepts of race and racism, the girls put these notions into action by considering that skin color was a significant identifier and reason for a fight, a discussion, or an argument. Furthermore, the subject they fought over was another crucial and interesting factor since most children did not have a skin color that might allow them to identify or be identified as "White." They mostly seemed different from White Spanish people and looked more like each other. They were all from different countries, such as Senegal, the Dominican

Republic, and Bolivia, among others. Consequently, the incident became the inspiration for my studies, the pilot study in 2015, and the current research in 2017.

The critical incident not only made me realize the significance of the children—especially children of minority origin—but also the importance of their perceptions through other minorities rather than White Spanish people of the host country and the significance of informal settings like NGOs. As mentioned, children have not been the most prevalent research participants for a long time, and this tradition or concern still continues in some social sciences studies. This may be explained through researchers' conflicting perspectives. Some see children as active social actors (beings) of society and, therefore, as valid and reliable participants, while others see them as potential social actors ("becomings") (Qvortrup, 2009b, p. 31) and, therefore, unreliable informants. These perspectives and approaches are addressed later in more detail.

The opportunity to interact with children provided by my volunteering experience has convinced me that adults should take children more seriously as active members of society in order to understand their future actions. In the end, children are not different from adults as they base their actions on their perceptions and understanding of accumulated experiences. Moreover, my observations of interactions of children of minority origin with each other also revealed tensions that have not been sufficiently explored in migration studies, which tend to ignore the variety among migrants and minorities. They mainly study the relations between migrants and the host society, as seen extensively in the academic literature. The incident and the tendencies in the academic literature are why I decided to conduct research with children of minority origin –as active participants and members of society– and focus on their perceptions of each other and others. Another crucial shortcoming in the academic literature is the limitation of studies about children to schools, families, and their success in language or school subjects. Considering the incident, I believe this kind of interaction can be improbable to come across in school, where the presence of teachers and rules prohibit such spontaneous expressions. That is why I think we should open our perspective and expand our research settings as researchers to be able to see other perspectives and elements that affect children. This is also the main reason that made me conduct these studies in the semi-formal setting of an NGO.

On the other hand, migration studies tend to see migrants as a unit of analysis and forget that groups or individuals may not be experiencing being immigrants or minorities in the same way (Glick Schiller, 2009). This mainly depends on two things: the host country and the identity (ethnic, political, national, religious) of the immigrant or minority. Each individual, group, or sending country has its own historical and cultural background and political relations with the

host country. Therefore, different concerns should be taken into account while analyzing groups rather than generalizing them under one unit. Moreover, the political and social situation of the immigrants can vary significantly for the "better" or "worse" from one country to another as well as the attitudes of immigrants and citizens of the host country. Hence, to study migration and the effects of these and the people's experience, researchers may need to go into the details, such as the background of the immigrants, political and historical background of the home and the host country, among other essential factors that may play a role behind the events and actions of people.

Spain historically has a long relationship with Latin American countries. Because of that, today, Latin American people are subject to less rigid regulations or have easier access to certain rights. Although the Latin American population represents almost 28% of the total number of non-nationals living in Spain at the beginning of 2021, other migrant communities are also statistically significant (*INE*, (n.d.)). In order, the top two nationalities in Spain are Moroccans and Romanians followed by the UK, Italy, and China. Furthermore, Spain is a relatively new host country since it has been a sending country for a long time. Therefore, having a variety of immigrants and minorities with different needs does not ease the process of adaptation both for the state and the society.

Migrants from countries that do not have a post-colonial relationship with Spain are more likely to encounter obstacles based on cultural and linguistic differences with respect to the practices of the host country. For instance, the insufficient number of mosques can be a problem for Muslim communities, such as Moroccans and Senegalese, or the eating habits of Muslims can present a problem if the school cafeterias serve the same non-halal menu to all the children, or the language can be an obstacle for both the adults and children. Providing or resolving all of these issues at the state and the societal level at once is difficult.

Looking at the numbers at the level of autonomous regions, Catalonia, the Community of Madrid, and Andalusia are the regions that host the majority of the immigrants in Spain. Each region has different characteristics that attract immigrants within the state or even among other European countries. For instance, Catalonia and the Community of Madrid are important destinations in terms of job opportunities. Conversely, Andalusia provides shelter depending on geography, cultural background, tourism, and job opportunities such as agriculture.

Among the seventeen autonomous communities, Galicia has one of the lowest proportions of the foreign-born population (4.3% in 2021). However, its position improves considering the percentage of the foreign-born population (9.4%) (*INE*, (n.d.)); it is the one that I focus on in this study. Even though Galicia is not as attractive as the other autonomous communities for

all migrants because its limited industrial development affords relatively few employments, it has its positive characteristics for others, such as language, specific job opportunities, and being a border region. Some immigrants choose Galicia due to its geographic position, which is the case primarily for Portuguese migrants. Regarding language, Galician, Galicia provides more for the Lusophones like Brazilians and Cape Verdeans. Moreover, unlike other communities, Galicia has a developed seafood-related industry among other sectors, this is one of the most important ones, and the immigrants whose professions are in these areas can find a job much easier in Galicia compared to other regions such as the Community of Madrid or Catalonia.

In Galicia, the most populated province is A Coruña and then Pontevedra. The immigrant population is also similarly divided between these two provinces. Accordingly, most local, national, and international NGOs are located in A Coruña (Costa Sánchez, 2013).

The research aims, objectives, and the research questions

Witnessing children's interactions in different contexts closely, I realized that there is more in children's way of communication, what and how they transmit their ideas and select their words, than what we hear from them casually. The first impactful interaction was the critical incident for me mentioned above and, following that, the pilot study. The idea of this research project was based on the same socially constructed significant concepts, such as race, ethnicity, nation, and religion, as a part of the culture that everybody uses or refers to in their daily lives, verbally or non-verbally, implicitly or explicitly. Even though these concepts are commonly studied, they are rarely observed and analyzed from children's perspectives, nor whether or how children use or refer to these socially constructed concepts in their daily lives.

With the inspiration and curiosity that was raised through the incident and the pilot study, I designed the current research. There were, however, some crucial differences between these two studies: the background of the participants, the number of participants, and the age range of the participants. That is why even though these two studies each focus on the same concepts and children's perspectives, they differ from each other methodologically. Accordingly, this study aims to gain a perspective on how young children of minority origin racialize socially constructed concepts like skin color, religion, ethnicity, nationality, and multicultural identity and use these as a proxy to understand, transmit, contextualize, communicate, and respond to the phenomena happening in their daily lives.

Children of a young age do not use the concepts of race, skin color, ethnicity, nationality, religion, or culture in a way adults would do. Therefore, in order to reach the children's perspective in different contexts and environments, this study uses different complementary

techniques, also known as triangulation methodology. Accordingly, four research objectives and research questions emerged:

> (1) How do young children of minority origin understand "difference" using physical characteristics and cultural traits based on their daily life experiences?

Young children use symbols to make sense of their world and learn through observation and experience. To understand how children of minority backgrounds interpret "difference" in their daily lives, participating in their daily activities and observing them can provide valuable insight.

> (2) How do young children of minority origin interpret key concepts like race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality?

Young children may not use concepts such as race and religion in the same way as older children or adults. Their understanding may be more practical and focused on the context in which they are used rather than the familiar names or references that adults use. Thus, spending time with children can help one identify symbols or actions that hold meaning for them.

> (3) How do young children of minority origin racialize skin color, religion, culture, and nationality?

This study aims to understand how young children of minority origin understand, interpret, and racialize socially constructed concepts. Unlike adults, young children may express their understanding through actions rather than words. By presenting various topics in different contexts to children, we can gain a broader understanding of their perspectives and avoid making assumptions based on limited information.

> (4) How do young children of minority origin construct multicultural identities in transnational social fields?

Young children of minority origin who grow up by being exposed to various cultural traits can conceptualize and contextualize events and meanings from different perspectives than other children. Naturally, this may also affect their way of identity construction and the ways that children of minority origin understand and accept culture or ways of life in multiple overlapping contexts.

Overview and the structure of the thesis

In the introduction, I present the reason for my interest in the topic, the emergence of the study, the research aims, objectives, and the research questions. This is followed by the literature

review, where the key concepts of the study, race, ethnicity, skin color, religion, culture, nationality, and children's position in the academic literature, are reported. Later, the pilot study gives a perspective on the current study's research design and analysis. The pilot study is followed by the research design and methodology, which is structured based on triangulation methodology. The analysis focuses on the meaningful relation of the key concepts from young children of minority origin's perspective. Lastly, in the conclusion, the study's highlights are summarized, and the recommendations for future studies are mentioned based on the successes, failures, and insufficiencies encountered during the study.

Chapter 1, the literature review, is divided into two major sections. The first section focuses on the historical, academic, and social changes in the use and meaning of the socially constructed key concepts, race, racism, ethnicity, nationality, and racialization. The second section of the literature review has four main sections. First, it starts by focusing on how children's position altered and gained importance through the years in the academy in different disciplines, especially psychology, and later how it involved and evolved in other disciplines, mainly by focusing on sociology and anthropology. Then, the (newly) developed child-centered techniques and the place and contribution of the participant observation for conducting research with children are discussed. Lastly, the common concerns of research with children, how to conduct research with children, and what factors should be considered before and while engaging with children are presented.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the pilot study. The pilot is significant to understand how this study's aims and methodology were shaped through previous work; therefore, an introduction to the pilot study is included in this chapter, and importantly, the background of the participants, the methodology, and some crucial findings gathered from this study. This chapter is especially positioned between the literature review and the methodology. The critical incident as the inspiration of these studies has been mentioned throughout the introduction. However, more details need to be addressed before presenting the current study's methodology and analysis since some parts of this study have been affected directly by my experience in the pilot study.

Chapter 3, research design and methodology, has various sections. It starts with the research context, which depicts the background of the participants and a detailed description of the environment where the research was conducted. Then, the methodology is divided into three major parts. Each technique of the triangulation methodology is explained in detail: participant observation, child-centered techniques, doll study, and the focus group discussion with the NGO staff. This is followed by a summary of all techniques to show how they worked together and contributed to the study. Lastly, the research limitation focuses on the issues faced during the study.

Chapter 4, where the collected data is presented, analyzed, and discussed in detail, has six sections. The first one is called “All the Blacks are from Senegal.” This section focuses on how young children of minority origin perceive skin color and nationality based on the data collected through triangulation methodology. The second section is called “The Blacks ate chicken with rice, and the Whites ate chorizo with potatoes.” This examines how the children understand and relate different traits like skin color and culture. The third section focuses on the preferential questions of the doll study adapted from the original and other related data collected through observation and child-centered methods. Section four is about the comparison of the home and the host countries. The following section is about how adults perceive young children of minority origin and its possible effects on children’s perception through data collected from the focus group discussion and outsider adults. The last section is the summary of the main results.

Chapter 5, the conclusion, starts by answering the research questions in relation to the research aims and overall findings. It continues by introducing the contributions to the academic literature of children and race studies. It also reflects on the challenges and limitations encountered during the study. The following section is about the recommendations for future studies and finishes with an overall reflection on the study.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

Studying young children's perspectives on race has not been one of the most prevalent topics among social scientists. One of the reasons for this is that there are mainly two distinct ideas on children's position in society relating to how their agency is conceptualized. The division is related to the controversy over how to view children—whether they should be regarded as active social actors (beings and the subjects of the study) or entities (becomings and the objects of the study) of society. Another important contentious reason is the difficulties in capturing their perspective methodologically or personally because, as adults, we (researchers) may not get to see their perspective to a full extent. Combined with one of the most historically controversial and crucial research topics of history and the social sciences, race gets more challenging and complicated.

To understand young children's perspective on race and how it is intertwined with other concepts, such as religion, skin color, ethnicity, and nationality; one should first need to take into consideration the various global and social definitions and evolutions of race both in a historical and current context because these have not been the same across continents, societies, or even groups of people. For that reason, race should be studied from various scientific, historical, and social perspectives.

Young children's way of making sense of what they see, live, or hear is different from adults. They may not have taken an adult perception entirely and they can be seen as learning beings. They have their way of filtering their experience, performing it, and interpreting it while building new perceptions based on those interpretations. Race is significant and problematic not only in the sense of how it is understood or defined, but also in practice, either on an individual level or systemically. Even a glimpse that can be caught in young children's way of perception through these kinds of studies can help us to see the "adult" issues from a different perspective.

Even though it is not termed as an "adult" perception, the academic literature is already adult-oriented. Furthermore, the lack or poor representation of children in the theoretical framework of race and its related concepts caused me to divide the literature review chapter into two major sub-sections. I try to give the various social and academic perspectives on race, racism, racialization, and other imminently related concepts, skin color, religion, ethnicity, and nationality in the first section. It is called the conceptualization of race, racism, and racialization (by adults). The second section, children's position in the academic literature in terms of research topics and research methods, focuses on the discussions on children's position in the academic literature in terms of research topics and research methods and how studies engage with children and children's perspectives on race have changed over time.

1.1 The conceptualization of race, racism, and racialization (by adults)

Throughout history, the concept of race has been a constantly evolving and alive idea that varies from place to place, institution to institution, and person to person. Its origins can be traced back to the Age of Enlightenment when there was a need to classify different species, including plants, animals, and humans (Banton, 1998, p. 4; Clair & Denis, 2015, p. 857). Moreover, in the same period, race became a categorization system to differentiate biologically Whites from non-Whites especially to maintain profitable power inequality. Through this, Whites legitimized the inferiority of the non-Whites or simply others for various reasons, especially their skin color and other physical characteristics. This also justified the expansion of slavery and exploitation during the expansion of colonization (Clair & Denis, 2015; de Benoist, 1999; Hoyt Jr., 2012). This racial classification system was mainly based on physical characteristics for a relatively long time (Morris, 1975, as cited in Jones, 2005, p. 620; McKechnie, 1987, as cited in Jones, 2005, p. 620), but social and cultural characteristics of the groups also played an important role depending on the group, time, and place (Taylor, 1997).

With the discovery of more differences even among the "biologically" identified groups of races, such as Black Nigerians and Black South Africans, the categories began to blur and complexify even further (Diamond, 1994). Consequently, as initial essentialist understandings have become harder to justify, race should have disappeared as a socially constructed category in the light of scientific advances. Instead, it continued to expand meaningfully and discriminate continuously and even systematically among the people through groups, institutions, politics, law, and media.

This continuation forced social scientists either to reject race completely or redefine race, racism, and racialization as a social construct along with or including ethnicity, nationality, and religion at some point. In other words, science has proven that race is not biological but a social way of organizing biological features into socially relevant categories that do not have any scientific validity (Clair & Denis, 2015; de Benoist, 1999; Hoyt Jr., 2012). Therefore, Eriksen indicates that social scientists should study race because of its "social and cultural relevance of the notion that race exists" (1993, p. 5).

Race, in its archaic definition, referred to the perceived common physical characteristics which were thought to be fixed, such as skin color, hair texture, eye color, nose shape, and other facial features (Clair & Denis, 2015; Smedley, 1993; Taylor, 1997). Historically race was not only related to physical characteristics but also associated with ethnicity, nation, and religion. The examples of how sociocultural indicators of race have resulted in systemic oppression would be the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 as a result of the Decree of Expulsion of

March 31, 1492 (Povedano, 1980, p. 144) and a more recent one would be the assault on Jews and Gypsies in Germany in the 1930s with the passing of the Nuremberg laws (Milton, 1991). These examples are essential to see how race goes beyond physical characteristics. For instance, in this case, even though Jews shared many morphological features with those in Spanish and German societies, their religious belief was the factor that determined discrimination. This example shows how race can (and still does) go beyond skin color to include other characteristics such as religion, cultural traits, and physical characteristics like the shape of a nose, hair texture, or clothes, as in the case of Roma people.

Once race was freed from its biological ties, it was called many things, a myth, illusion, and intellectual disease (de Benoist, 1999; Omi & Winant, 2005). Today race is widely accepted as a socially constructed concept (Lee, 1993) involving physical characteristics, ethnicity, nationality, class, and religion (Omi & Winant, 2005). More importantly, it should be remembered that "Race is an equivocal concept and term, with interpretation *(sic)* that vary significantly through both time and space" (Benn Torres, 2019, p. 75).

Ethnicity is another classic, comprehensive, and fluid term that is addressed in this study. The concept of ethnicity is one that has a rich historical genealogy in the social sciences (Barth, 1998; Clair & Denis, 2015; Cornell & Hartmann, 2007). It is defined according to the period and the context that it was used (Banton, 1998; Bartlett, 2001; Baumann, 2004; Bourne, 1980; Cornell & Hartmann, 2007; Emberling, 1997; Eriksen, 1992; Jenkins, 1996; Jugert et al., 2021; Markus, 2008; Smith, 2015; Wolf et al., 1994). In other words, as Banton says, ethnicity can attribute to different can be attributed to different characteristics depending on whether it is used in Russia, the US, or Western Europe (1998, p. 14). However, despite its lack of common definition, it is most commonly associated with specific key terms like tribe, origin, minority, culture, identity, and group identification (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Barth, 1998; Clair & Denis, 2015; Cornell & Hartmann, 2007).

When discussing anthropology, ethnography, and ethnic studies, a prominent figure in the field is Barth, who wrote the influential work "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference" in 1998. Even though what Barth (1998) described and suggested was not entirely new, he touched on some of the most strategic and significant points in the field of ethnicity simultaneously and brought them together with other studies in the book's introduction (Jakoubek, 2022). Barth (1998) claimed that ethnicity should be studied from the perspective of ethnic boundaries. These boundaries should also consider three perspectives, from inside (how the people of the ethnic group define themselves) and outside (how the people outside the group define the ones in the ethnic group through their perception, like their common features). Along with the significance of inside (individual) and outside

(compared to other groups or the majority) ethnic group perceptions and identifications, Barth also mentions the importance of observation of the interactions among the (ethnic) groups as a process since these interactions or negotiations shape the identity and differences of the groups as well as its members (1998).

From a very general and broad perspective, Wallman (1978) describes the occurrence of ethnicity as a confrontation or contact of two groups or individual members (p. 202). Similarly, Anthias and Yuval-Davis depict ethnicity as "belonging to a particular group and sharing its conditions of existence" (1992, p. 8). In other words, these scientists and many more reduce ethnicity to observable "differences." Many scientists emphasized the perspective of the group members themselves in defining their own ethnic groups and selecting the relevant factors that determine these boundaries. Cornell and Hartmann (2007) provide a comprehensive analysis of ethnicity, taking into account its various aspects such as ancestry, history, culture, identification, symbols, cuisine, biology, skin color, language, religion, nation, origin, minority status, the idea of race, and nationality. Their work considers the changes in contexts in which ethnicity has historically and sociologically evolved. Eriksen examines ethnicity in reference to "relationships between groups whose members consider themselves distinctive" (1993, p. 6). Jenkins relates ethnicity with cultural differences, the outcome of social interactions, changes, and collective and individual social identity from a general anthropological perspective (1996, pp. 810–811). After mainly analyzing the work of Barth and Jones, Baumann stresses the importance of ethnicity's "symbolic representations of an individual or a group that are produced, reproduced, and transformed over time" (2004, p. 14). Emberling says that ethnicity should be seen "as a process of identification and differentiation, rather than as an inherent attribute of individuals or groups" (1997, p. 306). While these definitions share a common tendency to adopt insider (group member) perspectives, this emic perspective also results in a broad variety of understandings, rendering it particularly difficult to find a common definition.

Some terms associated with ethnicity were also mentioned above in the perceptions and perspectives to race. It is because many scientists suggest that ethnicity or race is hard to explain all by itself. It is, instead, the similarities and differences that also play an essential role in understanding and the use of these crucial and socially constructed concepts. From this point of view, scholarly analysis of race and ethnicity examines how these concepts interact with each other and how they are used in scientific and social contexts. These concepts involve differentiation, classification, and labeling, such as culture and skin color.

One of the most important ones is Banton's comparison of ethnicity and race (1983). He argued that ethnicity is about identification and membership, which means inclusion, or "us,"

which is voluntary; on the other hand, race is about categorization, which means a matter of exclusion, or "them," which is imposed (Banton, 1983, as cited in Eriksen, 1993, p. 5; Banton, 1983, as cited in Jenkins, 1994, p. 208). However, this was criticized by Eriksen (1992) and Jenkins (1994). Eriksen (1993), Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992), van den Berghe (1987), and Wallman (1986, p. 229, as cited in Jenkins, 1994, p. 208) came to the conclusion that ethnicity is more of an umbrella term than race. In this sense, race can be considered as a sub-category. Eriksen has legitimized his conclusion on the bases that the variety of "interbreeding[3]" among people makes it meaningless to talk of fixed boundaries between races and hereditary physical traits. Therefore, he says he should not distinguish between ethnicity and race (1993, pp. 4–5). Jenkins, however, did not find it appropriate to reduce race to ethnicity or simply give ethnicity more importance over race (1996).

From a different perspective, Bartlett (2001) claims that the present generation of social scientists uses ethnicity more than race because race has too many negative associations. While some scientists use ethnicity as a more general term than race, others employ it just to escape using race because it is "unpolite." Bartlett (2001) and Eriksen (1993) also mention ethnicity's relation to culture and race's relation to biological features in the US society. Respectively, they exemplify the use of ethnicity to refer to Irish, Italians, and Jews, and skin color to race. As can be seen from this explanation, the line between race, culture, ethnicity, nation, and religion is very thin. Depending on the context and period, they can cross from one side to another or mean the same thing even though they do not so when examined alone.

Apart from the overlapping meanings and use of these concepts in social and academic environments, there is also the debate on race and nature-culture. Even though there is nothing "natural" about race other than observable physical variations (that people are accustomed to using), its insidious nature emerges from the racialized discourse's naturalizing tendencies, which attribute to some people a "natural" basis for characteristics that are actually socially produced (Wade, 1993, p. 17). The most common example can be the studies of race based on skin color, hair texture, or bone structure, which are biological differences, not social categories. Since race is socially constructed, the natural trait of skin color may be seen as an illegitimate variable in scientific research. However, the historical evolution of these concepts and their meaning through time cannot be separated from one another easily. Therefore, it is customary to see that race is closely (but not essentially) related to nature (biology), and the nature of this relationship is contextually determined.

[3] This term may seem somewhat dehumanizing, but the argument remains correct: race is not a scientifically valid or useful category.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that nature is entirely irrelevant to race. In some cases, natural sciences have been used to support arguments for belonging to a race or a group of people. Sanders (2000) talks about the Lemba people, one of the tribes living in Africa, and how they claimed to be Jewish according to their oral history and were never thought to be a part of the Israeli people. Thanks to the help of genetics, they were able to prove their Jewishness and confirm their story. This debate is more extensive and complicated than the examples presented. The most crucial factor that should be remembered in race-related studies is that race, as a social construct, is subject to interpretations and objectives that are situated in particular times and places.

Despite its complex situation, and subjective nature, race is still used by state structures to categorize individuals in some countries, such as the UK and the US, as noted by Banton (2015) and Lee (1993). Lee examined these two concepts, race and ethnicity, through people's self-declarations collected by the periodic US national census reports from 1890 to 1990. As also Lee explains, this categorization is problematic for both sides, the state, and the people because neither people nor the state over the years used the same attributions for the groups of people with different racial and ethnic features. She summarizes the problematization of the existence of these categorizations in the census as shown below:

> Viewed from a sociology of knowledge perspective, we identify and discuss four issues related to interpreting census racial classifications. These are: (1) concern with race as defined by perceived skin color, in particular, the Black or Negro population at the turn of the century and Asian and Pacific Islander populations as we approach the next century; (2) a preoccupation with racial purity and the push to categorize individuals into 'pure' racial categories and the problem of 'mixed' and 'other' races; (3) the transformation of many ethnic groups into a few pan-ethnic racial groups; and (4) the confusion of race and ethnicity. (Lee, 1993, p. 81)

Although the need for ethnic and racial information is up for dispute today, this question/categorization is still part of census measures in some countries. Moreover, critics suggest that this information has been used rather politically than just collecting "valuable" but "self-attributed" data (Banton, 2015; Jenkins, 2008; Lee, 1993; Morning, 2015).

Another important term that should be talked about for this study is nation and nationality. Since this study addresses the experience of children of migrant origin in transnational social fields, it is important to define the notions of nation and nationality. Like race and ethnicity, these concepts are socially constructed, diverse, fluid, and also rather relatively new concepts compared to race and ethnicity, as well as nested with both terms (Anderson, 2006; Banton, 1998; Hutchinson, 2000; Jenkins, 2008; Linz, 1993; Miller, 1996; Renan, 1882). While the

essence of a nation can vary from approach to approach, some main elements are invested with it, such as a common bloodline, a recognizable race, a perceived origin, language, religion, shared past, land, or territory (for the sense of mutual belonging) and not necessarily a political organization as in nation-states (Hutchinson, 2000; Linz, 1993; Smith, 1993; Spira, 2003). Some of these elements related to the nation were given more importance than others in constructing modern nation-states, where the concept of nation was associated with a single ethnic or cultural group. In this sense, unity was created by eliminating or ignoring diversity in terms of different characteristics of other groups (that were considered to be less representative of the nation). Not all the countries applied or used the abovementioned elements to unite or create modern nation understanding or modern national borders, such as bloodline as the deterministic element in the Chinese context (Brown & O'Brien, 2022). In the French case, language was one of the most important factors (Anderson, 2006; Renan, 1882), and De Oliveira Filho (2022) analyzes the Brazilian case through its fame in sports.

On the other hand, while the nation has been attributed and examined like ethnicity based on mentioned factors, modern and artificial nation-states are approached from a more political and systematic perspective (Hutchinson, 2000; Linz, 1993). Not all nations have their state, and even though people talk about nation-state, which is singular, some nation-states harbor more than one nation, such as Spain, France, Germany, and Belgium. This kind of organization can create or cause duality. Therefore, the studies related to nationality should examine this concept with more precaution and less in generalized terms because just from this perspective, nationality is not something given or attributed by others or the states (except as an obligation on official terms or documentation), but it is something personally accepted and pronounced as an individual identification and feeling of belonging.

A variety of studies investigate this issue on a state level. Relevant examples address the multinational organization of Spain, which consists of autonomic regions containing some official languages along with Spanish (*Castellano*), i.e., Galician, Catalan, and Euskara. These are also attributed as "historical nationalities" in Moreno and Colino's article (2010, p. 291). These studies found that people living in Spain do not necessarily identify themselves with only nation-states (Spanish). There are also people who identify with two (such as Spanish and Galician/Catalan) or only with the local one (Galician/Catalan) (Hutchinson, 2000; Koopmans & Statham, 1999; Linz, 1993; Moreno & Colino, 2010). Nationality (in terms of identification or belonging) can and should be analyzed even further at a local level in a world where mobilization, migration, and globalization significantly impact many aspects and levels of the daily lives of people and political organizations. For instance, some people with African heritage living in Galicia claim the right to the nation-state (Spanish) and regional (Galician) identities by identifying themselves as (*Afrogallegas/Afrogalegas*) (Otero, 2018).

Traditional understandings of race, ethnicity, culture, and the boundaries of the nation, including the concept of the modern nation-state, have undergone significant transformations in response to the growing forces of globalization, international migration, and advancements in communication and transportation technologies. These shifts in societal dynamics have given rise to a range of new concepts, including transnationalism, transnational identity, transnational social fields, multiculturalism, multicultural identity, and multinationalism. Some of these emerging concepts are of particular relevance to this study as they reflect society's evolving understanding of identity and belonging within the context of these changing social and technological landscapes.

The lives of immigrants that are linked between the countries of destination and origin have given rise to the concept called "transnationalism" (Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton defined transnationalism as "the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (1992, p. 1). Moreover, Glick Schiller (2009) emphasizes the local, national, and global effect of networks established through transnationalism. She claims that the transnational networks involving production, distribution, and consumption operate concurrently with the transformation of localities, the reshaping of local cultures, and the reconstruction of the local, national, and global dynamics (p. 19).

The rising interconnectedness of societies and the ease of global communication, travel, and economic transactions have contributed to the growing importance of transnationalism. Transnationalism plays a crucial role in fostering cross-border relationships, facilitating the exchange of ideas, goods, and services, and influencing social structures and activities. As our world becomes more interconnected, understanding and navigating the dynamics of transnationalism has become increasingly relevant and essential. Accordingly, since the first definition and conceptualization of transnationalism, it has been evolving to include new areas of interest, especially of sociologists and anthropologists. Vertovec, who examines the historical evolution of the term transnationalism across different disciplines in the academic literature, points out the importance of transnationalism on various aspects human lives: social, cultural, economic, and political (1999, 2009).

While transnationalism was applied and explained initially through the study of the actions of early generations of immigrants, its meaning and area of focus has been expanding to include the offspring of these first generations of immigrants since 1990s (Mazzucato & van Geel, 2022). Most scholars use the term "transnational social field" to talk about the place and experience of the following generations (offspring) of the immigrants (Glick Schiller, 2009; Lauer & Wong, 2010; Levitt, 2009; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Mazzucato & van Geel,

2022; Smith, 2006). The first definition of "transnational social field" was proposed by Basch, Wilthshire, Wilthshire and Toney in 1990 and used to describe the interconnected social experience (Basch et al., 1994).

Lauer and Wong (2010), Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004), Menjívar (2002), Nyíri (2014) who studied various generations of immigrants from diverse origins in different countries, claim that the experience of later generations is not limited to geographical boundaries. Their shared experiences, real or imagined, cross borders and are not dependent on birthplace or current residence. Viewing generation as a linear progression, with distinct boundaries between each experience, is not an accurate depiction of life in a transnational social field. Furthermore, Lauer and Wong place special emphasis on this non-linear progression and point out the importance of understanding transnationalism over the life course (2010). The idea that migrants and non-migrants have separate socialization and social networks may not necessarily be the case in understanding transnational social fields (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1017). Levitt explains:

> While using a transnational optic to study first-generation immigrants is now widely accepted, most scholars assume that the same approach is not necessary when studying migrants' children. They claim that, while immigrants might be involved in the economic, political and religious life of their homelands, their children are unlikely to follow suit. … I argue against summarily dismissing the power of being raised in a transnational social field. When children are brought up in households that are regularly influenced by people, objects, practices and know-how from their ancestral homes, they are socialised into its norms and values and they learn how to negotiate its institutions. They also form part of strong social networks. While not all members of the second generation will access these resources, they have the social skills and competencies to do so, if and when they choose (2009, p. 1225).

Levitt and Glick Schiller also delve into the distinction between "ways of being" and "ways of belonging" from a social field perspective for transnationals (first and following generations) (2004). They claim that "ways of being" refer to individuals' social interactions and practices, often unrelated to their identities, whereas "ways of belonging" encompass actions that consciously tie individuals to a specific group. In the context of transnational social fields, people may engage in "ways of being" without feeling a sense of belonging, adopt cultural practices without consciously aligning with a particular group, or assert their identification despite limited social connections. Those regularly participating in cross-border social interactions embody a transnational "way of being," and those who actively emphasize this identity also manifest a transnational "way of belonging." These experiences can either be

separate or overlap, showcasing the intricate nature of identity within social fields (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, pp. 1010–1011).

Multicultural identity is another concept that is inextricably related to transnational social fields, a term gaining recognition in recent decades due to increasing cultural diversity in academia, politics, and media (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010, p. 88). As Nguyen and Benet-Martínez suggest, multicultural identity stands as a fundamental component, if not the most crucial, within the broader, multidimensional framework of multiculturalism (2010, p. 89). However, the term "multiculturalism" is not uniform; its specific meanings can vary significantly across different local contexts (Ang, 2010). To gain a comprehensive understanding of these interwoven concepts, it is essential to explore how multicultural identity fits within the broader discussions of transnationalism and its implications for individuals navigating diverse cultural landscapes.

Building upon the discussion of multicultural identity, Hong and colleagues (2016, p. 325) emphasize that individuals exposed to multiple knowledge traditions often acquire a degree of fluency in each. This exposure extends beyond immigrants and encompasses various groups, such as expatriates, international students, immigrants, refugees, sojourners, children of immigrants or colonized people. Such diversity highlights the complex nature of multiculturalism (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010, p. 89).

Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2010) emphasize that being multicultural involves more than mere exposure to multiple cultures. True multicultural identity requires an individual to express attachment and loyalty to these cultures. However, it is essential to note that multicultural identity does not necessitate an equal degree of identification with each culture internalized (Cheng et al., 2014, p. 277). This dynamic notion aligns with Levitt and Glick Schiller's (2004) exploration of transnational "ways of being" and "ways of belonging."

Indeed, the citation from Lewis encapsulates the complicated nature of transnationalism and multiculturalism that is mentioned above. The statement made by one Franco-Maghrebi individual (Lewis, 1992, p. 18 as cited in Silverstein, 2005, p. 375), “My father was a Muslim, but I am a Parisian,” illustrates the complex multicultural identities and affiliations that emerge in transnational settings. It highlights the interplay between social and political factors as individuals navigate their dual or multiple cultural, religious, and national identities. This quote underlines the entanglement and interwovenness of the concepts explored in this study, shedding light on the dynamic and fluid nature of transnationalism and its impact on immigrants’ self-perception and social belonging.

Although this study focuses on race, ethnicity, and nationality, it is important to understand first the common definitions and connections between these terms. By exploring their similarities and differences, we can better understand why theories and approaches of racism and racialization often incorporate all three concepts together. The problem in these definitions can as well be seen in the blurriness of the various definitions in themselves and among the concepts. Although initially believed to be separate, they eventually became intertwined and interrelated in both social and political contexts in time.

Racism, like race, ethnicity, and nationality, has been researched, interpreted, and written about from different perspectives. Racism is a crucial term that, like its root word, race, can be expressed in various socially constructed contexts depending on the interpreter's perspective. This richness of perspectives suggests various definitions and forms of racism, theories, and approaches (Doane, 2006; Fredrickson, 2002; Grosfoguel, 2016; Hoyt Jr., 2012, p. 226; Kaposi & Richardson, 2018, p. 631). Accordingly, some of the most common definitions of racism contain concepts like superiority, inferiority, other, race, prejudice, belief, power, attitude, and stereotype.

Fredrickson, a historian, claims that racism came to use as a common term by Nazis when they needed to base the persecution of the Jews on theories in the 1930s (2002, p. 5). However, there have been numerous events that are now recognized as instances of racism throughout history. Examples include the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from Spain during the 14th and 15th centuries, the discovery of the Americas, the political and social organization of North and South America (Jim Crow), South Africa's tumultuous history and the politics of apartheid, and the codification of power over an enslaved labor class. He analyses and tries to think of racism from various perspectives. One of his definitions of racism is "a scavenger ideology, which gains its power from its ability to pick out and utilize ideas and values from other sets of ideas and beliefs in specific socio-historical contexts" (2002, p. 8). However, through the end of his book, after a detailed analysis of racism from various phenomena in history and the perspectives, he also concludes that "racism is too ambiguous and loaded a term to describe my subject effectively" (Fredrickson, 1981, as cited in Fredrickson, 2002, p. 152).

Hoyt Jr., a social scientist, says that the original definition of racism is "the belief that all members of purported race possess characteristics, abilities, or qualities specific to that race, especially so as to distinguish it as inferior or superior to another race or other races" (2012, p. 225). While he analyzes racism in his article, he mainly focuses on prejudice, power, and oppression to explain racism and its effects in different aspects, such as individuals, groups, people, systems, and institutions.

Grosfoguel, a sociologist, defines racism as “a global hierarchy of superiority and inferiority along the line of the human that have been politically, culturally, and economically produced and reproduced for centuries by the institutions of the ‘capitalist/patriarchal western-centric/Christian-centric modern/colonial world-system’” (Grosfoguel, 2011, as cited in Grosfoguel, 2016, p. 10). In the same article, he also gives examples of types of racism to show diversity. Some crucial examples to mention here are the religious racism that Irish people suffered in the US and the UK, similarly anti-Semitism and Islamophobia along with skin color racism (2016).

Kaposi, a social psychologist, and Richardson, a linguist, give various definitions of racism in their article using other perspectives (2018). One of them is, as they call it, simple and conventional, which is “a system of beliefs, or a (false) mode of thinking,” and they also added “simplified and misrepresentative ideas about others” to it (2018, p. 630). By including “other” and Anthias’ definition of racism, “a discourse and a practice whereby ethnic groups are interiorized” (1995, p. 294, as cited in Kaposi & Richardson, 2018, p. 631), authors enrich and connect the discourse of racism to other important social concepts such as language, culture, clothing, values, practices, and religion. They exemplify the importance of these mentioned concepts through the size of a nose and head scarf. Kaposi and Richardson show the reproduction of racism explicitly or implicitly through political discourse and mass media by using these perspectives of racism and others mentioned in this paragraph.

Alain de Benoist, a journalist and political philosopher, wrote an article about what racism meant in 1999. He said that racism is complicated and that there are many contradictory ideas. Given its complexity, he defines racism as a myth, but he also examines the historical evolution of racism socially, politically, and academically primarily through deep research in French academic literature. He identifies a range of different approaches to racism, including those that equate racism with biology, that consider racism to be an invention to subordinate others, and that see racism as a good thing in terms of the creation of better or capable human beings, and those that see racism as an instrument for political aims.

Bonilla-Silva, a sociologist, and Baiocchi, a sociologist and ethnographer, define racism from the critical mainstream sociological perspective “as a set of erratic beliefs that may lead racist actors to develop ‘attitudes’ (prejudice) against the group(s) they conceive as inferior which may ultimately lead them to ‘act’ (discriminate) against the stereotyped group(s)” (2001, p. 118). Even though they give this definition as approximate, they criticize new racism (contemporary sociology of racism), internal colonial approach, institutional racism perspective, effects of the culture of poverty, and social capital on racism.

Clair and Denis, sociologists, in their article "Sociology of Racism" (2015), analyze the evolution of racism from various approaches, perspectives, and theories mostly chronologically. At the beginning of their article, they define racism from Wilson's perspective and expand it as "'an ideology of racial domination' [...] in which the presumed biological or cultural superiority of one or more racial groups is used to justify or prescribe the inferior treatment or social position(s) of other racial groups" (2015, p. 857).

Definitions of racism can vary from discipline to discipline or approach to approach. There are many researchers who define racism according to the context of their research because, as can be seen from these definitions provided by different disciplines, racism can be individual or systemic. Almost all emphasized the use of power, beliefs, and prejudices that shape personal behavior at their core. Another important perspective is systemic oppression which is discussed in more detail below.

These scholars from different disciplines and others not only focus on the definition of racism but also explain forms, approaches, perspectives, and theories of racism from these definitions, which are equally essential to understand the roots, instruments, and ways in which racism survives, thrives, and operates among individuals, groups of people, institutions, politics, and other mediums in the society. To summarize, there seem to be two primary ways of conceptualizing racism: on an individual level, in terms of beliefs and prejudices, or on a systemic level, in terms of an institutional tool for oppression. I would argue that both elements are crucial to understanding how racism operates in general.

Race can be found everywhere when examined country by country or even case by case, even though the two major elements described (individual and systemic) are present in different ways and degrees in each type of racism. The individual, social, political, and academic understandings of racism described above emerged in different historical moments, often inspired by a specific political context. The problem is that the meaning or construction of race is different in almost every case. Some of these cases are more known to the majority than others. For instance, the end of the German Reich around 1945, the end of Jim Crow in the US in the 1960s, the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, and the end of colonialism and the rise of modern-nation states are some of the well-known milestones in the history of racism. However, the US understanding and context of racism dominate the academic literature, especially regarding the rise and development of theories and approaches to racism. It is for that reason that most of the scholars that work on racism divide the history of racism mainly into two; the period before Jim Crow, which is approximately marked from the end of the 18th century till the mid-20th century, and also known as overt racism period, and the other period

called after Jim Crow, which covers from the mid-20th till today and also known as covert racism period (Clair & Denis, 2015; Fredrickson, 2002).

Old-fashioned racism[4] and individual racism are mainly the most known and significant forms of racism before the Jim Crow period. However, the period after Jim Crow had too many forms, theories, approaches, and perspectives, that is because with the banishment of Jim Crow laws, "a new era" started in each institution, group of people, or even individuals began to change or adapt or not. This new vivid era has brought many changes, and not all of them, from person to institution, were accepted and applied these changes equally or at all. These new different forms of racism can be found in different areas and different versions such as sectors, divisions of labor, job opportunities, politics, education, health, neighborhoods, geographies, personal, or at a group level. Racism is deep, like an ocean that corresponds to and covers various forms, approaches, theories, and perspectives. It is impossible to mention all in this study. This is mainly because while there is a lot in quantity, the quality is not the same for all. This does not make them insignificant, but some forms are very case specific. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, I try to focus on some common, still controversial, and the study related ones, which are old-fashioned and individual racism for the era before and during the Jim Crow, symbolic racism, institutional racism, structural racism, systemic racism, implicit bias, internalized racism, and cultural racism for after the Jim Crow era. While some forms of racism are specific, like symbolic racism (politics and election focused), others, like institutional racism (health and education), other forms can be an interest of a variety of institutions or areas, which require deeper study for each of them. For the purpose of this study, I explain institutional and other forms of racism from a broader social perspective without getting into specifics for each institution or case.

In a resumed version, old-fashioned racism is based on the belief that Blacks have less inborn ability; they are inherently inferior and less intelligent. In other words, claims are directly related to biological aspects (Brown et al., 2009; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; McConahay et al., 1981; Romm, 2010; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998).

While old-fashioned racism sought a biological basis for racial inferiority, later theorists identified racists themselves as the problem and searched for psychological explanations. Individual racism is one of the first forms of racism that was examined scientifically as a socially constructed phenomenon. Mostly psychologists and social psychologists focused on it, and its bases were considered on the individual (relations) and racial bias or prejudice

[4] "Old-fashioned racism" (McConahay et al., 1981) (also referred to as scientific racism, traditional racism, dominative racism, or overt or blatant racism) dominated mainly before the Jim Crow or civil rights movement

regarding attitudes, judgments, and behavior acquired through socialization (Allport, 1954; Jones, 1997). Individual racism can be overt or covert, conscious or unconscious, or intentional or unintentional (Scott, 2007).

Moving from the individual to the semiotic level of social discourse, symbolic racism was named and theorized by Sears and Kinder in 1970 (Kinder & Sears, 1981, p. 416). Symbolic racism was born mainly to understand the effect of race on political discourse and social changes. The founders said it was "conceptualized as being a joint function of two separate factors: antiblack affect and traditional values" (Sears, 1988, p. 56). Sometime after, it developed into "modern racism" by McConahay. It was mainly criticized as a version of old-fashioned racism (Sears, 1988). However, McConahay, one of the pioneers of symbolic racism and the modern racism forms, distinguished symbolic and old-fashioned racism by defining old-fashioned racism as "open bigotry" (1982, p. 705), whereas symbolic racism was abstract, ideological, and symbolic and no personal or individual relevance but more of a moral code or a sense of organization of society (Kinder & Sears, 1971, as cited in Sears 1988, p. 56). McConahay, Hardee, and Batts explain that modern racism is indeed symbolic by getting its base of an idea from it. However, modern racism emphasizes more contemporary ideas and post-civil rights movement, beliefs, and issues; meanwhile, it also "proposes that the affective components of racial attitudes is acquired quite early in life and is harder to change than the cognitive and conative (policy preferences) components" (1981, p. 565).

This symbolic violence acquires virulence when embedded with a broader social structure. Accordingly, institutional racism came into the stage, and it was named and analyzed by Carmichael and Hamilton in 1967. They explain institutional racism by comparing it to individual racism: "It takes two, closely related forms: individual whites acting against individual blacks, and acts by the total white community against the black community. We call these individual racism and institutional racism." (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967, p. 4). They claim that while individual racism is more overt and can be easily detectable, such as the destruction of black property by a non-Black person, institutional racism, on the other hand, is harder to detect because it is buried in the operation of (an) institution(s). Carmichael and Hamilton exemplify institutional racism with the death rate of the Black babies in Birmingham, Alabama, because of a lack of resources such as proper alimentation or shelter (1967, p. 4). The reason Carmichael and Hamilton focus on individual racism is that they suggest that institutional racism is fed by individual racism but in a different form. In other words, an individual who says she or he is not racist overtly or acts racist overtly by supporting political officials, political parties, and institutions or who applies policies based on separation or favor discrimination continues to be racist.

Institutional racism has been expanded upon by other social scientists as well. Through extensive research on institutional racism since 1967, some scientists today examine institutional racism along with structural racism and systemic racism because they see these as variations of institutional racism or intertwined (Banaji et al., 2021; Braveman et al., 2022; Clair & Denis, 2015; Mason, 1982). Lawrence and Keleher (2004) define structural racism in the US as "the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics – historical, cultural, institutional and interpersonal – that routinely advantage whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color" and show the extent and depth of its roots and branches by adding that structural racism lies underneath (history), all around (culture) and across society (interconnected institutions and policies). Feagin examines systemic racism thoroughly in his book by focusing on the production of systemic racism through centuries of structures and institutional practices along with other factors (2006). Fenton, another important name for the institutional and structural racism studies, explains how institutional racism became a reference to social structures by focusing on three main points: regular practices, rules, and the enduring structural features of the society; structural evidence of racist beliefs and attitudes in practice; fashioned structural correlation of racial lines (1982, p. 59).

As mentioned at the beginning, not all social scientists hold the same position about examining institutional and structural racism. Gee and Hicken, for example, emphasize the difference between institutional and structural racism. They say that "While studies of institutional racism focus on single institutions, studies of structural racism must emphasize the connections across multiple institutions, and the system as a whole" (2021, p. 293; Powell, 2008; Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012). Payne and Hannay show how individual prejudice is also embedded in systemic racism and should be investigated together. The most critical example they provide to show their claim is the data collected on individual prejudice and systemic racism. A survey conducted between 1990 and 2017 on racial attitudes demonstrated a significant decrease in negative perceptions toward Black people. However, studies from the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s on systemic racism revealed little to no progress in areas such as segregation in housing and education and life expectancy gaps in the US (2021, p. 927).

In addition to individual racism, similarly, implicit race bias was also identified by psychologists and social psychologists. Implicit race bias expands what was suggested in individual racism by trying to understand how people relate events, objects, situations, or people (groups) with positive and negative feelings, beliefs, and attitudes unconsciously or subconsciously by using the Implicit Association Test (IAT). Even though it is extensively criticized due to its empirical means in a controlled environment (Clair & Denis, 2015), it has provided significant insight into how people carry implicit bias (feelings and beliefs) to the

group that they belong to as well as other groups such as minorities (Banaji et al., 2021; Baston, 2022; Clair & Denis, 2015; Powell, 2008).

Recently, through its micro (individual) and macro (group or institution) level findings, implicit race bias is studied compared to or along with systemic racism and internalized racism because it is suggested that the reproduction of bias or stereotypes through systems and institutions directly affect and feed implicit biases (Banaji et al., 2021; Osta & Vasquez, 2019; Payne & Hannay, 2021; Rucker & Richeson, 2021). Osta and Vazquez display this continuous relationship between implicit bias and structural racism with a diagram (Figure 1).

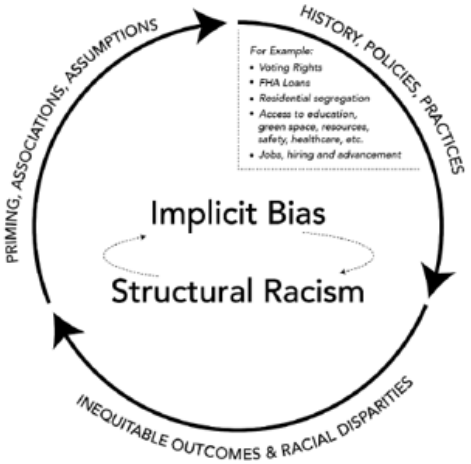

Figure 1. Osta and Vasquez illustrate the connection between implicit bias and structural racism (2019, p. 5).

Payne and Hannay exemplify this, the relation between implicit bias and systemic racism, through the findings from a study that examined how police's use of disproportionate lethal force relates to regional levels of racial bias, which found that "Metropolitan regions in the USA with higher levels of implicit race bias have greater racial disparities in police shootings" (Hehman et al., 2017, as cited in Payne & Hannay, 2021, p. 928).

On the other hand, when the findings of implicit race bias are examined on an individual level, it is proposed that implicit race bias shows similarities to internalized racism (Clair & Denis, 2015; Gonzales, 2018; Livingston, 2002; Osta & Vasquez, 2019). Internalized racism (later also referred to as racial self-hatred or skin tone bias) is defined as "the 'subjection' of the victims of racism to the mystifications of the very racist ideology which imprison and define them" by Stuart Hall (1986, p. 26, as cited in Pyke, 2010, p. 552). Internalized racism became famous through two major events in US history. One of them is how Clark and Clark measured internalized racism among young Black children and its "unexpected" results, which was that most of the Black children who participated in the 1939 doll study related negative preferences and attributions with black dolls and positive ones with white dolls. The other reason that

brought attention to internalized racism was how the results of the original doll study and other duplicated studies were used for the court case to stop segregation in US schools. Internalized racism is still being measured through these studies and its replicas, even though it is criticized extensively in various aspects. Research on the effects of internalized racism has expanded to include various aspects of life, including beauty standards, career expectations, preferences, and health for both children and adults (Gonzales, 2018; Willis et al., 2021).

Moving from internalized racism, another form of racism that attracted many people, especially during the civil rights and anti-racist movements in the US and around the world, was "color-blind" racism (Ansell, 2013, pp. 42–43). Color-blind racism stands against the inequalities, discrimination, and inequity based on race in all levels of societies, institutions, and the system (Ansell, 2013; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Clair & Denis, 2015; Doane, 2006). Most of the written documents on colorblindness summarize the idea behind the famous speech of Martin Luther King Jr. on August 28, 1963: "I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." Even though the idea behind it is preventing race-based decisions and all kinds of inequalities, Bonilla-Silva (2006) criticizes this new form of racism by saying that privileged people found a better way to defend their position thanks to colorblindness. He gives various examples from marriage, housing, and job opportunities to prove that color-blind racism sustains White privilege without sounding racist (p. 3). A similar example was given by Jung (2015) as well. Jung criticizes the use of color-blind discourse in hiring practices and adds that these do not necessarily exclude more directed forms of racism "employers do not just use colorblind discourses when they decide not to hire black men; they often use antiblack discourses, such as that black men are unmotivated and have bad attitudes" (2015, as cited in Golash-Boza, 2016, pp. 133–134).

Moving beyond the US context of race, cultural racism (also known as new racism, neo-racism) is suggested as the form of racism that explains the European context of racism, which is considered to be more complex than racism discussions in the US because it may include skin color but also goes beyond it with more focus on the cultural and national notions (Anthias, 1995; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Bratt, 2022; Chua, 2017; Grosfoguel & Mielants, 2006; Modood, 1997; Özkan, 2007; Räthzel, 2002; Rodat, 2017). It is one of the recently identified forms of racism pioneered by Barker in 1981. Later, it was also revised and expanded by others, such as Balibar in 1988 and Taguieff in 1987, among other important social scientists. On the other hand, cultural racism may be named in the recent past, but the effect of culture on discrimination is not that new, as suggested by Staples. Staples reminds us how the White or ruling class used the cultural values and differences between the two groups (ruler and ruled) to justify racial exclusion in the colonies (1975, 1976). Anthias (1995), Blaut (1992),

Grosfoguel (1999), Modood (1997), and Wren (2001) emphasize the same perspective by implying the past and present effects of colonialism on culture and racism both in the colonies and newly raised nations.

It is hard to describe cultural racism because even though it is referred to in general as a European context of racism, within Europe, there are countries with different historical, social, and political backgrounds, and that is what makes cultural racism more case-specific and fluid such as Roma people and Moors in Spain, Turks in Germany, Pakistanis and Irish in the UK (Anthias, 1995; Räthzel, 2002). Accordingly, there is no one definition or limit to cultural racism. However, most of the scholars who wrote on cultural racism focus on the perceived cultural superiority, the progressive mentality of Europeans, national non-belongingness, and undesirability (Anthias, 1995; Blaut, 1992; Bratt, 2022; Özkan, 2007; Wren, 2001), which may include in general discrimination based on differences, or "otherness."

Grosfoguel and Mielants focus on cultural racism through Islamophobia. Accordingly, they give various examples across Europe:

> In Great Britain, Muslims are associated with Egyptians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (subjects from old British colonies); thus Islamophobia in Britain is associated with anti-Black, anti-Arab, and anti-South Asian racism. In France, Muslims are mostly North Africans (from old colonies such as Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Senegal). In The Netherlands, Muslims are mostly 'guest workers' and colonial migrants coming from Turkey, Morocco, Indonesia and Suriname so Islamophobia in The Netherlands is associated with racism against guest worker migrants and old colonial subjects. In Belgium, 90% of the Belgian population uses the term 'vreemdelingen' or 'étrangers' ('foreigners') to refer specifically to Moroccan, Turkish or Arab immigrants, i.e., cultural others that can be defined as Muslims [...]. In Germany, Islamophobia is associated with anti-Turk racism, and in Spain with anti-Moor racism. Thus Islamophobia as a fear or hatred of Muslims is associated with anti-Arab, anti-Asian, and anti-Black racism (2006, pp. 4–5).

Modood (1997) analyzes the case of the UK through cultural racism. According to various surveys and reports mentioned in his article, he found that religion plays a vital role in the British case, among other factors and minorities like Asians, Indians, and Afro-Caribbeans. One of the most interesting parts of this article is that apart from focusing on cultural racism as a theory, he also talks about Jenkins' survey on stereotypes, which sheds light on another perspective of cultural racism other than religion. Jenkins conducted research on stereotypes of minorities through the perception of middle managers. This study shows how minorities are perceived with other types of labels that are not essentially related to religion, such as lazy,

happy, hard-working, and slow, as well as their capability of getting along with the Whites (Jenkins, 1986, as cited in Modood, 1997, p. 162). By examining these studies, Modood and Jenkins contribute to a deeper understanding of the UK's case, unveiling specific details and dynamics related to cultural racism, stereotypes, and the experiences of minority communities within the country. Their research brings attention to the multifaceted nature of cultural racism, extending the analysis beyond religion and exploring various dimensions of discrimination and prejudice faced by minority groups in the UK.

Bratt conducted research in 21 European countries in 2014 and 2015 to see whether cultural racism theory exists; in other words, whether people believe in cultural superiority. According to the results, Norway had one of the highest results, and Portugal was very similar to Norway in terms of the belief in cultural superiority (2022). This study, unlike the ones presented above, without naming the different minorities living in each country, conducted the research directly and independently from any group by asking people whether some cultures are much better. This is not the only question they asked. They also looked for other forms of racism; however, only the relevant part of Bratt's work is explained in the current study's context.

Wren (2001) focuses on how cultural racism found its place and flourished in Danish society. She claims that academics, policymakers, and the media, among others, played an important role in implementing cultural racism in Danish society. According to her findings, Danish concepts of religion, and specifically Islam, lie at the base of this form of racism.

After analyzing the examples provided, it is clear that cultural racism in Europe tends to center around religion, given the strong connection between culture and religion. However, the research of Bratt (2022) shows that without specifically mentioning religion, some Europeans still believe in their respective countries' superiority. In addition to these similarities, each case can also diverge based on their historical, social, and political background.

While there are more theories and approaches to race and racism, the above-mentioned ones are most directly relevant to this study. Apart from being related to definitions and approaches to race, racism, and directly related concepts (such as ethnicity and nationality), this study is also concerned with the racialization of ethnicity, nationality, and religion.

Reflecting briefly on the historical evolution of racialization, racialization is closely intertwined with the concept of racial oppression (Allen, 1994; Feagin & Elias, 2013, p. 932; Ignatiev, 1995; Roediger, 1994) and racial formation (Goldberg, 1992, 1993; Hochman, 2019). Omi and Winant assert, "racial formation theory was developed to help explain the post-World War II challenge to the U.S. system of racial oppression: its rise and fall, its successes and failures" (2005, p. 266). Furthermore, racial formation and racialization were often used

interchangeably, as can be seen in the articles of Goldberg (1992, pp. 560–561) and Hochman (2019, p. 1251).

The concept of racialization finds its origins in the work of Frantz Fanon during the 1960s, as recognized by scholars like Goldberg (1992), Keskinen and Andreassen (2017), and Modood and Sealy (2022). It was, however, Banton who formally introduced and developed this term within the field of sociology in 1977, a milestone acknowledged by scholars such as Modood and Sealy (2022) and Murji and Solomos (2005). Other prominent figures have made significant contributions to the understanding of racialization within sociology, including Miles, as discussed by Anthias (1995), Carter et al. (1996), Banton (2015), Bonilla-Silva (1997), Meer and Nayak (2015), and Omi and Winant, as recognized by scholars like Bonilla-Silva (1997), Keskinen and Andreassen (2017), Lewis et al. (2019), Murji and Solomos (2005), and Selod (2015).

Even though there are various definitions and approaches to racialization, unlike race and racism, racialization can be defined as understanding some of the most crucial concepts of society and social sciences, such as skin color, culture, nationality, ethnicity, and religion from a perspective of ongoing (social and historical) process examined through their surroundings like individuals, groups, objects, ideas, institutions, systems, movements, phenomena, economy, and politics in an extensive perspective (Chao, 2015; Clair & Denis, 2015; Feagin, 2006). This can be seen as the base idea of racialization. However, it is operationalized based on the perspectives and issues that are relevant to a given society, similar to other socially constructed concepts mentioned in this study. One of the most widely used definitions of the racialization process adopted in various studies is “the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group” (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 13). While this definition more specifically refers to the process of racialization, it also summarizes the complicated relatedness of these concepts.

Race, since its first attribution has developed to take on different meanings and associations with other concepts depending on the context and its usefulness at the moment, intertwining with ethnicity, culture, religion, nationality, and ethnic origins, as it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (Wade, 2015). Racialization is a concept that can help to understand the relationship among these so-called different socially constructed concepts and race and racism from a different and continuous perspective (Brah, 1996; Lewis & Phoenix, 2004; Selod, 2015). For instance, Neil Gotanda argues that the term Muslim has expanded from its religious connotations to include “a racial category: those whose ancestry traces in countries where Islam is significant” (2011, as cited in Hochman, 2019, p. 1248). When examining how Muslims are racialized, it becomes clear that even those who have been victims of racism can

still be classified as racialized. However, it is important to note that these categories are not permanent or fundamental but dynamic concepts that are socially constructed. For instance, Whites as well are part of this process. As Brah points out, "Racialisation of white subjectivity is often not manifestly apparent to white groups because 'white' is a signifier of dominance, but this renders the racialisation process no less significant" (1991, p. 63; Carter et al., 1996; Ignatiev, 1995; Roediger, 1994).

Putting it in a narrower context, Spain, where this study is conducted, is a country that played an important role in the history of race, especially with the expulsion of Jews in 1492 (Povedano, 1980), Muslims (*los Moriscos*) from 1609 to 1614 (Epalza, 1994; Harvey, 2005) and later Roma people from 1749 onwards with the Great Gypsy Round-up (*Gran Redada*) (Mariscal, 1998; Sierra, 2015). However, the process or current situation of race and racialization has not been like the US, which is mostly the dominant one in the academic literature. Spain, as Rodríguez-García (2022) suggests as well, is a good laboratory to research these concepts (race, religion, ethnicity, and nationality) and their reflection on different aspects of daily life, politics, and policies, education, and media due to Spain's historical background as a colonizer and its current background of the society that is affected with its historical ties, such as people with different religious and ethnic backgrounds, and new migration trends in the country, the rising profile of immigrants as well as the rising numbers of an immigrant community second generation born in Spain. While these make Spain more diverse and interesting, this profile brings new challenges for "the citizens" and "the others." It can be wrong to say that these are all new to Spain, looking at the historical background of the Iberian Peninsula. For instance, religion has always been a significant identifier, as the existence of Muslims spans an extended period.

Additionally, there are various ethnic groups where skin color may or may not be a relevant factor. Some groups, however, have been affected more than others by these non-physiological markers, such as religion. One such example would be the Moroccan racialization in the Spanish state. It is more profound, longer, and different than Senegalese in Spain even though both of these communities share similarities through religion (Cerdeira Díaz, 2013; Rodríguez-García et al., 2021; Vázquez Silva, 2008). The main reason for this is that the rivalry between Spain and Morocco goes back to what Spaniards call the "Reconquista," and the image that has been created for the Moroccans since then is rooted more than the other Muslim communities in the region (Aixelà-Cabré, 2017; Rodríguez-García et al., 2021). Another example is the racialization of Roma people in Spain, which is more on ethnic grounds than religious ones, as in Moroccans or Moors. The racialization of Roma people on the Iberian Peninsula has been perpetuated as a supposed incompatibility of their way of life with that of

the White European majority and has included customs like clothing and language (Cortés & Fernández, 2015; Fejzula, 2019).

Race, racism, and racialization are intertwined with other socially constructed concepts like ethnicity, nationality, transnationalism, and culture, as explained in detail in this section of the literature review chapter. These concepts are addressed from various perspectives because they form the basis of this study. The definitions, approaches, and their historical impact on politics, nations, societies, and institutions have been significant. Their impact and reflection on children's perception, experience, and behavior however also make up a significant part of the research, however, this is not reflected in the literature because there is a lack of studies about children in this context. The following section of this chapter focuses specifically on children's position in the academic literature, children's studies, and the common concerns of conducting research with children.

1.2 Children's position in the academic literature in terms of research topics and research methods

The understanding, perspective, and position of children and childhood have been changing socially and academically throughout history. For instance, while children were an essential part of society and family as contributors to family incomes for some time in the past, today, they are more protected both physically and psychologically, and both in public and private spaces, at least in Europe and in the US (Adler, 1908; Ariès, 1962, as cited in Wells, 2021). The same historical transformation can also be observed in parallel with the evolution of studies about children. In the past, children were primarily studied in biology and medicine to understand their physical development better. As time passed, their presence in psychology and education grew, with researchers delving into their cognitive and developmental capabilities (James et al., 2012). The early findings of these fields and the scholars suggest that children are developing and constantly changing beings into adults (becomings is another term scholars use) (Qvortrup, 2009b), not conscious of their actions and behaviors, at least up to some age (Piaget, 1929). This idea dominated especially early childhood development studies in many fields for a long time. Consequently, there was a delay in creating subfields and giving a voice to children in social sciences like sociology, anthropology, political science, social work, geography, psychology, and education. Instead, children's studies were limited to specific areas like psychology and education, as noted by James et al. (2012, p. 3).

This doesn't mean young children were excluded from these fields and then suddenly included. The study of children was embedded in other subfields, such as the sociology of the family, rather than constituting a subfield of its own. The emergence of child and childhood studies was neither linear nor supported by most scientists in the same way in all the social sciences.

In parallel, this non-linear progress in studies of children and childhood also affected the subfields of children's studies, such as race and gender. While the academic literature discussed the place of child and childhood studies in each discipline, the field was progressing and had its own subfields like children and race, children and gender, children and religion, and children and nationality, which were and are already controversial. Considering race, for instance, this study's most crucial research topic, scholars debated its definition, whether it is biological or socially constructed (Eriksen, 1993; Frazier, 1947). There were discussions and various ideas about race not only in children and childhood studies, as mentioned in the first part of the literature review, but also about children's ability to understand race since it was thought to be too complicated and abstract, especially for a young child to understand and act upon (Piaget, 1929).

Studies of children and childhood were not only developing on a theory level, but field research was also advancing as a significant part of the social sciences around the 1980s (Connolly et al., 2002; Corsaro, 2015; James et al., 2012; Wells, 2021). In these studies, the challenges researchers encountered while working with children and the findings that either supported or contrasted existing theories were crucial factors. Most of the research conducted with children was quantitative in the past rather than qualitative because there was a debate on the reliability of children's answers and the suitability of the research techniques that were also viable for adults (Barker & Weller, 2003; Due et al., 2014). More scholars in the past questioned the reliability of children's direct involvement in research and the reliability of the existing "adult" techniques in that period for early childhood studies in the last 25 years (Corsaro, 2015). Children were not thought to be reliable because of several reasons like manipulation, hiding their honest ideas, lack of language abilities, and lack of knowledge based on their experience, i.e., age. It is thought that children can be manipulated easily, or children can manipulate and lie or hide their honest thoughts such as answering the questions according to the researcher's expectations, or they may not understand the questions as an adult would do, or simply children may not be capable of understanding the question because they are very young, or even the researchers' identity could be crucial (Corsaro, 2015; Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Relatively recently, some scholars added another perspective to these concerns that children's voices are not as important as adults' since they are becomings (on the way to being adults) and not active beings (social actors) of society. These principal concerns seem to be diminishing, and there have been advancements in theory and practices to overcome these issues (James et al., 2012; Punch, 2002). Even though numerous scholars believe in the significance of a child's direct opinion and perspective from her/his mouth regardless of these above preoccupations, there are still discussions about their reliability, primarily based on age and the topic of the studies.

As mentioned, psychology is one of the pioneers of theories and studies about children —even though children are as studied or thought about as much as they were in the past (Corsaro, 2015; James et al., 2012). One of the most important figures in this field is the psychologist Jean Piaget, known as the founding father of children's studies. Piaget developed cognitive development theory, which divided children's cognitive development into four stages: sensorimotor (birth- to two-year-old), pre-operational (two- to six-year-old), concrete operations (six- to twelve-year-old), and formal operations (twelve to years and beyond) (Feldman, 2004, p. 184). According to this theory, children younger than six years old are inadequate for research. This is summarized by Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) as follows:

> children's thinking remains incomplete until they begin to think like an adult. Until then, children are assumed to be mentally operating under either "pre-operational" or "concrete" forms of thinking and are viewed as likely to misperceive objective information, especially abstract social information (p. 6).

Children's studies have been dominated by Piaget's theory for a long time. This approach was widely accepted and applied by many during and after the 1920s. There were other psychologists during the same period, and only a few were considered as significant as Piaget because most of them followed in his footsteps. Psychologist Lev Vygotsky was a psychologist critiqued Piaget, arguing that a single theory could not be applied to all children. Vygotsky's way of understanding development was based on the children's social experiences, culture, biology, and social conditions (Vygotsky, 1978). Corsaro summarizes Vygotsky's approach as "children's social development is always the result of their collective actions and that these actions take place and are located in society" (2015, p. 13). Rather than individual and personal or one generic theory of the child, Vygotsky was one of the first scientists who emphasized the importance of social environment and children's individual capabilities.

1.2.1 Children's understanding of race and internalized racism

Ruth Horowitz and Eugene Horowitz were the first and well-known scholars who studied children's perspective on race. They conducted research with children using the techniques they called choice test and portrait test (Horowitz & Horowitz, 1938). Kenneth Bancroft Clark and Mamie Phipps Clark are the other well-known scholars who followed Horowitz and Horowitz's footsteps and adapted their techniques to shed better light on race studies by searching for young children's perspectives on race. Children's perspectives were not studied in a quite similar way before these researchers. However, Clark and Clark's research, conducted first in the 1940s and known as the doll study became more famous, than Horowitz and Horowitz's choice and portrait tests. The studies of Clark and Clark on race with children were not only crucial for the academic literature and development of a new subfield of children

and race studies, but they also played an essential role in the desegregation of schools in the US via the court case Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas in 1954, for which they contributed a study and in which they were expert witnesses (Patterson, 2002).

Clark and Clark's doll study has been replicated over the years and criticized extensively, just like Piagetian theory of development. As I delve into the intricacies of this study with children in Galicia, it is essential to understand the original doll study in detail (as well as other replica studies) as it carries immense importance and relevance to my research.

Four identical baby dolls except for the skin and hair color formed Clark and Clark's doll study. Two were brown dolls with black hair, and the other two were white with yellow hair—the terms used by the researchers in their article, titled "Racial Identification and Preferences in Negro Children" (1947, p. 169).

Figure 2. K. B. Clark during the doll study (Beschloss, 2014)

Figure 3. Dolls used in Clark and Clark's study (Blakemore, 2018)

In reference to the dolls presented in Figure 3, children were asked eight questions:

1. Give me the doll that you like to play with – (a) like best.
2. Give me the doll that is a nice doll.
3. Give me the doll that looks bad.
4. Give me the doll that is a nice color.
5. Give me the doll that looks like a white child.
6. Give me the doll that looks like a colored child.
7. Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child.
8. Give me the doll that looks like you. (Clark & Clark, 1947, p. 169)

The order of the questions is significant because, according to the study's design, the first four questions were meant to reveal preferences, the following three questions to understand racial

differences, and the last question to self-identify. They analyzed the results under the six subsections: racial identification, age differences, identification by skin color, North-South differences, racial preferences, preferences, and skin color, and qualitative notes (Clark & Clark, 1947).

Knowledge of racial difference (questions 5, 6, and 7) and self-identification (question 8) were one of the focuses of the study and analyzed through the comparison. The results of this comparison showed that "the awareness of racial differences does not necessarily determine a socially accurate racial self-identification" (1947, p. 171).

According to the results of question 1, "play with," and question 2, "looks nice," most of the children preferred the white doll to play with and selected it as looking nice. Similarly, the answers to question 3, "bad doll," and question 4, the doll with "nice color," indicated clear racial preferences, favoring white dolls. Clark and Clark explained this as one of the most crucial points since they are the base of the discussion of whether children develop low self-esteem and hate themselves at a very young age (1947, p. 175).

Age played an important role in questions 1 to 4. The most obvious result is that three-year-old children were the highest group associating the brown doll with looking bad. Looking at the preferences of questions 1 and 2, although most children of all ages preferred the white doll to the brown doll, this preference constantly decreased from the age of four to seven, with older children showing a preference for the brown doll. With all the other detailed evaluations, Clark and Clark concluded that children start to racialize colors and environment at ages four and five (pp. 175–177).

The study was repeated by Clark and Clark for the court case Brown v. Board of Education. Clark and Clark, after fourteen years, once again demonstrated that nothing had changed in the results. Even though in the original study, they did not include children older than seven-year-old, this time, due to the purposes of the court case, they interviewed sixteen children whose ages ranged from six to nine years old and used drawings of dolls instead of baby dolls. Kenneth Clark concluded that the "Negro child accepts as early as six, seven, or eight the negative stereotypes about his own group" (Patterson, 2002, p. 44).

Clark and Clark discovered internalized racism in a way not tried before at the end of the 1930s. It attracted the attention of many people from different areas socially and politically, such as civil rights movements and the famous court case through its decision to desegregate the schools, Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954, and academically with replicas of the study. Most of the replicas were conducted to see whether there has been a change in children's perception through the years after school desegregation was implemented. Others

replicated the study to see if important historical movements and events had altered children's perceptions, such as the Black Pride Movement and Obama's Presidency.

Some researchers and academics adjusted the study by adding possible influential variables on these results, such as class, gender of the examiners, the race of the participants, and other stimuli. Terms used in the study have changed over time as well, with words like "Negro" and "colored" becoming "African American" and "Black[5]."

The doll study and other race-related studies of Clark and Clark have become famous and conducted by many researchers, especially in the US' and the UK's academic environments. While some used the study as it was, others adopted the main idea or adapted the original study according to their research needs. Some of the well-known replicas are Frenkel-Brunswik in 1948, Radke, Trager, and Davis in 1949, Radke and Trager in 1950, Goodman in 1952, Trager and Yarrow in 1952, Landreth and Johnson in 1953, Stevenson and Stewart in 1958, Morland in 1958 and 1962, Johnson in 1966, Gregor and McPherson in 1966, Greenwald and Oppenheim in 1968, Pierce-Jones and Jones in 1968, Asher and Allen in 1969, Hraba and Grant in 1970, Farrell and Olson in 1979, Powell-Hopson and Hopson in 1985 and 1988, Burnett and Sisson in 1995, and Jordan and Hernandez in 2009 among many others conducted in the US. Moreover, some significant replicas of the doll study conducted outside the US are Milner in 1973 and 1983 in the UK, Corenblum and Wilson in 1982 in Canada, Davey and Mullin in 1982 in the UK, and Gopaul-Mc.Nichol in 1988 in the US and Trinidad. The study was also used in the master's and doctoral thesis or as a course project many times, especially in university courses or after some historical events. Some examples of these are Munitz in 1985 in Israel, Porter in 1994, Gin in 2003, Bagby-Young in 2008, Jordan and Hernandez-Reif in 2009, Sharpe in 2014, and Byrd et al. in 2017 in the US.

Some of these replicas are mentioned in detail to clarify the differences in the methods, participants, and results according to the years that they were conducted. Radke and Trager conducted their version of the doll study by combining it with storytelling around the 1950s in the US. The reasons to change the original study were that they were searching for more detailed information about the effect of race on children, such as race in contempt, race with fear, boasting of superiority regarding race, and their connection with social, economic, and religious factors (Radke & Trager, 1950, p. 3).

Their participants were children from kindergarten, first, and second grades. The children's ages were approximately the same as in the first study of Clark and Clark. Each child was

[5] Since the terminology is an integral part of each study and shows how the language evolved in time, I have preserved the original terminology in my summary of these replicas, as I did with Clark and Clark's original study.

interviewed by the examiner with the same skin color as the participant in order to prevent possible confusion in the answers during the interviews (Radke & Trager, 1950).

Radke and Trager also differed from the original study in stimuli. They presented figures of two men (Negro and white) and two women (Negro and white) made of plywood form boards, clothes (formal dress, work outfits, shabby clothing) from the same material fitting the figures and houses (good and poor constructions). The figures were identical except for their skin color; the figures of men were presented to the boys, and the figures of women to the girls (Radke & Trager, 1950, p. 5). They asked the participants to match the housing types and the clothes with the figures and tell short stories about these dolls.

Although the questions and the methodology differed in Radke and Trager's study from Clark and Clark's, the results can be compared through one specific question: the preference for a doll. While in Clark and Clark's study, most of the children wanted to play with or liked the white doll best, in Radke and Trager's study, a little more than half of the Black participants indicated they liked the dark doll best. Looking at this unique result may be deceiving. For instance, most of the participants, both White and Black, matched white dolls with good houses and black dolls with poor houses. Even though not all subjects paired black dolls with negative attributes, when they were asked to tell a story about these characters, children gave more negative attributes to the black dolls (Radke & Trager, 1950, p. 33).

Mary Ellen Goodman conducted research entirely different from other pre 1952 replicas in the US. While most of the researchers who conducted doll studies were psychologists and mostly realized and analyzed the studies from a psychological perspective, Goodman approached the subject of race and race awareness from an anthropological perspective and combined it with psychology. She observed four-year-old Black and White children, mostly in school. She also visited the house of some participants. Goodman and her colleagues (Whites) started the study with non-participant observation. Since they spent a long time in the same school, they became like visitors or assistants of the teachers for children in the school, as was described by Goodman (1964, pp. 281–282). Goodman and her colleagues did not only observe but also conducted four different kinds of activities: a set of jigsaw puzzles, a doll house with its furnishing and miniature doll families, a set of pictures, and a collection of dolls of several types. They also conducted interviews with the parents and teachers of the children. Like many others, her study found that children as young as four are aware of racism. Moreover, she found similar results to Clark and Clark's study, especially regarding children's choice of words. For instance, she reported that while reasoning why they wanted the white doll, some said that because the black was dirty.

Asher and Allen made a replica of the original doll study with some differences both in the study and the approach to the study in 1969 in the US. They began by discussing how important is the social class, sex, and age of the participant, which they refer to as social comparison theory. With this, they also predicted that lower-class Negro children would favor their own race more than middle-class Negro children (Asher & Allen, 1969).

They had both Negro and White participants like Radke and Trager, whose ages ranged from three to eight. What they did differently from Clark and Clark, and Radke and Trager was separating the participants according to their parents' professions to be able to see the effect of social class in the analysis. Another major difference was the stimuli of Asher and Allen's study, they used puppets instead of dolls, and in order to correspond appropriately to the ages of the participants with them, they prepared two different pairs of puppets. Each pair had a Negro version with medium brown facial color and black hair; a White version with light skin and light hair. They presented a baby puppet for the ages three to five; for the older children, a puppet looks like an eleven-year-old. The reason for changing from dolls to puppets was explained to address both the boys and the girls simultaneously. They have not changed the questions of Clark and Clark's study; however, they omitted some of them, and the word doll was replaced with puppet. They asked: which one they would like to play with, which looked bad, which looked nice, and which had a nice color (1969, p. 160).

The results were highly similar to the Clark and Clark's in preference for the white puppet and the rejection of the brown puppet. Social class was the main objective of this study, yet the children did not show any substantial changes in their answers. Therefore, it was not a game changer as it was expected. Different than the original and the majority of the replicas, Asher and Allen also compared the results of male and female participants. They found that boys preferred the white puppet more than girls mainly on four questions: nice puppet, looks bad, nice color, and play with, regardless of their racial backgrounds. According to their comparison with the Northern data of Clark and Clark's study, they observed an increase in white color preference among Negro children on all the questions, except one, the puppet they would like to play with (Asher & Allen, 1969).

The similarity between the results of the original study and Asher and Allen is very interesting, considering the period that this study was conducted. The 1960s were the years when the terms and slogans like "Black Power," "Black Pride," and "Black is Beautiful" began, and it was assumed that these movements would affect the results of these kinds of studies. In other words, it was thought that with the rise of movements and consciousness on race in those times, the doll study (or versions of it) would give different results and children would choose more black/brown dolls or figures to self-identify or black/brown dolls would be attributed

more with positive ascriptions like smart and beautiful. When the studies conducted in this period gave different results from the original doll study, this was assumed that the movements had positively affected the children. However, some of these studies' results were still similar to the original one; therefore, the assumption that movements had a positive effect on children was not entirely applicable to all the study groups or areas in the US.

In 1969, Hraba and Grant conducted almost the same study as the original, unlike most replicas in the US. Their participants were both Black and White children, ages four to eight. They did not change the questions or the dolls, but they asked the participants the race of their best friends, and the authors also asked the same question to the participants' teachers to get confirmation. They used two different examiners in order to prevent the possible effect of their skin color on the children's answers, like most of the other studies that had participants with different skin colors (Hraba & Grant, 1970).

The most significant difference in the results between the Hraba and Grant and the Clark and Clark was black doll preferences. While most children preferred the white doll in the original study, this tendency was considerably less in the Hraba and Grant replica. They also found that the Black children's preference for the Black doll increased as they got older, like the original study but even stronger. Both studies revealed that the children are aware of racial differences in skin color as they were able to identify the black and white dolls when asked. Furthermore, the examiners' race and the best friends' race did not affect or indicate any significant alteration in the results. While concluding their results, Hraba and Grant focused on the historical and current changes in society as well. Hraba and Grant explained the difference in their results with respect to the original doll study in terms of the increasing awareness and movements in society for Black people (1970). Both Asher and Allan and Hraba and Grant conducted their studies in the same period expecting to see the effect of the social movements of the period; however, they came out with very different results.

Milner is another psychologist who replicated his version of Clark and Clark's doll study in 1973 in the UK. His target group was the children of West Indian and Asian origin, also referred to as the disadvantaged minority group by Milner. By conducting the same study, he tried to see the preferences and tendencies of these children living in the UK.

Milner's participants comprised immigrant Indian and Pakistani and native-born White English children whose ages ranged from five to eight years old. For the study, he combined two methods. He used the dolls like the original study and the pictures from Morland's study. Depending on the question, he either presented the dolls or the pictures. He had five topics for the questions; identity (the doll looks like you the most, the doll you would rather be, the one looks like your mother and looks like your brother/sister), preferences (the one you like the

best, would like to play with in the playground, would like to share your sweets with, would like to sit next to in class, the one look like your best friend), stereotypes (which of these two men is the bad man, the nicest lady, the ugly boy), aspirations (when you are older: which family you will live next door to, which man/lady you will go to work or go shopping, which will be your best friend), racial differences (which one of these is the Jamaican/Indian/Pakistani man, which one is the English man) (Milner, 1973, p. 285). Milner added the question about the Jamaican man to see how they responded to a third phenotype, different from their own but also not dark-skinned. The children tended to identify the darkest doll as Jamaican.

Like in the original and many replicas, most immigrant groups selected and preferred the white figures for all the topics except the identity-related questions. In most of the replicas, an age analysis revealed that older children tended to select or prefer darker skin-colored materials (figures, dolls, or pictures). Nevertheless, it was not a significant factor in the results of Milner. The differentiation among the answers according to the sex of the participants did not show any significant alteration either. Milner had only White examiners. Even though all the other studies that controlled for the examiners' skin color factor indicated that the examiner's skin color does not affect the children's answers, Milner thought that even if it were slightly different, the answers might have differed with a Black examiner. From these results, Milner concluded that children learn to judge or develop prejudices, such as Black and White, the same way as adults, including cultural materials such as comics, books, school readers, and television (Milner, 1973, p. 292).

Davey and Mullin conducted their version of the doll study in 1982 in the UK. The purpose of the study was to see children's inter-ethnic friendship patterns and to what extent children use racial and ethnic distinctions while making sense of the world.

Their participants were White, West Indian, and Asian children from seven- to eleven-year-old. Compared to others, this study's age range is significant since children older than nine are rarely seen in these types of studies. Another crucial difference is that the study was conducted in the school in the participants' classroom and during the class. Children were called separately to be interviewed in the corner of the classroom while the other researcher or teacher was teaching. They asked three questions: the two children you would most like to sit next to in this class, the two children you would most like to play with in the playground, and the two children in the school you would most like to invite home. Looking at the questions, it can be understood that instead of using representative materials like dolls or pictures, they asked more direct questions with their real friends in front to select and think. While the first question limited the children to select someone from the classroom, others could be selected from the

other classes in the school. Therefore, the results were evaluated based on the number of colored or different ethnic-origin people in the classes or the schools (Davey & Mullin, 1982).

Davey and Mullin found that the in-group choices are mostly made when children are younger, like seven years old. However, they also emphasized the lack of consistency of age in the in-group friendship. If there is a high representation of their own minority group in the school, they tend to be more ethnocentric. In general, they found very little desire for inter-ethnic friendships, however, when and where this kind of relationship could be observed was essentially limited to school activities since children were even less likely to choose friends from outside their ethnic group to invite to their homes (Davey & Mullin, 1982, pp. 89–90).

The replica of Corenblum and Wilson was conducted in 1982 in Canada. The study aimed to see the ethnic preference and self-identification among Canadian Indian and White children aged five to seven.

Instead of only dolls, they presented two cups and two fuzzy rabbits with brown and white colors. The reason for using two more objects apart from dolls was that they were familiar, and their color differences cannot be directly associated with positive or negative evaluations. By doing this, the researchers tried to see if children were more inclined to select the white doll as self-identification. This way, they could compare the results of self-identification with object-color selection to understand whether the white doll selection reflected desire or was a general color preference.

They used four experimenters, two Whites, and two Canadian First Nations people—referred to in the study as "Indian and/or Native." Corenblum and Wilson repeated the study two times with the same children to be able to evaluate and see the effect of the skin color of the examiners. They presented each child with the dolls, rabbits, and cups and asked fifteen questions in total, which were: Give me the one that you want to play with, that is a nice doll (rabbit or cup), that looks bad, and that is a nice color. Afterward, they only presented the dolls and asked the children to indicate which of them: looked like a White child, looked like an Indian child, and looked like you. The questions were more like Clark and Clark's version but adapted to the changes in the stimuli of the replica (Corenblum & Wilson, 1982).

The results showed that pro-light and anti-dark, as the researchers' hypothesis suggested. They also found out that the race of the experimenter affects the children's answers in terms of children's tendencies, such as selecting the native doll when there is a native experimenter or the opposite. As noted, the same happened with the bunny but not the cup. The researchers provided an explanation for this by stating that, in many circumstances, dolls and bunnies are more meaningful than cups (1982, pp. 56–58). I think one of the most important conclusions

of the Corenblum and Wilson's study is that bias is a learned phenomenon because the children's answers altered according to the examiner's race (1982). Moreover, very few replicas reported the effect of examiners' skin color as directly as this study.

Farrell and Olson (1983) conducted their version of the doll study in 1979 in the US. They repeated the study to discover whether and how the social changes affected the children's perception of self-identification and doll preferences approximately forty years after the original study. Their participants were five-year-old Black and White children.

Farrell and Olson used photograph cut-outs like paper dolls instead of dolls or objects representing skin colors. These photographs were meant to represent a dark-skinned Black person, a light-skinned Black person, a dark-skinned White person, and a light-skinned White person for each sex with similar clothes and characteristics like age, weight, and height (1983, p. 286). There were two examiners (Black and White), and they alternated in showing the pictures. Furthermore, boys responded to the pictures of boys and the girls to the pictures of girls. The questions were similar to Clark and Clark's study: select the doll that is most like you, that the other children like best, that the teacher likes the best, that other children do not like, that likes school, that the teacher does not like, that does not like school (Farrell & Olson, 1983).

To the question, the boy or the girl most like you, the majority of the dark and light-skinned Black children answered correctly. That is, they identified photographs that corresponded with their own racial categories. The children did not favor the white figures, as most replicas found out. Overall, there were fewer positive attributions to the white figures by the dark and light-skinned Black children, and the light-skinned Black children in Farrell and Olson's study showed an equal preference for the black and white figures. In contrast, in the original study, it was the opposite. Farrell and Olson interpreted these results depending on the social transformation in society in the last thirty years (1983, p. 293).

Gopaul-Mc.Nicol conducted the same study in 1986 in the US and Trinidad. The study aimed to determine the racial identification and preferences of the children in a society where Blacks are not the majority (the US) and where Blacks are the majority (Trinidad).

Her methodology and the participants were almost exactly the same as Clark and Clark's study. They were Black preschool children, and she reached the same results both in the US and Trinidad, just like Clark and Clark. While she was not completely surprised by the results of the US, the results of Trinidad were interesting because most of the society was Black. She thought that the reason for this in Trinidad could be the English-colonial education system, the

media, the teachers, and society's tendency to favor light-skinned Black and White children families (Gopaul-Mc.Nicol, 1988).

Powell-Hopson and Hopson found very different results when they conducted the doll study in 1985 in the US. Like the original study, they wanted to see the self-identification and preferences among Black children through the skin color (dolls), but they added a second part called treatment intervention. They had both Black and White participants. Unlike the majority of the replicas, they had two Black researchers, male and female. The questions were similar to the original study. "Give me the doll that… (a) you want to be, (b) you like to play with, (c) is a nice doll, (d) looks bad, is a nice color, (f) you would take home if you could?" (Powell-Hopson & Hopson, 1988, p. 59).

The results were approximately the same as those of Clark and Clark including more negative attitudes or rejection of black dolls and a high preference for white. In the second phase they read a story describing Black children positively. Later, the children were instructed to take the black dolls (Black and White were not used, instead, the terms used were "this/these dolls" and "that/those dolls" or were indicated by action) and to say positive adjectives like pretty, nice, handsome, clean. Finally, they were instructed to indicate, "we like these dolls the best." When they tested the children again after the intervention, there was a significant change in the children's preferences. According to the results, Powell-Hopson and Hopson claimed that the key to changing the perception of children and society is to take an active approach to build a positive self-image of Black children like talking and acting actively on the subject with the children (1988, pp. 59–61).

In the early 2000s Jordan and Hernandez-Reif created their version of the doll study in Alabama, by mixing the original and adding some other phases. They conducted the study with Black and White children ages three to five (Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009). Jordan and Hernandez-Reif divided their study into three main phases: pre-test, intervention, and pro-test. Both in the pre-and post-test phases, they asked the questions of the original doll study. The stimuli were four computer-sketched dolls, and they were the same except for the skin color and gender of each. As opposed to the common critics against the original and other doll studies, which used only two stimuli, in this study, children were indicated that they could select one, both, or none of the stimuli. In the intervention phase, they divided the participants into two groups. One group listened to a story with a moral script about a Black child, and the other group listened to the same story without a positive moral ending. However, before starting with the pre-test, they showed the children four dolls with different skin colors and asked the doll the participants would like as a best friend.

The findings of Jordan and Hernandez-Reif were not as detailed as those of other research studies. They found that both in pre-and post-test, while more White children selected white dolls as their best friends, Black children were divided between black and white doll preferences. The authors found that Black children's preferences parallel the previous question with four stimuli. In terms of identification of the dolls, this study revealed that Black children self-identified with the doll looking like white more than White children. Lastly, self-identification was made correctly by the majority of the participants. According to the question they asked about the preference of the best friend and the four stimuli with different skin colors, Jordan and Hernandez-Reif think that more or fewer options in the stimuli affect children's preferences.

Byrd, Ceacal, Felton, Nicholson, Lakendra Rhaney, McCray, and Young replicated the original study in the US with few differences. They added three more questions, two of which were nice and mean dolls, to understand the influence of negative stereotypes, and one of them was about the preference for hairstyle (2017). They used four female dolls with different skin colors, eye colors, or hair colors, and for the hairstyle question three dolls were identical except for their hairstyle. Many participants were African Americans, but they also had South Americans and White Americans whose ages ranged from five to ten years old. The research was digitized, participants answered questions on the computer, and at least two researchers were in each session.

Participants chose biracial/light-skinned black dolls as nice, pretty, and looked like them. It was found that children were less likely to play with the lightest doll, and they said the "mean doll" was the darkest. On the other hand, this research found no significant data on the "ugly doll" question; it was reported as no doll in the article. The results of the "good" and "bad doll" questions did not reveal any significant results. As they were also looking for an understanding of beauty in terms of hair texture and style, they found the tendency for long, straight hair (Byrd et al., 2017, p. 195). The results of this study show more explicit differences from other replicas. The authors took into consideration various reasons for these, like the beginning of desegregation of the schools in 1954, Obama's presidency from 2009 to 2017, the first African American attorney general, secretary of state, and female Oscar winner, along with the long historical changes and movements like Black Power in the 60s and 70s in the last seventy-eight years that passed since the first doll study (Byrd et al., 2017).

Even though there are still some recent studies in the academic literature, doll studies began to lose their popularity as an academic research tool compared to the period when it was first conducted till the end of the 90s. The main reason why it began to decline was due to various critiques that the original and replicas gathered over the years, and also the changing social

and political aspects of lives like desegregation of schools, increasing new techniques and approaches from other fields as much as psychology to the children and race studies and children's acceptance as social actors in the academic field along with the increasing awareness in the children's lives and rights.

However, the study later gained importance in popular media tools such as YouTube, and this time it went beyond the borders of the US and the UK. Examples and versions of the doll study conducted in Italy, Denmark, Indonesia, Mexico, and Chile can be found on YouTube, but I could not find any from Spain. Besides these videos, in the US, Kiri Davis, an African American filmmaker, repeated the study and made a documentary entitled "A Girl Like Me" (Davis, 2005). The "Good Morning America" program, the US television network ABC, recreated the study in the US (AHUJA, 2009). AC360º, a program of CNN, also replicated the study in the US (*CNN Pilot Demonstration*, 2010).

Among these, I found CNN's pilot replica as one of the most methodologically rigorous, as they broadened Clark and Clark's version by including and addressing a variety of racial groups in the US. Moreover, it was prepared and conducted by professionals, and the results, unlike the videos on social media, were examined more carefully. The participants were composed of Black and White children, and the age of the young group was from four to five, and the older group was from nine- to ten-year-old. Like most replicas, CNN created its own stimuli, cartoon dolls whose only skin colors differed. For the female participants, CNN presented five identical except in skin color female dolls in blue dresses and with blue bows (Figure 4), and for male participants, male versions of the cartoons with blue shirts and pants (Figure 5).

Figure 4. CNN's study: The female doll study stimuli (Wright, 2010, 04:10)

Figure 5. CNN's study: The male doll study stimuli (Wright, 2010, 03:54)

CNN's study asked twenty questions to the participants; some were the same as in the original study, and some were taken from other replicas. The questions that differed from the original study were preference for the smart, dumb, mean, good, ugly, good-looking child, classmate, friend, desired skin color, and undesired skin color. Other questions can be categorized as speculation: what the participants imagine to be the skin color that others (boys, girls, adults, and teachers) like and do not like (2010).

The results showed that light-skinned cartoon dolls represented positive attitudes and beliefs. In contrast, dark-skinned dolls were associated with negative attitudes and beliefs highly by the majority of the participants, as was in Clark and Clark's doll study. However, this tendency was more evident in the White participants than the Black participants' preferences. Moreover, there was a selection of one and rejection of another, which means if children select the light color, they reject the darker one and vice versa. Children were also consistent regarding similar skin tones for positive attitudes, beliefs, and social and color preferences. However, there was a slight gender difference, as boys preferred lighter skin colors more than girls. These results were gathered both for early and middle childhood (*CNN Pilot Demonstration*, 2010, pp. 41–43).

The majority of the replicas, which were made with different or similar methods to Clark and Clark's doll study, had the same goal of seeking the young children's racial identification, awareness, and racial preferences. From Milner's terminology, the results primarily focus on the disadvantaged minority group. According to its time and aim, each had its weaknesses and strengths. From my point of view, Clark and Clark's study is very crucial, regardless of how people changed it since it was one of the first tools to measure or get one step closer to understanding children's perspectives in the context of racism. Despite its popularity and contributions to race and children's studies, especially during the 70s and 80s, the original and some replicas were also criticized extensively. Some of the most ardent critiques were about the stimuli and its lack of representation on different skin colors (Burnett & Sisson, 1995; Katz, 1976; Mahan, 1976), the forced choice due to only black and white stimuli and obligation to select one and binding choice of doll as a unique preference instead of thinking of other possibilities like a degree of preference or even a rejection of the doll as a poor representation

of reality (Aboud, 1988; Baldwin, 1979; Guerrero et al., 2010; Hraba, 1972; Williams & Morland, 1979). Others critiqued the lack of diversity in the stimuli (Aboud, 1987), the difficulty of access to a black doll as a toy in the market (Brand et al., 1974), the possible effect of different geographic and historical in which the participants were raised (Corenblum & Wilson, 1982; Katz, 1976), the possible effect of the examiner/researcher/tester's skin color (Katz, 1976), the repetition of the same questions in different ways (Baldwin, 1979; Hraba, 1972), the methodological problems (Baldwin, 1979; Banks, 1976; Brand et al., 1974; McMillan, 1988; Semaj, 1980; Simmons et al., 1978), and the oversimplification or overgeneralization of the findings (Porter, 1971).

1.2.2 Research with children and their perception of race through child-centered techniques

The doll study, despite its successes and failures, is crucial in the early stages of race and children's studies. It should be judged according to the social, political, and legal conditions of the society in that period. Failure resulted from researchers' reliance only on the psychological perspective of the doll study and its statistical results more so than other important factors surrounding the study and children. Moreover, I believe most of these subsequent studies of the original failed to adapt according to the needs of the time, context, and social and historical realities of the societies that were conducted. Even though in one of the earliest studies like Goodman's, other techniques were employed along with the doll study, it rapidly disappeared or was not considered important. Nevertheless, researchers began to create new techniques to capture the children's perspectives on different aspects of life in time. While some combined different techniques from different disciplines like anthropological (with observation techniques) and sociological (with interviews and new child-centered techniques) perspectives, many of them kept using only psychological perspectives for various reasons, especially in the past.

As indicated before, research with children went beyond the doll study in search of children's perceptions of race and other areas in time. With the development of each method and technique, new discussions arose, and already existing discussions have gained more importance. For instance, ethics in working with children, arguments about the settings of the research, the researcher's perception, and approach to understanding, transmitting, and interpreting children's perceptions, and children's position in research and society (being or becoming) are just some of the most significant discussions. The rise of children's studies in different disciplines and the emergence of qualitative methods in social sciences and the interpretivist/constructivist theoretical paradigms (Duffy et al., 2021) coincided. These concerns were more limited at the beginning of the child and childhood studies because most

of the research tended to be quantitative or included more close-ended questions instead of giving children freedom of expression.

Different techniques had different concerns and were not implemented at the same time. As mentioned earlier, there was and is the issue of situating children in the research as "beings," subjects of the research, or "becomings," objects of the research in the academic literature (Hood et al., 1996; James et al., 2012; Morrow & Richards, 1996; Punch, 2002; Qvortrup, 2009a; Roche, 1999). However, a new perspective was suggested relatively recently by James, Jenks, and Prout, which brings both traditional (children as becomings perspective) and new methods (children as beings perspective) together by suggesting that "children as research subjects may be envisioned as sharing the status of adults, they are none the less thought to possess somewhat different competencies and abilities" (2012, p. 188).

According to this new perspective, the already existing "traditional" or "limited" both quantitative and qualitative methods may not correspond to the needs of this perspective alone. Consequently, traditional methods were developed, and new ones have begun to emerge regarding the age group, social and cultural backgrounds of the participants, and the place, geographic conditions, the setting of the research, the topic of the study, or the budget of the researcher (James et al., 2012; Punch, 2002). Psychology and education developed different tests and methods in time, which again primarily relied on quantitative data[6]. Sociology, on the other hand, has developed other techniques which are mainly opposite to psychology by accommodating more qualitative studies where children are free to speak or write or draw their perspectives and ideas as they want to by not being restricted all the time to the questions or the requirements of research or researchers. Some of the well-known techniques of sociology are drawing, painting, writing, storytelling, sentence completion, spider diagram, mapping, diaries, photography, visuals, vignettes, and worksheets (Clark, 2005; Punch, 2002; Rovetta Cortés, 2017). It should be remembered that there are many more, and researchers keep creating since these are not restricted or as methodic as psychological studies. Therefore, I only detail some of the related techniques to this study.

Drawing, painting, and writing are the most traditional techniques for conducting research with children. It is common to see these grouped even though they differ based on the study's

[6] Some of the well-known tests and methods, especially for race-related studies, are the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure II (PRAM II), The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), The Children's Black Identity Scale (CBIS), Color Meaning Test (CMT II), Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), Skin Color Opinions and Perceptions Evaluation (SCOPE), Visual Inventory for Skin Tone Assessment (VISTA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Participatory Action Research (PAR), The Koslin Social Distance Scale, Twenty Statements Test and Draw A Person test (DAP).

subject matter or the age range of the participants. While drawing and painting are particularly helpful for young children who may struggle with writing or not yet know how to read (Due et al., 2014), they may not be desirable by all the participants since it requires skill. For example, this technique can be problematic for older children, ages ten and onwards, because they may think of this as a test or simply may not want to do it because they do not like drawing or painting or think they lack the skills (Rovetta Cortés, 2017). Most researchers use these methods as data to combine with other techniques or gather more information (Clark, 2005; Punch, 2002). Therefore, these can also be used flexibly to give participants the freedom to select the one they feel most comfortable expressing themselves. On the other hand, conducting these methods with young children may require extra effort from the researchers' side since it can be hard to keep up with children's vivid and imaginative reflections of the world they perceive. As suggested by Barker and Weller (2003), this can be overcome by talking with each participant. In terms of cost and application, they can be considered one of the most useful, easy, and cheap ones to apply; however, they can also be risky and time-consuming depending on the age and the number of participants.

Storytelling is another common and budget-friendly technique to use in terms of being adaptable to the research topic and age range of the participants as well as the background of the participants, however, may require more effort than drawing and writing both from participants' and researchers' sides. There are various approaches. One is presenting a story from a source like a book or a movie and asking participants how they felt if they were one of these characters, which one they would be, and if they have experienced anything similar (depending on the context). Another would be reading a story but leaving the end to a participants' imagination to complete it orally or in written form. Depending on the ability and interest of the participants and the aim of the researcher, a story on a disturbing or avoided subjects that children usually would not talk about directly can be created, and like the other two techniques suggested, the end can be incomplete, or their opinion can be asked (Barter & Renold, 2000). Sentence completion is similar to storytelling, or story-completion, and can be interesting for children of all ages. For example, Rovetta Cortés (2017) used a Mafalda cartoon, which is very famous, especially in Spanish-speaking countries, to conduct an example of sentence completion. Finding culturally interesting material can increase participation, and these techniques can help children listen to each other and the researcher.

A spider diagram is another valuable and common technique; it can be applied in many ways and in different contexts. The diagram is a kind of map with a circle shape (drawn in the center of the paper generally) in which the activity's objective is written, such as "me." Offshoots are drawn off of the main subject to indicate subsections like music, food, friends, and family. In this technique, children can define themselves or the things they want or are important to them

as they wish without interruptions from the researcher. This method, in terms of cost and the easiness of the task, can be considered another good and valuable technique (Bagnoli, 2009; Punch, 2002; Young & Barrett, 2001).

The technique, called mapping, different and broader than the spider diagram, can be created by children and researchers together or by combining the related material gathered during the research, such as photos, drawings, and worksheets, to make sense of the children's perceptions, lives, and interests. There are different ways of doing it, such as creating titles and sticking them on a cartoon board according to the aim of the research, which can be used to make better sense of the participants' important interests or habits (Clark, 2005; Rovetta Cortés, 2017).

Photography is one of the most used recent methods. Researchers generally give children a disposable camera for a short period and ask them to take a limited number of photos of the most important things in their lives, environment, or community, depending on the subject. After the children bring the photos, researchers usually have different ways of using them, some of which include talking to the children about the significance of the photos, preparing a kind of storybook from their pictures, or making them write a story or a paragraph about their picture(s). This technique has been criticized or has a concerning point mentioned in the academic literature because children often have limited access to technology, only able to briefly sample new devices for research purposes before returning them. Nevertheless, it is useful because it is adaptable according to age and provides researchers with an opportunity to see part of the children's lives that is not always accessible, including the ability to see other settings from the children's eyes (Barker & Weller, 2003; Clark, 2001, 2005; Cook & Hess, 2007; Crivello et al., 2009; Due et al., 2014; Punch, 2002; Young & Barrett, 2001). One of the downsides of this method, however, is the cost. The research budget and the number of children may make it difficult for wide-spread application and therefore, may not be suitable for all research situations.

Keeping a diary is another technique that researchers have adopted. This kind of writing can encourage children in many ways, like remembering something from their day and sharing it with others, and can improve skills of some immigrant children, especially those who are learning local (regional) languages. It is a limited technique however, only possible with children who are literate and know the local language (in the case of researchers who do not know the children's language). Furthermore, a diary is private to the person if the children do not want to share it, or it can be problematic or tainted as children feel forced to write or less efficacious as children lose interest in participating. Therefore, researchers should know what

they expect or need from the diary technique before using it (Barker & Weller, 2003; Punch, 2002).

Comparing and ranking these many techniques in terms of superiority or suitability is difficult, as different fields (gender, race, education) may require different approaches. Ultimately, it is up to the researcher to use the appropriate technique to analyze the data gathered. While these techniques can provide valuable insights, analyzing data from large participant groups can be overwhelming and may require the researcher to involve participants in the interpretation process. Children can offer unique perspectives due to their vivid imaginations and involving them in the interpretation process can lead to more accurate analysis.

1.2.3 Research with children and their perception of race through participant observation

As mentioned briefly, observation is another common way of conducting research with children, which is used almost in any area of study, like education, geography, and sociology. Although it is one of the oldest research methods, it is relatively new for children's studies. Moreover, unlike other methods, observation tries to understand witnessed phenomena, such as the relationships among children and their use of language, rather than trying to prove a hypothesis (Qvortrup et al., 2009). While some researchers focus on the importance of the interaction among children through tools like child-centered techniques or tests, other groups of academics, such as ethnographers, find observation to be a minimally intrusive daily method to understand children's perspectives. One of the best ways to do this is with participant and non-participant observation. While non-participant observation has its own advantages since it does not require direct engagement with children or any kind of manipulation in the relationships or the environment, it can also be too distant to deeply understand the nature and details of the relations and actions. Participant observation with children, however, raises issues that are only sometimes of concern when working with adults.

The researcher's position is the most fundamental concern of participant observation since it affects the researcher, participants, and how to gather data. There are two major issues or challenges that should be considered while conducting participant observation. One of them is about the children's perception of adults. Children are used to having adults in their lives. They always take instructions or expect to be interfered with by adults when they do something wrong. An adult is generally perceived as an authority, a mechanism that controls, judges, and restricts. The other is the researchers' (adults') nature, like physical maturity, age, and cognitive capabilities, which cannot "pass unnoticed" by children (Corsaro, 1996; Fine & Glassner, 1979; Mandell, 1988). Based on these tangible and unavoidable differences, of all approaches to the researcher's position in participant observation that was suggested, created,

or developed by many, but three, set forth by Garry Alan Fine and Barry Glassner, Nancy Mandell, and William A. Corsaro, are common and widely used.

Fine and Glassner (1979) explained the four possible positions of the participant observer, which are the friend role, observer role, supervisor, and leader role. They analyzed the individual application or combination of each role with their advantages and disadvantages by referencing other research conducted by participant observation, but mainly based on their studies and experiences. They concluded that the best role would be the friend role, but there could be valid combinations of this role with others based on the study's subject and the participants' age (1979).

Mandell analyzes the three modes of engagement in observational studies: complete involvement, semi-participatory involvement, and detached observation. She suggests her model, which she calls the least-adult role (1988). While she contradicts the detached observation method, her least-adult role combines the ideas of semi- and complete involvement. Mandell says that with the least-adult role, researchers can overcome even impossible differences, such as physical aspects, up to some point between the observer (adult) and participants (children). While developing this approach, she bases it mainly on Mead's mutual understanding (1938, as cited in Mandell, 1988, p. 456). It is defined as "a social product, a joint creation that emerges in and through the defining interactions of selves (adult researcher) and other (children) around social objects" (Mandell, 1988, p. 436). In terms of practice, on the other hand, she is influenced by Corsaro's way of approaching "someone who tried to become part of the activities without affecting the nature or flow of peer episodes" (1981, p. 133, as cited in Mandell, 1988, p. 439–453). The most crucial point to be successful in this role is making participants see that the researcher is not a teacher, a gatekeeper, a caregiver, or an authority—for example, seeing children doing prohibited things but not engaging with them or reporting these wrongdoings to an authority like a teacher. Mandell believes that once this is achieved, children start to accept the researcher as a playmate. They open up or are less shy and can feel free with their comments since the researcher gained the participants' trust or proved that the researcher is not there to judge, or at least, in her words, have achieved the least-adult role. When rapport and trust are established between both sides, unlike Corsaro, Mandell says that keeping a distant relationship with the participants is unnecessary. In other words, she suggests that keeping the nature or the flow intact may not be very important; on the contrary, more involvement can even be helpful for the researcher (1988, p. 439).

Corsaro is another influential researcher who has spent years in the field and continues to influence the field of ethnography, especially regarding children. His major studies were

conducted in Italy and the US analyzing children's peer culture. These studies offered unique perspectives and inspired Corsaro to adapt his approach in various research areas. As mentioned, having an idea of a role as a researcher before entering the field does not always mean that the ideal can be achieved in practice. Each study can take its own unique approach. In Italy's setting, Corsaro's language barrier became his ally, helping him to be more involved with the participants. The children embraced him easily, mainly because of his lack of language skills. They assumed the role of an adult or teacher (so to say) to help Corsaro learn the language and understand them. Corsaro says the language barrier seemingly enabled him to get along better with the children than did the center's teachers. He interprets this "problem or barrier" as something positive since this helped him to get closer to the children, who called him "big kid" or "big Bill." Through this experience, he named his position as "less competent" or "incompetent and a big dumb kid" for this field of study (Corsaro, 1988, 1996; Corsaro & Molinari, 2000).

The US cases were, on the other hand, more challenging, as Corsaro reports (Corsaro, 1996). The language was not an issue anymore, but other differences made these settings and his position distinct, due to the gender and skin color of the participants. Most children were female and Black, while he was a White male. Another issue with these cases was the time spent with these participants. Corsaro spent less time with the children (compared to the Italian field research) because of limited funding and the children's schedules. Consequently, he says it was harder and took longer to establish that trusting relationship between him and the children in the US. Ultimately, Corsaro found that the relationship he looked for was slightly different from the Italian participants. He describes his position in the US as an "atypical adult," different from Italy's case, where he was an "incompetent adult", because of his limited linguistic skills (Corsaro, 1996). Corsaro's research illustrates the importance of considering the adult researcher's role as well as the ways in which it might change depending on the research context.

Many ethnographers adjusted themselves in various ways to minimum difference, get closer to the children, and try to understand their perspective, relations, and cultural disposition on subjects such as race, ethnicity, success in school, learning capabilities, interactions, and sports.

Van Ausdale and Feagin's research method is worth mentioning. They study examined children's use of racial and ethnic understandings in everyday relationships in an eleven-month ethnographic research project undertaken in a preschool setting. Not assuming an authoritarian role in the field, the researcher endeavored to take on the "least-adult" role, as suggested by Corsaro and Mandell. During fieldwork, Van Ausdale became the non-authoritarian observer

and playmate since she mostly avoided acting as a teacher, aiding center teachers, or being friends with them (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996, p. 781).

1.2.4 Common concerns of research with children

There are various concerns about conducting research with children. While some are relevant to all types of studies and methodologies, others are relevant to specific approaches. Below, I focus on the most significant and common, which are ethical issues, adults' presence in the children's territory (since it is more interwoven with ethnography, it was mentioned above already in detail), building rapport, researcher's positionality, reliability, language, and setting. Moreover, I try to narrate them along with the possible solutions the researchers introduced, applied, or tried to overcome in time.

Ethical issues

The concern about the ethical issue is the most common and includes all types of research and methods, both with children and adults, in the academic literature. There are no universal rules, but three arguments are discussed in the academic literature. The first is gaining the consent of the parents, caregivers, or gatekeepers, which is mostly considered for the types of methods where children are the object of the research. Another is gaining the consent of the children and the parents, caregivers, or gatekeepers and the final argument is taking only the children's consent. The last two arguments are mostly considered for research in which children are the subjects. These are decided according to the research and its subject, especially for the social sciences. The age range of the participants plays a significant role in this decision as well. When children are the main study focus, researchers who follow the new approach believe it is only necessary to seek permission from children rather than anyone else. This approach recognizes children as active social actors. It is also contradictory to accept children as capable beings and social actors with rights, while simultaneously asking gatekeepers for their consent (Balen et al., 2006; Christensen & Prout, 2002; Punch, 2002). In the meantime, while there are still no universal or perfectly constructed rules on this issue, in most of the studies, we (researchers) need to go through adults to be able to access children. At some point, this is the decision of the researcher and the parties included in the study, such as parents, gatekeepers, caregivers, officers, teachers, and children since researchers cannot or should not obligate the children to participate only with the consent of a third party.

Presence of adults in the children's territory

Adults entering children's territory can be complicated. However, the idea of being able to obtain their perspective requires becoming involved in their daily spaces like schools, parks, homes, and having access to their conversations with others. As mentioned above, children are

familiar with receiving instructions from adults about acceptable behavior. Therefore, an interaction between a researcher and children can be tricky if the researcher cannot perfectly show her/his aim. This was discussed in the section on participant observation, but can also be critical in other methodologies, including conducting child-centered techniques and in-depth interviews with children.

Building rapport

Establishing rapport is vital in order to minimize the tension between the researcher and the participants and provide children with a relaxed setting where they can express themselves comfortably. Moreover, building rapport can provide a researcher with a more reliable perspective to make sense of events, like the reasons behind the participants' choices, behaviors, or reactions (Crivello et al., 2009; Harden et al., 2000). As mentioned in Punch's article, the tricky part can be being careful not to patronize the participants while doing so (2002, p. 9). Child-centered techniques, for instance, are suggested as a good way of building rapport with children (Harden et al., 2000, p. 110).

Researcher's positionality

Another most common and significant concern of conducting qualitative research is the researcher's capability to not impose her/his own view on participants (children or adults) (Hill et al., 1996; Punch, 2002). This was already discussed above, and there are several ways of avoiding it. One of them is using various techniques to see the subject from different perspectives and not to impose or rely on personal deductions based on a comment or little data. Explaining everything to the participant well, but not finding the words for children "to help them" so they can explain themselves better. Children are generally used to not being taken seriously, but a formerly established relationship can change this during the research.

A single technique or method cannot be suitable for everyone, every group, or every subject of a study. Each encounter may produce different outcomes based on a person, culture, subject, setting, time, and many other factors; its reflexivity makes the studies, actions, reactions, and behaviors meaningful in the studied context. To gain a deeper understanding of their research, it is recommended that researchers become reflexive. This involves analyzing the data, methods, perceptions, and participants more thoughtfully (Barker & Weller, 2003; Christensen, 2004; Christensen & Prout, 2002; Davis, 1998; Geertz, 1973). In other words, Etherington explains reflexivity as a tool for bringing transparency to the research process and its outcomes (2007, as cited in Warin, 2011, p. 809).

Reliability

Reliability and validity are two important concepts that are hard to measure, confirm or deny, especially in qualitative research. Both are important in all the social sciences to consider while conducting research, but it is hard to control either with adults or children. For most people, it is more problematic for children than adults. It is even suggested that caregivers or gatekeepers can talk in children's names (Crivello et al., 2009).

Some could consider using triangulation methodology to control or double-check the reaction of people by conducting different methodologies for the same subject and comparing the answers or reactions of the participants in different contexts. However, in subjective matters, such as racism, participants may answer or react to an identical question distinctly under different circumstances or different timelines. This does not mean that the person is lying or incoherent, but it may also indicate the various ideas that the person carries and bring them to light under different conditions. The best way to minimize the possibility of deception would be to spend time with participants, explaining in detail the research's reason and the importance of the study. Building rapport and trust can also be considered using various methods (Christensen, 2004; Punch, 2002).

Language

As Punch suggests, clarity of language while working with children is important (2002, p. 8). Children from different ages, backgrounds (minority or immigrant), and cultures may have different and limited vocabularies. This does not make them incompetent, but it is the researchers' responsibility to understand and adapt to these differences. In this sense, ethnographic and long-term research can help by providing time to adapt, learn, and change the language of the activities in a way that best fits or is appropriate to participants' knowledge (Barker & Weller, 2003; Christensen, 2004; Crivello et al., 2009; Mandell, 1988).

Research Setting

The importance of the setting is one of the least discussed factors. Most research conducted with children was and is done in participants' schools, playgrounds, and homes, where the researcher can access many children simultaneously. Accordingly, most are adult-dominated environments. Even though it is practical in terms of accessibility, it can also be challenging both for children and researchers (Barker & Weller, 2003). For children, it can be challenging because all these settings shelter already structured roles, especially the authority figures, such as teachers and parents (Gallagher et al., 2010). Researchers often try to overcome this struggle by building trust and proving that she or he is not an authority figure. However, these institutions may limit or control children's attitudes and expressions.

Several factors mentioned in this chapter, such as the role of the researcher, the setting, and the building of rapport, hold significance in enhancing the quality of qualitative research mainly conducted with children. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the researchers' perspective and approach also have a substantial impact on the interpretation and analysis of the data collected from the field. In this regard, it is essential to address aspects like emic and etic perspectives, as well as thin and thick descriptions. While emic and etic perspectives are well-known and commonly utilized in research, thin and thick descriptions are relatively new but equally vital to comprehend, particularly for this study.

Etic and emic perspectives are frequently used by social scientists, and they are significant to understand the researcher's perspective and approach to her/his study. The etic perspective requires a descriptive framework that is equally true for all cultures and allows for the expression of cultural similarities and differences (Helfrich, 1999, p. 132). On the other hand, the emic perspective emphasizes that culture is the fundamental aspect of human behavior rather than an outsider influence whose effects on the individual must be investigated (Helfrich, 1999, p. 133). The distinction between etic and emic perspectives can be exemplified in various ways. Erickson provides an illustration by contrasting "height" and "stature." From a linguistic standpoint, these terms can be viewed as etic and emic, respectively, representing phenomena approached either through standardized measurements or from the perspective of functional experiences in daily life as perceived by the average individual (1977, p. 60).

In terms of think and thick description, the academic literature is more limited. Ryle and Geertz are considered to be the pioneers of these approaches. Geertz (1973) argued that a scientific field should be defined more by the actions of its practitioners than by its theories and findings:

> In anthropology, …, what the practioners *(sic)* do is ethnography. And it is in understanding what ethnography is, or more exactly *what doing ethnography is*, that a start can be made toward grasping what anthropological analysis amounts to as a form of knowledge. This, …, is not a matter of methods. From one point of view, that of the textbook, doing ethnography is establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on. But it is not these things, techniques and received procedures, that define the enterprise. What defines it is the kind of intellectual effort it is: an elaborate venture in, to borrow a notion from Gilbert Ryle, "thick description" (1973, pp. 5–6).

Geertz exemplifies the difference between the thin and thick descriptions by making the reader picture two boys rapidly closing their right eyelids. He says one or both may be twitching, or one boy or both may be signaling each other by winking. It entirely depends on the perspective

of the person who watches them know which one the boys are doing. This may be winking for a person passing through, while for someone who knows them, this may be twitching (1973, p. 6). In this case, the perspective of the person passing through represents the thin description, and the perspective of the person who knows them or the event happening at the moment is the thick description.

Considering the dynamic nature of the socially constructed concepts –race, ethnicity, nation, and culture– the current study aims to examine them in relation to each other and the background of the participants—young children of minority origin. Accordingly, the study adopts the emic perspective by attempting to access children's own interpretations of the situations and events. Moreover, it aims to produce and analyze thick descriptions based on the detailed observations that take the context into account in providing researcher interpretation.

In conclusion, the existing academic literature has demonstrated a significant emphasis on socially constructed terms such as race, ethnicity, religion, culture, and nationality. However, it is evident that a dearth of research attempts to understand these concepts from the perspective of children belonging to minority groups. This gap highlights the importance of exploring and capturing the voices and experiences of young minority children about these socially constructed concepts.

Moreover, it is worth noting that the studies conducted on children's perceptions of these socially constructed concepts often lack the utilization of triangulation methodology, emic perspective, and thick description. The absence of these research approaches limits our understanding of the nuanced and contextualized experiences of minority children, particularly in their daily lives. Triangulation methodology, which combines multiple data sources and methods, could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities surrounding children's perceptions. Likewise, adopting an emic perspective can offer unique insights into children's experiences by examining the cultural meanings and interpretations assigned by children themselves. Incorporating thick description in research, which involves capturing rich and detailed descriptions of the social and cultural contexts in which children navigate their understanding of race, ethnicity, culture, and nationality, and negotiate their identities within diverse cultural and social landscapes, would provide a finer analysis.

Consequently, the primary objective of this research is to make a meaningful and new contribution to the academic literature of children and race studies. This is tried to be accomplished by employing a triangulation methodology incorporating an emic perspective and thick description. By adopting these approaches, the research seeks to gain a

comprehensive understanding of children's perspectives, taking into account factors such as the cultural influences stemming from both their country of origin and the host country.

Chapter 2. Pilot Study

The pilot study played an important role in the construction of the current study. Even though both studies have the same objectives, the pilot study was preliminary. It was conducted as a master's thesis between June 2015 and May 2016, and it was presented in July 2016 but never published. I do not go into much detail about the results. However, I focus on the two aspects that served as a basis for designing the current one: key findings that inspired further inquiry and methodological issues that helped shape this study's design.

The incident mentioned in the introduction was the spark of these studies. It happened around August 2015, before the academic year started and before I knew, I would do a master's degree. I was a volunteer in an NGO, and I kept a diary of interesting events, and this event happened to be the base of my studies. Summarizing briefly, three girls of different origins, all with different shades of dark skin color (compared to White Spaniards), were talking to each other. In a short time, the talk turned into an argument and then a fight. The girls were kicking the girl with darker skin color because of the color of her skin color. We, the supervisors, were shocked and searched for an explanation, but the girls were not able to give a proper one, just something that they heard about darker skin color.

When I began doing my master's degree in International Migration studies in October 2015, I took different courses. In one of them, Renée DePalma presented Clark and Clark's doll study conducted with young children through the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s in the US. The study's design and aim reminded me of the incident. Even if the period, context, society, and many other factors differed between my observation and the aim of the original doll study, I wanted to see if this study would help me deepen the incident. However, looking from the sociological perspective, I knew this study was not enough all by itself to examine the issue, and this is when precisely the pilot study began to take shape.

Once I decided that I was going to work with children in the NGO where the incident happened, I knew I wanted to use the doll study, and through how I witnessed the incident, I knew observation was also an essential part of the study. However, I needed to decide which age group[7] I was going to work with. Accordingly, I had to search if other methods could be used to expand the scope of the study in terms of getting children's perspectives in different settings and contexts. There were various challenges to conducting the study properly: working with children and their positionality in the academic literature to conduct research with them, and the subject of the study (race –especially as a proxy for skin color– ethnicity, religion, and nation). This made the study even more open to being criticized from all sides by

[7] There were three age groups: five to eight, nine to twelve, and thirteen to sixteen.

using an old study, having the possibility of being influenced by the researcher's perspective, working with children, and working on socially constructed and controversial concepts such as race, ethnicity, religion, and nation.

Accordingly, the research questions of the pilot study were designed as follows: how children of minority origin understand key concepts such as race, culture, and nationality; how children of minority origin construct differences using cultural characteristics, such as religion, values, and language; and how children of minority origin understand and experience racism, xenophobia, and ethnocentrism.

The period I kept a journal of interesting events from July 2015 till December 2015, when also the critical incident happened, is called the free observation phase. In this phase, I spent time with children and adults in the NGO. When I decided to work with children for my master's thesis (pilot study), I attended all the classes and activities of the three age groups that the NGO had. I took field notes to avoid being affected only by the incident when deciding which age group I would work with. This phase is called the focused observation phase, which took place from February 2016 until March 2016. At the end of this phase, I decided to work with children ages nine to twelve. This group was the most crowded one with eighteen children, and they had different countries of origin, and this was the group that included the children in the incident. Once the group was decided, the structured observation phase started on April 2016 and continued almost until the end of the academic year in the NGO (May 2016). In this phase, I kept a methodological field journal and focused on the group based on the subject of the study. I tried not to intervene in their conversations or activities apart from supervising. If I was the one conducting a class or an activity, I had to monitor or intervene with them for the purpose of the activity.

Children's schedule in the NGO was from 4:30 pm to 7:30 pm from Monday to Thursday. In the first hour, we were helping them with their homework. Later, they had an afternoon snack (merienda) from 5:30 pm to 6:00 pm. In the last hour and a half, they had different activities like dancing class, English or French class, athleticism, fencing, and handicraft.

The group consisted of eighteen children of minority origin. At the beginning of the research, this group had seventeen children, but on March 30, 2016, a new female child joined. Accordingly, there were twelve female and six male children. Five of the participants were nine, four of them were ten, six of them were eleven, and three of them were twelve years old. Five of the children were from Senegal, four of them from the Dominican Republic, four of them were from Peru, two were from Uruguay, two were from Colombia, and only one of them was from Bolivia.

Once the age group was decided and some data was collected from the observation phase, I decided to conduct the adapted version of the doll study at the beginning of May 2016. The questions of the adapted doll study were expanded and partially altered. The most significant changes were the two additional questions about the nation and religion (Appendix A) and the stimuli, mainly taken from CNN's adapted doll study because it has more skin color representations (Figure 6).

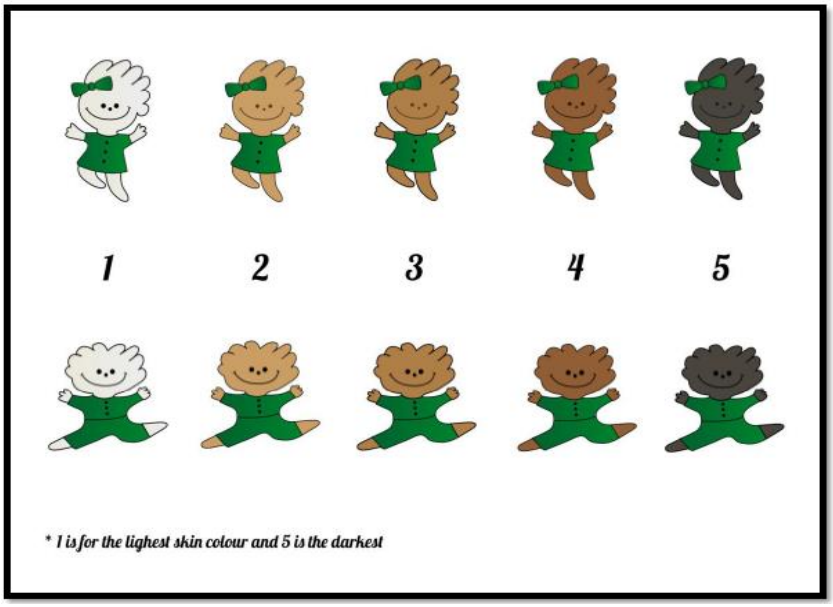

Figure 6. Pilot study: Doll study stimuli

The interview questions were added based on the incident and the interactions among the children during the observation phase. In other words, the era, the place, and the background of the participants were very specific in the original study. However, the group I was working with had different backgrounds in a different country from their country of origin and conducted in a different century. That is why I needed alterations, which are also expanded in the current study's research design and methodology chapter.

Following the adapted doll study, I conducted face-to-face in-depth interviews with open-ended and semi-structured questions while we were in a room alone with each participant. I included interviews in this study because I learned much from the children about how they used the socially constructed terms I was studying. To avoid any bias on my part, I wanted to get their perspective and opinions on the events and concepts I observed. I mainly divided the questions into two parts. In the first part, I asked the children what came to their minds when I said racism, culture, home country and host country (nation), and NGO. In the second part, case-based questions were taken from the observation phase. Instead of retelling the exact

events, I presented them as short imaginative situations and asked their opinion or asked them how they would react or what they would say in front of a situation like this. The doll study and interviews lasted approximately fifteen minutes altogether. Although some questions were clear for the children, others needed more clarity or made them hesitant to respond. Therefore, I needed to reword some questions or explain some of them. It was not very long by looking at their willingness, participation, and comments, but conducting both the doll study and the interviews consecutively took longer than expected. Not all the participants were kept keen on the subject as was at the beginning.

I also interviewed the NGO staff (supervisors) because I wanted to see their perspective on the children's perception. The volunteers were from Spain, the Czech Republic, Venezuela, Türkiye, and Italy. Some of them were interns, which meant that they were present for three months, and some were volunteers who spent more time in the NGO, changing from a year to five years. They also had different backgrounds in terms of their occupations, English and dance teacher, civil servant, insurance agent, educational psychologist, early childhood education specialist, primary teacher, and the students were from different disciplines, Anthropology, Educational Science, and Sociology.

Accordingly, I asked them some specific questions. An example is what they think children said when I asked them what came to their mind when I said racism, hoping to gain some perspective from them whether they were close to grasping children's perspective or not. These types of questions were interpreted as an interrogation or as I was trying to measure their knowledge of racism, culture, nationality, and NGO. Therefore, supervisors were not comfortable answering them, and I believe this caused biased, limited, or controlled comments rather than their ideas of the children.

Each phase of the observation, the adapted doll study, and the in-depth interviews were perfectly combined and aligned with each other around the research topic. Participant observation helped me to see the dynamics and the critical concepts that children of minority origin talked about without the intervention of the adults. The adapted doll study helped me to put the crucial and socially constructed concepts in a frame that also played a part in the daily lives of children of minority origin. Although the doll study did not provide a comprehensive understanding of the children's reasoning behind their choices, it still served as a valuable tool for examining the relationship between their actions, words, and socially constructed concepts. While the study may not have delved deeply into the children's perspectives, it allowed me to compare their responses with my own observations and perceptions, offering a different and more direct approach to analyzing the data. Interviews were complementary to both the observation and the adapted doll study. They gave the participants freedom of speech and a

chance to talk about their perspectives on the cases or the concepts from their own minds and words without the intervention of other people. This is how the pilot study's methodology was triangulated.

Three main findings came forward from this study: The way children of minority origin use skin color as a proxy for religion and nationality, participant's stated views do not always coincide with their reactions or behavior (what they say v. what they do), and group status (insider v. outsider) influences on minority children's reactions and relations.

The adapted doll study and the observation analysis revealed that skin color plays a vital role in children's perception of other people's religion and nationality (see Table 1). Participants did not give the possibility of being Spanish to the darker dolls (dolls 4 and 5), and doll 3 was thought to be from A Coruña only by one participant. However, children related the darkest dolls to places such as India, Brazil, and Panama, not only Africa or some African countries. Children did not have a good idea of distinguishing a city from a country or continent. That is why all the answers on the table are exactly given as the children said, and this was not considered a problem during the study.

A similar relationship was made between religion and skin color. While none of the participants gave the possibility of being Muslim to the first three lightest skin-colored dolls, Catholicism was related to all skin colors. While this does seem to suggest that there are some distinctive indications or symbols associated with different skin tones, they are not entirely disassociated from one another. For instance, it is not possible to say that all the Blacks were attributed as Muslim or from Africa or African countries.

Table 1. Pilot Study: Nation and religion attributions to the dolls

Country of origin / Number of the dolls	1	2	3	4	5
Colombia	Catholic - A Coruña	Catholic - Lugo	Catholic - A Coruña	Catholic - Argentina	Catholic - Senegal
Peru	Catholic - Spain, Türkiye	Catholic - Bolivia	Catholic - Peru	Catholic - Colombia, Panama	Catholic, Muslim - Africa
Senegal	Catholic - Spain, China	Catholic - Spain, China	Catholic, Jewish - Iraq, Algeria, Peru	Catholic, Muslim - Senegal, The Dominican Rep.	Muslim - Africa, Senegal
The Dominican Republic	Catholic - Spain	Catholic - Spain, The Dominican Rep.	Catholic - Peru, Bolivia, The Dominican Rep.	Catholic - Argentina, Ecuador	Muslim - Africa, Senegal
Uruguay	Catholic - Spain	Catholic - Russia	Catholic - Argentina	Catholic - Latin America	Catholic - India
Bolivia	Catholic - Spain	Catholic - England	Catholic - Peru	Catholic - Brazil	Catholic - Africa

Interview questions had a variety of types, from personal information to definitions to case/incident-based questions. It started with personal questions. Then, the socially constructed concepts used in this study –racism, culture, and nation– were asked to children to be associated with other concepts rather than expecting a definition at the beginning of the interview before getting into the detailed questions of racism, culture, and nation. This was mainly to see what children associated with these concepts when using them in their daily lives (based on my observations) and also to help me see their perspective while analyzing their comments, including these concepts.

The interview's case-based questions helped me compare children's reactions during the events or incidents inside and outside the NGO through observation and, later, their ideas about these incidents without the heat or pressure of the moment during the interview questions. One

of the most critical incidents reflected on the interview questions as well that happened during the observation phase was named "cancer hair incident." In April 2016, we, three supervisors from the NGO, took the children to the playground. Five children were from the nine- to twelve-year-old group, and four were from the five- to eight-year-old age group. When we arrived, there were not many children. They played together with everybody on the ground. In about an hour, more children came, and when they were playing, one of the children on the playground pointed to one of the nine-year-old Senegalese girls in the group and said to his friends, "She has cancer hair." In the playground, the Senegalese girl and the light-skinned boy, whom I assumed to be from the White Spaniards, began to argue orally and swear at each other. In the end, when we as supervisors were trying to take children back to the NGO (not because of what was happening at the moment specifically, but because we needed to go back since it was time for them to go home), they did not want to go back. During the walk back, both groups were shouting at each other: "Racists! Go back to your country! Son of a bitch!" (¡Racistas! ¡Vete a tu país! ¡Hija de puta!).

This incident helped me in terms of preparing the interview questions. I arranged some of the questions related to racism mostly and mainly related to this incident in order to see if what they said and did were consistent with each other. The questions related to this incident and racism were: which nations they like and do not like, whom they think experiences racism, whether racism is a problem for them in Galicia or Spain, the importance of skin color in their daily life and friendships, whether their friends make jokes regarding their skin color and nation, how they react when there is an attack on their specific characteristics like skin color and nation, and whether they feel more comfortable in the NGO or school in terms of the environment such as friends and teachers. The questions were related to this critical incident (from the structured observation phase) and their responses to the doll study to see whether their ideas and actions were compatible.

Almost all the participants of South American origin denied the effect of skin color or any other physical or cultural traits in their daily lives. Two participants said, "We are all equals." On the other hand, almost all the children of African origin said people like us, including Black adults, some children of color, young people, adults from other countries, Muslims, Peruvians, or only Africans. Moreover, all of them except two of the participants of Peruvian origin said that people never joked about their differences like skin color and nation. I was expecting different answers based on my observations from the incidents (the critical incident and the cancer hair incident). Accordingly, I suspect, based on what I saw, what children do and what they say they would do in an interview do not coincide.

A variety of events were observed and noted that happened among the children during the study. Comparing the incidents (except the critical incident because I did not witness any other fight among the children of the NGO) that happened in the NGO and outside the NGO, I found that participants were more intolerant outside against the "others (supposedly White Spaniards)" than to the children that they spent time within the NGO. When someone from inside was making a "funny" or hurting comment, other(s) in the group was explaining the issue calmly and gently instead of shouting or insulting the other.

I came to this conclusion through the incident that happened during the preparation for the drawing competition in the NGO. Children were looking at the magazines to get an idea to draw something. The nine-year-old boy from Uruguay saw a photo in one of those magazines and turned to one of the nine-year-old girl participants of Senegalese origin and said, "You will wear a black dress when you get married because you are Black." While he was saying this, his tone and manner suggested that he was making small talk with the girl, but as soon as she heard this, she said to him, "You are racist. You do not know anything." Her reaction to the nine-year-old boy of Uruguayan origin differed from her reaction to the "cancer hair" incident in the park, which involved children she did not know. Rather than being angry, she commented in a tone that implied teasing the boy and his lack of knowledge. Later, she calmly explained that they do not wear black dresses for the wedding. Framing the arguments as a fight or not in these two cases seems to depend on the relationship with the other –whether that person is considered an insider or outsider to the social group. They did not turn the arguments inside the NGO group into a fight, but more like a joke, and then they closed the subject. However, with others from outside, they were more aggressive and did not take the arguments as smoothly and calmly as the wedding dress argument.

Another incident happened during the handicraft session. All the children were sitting together around the big table, and Senegalese children began to talk in Wolof. When the boy of Uruguayan origin heard this and asked, "I do not understand anything. In which language are they talking?" I was stunned because it was not the first time children of Senegalese origin spoke in Wolof. They generally did this when they did not want someone to understand them or when they were making inside jokes. In a way, to me, it seemed like they used the language as a sign of superiority and a defense mechanism when they came across situations that they could not answer, like when the supervisors said something they did not want to do. Although these conversations in a different language, specifically Wolof, were ordinary, the boy seemed to realize or at least mention it for the first time in this incident. Later, the children at the table discussed the language differences in general. When the boy was leaving, he said thank you to the group because he had learned something that day.

On another day, during the afternoon snack, the eleven-year-old boy of Dominican origin, the boy of Uruguayan origin, and two Senegalese girls—nine- and ten-year-old—were talking about the legality of hitting women and children. The girls said that hitting women and children is normal and that men have the right, claiming it was legal in Spain. The boys said, "You girls are crazy. Of course, it is not legal; women are important." Even though the girls were born and educated in Spain and were familiar with the concept of equality through the NGO and anti-violence events, it is possible that their upbringing and community influenced their perspective on the matter. As a person looking at the subject from the outside, it was shocking seeing that the ones who defended the respectful treatment of women were males, while all the people in this conversation were born in Spain and grew up in the same society. Nevertheless, their values appear to be mainly shaped by the culture and values of their community, home, and origin.

I also included culture-based interview questions considering these incidents and comments made by the participants. I asked them when they preferred to use other languages, the importance of religion in their daily life, and whether their friends were making jokes about their traditions, religion, or culture. The question that received the most significant answer was regarding religion. Only the children of Senegalese origin made an emphasis on their eating habits. They said the only difficulty they encountered was the issue of pork in their daily lives. All the rest making jokes on traditions were ignored, interestingly. I was expecting an answer or a comment through a wedding dress incident, but I suppose that was not as memoizable or hurting as the cancer hair incident.

The pilot study serves as a reference for several important aspects, particularly in the research design of the current study. That is why the results were mentioned without delving too deeply into the specifics but, most importantly, the relevant and comparable parts of the current study. All the data gathered from the observation, doll study, and interviews were connected in order to avoid one-sided or one-event/action-based deductions and generalizations.

All in all, even though nine to twelve-year-old children already started developing adult-like understandings of race and similar socially constructed concepts, these results brought more questions than conclusions. Observing what happened and talking to this age group made me wonder what would happen in other age groups. Would race, religion, culture, and understanding of nation and belonging be important for the older or younger groups as was nine to twelve? When and where do children start developing these connections? When do these concepts start to shape their actions and ideas, such as selecting friends and behaving in a certain way? Would there be other findings if this was conducted in schools where the children need to follow certain rules or in the parks where the setting is much more informal

than the one I worked with? Would other techniques be more effective in getting better or deeper ideas of the observed events?

Along with the questions raised through the pilot study, it has also contributed in various ways to the research design of the current study. One of these is the stimuli of the doll study. There were no significant differences in the response to female and male stimuli. Additionally, the study revealed that the colors of the clothes could have been interpreted in certain ways. Moreover, the similarity of the skin colors among dolls 2, 3, and 4 may have affected children's responses. Another important contribution was the in-depth interviews conducted with children. The children were not very enthusiastic toward the end of the interviews. It took longer than expected, and judging from the children's reactions, they were tired. Some questions were not clear enough and needed to be explained further. Finally, the in-depth interviews carried out with the NGO staff could not reach their aim. There may have been a language barrier, a miscommunication, or both, which led to the interviews not working as intended. Accordingly, the changes presented in the research design of the current study are based on these experiences gained through the pilot study.

Chapter 3. Research Design and Methodology

Studying subjective and controversial topics such as race, culture, and nation (may) requires using multiple methods to see various tendencies and divergencies in personal thoughts, preferences, and events that may vary depending on time and space. Through this perspective, the study employed a triangulation methodology, combining participant observation, doll study, child-centered techniques, and a focus group discussion with the NGO staff. The use of methodological triangulation is relatively new and rare regarding appliance frequency in the social sciences due to its complexity and resource demand (Carter et al., 2014; Denzin, 2004; Oppermann, 2000). Since I focused on skin color as a proxy for race and its relationship with other complex concepts, ethnicity, nation, and religion, triangulation methodology helped me cover all these concepts in different contexts and settings. Even though they seem like separate topics, it was almost surprising to see how often they intertwined and overlapped in the children's everyday interactions.

The observation was crucial to explore the common and distinctive characteristics of the participants and events without intervention. Unlike other techniques, it is the only one that occurred throughout the study. It also aided in controlling the suitability of the other techniques that were thought to be helpful and to shape them. On the other hand, the way that the original doll study analyzed race in terms of skin color was significant but not enough and needed to include some of the currently considered crucial aspects, especially for the profile of the participants of this study. Therefore, a version of the doll study was conducted by including new questions directed to race (as a proxy for skin color), nation, and religion with the help of the pilot study and the data collected during the observation of this study. Child-centered techniques were mainly created according to the needs and the topics of the study or adopted from other studies and introduced where and when they were thought to be suitable according to the observed tendencies, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly. Focus group discussion was held with the NGO staff, who were also included partially or fully with the participants during the period that the study was conducted, to see their perspectives, observations, and comments on children's perceptions, specifically on the interested topics of the study.

This chapter starts by describing the research context, participants, and the NGO staff that were present and involved in the study through participants. The detailed use of each method follows this: participant observation, child-centered techniques, the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark, and focused group discussion with the NGO staff. Afterward, a summary section displays all the methods and techniques used in the study, along with their objectives

and how they relate to the research questions. Finally, it presents the research limitations that focus on the problems and solutions faced during the study.

3.1 Research context: Description of the NGO, the tutoring program of the children in the NGO, participants, and supervisors

The NGO

The research took place in an NGO, one of the approximately fifteen NGOs working with and for immigrants and their children in A Coruña (Galicia), in 2017. This NGO was different from the others as its founder was also an immigrant, which I believe gave another perspective to the work, ethics, and project dynamics of the NGO. Its mission was helping to promote the integration of the people at risk of exclusion, especially women and youth. Its vision was to carry out awareness actions to raise consciousness about a multicultural society and mutual respect[8].

Although the NGO began by aiding the immigrants significantly, it offered all its services to everyone, from the economic crisis in Spain in 2008 until it suspended all the services because of the pandemic in 2020. Accordingly, the NGO offered free services like labor and legal orientation, classes, and workshops. There were Spanish and Galician language lessons, especially for immigrants. Other courses, activities, and more were offered to everybody, such as English and dancing classes, legal and labor orientation, psychological support, and food collection and donation campaigns. For these reasons, it can be said that its primary goal was to be a meeting point for all the people, regardless of being migrant or White Spaniard, who were at risk of social and economic exclusion or just needed assistance. Furthermore, the NGO did not have any religious ties to a church, or any other religious community founded or dominantly funded by any.

During the 2017-2018 academic year, the NGO helped nearly fifty families with food donations. It hosted approximately forty registered children, both White Spaniards, and immigrants, and some children came to specific events or participated in the daily activities according to their availability. However, they were not officially listed as regulars. The volunteers and interns supported children with their homework, afternoon snacks (merienda), activities such as English, computer skills, workshops, handicrafts, and excursions. All these activities and services were provided with the help of employees, volunteers, and interns, who assumed the role of supervisors for the children. Putting in numbers, there were nearly five

[8] I did the English translation from Spanish of the mission and vision section on their website when I was a volunteer to collaborate with a foreign NGO in 2015.

employees, fifteen interns, and thirty volunteers from Spain and different countries like the members that year.

I chose this NGO as the site for my research because of my familiarity with the organization, as I volunteered there for a year and conducted the pilot study in 2015-2016. The consent forms for the pilot and the current studies were taken from the NGO (Appendix C). On the other hand, I never thought about conducting this study in a school-like setting because I was mainly focusing on the relations among the children of minority origin outside of the formal settings like schools where the rules and authorities shaped the majority of their activities and attitudes. After all, I believe that these kinds of authority or discipline-based institutions prevent us from seeing the full range of children's expression of their feelings, actions, and behaviors.

The tutoring program for children

In the organization, three rooms of different sizes were turned into classrooms for children and adults because some activities, especially for the older groups, required a classroom setting. There were three groups of children: three to seven, eight to eleven, and twelve- to sixteen-year-old. Every year, each group got a room according to the number of registered children.

All the activities and classes were carried out under the observation of volunteers and interns. Supervisors, volunteers, and interns formed an important part of the research since they were the ones who were responsible for the children during the sessions. The professional backgrounds of the volunteers and interns varied, as well as their period of attendance in an academic year to help children with homework sessions and activities. According to the supervisors' and collaborating organizations' specific skills and specializations, these activities changed yearly.

The NGO accepted volunteers and interns from both Spain and other countries. Some of these came from projects like Erasmus (exchange program) and European Volunteer Service (EVS), which supported students in completing their internships and encouraged young people to volunteer in different countries in the European Union and some candidate countries. However, these programs in the following years began to include other countries beyond the borders of the European Union. EVS was also the program that led me to this NGO as a volunteer in June 2015 from Türkiye.

The background of the children and the supervisors, the techniques used to conduct the current study, participant observation, doll study, and the child-centered techniques are explained in this chapter as well as how and why these techniques changed, adopted, adapted, or the new ones added in comparison to the pilot study. Lastly, a summary table of all the techniques used

in the study can be found in this chapter. It includes the techniques explained in detail in the body of this chapter and other techniques that were unsuccessful or inappropriate for the age group of the participants, which are not mentioned in the chapter in detail.

The first and most extended technique that took place was the observation phase. It was the backbone of the study to see different aspects of anything related to the topics of the study and the participants because it was not restricted or conditioned to any other factor, such as place, activity, or time. The free observation phase in the pilot study disappeared entirely since the subject of the study was already shaped. The observation was divided into two as focused and structured. The focused observation lasted a week, while it took longer in the pilot study. The study of the background of the children was made during the registration of the children, which was about two weeks before the academic year started in the NGO. The main determinator of the group's decision was the pilot study's results. If children aged nine to twelve interpreted and applied key concepts like skin color, nation, and religion into their lives as actively as seen in the pilot study, one of the critical questions raised through this study was: how or if younger children would perceive these key concepts? After a week, the structured participant observation started and lasted till the end of the study.

My version of Clark and Clark's doll study focused on race through skin color, nation, and religion with the aid of the dolls (or, as I refer to them, children). Some significant changes were made in both versions of my doll study and the interviews due to the different age ranges of the participants of the current study. Most of the questions of my doll studies (the pilot and the current) were the same (Appendices A & B). However, the stimuli were reduced to genderless dolls (Figures 6 & 27). Furthermore, two more different types of doll studies were conducted, and unlike the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark, the other doll studies were conducted as a child-centered group activity. Some doll study questions were eliminated or reduced because I wanted the children to maintain their focus with long and deeply assumption-based questions. Therefore, I tried to keep the questions short to the point and visually supportable with the dolls.

Instead of interviews, educational activities or child-centered techniques were introduced to the triangulation methodology. These activities were significant in making a more profound sense of children's views on specific subjects, sometimes individually and sometimes as a group. Many activities in the academic literature were used with young participants like mine. I applied some of these and their altered versions and created new ones based on the data collected from the observation and interests of the participants.

Participant observation, the doll study, and the child-centered techniques were for the children, and each had a specific and different way of catching children's perspectives on race and other

imminently related concepts. On the other hand, the supervisors' reactions to the children's attitude during these activities were recorded, and some crucial comments were given by outsiders even though they were not focused on or mentioned deeply in the analysis. However, I especially wanted to see the perspective of the NGO staff on the participants' perceptions as well because the staff was included and they saw the interactions I recorded, but whether they found these significant or it was just "child conversations" for them as an insider was the question for me. Supervisors did not know the whole project in detail that I was conducting. In order to prevent the subject from getting out of context and given the experience from the pilot study, I decided that instead of personal face-to-face interviews, a focus group discussion would be more suitable and encouraging for the staff to comment on a subject that is not always easy to discuss because I did not want them to feel uncomfortable or feel like interrogated alone with me in a room making comments about race and the children as happened in the pilot study.

Children

The NGO organized the children into three groups according to the space and the needs of the children. The youngest group consisted of fifteen children ages three to seven. The group that included children from eight- to eleven-year-old had ten children, which was referred to as the middle age group, and the group of the oldest children, from twelve- to sixteen-year-old, had eight children[9].

There were approximately fifty children from different countries of origin, mostly from Senegal but also from Peru, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Morocco, Western Sahara, Cameroon, Ukraine, Cape Verde, and Colombia. Most of these children were born to marriages of same-nation parents. They were either 1.5 or 2nd generation children of the immigrants, most of whom were born in Spain. The number of children was changing from classroom activities to excursions. Some children participated in interesting events, primarily excursions realized outside the NGO, even though they were not registered in the regular class activities.

Furthermore, although there was a division of age groups for the classes and the activities, they were sometimes combined depending on the activities and the number of children attending that day. This was particularly common practice for the middle (eight to eleven) and the oldest (twelve to sixteen) groups. Nevertheless, they were all coming together during the

[9] Maria, the oldest and the most experienced volunteer in the NGO, decided who would go to which group.

excursions except for going to the park or playground, which was actually part of the regular sessions but mainly relied on the weather conditions of A Coruña.

Unlike the pilot study, I decided to work with the youngest group, whose ages ranged from three to seven, for several reasons. Firstly, the results of the pilot study made me search for the perception of other children, younger or older. Secondly, this was the first-year younger children (three- to five-year-olds) began attending the program. On the other hand, most of the doll studies, including the original one, worked with this age group. The main reason why these kinds of studies focus on this age group is that it is thought that children start to develop race awareness at this age. According to the report of Scanlan and Dokecki (1973), Lasker was the first to work on this in 1929, and this study opened the way for future research. Lastly, the number of children in the youngest group was more than all the other groups, even though there was less diversity in the group's country of origin.

The group I focused on consisted of thirteen children registered in the NGO (I do not refer to their legal or illegal status, but all were legally registered as well, some had nationality, others residence permit) on October 2, 2017. However, in time they became fifteen, and only twelve of them continued regularly. In the meantime, we had visitors, sometimes regulars for two months, sometimes just for a day. A three-year-old Senegalese boy was included in the group on April 10, 2018. The age range of the group was from three to seven. The group had eleven male and five female children. Two of them were three-year-olds, one of them was a four-year-old, seven of them were five-year-olds, five of them were six-year-olds, and only one of them was a seven-year-old[10]. One of the children was from Western Sahara, one from the Dominican Republic, and there were two with mixed origins: Senegal and Morocco, and Colombia and Spain. The remaining twelve were from Senegal, as seen in detail in Table 2.

[10] Some had their birthday during the academic year. According to that, two became four years old, five became six, and three were seven years old in June 2018.

Table 2. Background of the participants with pseudonyms. The ones who were not in the doll study are indicated with an asterisk*

Name	Country of Origin	Age	Sex	Nationality of Spain
Melisa	Senegal	6-7	Female	No
Juan	Senegal	5	Male	Yes
Camilo	Senegal	5	Male	Yes
Brais	Senegal	3-4	Male	Yes
Laura	Senegal	4	Female	No
Fernando	Senegal	5-6	Male	No
Alba	The Dominican Republic	6-7	Female	Yes
Frank*	Western Sahara	5-6	Male	Yes
Diego	Senegal	5-6	Male	Yes
Santiago	Senegal	5-6	Male	Yes
Humberto	Senegal	5-6	Male	No
Tania	Senegal	7	Female	No
Luis*	Senegal and Morocco	6	Male	Yes
Alberto	Colombia and Spain	6-7	Male	Yes
Cristina	Senegal	6	Female	Yes
Pablo	Senegal	3-4	Male	Yes

Pablo was three years old when he joined the group in April, and he turned four about a month later; that is why the age column shows three to four. He was the latest to join the group because he came from Senegal approximately a month ago. He was also the last member of his nuclear family living in Senegal. His mother, father, and older brother already lived in A Coruña. He was timid, which I thought related to the new environment he was recently introduced to and his poor Spanish skills. I think because of this and his age, other participants were looking after him, such as translating and providing the things he needed. He was good at understanding what was being told. I think it was because he was already in Spain for some time before he joined the group. Unlike other parents, his parents talked to him in Spanish when they came to pick him up from the NGO. Therefore, it was likely that he picked up some Spanish. However, he was not good at expressing himself as much as he understood. Moreover, he did not know how to write. Therefore, all the activities I conducted with him, either with signs like showing which doll he liked when there was a question and selection involved or drawings and paintings.

Alberto's mother was from Colombia, and his father was from Spain, and he was born in Portugal because of his father's business. As a family, they moved to Spain when he was about

a year old. When we started, he was six years old. He did not participate regularly, but his mother was a volunteer. Therefore, he was always around and had a strict and good relationship with most participants because most went to the same school and lived in the same neighborhood. He was a sympathetic child; he was getting along with everyone. I believed this age group was unsuitable for him because he already knew how to write and started to do simple mathematics, unlike most of his peers. However, his mother and some volunteers wanted to keep him in this group. He had two older sisters, who were born in Colombia. They were also around, but none was a part of any group in the NGO, even irregularly like Alberto that year. He regularly visited Colombia, and when it was asked, he always said he was from Colombia, but I learned the mentioned details from his mother.

Laura was born in Spain, and she was four years old at the time. Among the group, she was known for being the laziest participant. She consistently refused to engage in activities and regularly voiced her objections before starting any task. When I mentioned this to the NGO staff, they told me she was exactly like her mother. Her mother also came to the NGO to learn reading, writing, and Spanish. Laura had two siblings, and her father often traveled between Senegal and Spain. She spent most of her time with her mother and siblings. Her favorite time of our schedule was playing with the toys because she had none in her home. She was also a quiet child compared to others, and she knew how to pass the time by herself. She rarely had arguments with other participants; it can be said that the others loved her.

Alba was the only participant whose origins were from the Dominican Republic. She was born there as well, but I do not know how old she was when she came to Spain. Alba and her parents often visited the Dominican Republic. Consequently, she had close ties with her relatives and country of origin. She was six years old when we started the study. Like the others at her age, she was also ahead of the younger participants in reading and writing. Initially bored, silent, and distant, but she got used to the group quickly. She was also the only child with no brothers or sisters, different from the rest of the participants.

Cristina, a six-year-old, was born in Spain. She was a very smart girl, and her family was extremely strict about the religious rules (Muslim), such as eating habits and performing prayer rituals. She was the youngest sibling in her home, and she had an older sister and a brother, who were also part of the NGO groups. She was kind and helpful; everyone in the group loved her. Even when the participants argued about sharing the colors or over something, she always helped and tried to find the middle way. She tried to do her best when given a task or homework; unlike many, she had a strong sense of responsibility. For instance, when she had homework, she did not play with others before finishing it.

Camilo, a five-year-old, was one of the most active boys in the group. Unlike most Senegalese families, his father was a well-known person in the Senegalese community, especially with his non-fundamentalist religious way of life. Camilo had an identical twin brother called Juan, who also participated in this study, and two older brothers, all were born in Spain. Camilo and Juan were the youngest in their home and spoiled, which was hard to see actually in Senegalese families. However, the complications that the twins suffered during the birth might have affected this attention.

Juan was the one that was badly affected by the birth complication. He was developing both mentally and physically slower than his brother. Even though they were identical twins, they looked different because of it. He was generally quieter than his brother, but he had his moments. Sometimes it was hard to communicate with him because he did not listen, or when he did not want to do something, it was almost impossible to convince him to do it.

Diego, who also had an identical twin brother, Santiago, was born in Spain. He loved to talk and got into every conversation, whether related to him or not. As a result, he was one of the most argued children in the group. His passion was talking. He was the extrovert of the twins, like Camilo. They were also the youngest of the house; they had three older sisters and three older brothers. It was a big and divided family between Senegal and Spain. Twins saw their oldest brothers living in Senegal only once. The oldest sisters moved from Senegal to Spain around February 2018. The twins were uncomfortable with them because they dictated what to do and not do much. Sometimes the sisters came to collect them from the NGO. The twins had to translate for them all the time, and they did not like that either. Whenever they saw the sisters coming, they ran to leave the NGO immediately before they tried to talk to someone.

Santiago, a five-year-old, was calmer and more serious than his brother Diego. He did not like to be in a conversation where it was not really necessary to be involved. Both Santiago and Diego were fundamentalists; they strictly followed the rules of religion, as shown by their parents. Generally, going to the mosque at that age was not obligatory, but they both went with their father almost every Friday and other days whenever possible.

Fernando, a five-year-old, was born in Senegal and came to Spain as a baby. He visited his relatives in Senegal every summer. His father was married to two women, but he called both mothers; one lived in Spain, and the other in Senegal. The regular and long trips to Senegal affected his language abilities. He mixed Spanish and Wolof words frequently, only at the beginning of every academic year, according to Maria. Maybe because of that, I had difficulty communicating with him at the beginning of the year, but it only lasted a couple of weeks. Fernando liked to talk and especially explain himself, but he was a slow talker and thought very much to find the words. In the beginning, this made me think he had some difficulties.

Moreover, when I shared this concern of mine with the staff, they also confirmed it. However, after I spent time with him, I realized that was not the case. He was a slow learner and did not like to do what he was told, but when he was learning something, he listened carefully and tried his best. He was like Camilo, very active. He did not like to sit very long. One of his most distinctive features was how he expressed himself, touching. Most participants did not like to touch or to be touched (even holding hands), but touching was his way of communication. He loved to hug, hold hands, or pat the back of the other children while talking.

Melisa, a six-year-old, moved to Spain about two months before the research began. Her Spanish was basic, but she became fluent in a short time. She did not like to come to the NGO at the beginning and was begging her mother not to get in the door when her mother was leaving her. She got used to the group faster than I expected. She was very distant from the ones she did not know. She had better relationships with participants over time. However, whenever we had a new person in the class either visiting or joining the group, she always got quiet again. One of her most salient characteristics was her stubbornness. When a question asked if she did not want to answer, there was no way of changing her mind. Therefore, I could not get an answer, a painting, or a reaction to some of the activities I conducted with her and the group. She was smart, and whenever she understood that I wanted an answer related to my study, if she thought it would give me a chance to make assumptions, she cut herself from the activity. This did not affect other participants' reactions strangely. This may be because she was not in the role of a leader in the group but rather shy and talked very silently. Moreover, her parents were extremely strict about what to say, how to talk, and how to behave. Therefore, she might have behaved in a manner consistent with these instructions.

Tania was the oldest of the group. She was already seven years old when we started. Her skills were already far more developed than her peers in the group. She was bored quite often. Therefore, Maria left her in charge most of the time whenever she left the room, even if someone from the staff was there. Naturally, this situation and Tania's smarty attitude did not attract anyone to her. She completed all the given tasks faster than anyone and did things unrelated to what others did. It was also hard to take her attention on these very easy tasks, but this sometimes worked in my favor since she generally found the activities that I conducted interesting. At the end of April, Maria decided to move her to the older group, and Tania completed the academic year there. She had four sisters, two younger and two older. Every year, her family would travel to Senegal from the end of October until the end of November because that was the only time her father could take a vacation. Therefore, she missed all the activities I conducted during that period.

Until Pablo came, *Brais* was the youngest of all, three-year-old. He was unique in many ways. Brais was very self-conscious; he always knew what he wanted. Despite being the youngest, he was the most popular child and the one whose ideas followed in the group. He was loved and paid attention to not only by his peers but also by the adults. Among all the Senegalese, his father was the most or one of the most known people in the community because he had a restaurant. Most of the traditional gatherings and activities were made there. Moreover, he was the one with better economic conditions compared to the others in the community. Like in most of these families, the male child was more important than the girls, and he was the only boy at that time in his family and was being raised as an heir to his father's wealth. Unlike this attention from other people, I cannot say that he was spoiled, but this made him more responsible and allowed him to speak his mind freely. That can be why he was in a leadership position in the group, even though he was the youngest of all. He had an older sister, and from what I was told, his father had a second wife in Senegal, and they were traveling yearly. Unlike Fernando, I did not hear him talking often about them. He was born in Spain, and he was very young. Therefore, it was also possible that he had few memories of that side of the family.

Humberto was born in Spain and became six years old during the study. He had an older brother, sixteen, and a younger brother, a newborn. He was mostly taken care of by his older brother. I barely saw his mother or father coming to take him from the NGO. He was the cool boy in the group because he was playing football, and some days, he came late due to training. He enjoyed sharing stories about his experiences, and everyone eagerly awaited his return from training. Maria was also a football fan; therefore, they always had fun evaluating the season's games. He was also very successful in school. Unlike most, he always talked very well about his teachers.

Frank, a six-year-old, was born in Asturias, and his parents were from Western Sahara. He was with us for a short time. According to rumors, they moved to Western Sahara as a family. He said that he went only once to visit Western Sahara that summer. When we asked him to describe it there, he said it was all sand, very hot and cold, and he played football but did not like it there very much. He was not liked or accepted by the others in the group. There was a conflict between him and the others. I barely had notes of his happy moments with others. I presumed that is why he disliked coming, but his parents forced him to go. He came regularly till the mid of December, then the last time we saw him was at the beginning of February. He was going to the same school as some of the participants. They told us that he also stopped going to school around March.

Luis, a six-year-old, was the son of one of the NGO staff. He was born in Spain to a Senegalese father and a Moroccan mother. He was only coming to the NGO during an excursion or special

event. He was well-known by the group from the neighborhood and school, and he attended the summer camps of the NGO.

The names used during the research are pseudonyms in order to protect the privacy of the participants, and only with the children whose parents gave consent and the children who wanted to participate were included in the doll study11. Frank and his family moved back to Western Sahara around February. Therefore, he was not included in the doll study, and Luis' parents could not find the time to bring their son. As a result, out of sixteen children, twelve were included in the doll study, both with their parent's written consent (Appendix D) and the participant's verbal consent.

These children took most activities and lessons in their regular room (Figures 7 & 8). Since the room was bigger than needed to make activities and give courses, it was divided into two. In one part, there was a class-like order with a blackboard, tables, individual chairs for each child, and a table for supervisor(s). On the other side was a big table with materials for handcraft and toys and a space between the two sides to do activities like dancing, jumping, watching, and playing with toys on the ground.

Figure 7. The right side of the participants' activity room

Figure 8. The left side of the participants' activity room

[11] The ethics committee of the UDC did not exist at the time I conducted my research. Therefore, this study used traditional guidelines from ASA (American Sociological Association, 2018). Accordingly, consent forms were taken from the NGO and the parents. The children were given information about the study and asked if they wanted to participate.

Table 3. Children's weekly schedule in the NGO

DAYS/ HOURS	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY
4:30 pm - 5:30 pm	Homework Session	Homework Session	Homework Session	Homework Session
5:30 pm - 6:30 pm	Afternoon Snack (Merienda)	Afternoon Snack (Merienda)	Afternoon Snack (Merienda)	Afternoon Snack (Merienda)
6:30 pm - 7:30 pm	English / French	Handicraft	Computer Skills	How to Play and Behave / Handicraft

The children's schedule was as shown above (see Table 3). In the first sessions, as soon as they came, they played and did their homework from 4:30 pm to 5:30 pm. From 5:30 pm to 6:30 pm, the young group had their afternoon snack (merienda), which was longer than the other groups' snack time because the youngest group needed more time to prepare for the snack, such as setting up tables, using the restroom, and cleaning their hands. The other groups (middle and older) only had a half-hour lunch break. In the second part of the sessions, the supervisor(s) of the day took over and carried on the planned activities, which were changing daily, such as English on Mondays with me, handicrafts on Tuesdays, and computer skills on Wednesdays. Thursdays were about conflict resolution through positive reinforcement with the collaboration of another NGO in the first semester from October 2017 to January 2018. However, later these were replaced with more handicraft sessions. Furthermore, when the weather was good and if they "behaved well" till the activity time, sometimes the supervisors took the children to the park or the playground instead of doing indoor activities.

Supervisors (the NGO Staff, Volunteers, and Interns)

The NGO welcomed volunteers from various countries, including Spain, France, Belgium, Colombia, Peru, and Türkiye. These volunteers also came from diverse professions, including English teachers, civil servants, high school students, sociologists, social educators, insurance agents, and IT personnel. On the other hand, the duration of their assistance varied. Some volunteered for several years, mainly those residing in A Coruña, while others for shorter periods, such as two months, a semester, or a few weeks, to participate in specific short-term programs. That academic year the NGO also collaborated with another NGO, and three female social educators came to conduct activities for four months.

Besides volunteers, interns were another important group of supervisors. They generally attended for a limited period, which their faculties determined to fulfill the internship requirements. Like the volunteers' profiles, interns' profiles varied mainly due to the Erasmus

Internship Program, which allowed university students from the European Union and, lately, other countries outside the Union to intern in different countries. Accordingly, there were interns from countries like the US, Belgium, Italy, and France besides Spain. Their backgrounds were mostly from Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Education faculties. Some volunteers and interns spent more time with the participant group than others.

Even though most NGO staff was interested in the focus group discussion, not all spent the same long or intense period with the participant group. Jose, Maria, Alex, Carla, Paula, Alfonso, and employees of the NGO were the ones who spent quality time with the participants throughout the academic year.

Table 4. Background of the NGO staff. Those in the focus group discussion are indicated with an asterisk*.

Name	Country of Origin	Occupation	Duration in the Research	Volunteer / Intern / Staff
Jose*	Spain	IT Specialist	8 months	Volunteer
Maria*	Spain	Insurance Agent	8 months	Volunteer
Alex*	Spain	Psychologist	8 months	Volunteer
Carla*	Spain	Student (Sociology)	3 months	Intern
Paula*	Spain	Student (Educational Sciences)	3 months	Intern
Alfonso	Spain	Student (Sociology)	2 months	Intern
Sara	Colombia	Administrative Assistant	3 months	Volunteer
Teresa*	Spain	Social Educator	6 months	Employee
Alejandro*	Spain	Communication Specialist	8 months	Staff
Ana*	Spain	Marketing Specialist	8 months	Employee
Clarisa*	Spain	Student (Educational Sciences)	3 months	Intern
Natalia*	Türkiye	English and Dance Teacher	3 months	Volunteer
Miriam*	Spain	Student (Sociology)	3 months	Intern
Vanessa	Spain	Social Educator	3 months	Volunteer
Aida	Spain	Social Educators	3 months	Volunteers
Olga	Spain	Social Educators	3 months	Volunteer

3.2 Participant observation

The research began with participant observation on September 25, 2017. In the first week, we (supervisors) only registered the children and prepared the rooms and activities with the volunteers. I decided which group I would work with for this study that week, also called the focused observation phase.

We started to do the classes and activities on October 2, 2017. It was the beginning of the structured observation phase and lasted till June 14, 2018. The aim was to spend the whole academic year with children to have a deeper understanding of their actions and events regarding the topics: race (proxy as skin color), religion, nation, identity, and the use of language in and out of the classroom. I was an active member as a volunteer English teacher during the study. I recorded everything that occurred during this phase in a systematic field journal. I documented things as they happened, sometimes during activities, sometimes at the end of each day.

Introduction Questionnaire

I created a set of questions to make the introduction easier, gather basic information about the children, and prepare for future activities. I made individual cards for everyone with questions about their age, school, hometown, preferred color, favorite cartoon, food, sports, and classes. Although I already learned some things about them during the registry and the forms filled out by their parents. However, I also wanted to hear from them to break the ice and ease the introduction and from their choice of words.

This little questionnaire revealed that talking with children about their ideas, preferences, or choices in front of others affected their answers because if the children could not find something to say, they copied from each other or if they were taking their time to think about it either the supervisor or other children tried to “help,” which was meaningless since the questions were related to their personal preferences. After this, I learned to avoid asking children personal questions before others according to the situation. Nevertheless, since all the activities could not be conducted separately, this also showed me that it could have positive feedback in terms of learning the dominant idea in the group and finding out the relations among children, who exerted more influence and why, who talked the most, and whose ideas were more respected or criticized.

Participant observation requires collecting data by not manipulating the participants or the environment as much as possible. Therefore, even though I specifically created some activities according to my study and to collect data, there were also other events and activities brought

by the other supervisors or the NGO. Some of which were related to my study or that I found interesting to add to my data are included below as a part of the study.

3.3 Child-centered techniques[12]

Some of the child-centered techniques that are both common and rare in the academic literature were used during the participant observation. Unlike most similar research, these techniques were applied as a part of the classroom activities. It should be noted that all activities conducted before March 12, 2018, did not involve any research content for the participants. Even though structured activities were looking for children's understanding of race as part of classroom activities, the children were informed clearly about my study when they saw the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark.

I divided child-centered techniques into six sections: drawing, painting, writing, storytelling, sentence completion, spider diagram, photography, and clothing people to facilitate the categorization and explanation of the conducted activities.

Drawing, Painting, and Writing

Drawings and paintings were both children's and my favorite activities. The children enjoyed using various techniques, such as watercolors and crayons. I found their artwork to be a vibrant and captivating representation of their world, especially considering that most could not read or write at the start of the school year. They contributed significantly to the study. However, they were also time-consuming because, especially at these ages, the drawings and paintings of children mostly require further explanation to understand what exactly they imagined while they were doing them. In each specific activity that I wanted to know the reasons and meanings, I talked to the participants about their work, took photos, and noted them in my field journey. In time, when some of the children learned how to write, they were also allowed to write if they wanted to, instead of drawing or painting. Only some of the paintings and drawings that we did were a part of focused data collection. Therefore, I mention the ones related to the study in this section in detail, but all the activities used are shortly mentioned in the summary table below.

Paintings were a valuable and fun resource, especially those used for skin color as an indicator of race and reflection of self. Moreover, I had to be sure whether the children knew the colors or not to interpret their choices in the doll study. Even though I discuss the doll study in detail in its section, I want to mention its importance before going forward. In the original doll study,

[12] The names of the children and the NGO were erased from all the examples of the children's activities displayed in this study.

some color-related questions were included in the questionnaire to measure children's knowledge about colors. I used participant observation and child-centered techniques to remove those types of questions. Reaching this information was fast, easy, and fun because the children revealed their skills and knowledge in the very first activity.

On October 9, 2017, I brought an activity to teach face parts in English, and I used it to see their selection of colors for skin color as well. They had to cut the pieces, stick them on the head and paint them. The only instruction I gave them after they selected the colors and began to paint the faces was to paint the ears, nose, and face the same color since they are in the same color in real life.

While most of the older participants painted as I asked and gave some reflection of themselves, some did not. When I asked, they said they painted like this because they wanted to. Since rules or instructions in my activities did not restrict children, I accepted all their work without further comment. This was very useful in understanding children's perception of themselves and learning their way of following requests for activities. The below figures show some examples of children of different ages from this activity. While Brais, a three-year-old of Senegalese origin (Figure 9), did not follow the suggestions, Tania, a seven-year-old of Senegalese origin (Figure 10), did more than I expected by adding details.

Figure 9. Brais' face parts artwork

Figure 10. Tania's face parts artwork

On October 23, 2017, I was teaching feelings in English, and I brought an activity where the feelings were written both in English and Spanish. After repeating and studying them, I asked the children to paint these feelings. As much as making them relax and allowing them to study the feelings in English, I also used this opportunity to see whether children would paint the feelings as adults perceive them, such as angry to red or in love to pink.

The two examples shared below are one from a younger child, Frank (Figure 11), and another from an older one, Alba (Figure 12). These show that neither younger nor older children have a complete adult-like association of colors and feelings. Nevertheless, some of the painted feelings of the older ones show that they began to develop this association with some of the most common ones, such as "in love" and "furious," as can be seen from Alba's work.

Figure 11. Frank's feelings and colors artwork

Figure 12. Alba's feelings and colors artwork

On November 10, 2017, I asked them to draw or paint their "favorite places" wherever they feel happy such as a beach, house, or park, to see where makes them happy and its reasons. This activity brought up a whole new perspective to this study. This child-centered technique and some of the interactions among the participants made me realize the importance of their comparative perspectives and perceptions of the home and the host countries.

The example from Alba's art is shown below; it is the house of her aunt (Figure 13). She painted her house because she loved her aunt and the smell of the house. Diego's painting was another interesting one that reflected Diego's perception of Senegal, he painted a beach in Senegal and people sunbathing on the beach (see Figure 34).

Figure 13. The house of Alba's aunt

On December 4, 2017, they painted what Christmas meant to them. This was not specially conducted for the study, but because we were in that period of the year. We also made this with other age groups and hung these drawings in the hall of the NGO in previous years. Nevertheless, it became relevant and important to the study of the similarities among the paintings. Children painted Christmas *(Navidad)* similarly, even though some were not born into it this culture or were not growing up with these traditions at home.

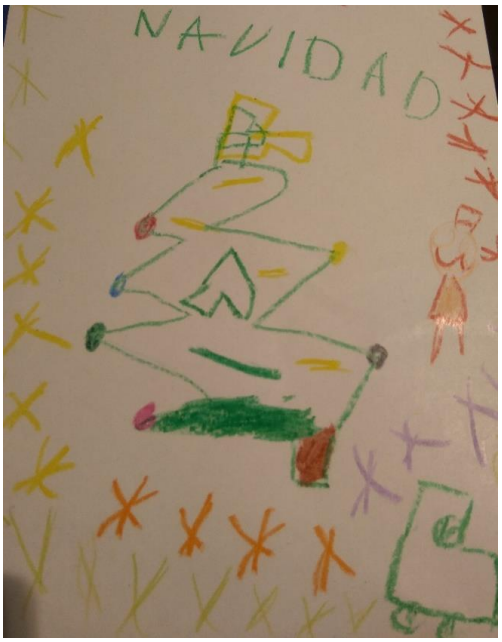

Figure 14. Diego's Christmas artwork

On April 19, 2018, I asked them to draw, paint, or write a power they would like to have and explain them to the others with their reasons. I wanted to see if they would reflect anything from their culture or select a type of power to solve a problem they encountered daily.

In this activity, I also included myself. When they finished their paintings, I told them my power: helping people change their appearance as they wished. Then, I asked them how they would like to use it and noted their answers in my field journey. This activity is one of the best examples of a new technique I mentioned in the literature review chapter on child-centered techniques. Child-centered techniques are flexible and open to new creations based on the research needs, the participants' backgrounds, and the study's subject matter(s). This activity occurred to me during the observation phase, and its results helped me to elaborate more on the analysis of the first part of the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark.

On May 15, 2018, participants were asked to draw, write, or paint the differences between their country of origin and Spain. This activity came to light because they were talking about it very often. Furthermore, after seeing the expressions in the activity called "my favorite place", I wanted to know more about the perception of the country of origin.

While older participants started with writing and drawing, younger ones had difficulty expressing themselves because not all knew how to write. Therefore, once the paintings were completed, I went to each of them, they explained, and I wrote on the paintings' references; an example from Brais' work is presented below.

Figure 15. Brais' home v. host country artwork

Storytelling

As its name suggests, storytelling is telling or writing stories. It is very traditional. This technique can be found in various forms in the academic literature. In this study, it is used chiefly with the help of other materials to encourage the participants to create stories or implement their culture, norms, ideas, and perspectives freely.

I used six different activities to inspire and structure storytelling activities: showing a cartoon, giving children a sample plane ticket (Rovetta Cortés, 2017), writing a story, using emotional faces, giving them two paper dolls with houses and clothes (Radke & Trager, 1950), and showing women figures (dream girl) with different clothes and accessories. Not all of them in detail are presented here because not all worked well, but all can be found in the summary table below.

On November 20, 2017, I asked the participants to imagine that they had a lot of money and they could go wherever they wanted to by filling the tickets I gave them, which were taken from Rovetta Cortés' (2017, p. 75) study with children (Figure 16). The only problem, mentioned before as well, was that some of the children did not know how to write. However, we were three supervisors that day and helped the children complete the activity. The idea was to see where, why, and to whom they would want to go. The results of this activity revealed an even deeper perspective of the children on their perceptions of others, such as country, people, traditions, and yearnings. This allowed me to study and compare this activity with "my favorite place" and "home country v. host country" activities.

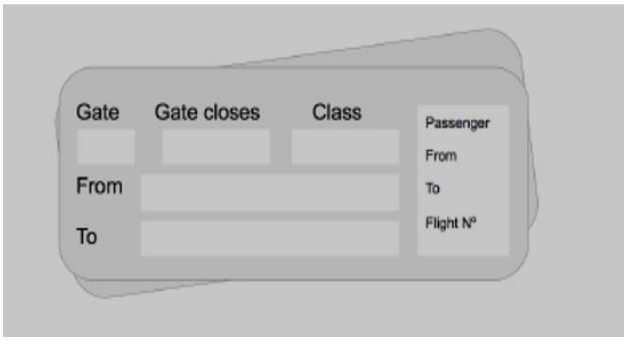

Figure 16. The plane ticket from Rovetta Cortés' study

On December 5, 2017, Paula brought a handcraft activity. I decided to unite this activity with English to remind some emotions I taught on October 23, 2017. First, they selected the skin color out of three cardstock options (Figure 17). I offered them individually in a different room to see their choices without the others around.

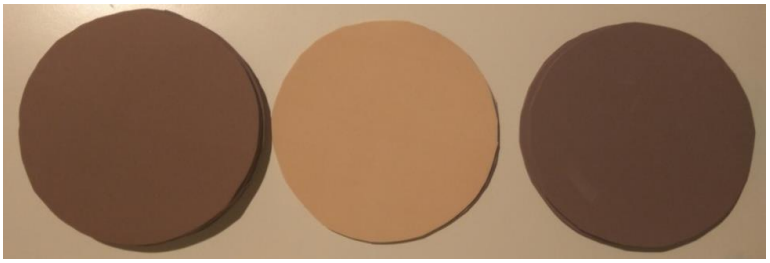

Figure 17. Cardstock colors

Then, Paula and I prepared the eyes, nose, mouth, and eyebrows and attached them with glue and clips to their selected faces (Figures 18 & 19).

Figure 18. Camilo's cardstock face

Figure 19. Laura's cardstock face

After completing the task, I reminded them of emotions we learned, such as happy, sad, and angry, in our English class. The following day, I used these faces to react to three stories. First, I said to imagine you went to the park and saw a friend. You went near her or him to play, but then your friend refused to play with you; how would you feel? Secondly, you went to a supermarket with your father. He did not buy you the chocolate you wanted; how would you feel? Thirdly, imagine that your teacher in school blamed you for something your friend did and punished you over it; how would you feel? They answered all by arranging the cardstock face they created for the activity and with their own facial expression. This activity and the "Ugly Duckling" cartoon became crucial tools for seeing their emotions and reactions to things that they normally would not talk about or answer when asked directly or individually. In other words, children are more relaxed and open when they reflect the things or events on other people or answer these types of questions in a group rather than face-to-face.

This activity was developed in response to the cancer hair incident mentioned in the pilot study chapter. After observing that the children were more comfortable discussing the recent incident as if they were bystanders, I opted to pose questions in a group setting that mirrored situations from the pilot study or real-life scenarios. This approach was preferred over individual interviews due to the participants' age range, attention span, and potential language barriers.

Spider Diagram

The spider diagram is a valuable technique for organizing information by themes, often used by researchers due to its versatility (Bagnoli, 2009; Punch, 2002; Young & Barrett, 2001). There are two different ways of conducting it. By printing a huge spider on a piece of paper in the middle and putting the study's theme on the spider's body (Figures 20 & 21), children fill

each leg with information related to the theme of the study. The other way is that children can simply draw a circle or any other shape and make connections with lines to the central shape (body). I used it for two different occasions: the things that describe "me" and "where I have been to." However, the "where I have been to" activity did not work as expected because children started to compete and write names of the countries they know, not actually where they have been to.

On March 5, 2018, when I used it for the first time, I gave them a prepared print of the spider diagram and asked them to put the things that define them. On the body, they put "me *(yo)*," and since not all my participants knew how to write, I let them either write or draw the information about them on the arms of the spider as the example Figures 20 and 21 show. This technique was very significant in terms of seeing participants' perceptions of themselves.

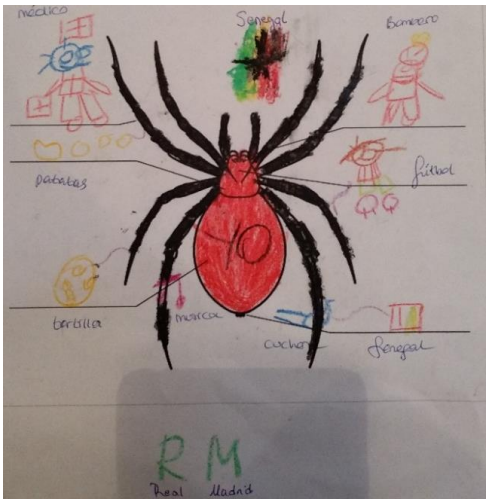

Figure 20. Diego's spider diagram of himself

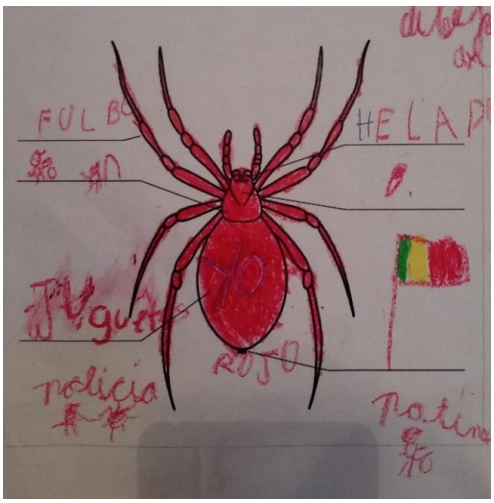

Figure 21. Fernando's spider diagram of himself

Photography

This technique has been used by many researchers, such as Barker and Weller (2003), Clark (2005), Crivello et al. (2009), Due et al. (2014), and Punch (2002). The reason to make children take photos was to see their world from their eyes through photos and wherever and whatever they wanted to show, especially in the places that we (researchers) may not have access to, like their houses (as was in the case of this study). Even sometimes, these photos may show things that children do not want to talk about or simply children do not find valuable to talk about. After children take photos, researchers sometimes add complementary activities, such as making them write something like a story about their photos or explain some of them to the researcher or the group.

I purchased three second-hand digital cameras for my participants and allotted them a camera for at least four days, starting Thursdays. This was because it was our last day together for the week, and I wanted them to have enough time to take pictures over the weekend or in school until Monday afternoons. We began on March 7, 2018, because there was a holiday on March 8, 2018, in A Coruña, and we finished it on May 2, 2018. The only rule was to take a minimum of ten photos. Six of them had to be for me, and they should be about what and where the children like the most, the special or important things in their lives, such as their school, favorite toy, room, house, and best friend(s). In order to take their attention to the activity, I told them that when we finished the activity, I would give these cameras as a gift. Rather than selecting children based on performance or subjective criteria, the participants wrote their names on paper and placed them in a bowl. Maria randomly picked three names from the bowl, and those children received the cameras.

The activity did not go as expected as in the other similar studies that used this child-centered activity because of the parents' concern that children would break the cameras or lose them. Even though I talked to the parents to prevent this, almost all the photos were taken in their houses. However, it cannot be seen as a failure of the technique for this age group because it provided different insights into how children perceived and presented their immediate environment.

Dressing People

We provided the children with paper containing only a head and asked them to use clothes and accessories from magazines to complete the rest of the body. Afterward, the children were asked to draw the legs and arms to complete the picture. It helped me to see their perceptions and desires for clothing and fashion. They did three versions of it, one for themselves, another for their family, and one for the supervisors. This activity was extended later because the children enjoyed it and wanted more. Moreover, it was interesting to see how Fernando painted his skin color, unlike his peers, to give his real reflection (see Figure 35).

On February 27, 2018, the children dressed themselves by cutting pieces from the magazines. They did not use any different piece of cloth than what they used in their daily lives, as the example presented below in Figure 22.

Figure 22. Laura's art of dressing herself

We repeated this activity on March 21, 2018, for their parents. This time we only drew the heads of the family members and left the rest to them. The siblings' names were also written alongside the parents in this activity but were removed for privacy reasons. Unlike the "dressing myself" activity, this one gave another perspective on what parents dressed and what children put on them (Figures 23 & 24). This activity also helped me understand the family structure and relationships among the members. Even though we drew the members we knew who lived in Spain, some children wanted to add more members who lived in the country of origin, or they began to talk about these members and their relations with them.

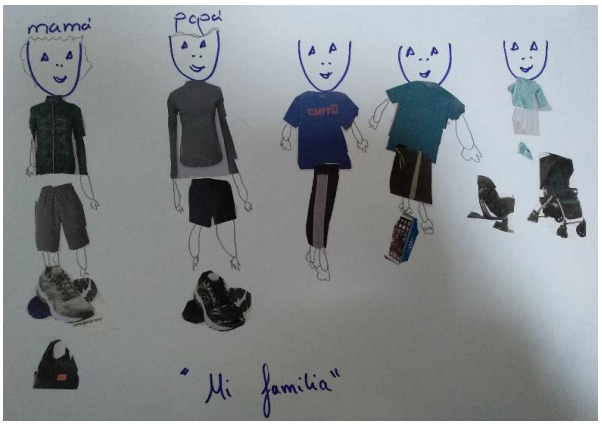

Figure 23. Humberto's art of dressing his family

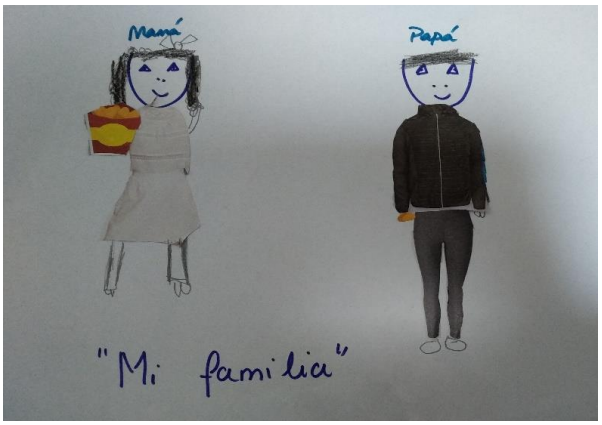

Figure 24. Alba's art of dressing her family

On May 29, 2018, we drew the heads of the supervisors who spent time with the participants throughout the year, and we wanted the children to dress the supervisors with the articles presented in the magazine and complete the rest of the body. Like the other activities, the names of the volunteers were erased. Unlike "my parents' dressing," this activity was more

realistic. The participants even noticed and reflected on some of our unique habits or things among the supervisors, such as Maria's dresses and the cold coffee I almost always had somewhere near me (Figures 25 & 26).

Figure 25. Juan's art of dressing supervisors

Figure 26. Alba's art of dressing supervisors

I have not encountered this kind of activity used in other research on race studies with children. This interesting activity revealed children's perspectives on the perception of family structure, beauty, reality, and expectations.

Most of these activities primarily involve visuals, such as drawing, painting, and pictures. The significance and popularity of painting and drawing techniques among children began to rise in the 19th century. Since then, there have been a variety of approaches in order to examine, evaluate, and interpret this type of data. Some of the well-known approaches are made by psychologists and educators. These approaches have also been varying in terms of perspectives and aims of the studies. For example, some examine children's artistic abilities at various ages and how their drawing styles differ across cultures. Conversely, others focus on the communicative or symbolic meaning of the artwork, which may vary based on a child's experiences, observations, problems, ideas, and background (Goodenough, 1926; Kellogg, 1970; Oğuz, 2010; Salı et al., 2014).

Researchers use different methods, assessments, and approaches when analyzing data based on their goals and perspectives. These are mainly categorized as qualitative and quantitative methods. Both were utilized in this particular study because both have their own unique way of contributions. Qualitative visual data, such as paintings and drawings, were examined individually rather than searching for common patterns among them. Each piece was analyzed considering the child's other works, including additional visuals obtained through child-centered techniques, as well as their behaviors, interactions, and comments observed during

the study. Therefore, these visual materials were analyzed with minimal interpretation from my side, striving for objectivity, and aided by other materials collected during the field study.

On the other hand, the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark can be considered a quantitative method due to its limited choices and limited interpretation options for the participants. However, it was not analyzed in isolation; instead, it was integrated and supported by other qualitative data collected throughout the study as part of a triangulation methodology.

3.4 Doll study

Doll study is the other significant technique used in this study, along with observation and child-centered techniques. I based my design on Kenneth Clark and Mamie Clark's (1947) original doll study. Their study was conducted with 253 children, and their ages ranged from three to seven. For the study, Clark and Clark used four identical baby dolls except for the skin and hair color. Two were brown with black hair, and the others were white with yellow, as they described in their article (1947).

There are two reasons why I conducted a doll study of my own, both in the pilot and the current study. The first reason is that I was surprised by the children's answers in Clark and Clark's and subsequent studies since I was not expecting the children to be aware of racism and discrimination at such a young age. I wanted to know if the same pattern would exist in Spain in the 21st century, despite the country's distance and differences from other countries in the previous studies. This became especially important after "the critical incident" mentioned in the introduction. I conducted the doll study with minor changes from the one used in the pilot study. Secondly, I tried to complement the doll study with participant observation and child-centered activities by comparing their results for possible discrepancies and consistencies. Despite the critiques of the original doll study and replicas, I believe that the doll study can be analyzed better when used as a complementary technique, especially in terms of understanding or making sense of the reasons behind the children's answers and reactions. Another critical factor that can affect the children's answers and, consequently, the results would be the trust established between the researcher and the children until the doll study. Knowing the background of the participants may prevent some possible obstacles that were pointed out by the critiques of this study, like lying to avoid the questions.

My recreation of the doll study combined elements from both CNN's version and the original study. I used stimuli similar to CNN but adopted some of the original study's questions without alteration. The major difference between CNN's version and Clark and Clark's original study is the stimuli. In the original and most subsequent studies, they used either two or four stimuli, such as dolls, plywood dolls, and puppets, with the same characteristics except for gender,

skin, and hair color. The utilization of this kind of stimuli was criticized and called the forced choice method. It was the first and the most crucial criticism the original and most replicas received. Children were forced to choose between two, Brown/Black and White, which did not exactly represent the diversity of their lived experiences of skin color but imposed adult perceptions of race (Aboud, 1988; Dulin-Keita et al., 2011; Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009; Lerner & Schroeder, 1975), because of that and the variety of the immigrants like Chinese, Moroccans, and Latin Americans in Spain, I decided to use CNN's version. Though, I made three main adjustments: dress color, gender of the stimuli, and the skin color of the stimuli. In the pilot study, I presented both the female and male dolls (see Figure 6) to see whether it would affect participants' preferences in a meaningful way because they were not as young as the original and current study's participants. However, it did not reveal any crucial data regarding the children's preferences. Therefore, I presented only the "male" doll since in the absence of figures with specific socially gendered "female" with bow and dress, the "male" dolls can be read as neutral.

Secondly, the color of the clothes of dolls was changed. In the original, the dolls were dressed in blue colored clothes, and since blue represents a boy color for many in society, I changed it to green for the pilot study. Later, I realized that I had failed to take into consideration that green is highly associated with Islam, and most of my participants were from Muslim households. When I tested this association by asking them what came to mind when they thought of green, they did not explicitly make this connection. They responded with grass, plant, frog, flowers, bottle, and leaf. Nevertheless, I did not want to leave any room for doubts. Almost all the colors say something from the point of view that one looks or wants to see, like marketing and film industry perspectives. Therefore, it became one of the most complex decisions. However, through research in the academic literature, I discovered that orange reminds people, especially children, of sweetness and happiness (Bellantoni, 2013; Cimbalo et al., 1978). This kind of science alters depending on various variables such as culture, age, language, industry, or the perspective of science that evaluates the colors. Accordingly, based on this research, I decided on the orange color (Figure 27). Lastly, I lightened the color of the second doll and darkened the fourth because the difference among the second, third, and fourth dolls was tiny and hard to differentiate in CNN's stimuli, which can be compared with Figure 6 of the pilot study in which I used the same skin colors of CNN's study.

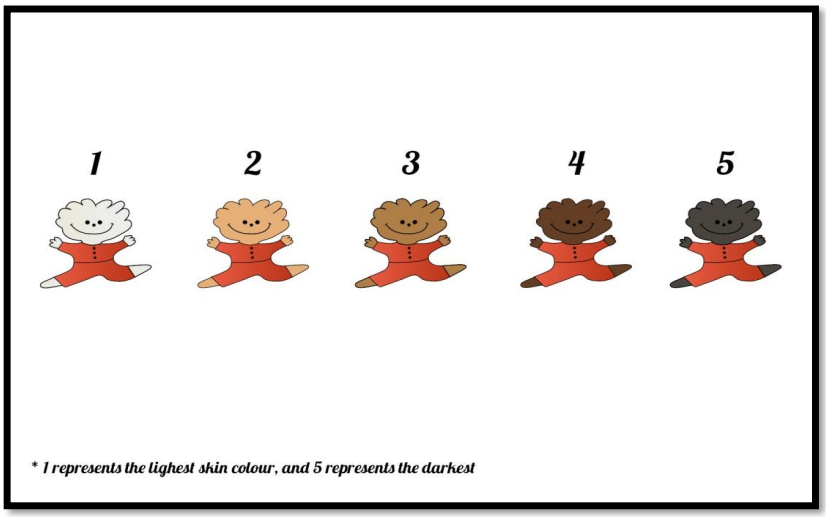

Figure 27. Current Study: Doll study stimuli

Briefly, my aim was to create stimuli that would be free of gender indicators and specific physical characteristics (e.g., the shape of eyes, type of hair) in order to focus solely on skin color and its effects while children were answering the questions. Therefore, the children were given five dolls with numbers on top of them but nothing else on the paper to prevent distraction. The numbers were given to facilitate the dolls' selection while answering the questions. In the pilot study, I first tried without numbers, and even though they were older than these participants, the children had a hard time explaining their choices. The explanation with the asterisk in Figure 27 was put only for the readers.

The design of the questions took into account various factors, including the participants' backgrounds, the original and replica versions of the doll study, and the child-centered activities. While designing the questions, my first focus was on the number of questions because of my experience from the pilot study. When they are very long, regardless of the age of the participants, they may get tired of them. Therefore, I decreased the number of questions in the pilot study. Since I already knew the children's knowledge of colors, I did not need to ask questions like which one was Brown or White. I began with the descriptive questions, the mixture of Clark and Clark's and CNN's, which were smart, dumb, nice, bad, beautiful, and ugly child or doll attributions.

The questions were asked with the word "child," like CNN's version, instead of "doll," as Clark and Clark, so children could imagine that the stimuli represented real-life children. Apart from these questions, in which they needed to attribute adjectives to the dolls, the questions followed by a preference question: which one of these children would like to be classmates with, as in CNN.

After these questions, three questions of my own, which emerged through the observation phase and the research context (the close association of skin color with the country of origin and religion), were asked. The questions were: the possible religion of these children (dolls), which one of these children (dolls) they would like to have as their boyfriend or girlfriend, and the possible nations of these children (dolls). Considering the possibility and partially being sure that children might not know what religion and nation mean, I prepared some extra explanations and questions. However, I did not reflect them on the question paper (Appendix B). These were to explain religion: who eats pork and who does not, and who believes in God (Allah) and who believes in God (Dios). Pork and God were the hot topics they often conversed about during the participant observation. For the nationality question, I changed the question to where the children in the stimuli may be from and sometimes with examples like mine at that time and other supervisors' nationalities. For instance, "I am Turkish" and "Maria is from Spain." I was already sure they would have difficulty differentiating the nation, nationality, city, countries, and continent from the games we played during the observation phase. However, I wanted to ask the question with "nationality" to see if they learned or remembered the difference from the games.

The only question different from the pilot study was about boyfriend or girlfriend preference. This question asked about the preference of their future child or children in the pilot study. It was changed to this version because of their age and some debates during the observation phase. If I were asking the question from the pilot study, it would not be interesting since they were very young to think about their children, but they always talked about their boyfriends and girlfriends during the activities. Therefore, I decided to alter it to this version.

Subsequently, I asked a somewhat reduced version of CNN's speculation questions mentioned in the literature review. My version included which one of these children (dolls) the children (participants) themselves liked and did not like and which ones they believed adults liked and disliked. The question, which one of these children (dolls) children liked the most and did not like, was to reflect their ideas. I discarded the direct questions, like "Which one of these dolls do you like the most and the least?" I also especially left these speculated questions at the end for the same reason considering that they may get bored till the end.

Lastly, I asked them to show the child which most looked like them. This question in the logical order had to be at the end, as it was made in the original and most of the replicas, to not condition their answers to the questions before, even if there was a risk of getting bored by placing it at the end of all. I also prepared myself for that possibility and started the question by saying, "And the last question is ...". Thus, I planned to get their attention back this way.

However, there was a linguistic problem with the dolls (children), which I came across only when I translated the questions. I removed the "girl" stimuli not to confuse the children regarding gender selection. Nevertheless, while I could ask the children in English which "child" is nice, I could not do the same gender-free question in Spanish. It had to be one or the other. Therefore, to prevent that problem in all the questions except the last question (the doll looked like them), I used "the girl and the boy (la niña o el niño)" together in the questions. I did not want to use other terms like cartoon, puppet, and other possible unrealistic attributions because I wanted them to imagine the stimuli as real as possible.

The doll study was conducted with thirteen children on March 12, 2018. There were two reasons I conducted it before the end of the participant observation, as it was in the pilot study. Firstly, I wanted to see the children's reactions after they had an idea of what I was doing and whether this would affect their attitudes in our regular sessions or not. Secondly, they might have left for vacation or another reason by the end of the academic year. For instance, this, unfortunately, happened with Frank, of Western Saharan origin; he moved there.

I conducted the doll study in one of the empty offices of the NGO, which the children were also familiar with, because I did not want them to be distracted by the environment. It was a standard office setting. There was an office table and three chairs, two for the visitors and another for the NGO staff, and some cabinets for the documents. I sat on the same side of the table with the children to avoid creating a feeling of authority during the study. I began by asking whether they knew I was a student like them, most of whom knew it already, and some were surprised. I continued explaining to them that I worked on the children's understanding and perception, and I needed their help with my work and asked them if they wanted to help me. All of them accepted. I gave them the stimuli saying that now I would ask some questions about these children (dolls), and I needed them to select one or more as an answer for the questions, and they could select the same child more than once. Only a few children wanted to select more than one for one question, and it was registered as they answered. Like the older group in the pilot study, most thought the preferential questions were weird. Some just made surprised faces, and some participants asked directly why or according to what the dolls were to be labeled as smart or dumb.

As mentioned above, the children's knowledge of certain words was mainly limited to actions such as religion and nationality. Since I already knew this possible word restriction, I needed to give more information or change the format of the two questions about religion and nationality. In the end, the question related to religion became who believed in Allah (God) and Dios (God). Then, I changed it to its last version, who ate pork and who did not. When I felt they needed further information, I gave them the example from Alba, one of the two

children who ate pork in the group. It is because this topic was in our daily conversations. The best version of the religion question that suited was who ate pork and who did not. The question related to nationality became country since I changed the original question to where they may be from. I gave examples of Senegal, the US, Italy, France, Portugal, Spain, Norway, China, Russia, and England when necessary. Even though I presented countries, some responded with city names or continents. Apart from these two questions, the rest did not need to be changed or explained further.

Each child had their own material during the doll study. Therefore, instead of taking notes on a different paper, like I was noting all their actions, I took small notes and the number of dolls they indicated on the question paper. Likewise, since most of them could not read or read fast, my notes did not break the study flow in this way. Moreover, no recording device or camera was used for two reasons: to protect their privacy and keep them focused during the study and not to distract them with a camera or any other device. When each child completed the doll study, I asked them not to discuss it with others until everyone did the study.

Each interview took approximately five minutes, only with two of the children that had slow understanding and were shy lasted about eight minutes. I already knew this through observation because they had learning difficulties. Therefore, I was prepared for the possible repetitions or further explanations for them. I conducted all the studies personally. Unlike some replicas, I did not repeat the study with different examiners. The main reason was that I belonged to a minority group, like most of my participants. However, unlike them, I was also an outsider in the country. Therefore, I did not think of any reason for them to avoid or get shy or any other possible negativity that might come out of my position. Moreover, I trusted my relationship with them that I built from October till March during the observation phase not to be affected by possible negative downsides.

Other used data collection techniques similar to the Doll Study

Different versions of the doll study were used in this study. The one from Radke and Trager (1950) was one of them. They also searched for more information than only beautiful, ugly, and self-identification like me. Accordingly, they made their design of the doll study. Through this idea, instead of showing baby dolls, they presented figures of two men and two women made of plywood formboards, clothes (formal dress, work outfits, shabby clothing) from the same material fitting the figures and houses (good and poor constructions) (Figure 28). The figures were identical except for their skin color (Brown and White). Like in other replicas, the men's figures were presented to the boys and the women's figures to the girls (1950, pp. 4–9). Radke and Trager asked the participants to match the housing types and the clothes with the figures and write little stories about these dolls.

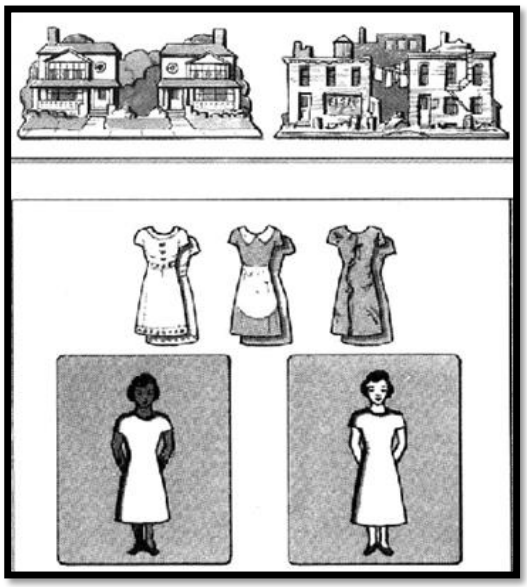

Figure 28. Radke and Trager's study: Female doll study stimuli

On February 6, 2018, I used this as a trial before my doll study (the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark). However, I also adapted their study based on my observations and the background of the participants. Even though this study was not very similar to the original doll study or my version, there were some vital questions, such as religion and nationality, that I had the chance to practice with the participants before I did the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark. I gave the children the material of Radke and Trager in a paper version with two women, a Brown and a White, two houses, a well-pictured and a neglected, and three dresses, one elegant, one cleaning dress, and one for daily use (Figure 28). I paired the children for this activity and arranged the pairs according to their age, one younger and one older, so that they could also help write their partner's ideas. I asked them to match the women with houses and dresses. Later, I asked the children to choose a name, nationality, religion, job, and boyfriend or girlfriend with their names for each figure.

The way of conducting this doll study was partially different from Radke and Trager's. I put the participants in groups of two instead of doing it individually, and I used paper dolls, not plywood dolls. Moreover, I conducted it only with female dolls. The main reason was that I already had my doll study prepared to conduct with participants. Therefore, rather than solely focusing on the original study's aims, I wanted to see the domination of concepts I would use in my doll study and prepare the participants. It was a very effective child-centered activity, especially for me to see what the word limitations were, like using Christian and Muslim or nationality, and the children's imagination before I conducted my design of the doll study.

In terms of questions, instead of limiting the participants to the houses and dresses, I tried to make the paper dolls like real characters by asking the children to name them and give them a job, nationality, religion, age, and a boyfriend or girlfriend. Ultimately, they were expected to write a story about these characters like Radke and Trager asked. However, some groups preferred to present their characters orally instead of writing a whole story about them, and I recorded their characters' details in their papers.

On May 29, 2018, while looking for an activity to do with the children, I found a painting book called "Dream girl" (Figure 29) in the NGO. The book contained depictions of women dressed in various styles. I used these drawings to ask the children where and why the women might be from. While it may resemble a doll study, it is distinct from the conventional doll studies in the academic literature. Furthermore, I conducted the study in an uncontrolled environment with the group. The stimuli in this study differed significantly from those in other doll studies, with many replicas, especially by lacking skin color.

Figure 29. Cover of the Dream girl painting book

3.5 NGO staff focus group discussion

The NGO staff focus group discussion was conducted with the participation of the employees, volunteers, and interns on April 26, 2018. They are indicated with asterisks in Table 4 above. I was planning to do it only with the volunteers and interns that were every day or directly in contact with the participants since they had a deeper knowledge of the participants, but it turned out to be an NGO event. The employees, other volunteers, and interns of the other age groups also participated. Actually, it helped because the volunteers who attended other age groups gave me information from these groups, where some of my participants had siblings and cousins. The employees provided other perspectives related to the parents and gatekeepers

of the participants. It took place in one of the classes at the NGO and lasted an hour and a half long, and most of it was recorded as a video with the participants' verbal consent.

I designed the focus group discussion based on the doll study's (adapted from Clark and Clark) results. I presented it in a PowerPoint format and reflected on the wall with a projector. Rather than focusing on more profound and complicated data collected through participant observation (Appendix E), I selected the doll study because it covered all the significant points that I wanted to put my finger on, like religion, nationality, and race through skin color. When we all gathered in the room, I asked them if they knew what my study was about. Some did not know anything, and some had an idea about it since they were always with me. I gave brief background information about me and the study without entering all the details for the ones who did not know anything about it.

The PowerPoint gave short information about the original doll study, my doll studies conducted during the pilot (briefly), and the current study (detailed). I only presented this study's results to focus on the group of children I engaged with. These parts of the presentation took almost ten minutes; there were a few questions. After giving the reason for being gathered there and the doll studies, I asked them five questions that I prepared to spark the discussion. These were: whether they were surprised with the results, what they thought the skin color meant to the children (participants), whether they thought the color of the skin, religion, nationality, and race were linked to each other or not for children, how they thought that the children (participants) understood race, and how they thought our children related the color of their skin with religion and nationality.

The main reason I wanted to conduct a focus group discussion was to get another perspective on a subjective theme. Furthermore, since I was kind of an outsider as not been born and raised in Spain. Additionally, the downside of not being entirely familiar with the social values of Spain, it was possible these informants might have provided insider interpretations. The most considerable risk was that they would not like to comment on the matter, as it happened during the face-to-face interviews with the NGO staff of the pilot study, which was also why I changed the technique from individual face-to-face interviews to a focused group discussion. My concerns did not happen. On the contrary, supervisors also talked about their observations and feelings about the subject, such as the tradition and culture of the children and staff's experience with the participants' parents, and even more, information was provided about the community and neighborhood of the children. Although my focus was on the children and the concepts of the study, thanks to the comfortable ambiance we could create, I gained some insider perspectives. As a result of this comfortable and open environment, the discussion not

only stayed limited to the questions but also gave me a thorough picture of the community and their perspective of children's reactions to the specific topics of the study.

3.6 Summary of all the methods and child-centered techniques used in the study

This study employed a triangulation methodology that combined various methods and child-centered activities to approach and focus on the key concepts of the study from different angles and contexts with the participants.

These methods mostly worked like a puzzle. The sequential explanation of each method above may have obscured the connections among the activities and methods used. There were child-centered activities that included both planned to meet the research objectives and the program activities of the NGO that was not initially intended to address by this study or even designed by me but yielded unexpected data. Moreover, not all the activities were mentioned above with specific details because of the insufficient contribution of some to the study for various reasons.

To provide a comprehensive view of each activity's strengths, weaknesses, successes, and failures, I created the summary table below. This table includes the activities' names, descriptions, objectives, and relevance to the research questions stated in the introduction. Furthermore, the table highlights how some activities related to the study's objectives were beyond the scope of a particular research question and the data collected.

Overall, the summary table's role extends beyond presenting isolated findings or data points. It helps to contextualize the activity within the broader framework of the study, highlighting its relevance and contribution to the overall objectives. In this way, the table facilitates a more holistic and integrated approach to data analysis, enhancing the overall quality and depth of the study's findings.

Table 5: The Summary Table of all the Methods and Child-Centered Activities

Methods/ Techniques	Description	Objective	Research Question	Reflection from the Application of the Techniques
Participant Observation	How children construct differences, for themselves and others, in the absence of adult-directed research methodologies.	To get to know the participants in an environment with minimum influence.	All the research questions were part of this method (Research questions 1-4)	I gained insight from observing children in different contexts in their relatively unstructured environment. This method was the base of the study as well as being complementary to all the other activities and techniques conducted.
Introduction questionnaire	Participants were asked basic introduction questions: nationality, age, and favorite color.	To get to know the participants and use this information in the design of other activities.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like getting to know children and their inter-group dynamics.	How they act when a common task is given, and their reaction to repetitive questions.
Paula's introduction activity	Participants were expected to complete the activity of describing themselves by drawing, coloring, and writing.	To get to know the participants and use this information in the design of other activities.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like getting to know children.	They got bored easily due to lacking some abilities, but they completed it with our help.
Face parts	Participants were expected to create a face with the facial features provided and paint them as they wished.	To see if they would reflect themselves in the activity, such as their selection of skin color.	Research questions 1	Children's selection of words to refer to skin colors, their interactions, their ability and the reflection of age on the given task, and their way of presentation of their art project were recorded.

Feelings and colors	Participants were asked to color nine different emotions.	To see how colors are perceived when not presented in the context of skin color.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like their age-related perception and ability.	The older participants made matching choices that were more adult-like, but the younger participants did not demonstrate similar behavior.
My favorite place	Participants were asked to draw or paint their favorite place and explain why.	To see where they feel happy or belong and why.	Research questions 1 and 4	This activity showed that almost all the participants relate happy places with their country of origin or relatives.
What is Christmas for me?	Children were asked to paint what Christmas meant to them.	To understand what Christmas means to the minority children, most of whom came from Muslim households.	Research question 2	As children who were raised in Muslim families with its traditions and customs, almost all described Christmas in the same way: snow, a Christmas tree, and gifts.
Future jobs	Participants were asked to paint their future jobs.	To see whether their culture and community affect their expectations.	Research question 4	Except for one, none of the paintings showed cultural effects on their future expectations. The exception was referring to being a good mother.
Carla's sense and object matching	Participants were given an activity where they needed to match their senses with objects and paint them.	To improve their age-related skills.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like their age-related perception and ability.	This activity was not initially planned as part of the data collection. However, it provided unexpected relevant insight: They discussed skin color while painting the body parts.

Superheroes	Participants and I painted, drew, and wrote the superpowers we wanted and why.	To see if they reflect any difficulty or difference they encounter in daily life.	Research question 2	It showed some interesting concerns and interests of each participant in their unique way of expression. By including myself with a different power than theirs, this activity also brought another perspective of the children to light.
What the NGO means to me?	Participants were asked to draw, write, or paint what the NGO meant to them.	To see the meaning of the place that they used almost every day.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like their perception of the place where diversity was emphasized.	They painted different colors, happiness, the sun, and flags of their country of origin.
Postcards	Participants were asked to draw, write, or paint a letter to someone they love or miss.	To see whether they will write to someone far away from their hometown as suggested by other activities or to someone close and why they chose that person or people.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like searching for a connection among their friends and relatives.	It did not work because most participants wrote letters to Santa Claus or the Three Magical Kings. This might be because the children in Spain today mostly write letters to the Three Magical Kings to ask for presents.
Home v. Host Country	Participants were asked to draw, write, or paint the differences between their country of origin and Spain.	To understand participants' perspectives of the countries where they were born and the country that formed an essential part of their upbringing.	Research questions 1 and 4	This activity gave me a perspective on how the participants perceive life and culture between the host and the home countries.

Painting comparison	Participants were given a black-and-white copy of an activity where they needed to find the differences and paint them.	To see whether children would consider skin color a difference in a "find the differences between these two pictures" activity.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like skin color's importance, when nothing mentioned it specifically.	Participants created the difference in skin color.
School bus painting	A charity provided this activity to create paintings during a weekend event for children. Children were asked to paint children in a school bus.	To see whether the children would reflect the diversity in a school context.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like the reflection of diversity in a school context.	Most of the children painted children in a bus with various skin colors. This was the only activity that reflected diversity.
If I were an animal…	Participants were asked to draw and paint an animal and why they would like to be it.	Maria conducted this activity to see what animals the children like or want to be.	–	This activity was not initially planned as part of the data collection, but it provided unexpected relevant insight: when Santiago painted a monkey, Maria said "no" and threw it away.
Ugly Duckling	Participants were made to watch two different versions of the cartoon (Disney and Hans Christian Andersen) and were expected to make comments.	After listening to their experiences in school, I gave this activity and wanted to see if they would relate these to the story of Ugly Duckling's two different versions.	Research question 1	Unlike what I expected, they did not show any reflection on their daily life, but all simultaneously reproached the behavior of the others who did not accept the Ugly Duckling.

Plane ticket to anywhere	Participants were given a flight ticket and asked to fill it in with where and why they would like to travel there, without any restrictions like cost.	To see if they wanted to go to their country of origin, to whom, and why (Rovetta Cortés, 2017).	Research question 4	This activity was aligned with some others in terms of results. Most children wanted to go to their country of origin or somewhere else where they could find their relatives.
Cardstock faces	Participants were asked to select one of the three skin colors and create faces, then react to the three short stories I told by changing the emotions of the faces.	This activity was like an experiment before the doll study to see their skin color choices and reactions to the offensive stories.	Research question 1	Children's color choices and reactions to the stories were informative, and the activity contributed in various ways to the study's other findings.
Mafalda	Participants were given a Mafalda cartoon with some parts (nationality and identifying characteristics) removed from the speech balloon for the children to complete.	To see what nationality the children would select and how they would reason it, as Rovetta Cortés did with her participants (2017).	Research questions 1, 2 and 4	The original study's example did not help explain the activity. Children completed it from a different perspective. They selected occupations and names they wished for instead of a character and a nationality. Language and age of the children could be the barrier to these results.
Imagine you have/are …	Participants were given a series of imaginative sentences and asked to complete them. When the sentences appeared to be complicated, I changed them into questions.	To see their perspectives on other subjects related to the study -if they were a doctor, a parent, or Russian.	Research questions 1 and 4	This was mainly tangled with language and age barriers.

Group storytelling	Participants were asked to create a story together by adding a sentence to each other's sentences.	To see how and where they would take the story and also if they would add some cultural elements.	Research questions 1 and 4	They liked the story they created when I read it, but there was a lack of interest during the completion of the activity. There was not any cultural attribution.
Spider Diagram "Me"	Participants were given a spider; the body represented them, and the six legs were the things that defined them.	To see how they identify themselves.	Research questions 1 and 4	Children reflected various interests like flags, language, jobs, food, and colors (some were not discovered through other methods and activities).
Spider Diagram "Where I have been to"	Participants were asked to make a shape in the middle of the paper and connect as many lines to the shape as the number of countries they had been to.	To find out their experience and knowledge of other countries based on their comments during the observation.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like their experience and knowledge of other countries and cultures.	This activity turned out to be a competition among them. Therefore, I could not use it because I was not sure of the reliability of the data provided.
Photography	I gave participants cameras for a few days to take at least ten photos, six of which had to be the things that were important to them or that they liked.	To see the parts of their life that I could not reach, such as school, home, and outside interests.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like aspects of their interests, likes, and daily lives outside the observed part.	I expected to have an idea of their lives or what they were interested in outside the NGO. It was restricted by parents because of the fear that children would break the cameras; nevertheless, valuable insights were still obtained from certain angles.

Dressing people (Myself, my family, and my teachers)	Three different versions were conducted: dressing myself, my family, and my teachers. Children dressed people and themselves with the pieces they cut from various magazines.	To see their perception of themselves, their family, and us (supervisors/teachers).	Research questions 1 and 4	The reason to extend this to family and supervisors was because of Fernando's use of skin color in the first activity. With the exercise of the family, I came across other relevant factors of the study, like the clothes selected for the family members and the understanding of beauty.
My Doll Study adapted from the original (Clark and Clark) and CNN version	Participants were asked a series of questions related to preferences, religion, and nationality and expected to answer them through the presented stimuli (five dolls with different skin colors).	To see the effect of skin color on various key concepts from the perception of the children of minority origin individually.	Research questions 1-4	Various results are obtained from this study. Most importantly, it provided significant insights into children's understandings and associations that were not influenced by peers.
The Doll Study adapted from Radke and Trager	Participants were given three dresses; two houses and two women figures with dark and light skin colors. They were asked to write a story about these figures and match the dresses and houses.	To see the effect of skin color on various key concepts from the perception of the minority children in another design.	Research questions 1-4	This activity was conducted in pairs. It provided crucial insights into children's understandings and associations of skin color and culture that were created together with a peer. Moreover, this was conducted before Clark and Clark's version of my doll study to study the socially constructed concepts used.

Dream girl	Unlike doll studies, participants were shown different drawings of women figures with different physical and culturally relevant characteristics. They were asked to guess each figure's origin and why in a group.	To see also what kind of perspective children would use to identify the nationality of these figures when there is no reference to skin color.	Research questions 1-4	Children bring out other vital factors not presented or discussed in the other doll studies, like the importance of hairstyle, clothing, and accessories in decision-making.
NGO staff focus group	I presented the original study and my doll study with its results and asked the staff five questions about their perspectives on the results.	To see if the results drew the attention of the staff who were not explicitly paying attention to it during the sessions. Moreover, I wanted to see if there were other events the staff saw and wanted to comment on.	To provide information beyond the remit of specific research questions, like other adults' perspectives and their possible effect on children's perceptions.	Many of the interactions among child participants were also recognized by the staff. Some thought that children were just innocent and did not know what they said, while others thought the contrary.

3.7 Research limitations

Working with children, different from adults, brings new rules and approaches to the studies. Since my study was not conducted or designed for a short period, like conducting only a doll study, I had to maintain a proper and stable relationship with the children. I believe it is one of the most crucial points of the children's studies and more when the research is about race since it is mostly found as an uncomfortable and misunderstand-able subject. From my point of view, there are three significant points to be considered while working with children and about race: perception and knowledge, communication, and a balanced power relationship between the researcher and the participants. Even though some of these were discovered through the pilot study, I had to deal with some new but minor obstacles, mainly because of the age difference between the two participant groups. Luckily, I had enough time to overcome and adapt to these obstacles through the relatively long period of participant observation. Accordingly, this section is about both my experiences and other researchers' approaches to these impediments.

Perception and knowledge are necessary in terms of knowing what to expect and not to expect from the participants and the research (Punch, 2002). Children and their skills alter according to their age. Therefore, apart from general perception and knowledge about children, it is advisable to focus on the age range that is worked with. Moreover, learning more about the group, such as age, culture, language, and place, can facilitate the adaptation period and the tasks. For instance, trying to do complicated or full of instruction requiring tasks may be risky since children may have difficulty understanding the task or may get bored quickly as they, especially the young ones, have shorter attention spans than adults (Boyden & Ennew, 1997). Therefore, researchers should be more open-minded, flexible, prepared for quick changes and adaptations, and open to the suggestions and contributions of the children, apart from what researchers expect and plan to do.

When I began with the participant observation phase, even though I was not conducting it in a school-like setting with strict rules, the program had a similar setting in the NGO for the first part of the sessions. From time to time, the rules (mostly flexible but sometimes like a classroom in the school) were changing along with the group's supervisors. There were two regular supervisors; one was me, and the other was Maria, an insurance agent in her late forties in the group for the whole academic year. Even though she had experience being in the NGO and with children for years and helped me to learn what I should and should not do, most of the supervisors and I did not agree with her regarding how children should be treated. Since she was not a researcher or had a background in education or with young children, she sometimes acted like an old-fashioned teacher. Moreover, she expected the same from the

other supervisors to keep the children in order. However, this was overcome in time by me assuming the role of a good cop and her bad cop. Seeing her behavior improved my vision of how to approach children. In other words, seeing someone else doing something I disapproved of prevented me from falling into the same position. It changed my perception, which I believe positively for the evolution of the study.

Communication is another key factor. It is vital to understand and to be understood. Even though the researcher and the participants speak the same language, this does not necessarily mean that meaningful communication can be established. Researchers must learn to think and carefully select words to find understandable and meaningful communication. This is often the case with young children, who typically have a more limited vocabulary than adults. Furthermore, if there is a significant age gap between the researcher and the participants, language barriers could arise due to generational differences (Mayall, 2000).

In my case, I had a problem with the participants in the beginning in terms of language since Spanish was not our mother tongue, neither for me nor most of the participants. However, this turned out to be an icebreaker and even a relationship establisher since their command of Spanish was better than mine; they took this issue as a duty and began to help me with the language. I was a teacher for them in English during our activity time while they were to me in Spanish all the time. Therefore, this aided us in destabilizing the teacher (supervisor) - children power imbalance, which I was concerned about. Corsaro also experienced the same in his research in Italy (1988). The language problem was mainly based on the words that I used. Since then, I have not noticed the words I could or should use with children while learning Spanish. Sometimes I needed to simplify, and in terms of that, other supervisors were helpful during the participant observation.

A balanced relationship is one of the most significant elements regardless of participants' age. Nevertheless, it is more critical with young children since they get used to having authority around them, such as in the house and school (Punch, 2002). Even though researchers can adapt themselves in time, it is vital to catch that thin line between being an authority, an adult, or a friend as soon as possible according to the researchers' purpose. This is also significant in building rapport, especially in time-sensitive studies like short-time participant observation, to get the best out of the time spent with children and the establishment of the study. Because it would not be surprising that children may try to lie, hide their ideas, or avoid answering questions or doing activities, but it should be kept in mind that this is not special to children; both children and adults have the potential to do the same (Alderson, 2000; Barley & Bath, 2014; Barter & Renold, 2000). However, researchers can feed the relationship with the children. In that case, I believe researchers can get the best and the most of what they need in

the way they should be because the prejudices and idée fixes of the children are not as strong and unbreakable as adults. Our relationship with children also includes adult gatekeepers like parents and teachers since we need their consent; therefore, researchers working with children should also deal with gatekeepers (Punch, 2002, p. 10).

I was lucky in terms of establishing relationships and building rapport with children. I knew most of their parents, siblings, employees, and some of the volunteers of the NGO from my time in the organization as a volunteer for the EVS project and the pilot study. Therefore, I did not have to start my research from a completely outsider position. Consequently, it started warm, but there were some issues that I had to handle, like finding my position with respect to the older and more experienced supervisor who attended the group with me. It was hard at first because both the children and supervisor(s) could not place me since I was neither an authority (teacher/volunteer) nor a friend to the children. Later, I found a place somewhere in the middle to make both sides happy and useful for me, who seemed like a teacher during the first part of the day (homework session) only if we were studying or doing homework, but other than that flexible, not a friend more like an older sister or a good cop as I mentioned above due to the attitude of the other supervisor. For example, when the children wanted to do something that they knew Maria would not let them do, they asked me first for permission because after one decided, the other would agree with her mostly. Moreover, conducting this research in an NGO, rather than a place like a school where the limits are drawn with strict rules, helped me build rapport and flexible relationships. Teaching each other reciprocally was another important factor in the relationship, and it facilitated the children to be comfortable enough to share their honest views with me (hopefully). Even if they were distorting the truth or hiding their true feelings or answers, I could catch those up to some point due to the long period of participant observation and other activities we did together.

Regarding the consent forms, there were two important reasons why I got the consent of the gatekeepers easily, especially the ones who were Senegalese. Besides, they have known me as a volunteer since 2015; my country of origin, Türkiye, played a positive role as a well-known Muslim country and with its president since the parents loved the president and loved to talk about the politics of Türkiye. These talks, with or without politics, strengthen our relationship with the parents and gatekeepers. The NGO also knew me, and this was not the first study I conducted there. Therefore, they were very welcoming as well.

There is a crucial discussion about the vulnerability and lack of competence of children as participants in research (Barley & Bath, 2014; Christensen & Prout, 2002; Clark, 2005; Punch, 2002). Some researchers say that, since children are being brought up in an adult-dominated society, researchers should find their role according to what they want to do, such as a

supervisor, a friend, an outsider adult, or an older sibling, which is mentioned in detail above. Another critical point is the reliability of the data collected from children. I believe this last argument concerns the quality of the communication with the participants. It mainly questions whether children and researchers can communicate meaningfully with each other due to children's limited vocabulary and short attention span (Punch, 2002).

Even though I find these arguments valuable and worth considering, I believe researchers' perceptions and ethical understandings are the significant determinators of all these issues. During my research, I always tried to consider them as free subjects (beings or active participants of society) rather than controlling them or seeing them as objects (becomings or passive participants) on the way to becoming adults. I only paid attention to their contributions (explanations, answers, behaviors), and my concern was whether they understood the questions or needed assistance. While conducting my doll study and the child-centered activities, I tried to interfere as minimally as possible to avoid leading them in any direction. Accordingly, I conducted various activities with them around the same subject, listened to them, and observed their interactions in and outside the group members to see consistencies and inconsistencies. In other words, triangulation methodology played a significant part in overcoming these problems and keeping the holistic approach to the study from every big or small angle.

Chapter 4. Children's Perception and Interpretation of Socially Constructed Concepts in Their Daily Lives

In this chapter, how young children of minority origin perceive and interpret socially constructed concepts such as race, nation, and culture is analyzed through the data collected during the participant observation, my doll study, the child-centered activities, and the focus group discussion conducted with the NGO staff.

Each section of the analysis starts by presenting the results of the doll study because it covers most of the socially constructed concepts focused on by this study in general and is systematically more organized than the other methods. The data and the analysis of the doll study are expanded by introducing the data collected from the participant observation, the child-centered activities, and the pilot study[13].

The stimuli of the doll study are presented again to remind the reader because the analysis is built and developed around the doll study (Figure 30). Furthermore, the skin colors of the second and the fourth dolls were changed slightly because the differences among the second, third, and fourth were not apparent. Therefore, the second doll's skin tone is lighter, and the fourth doll's skin tone is darker than the CNN's stimuli, which can be compared with Figure 6. Even though I used the first and fifth dolls as they are, I want to note again that they show the extremes of skin color tones.

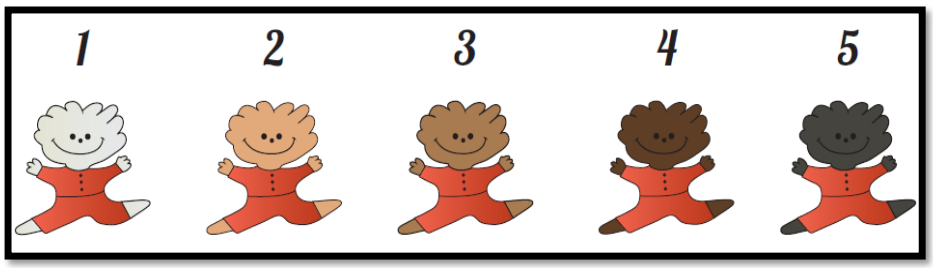

Figure 30. My doll study stimuli

The doll study's last question, self-identification, is related to all the sections of the analysis. Therefore, it is presented first, then expanded by comparing its results with other questions of the doll study, the child-centered techniques, and the participant observation data collected throughout the academic year spent with the participants.

Skin color can be subjective, and even some children had difficulty selecting between some colors, especially between dolls 4 and 5. However, I briefly present children's choices of skin

[13] The country of origin of the pilot study's participants was more diverse than the current study's. Therefore, how the pilot study's analysis was constructed varies from the current study. For that reason, these two studies are compared based on tendencies that the age groups revealed.

color to give a clear idea and facilitate the follow-up further in the analysis in Table 6. Most of the participants of Senegalese origin are more like dolls 4 and 5. Alba, of Dominican origin, has a skin color close to doll 3, whereas Alberto, of Colombian Spanish origin, looks like doll 2. Figure 31 gives an idea of the participants' skin color even though not all were present that day. On the left are Alba's hands, going clockwise; her hands are followed by Juan, Melisa, Cristina, Laura, Camilo, Tania, Fernando, and Brais, who are also reminded and marked with an asterisk on Table 7.

Figure 31. Some of the participants' hands from activity during participant observation

Table 6 shows how many children selected each doll in total as an answer to the last question of the doll study; which of these children do you think looks like you? It is better to have data on the self-identification results separately before it is connected and contrasted with other study questions and the findings from other methods used in the study. Each row is colored with the approximate color of the stimulus in the table.

Table 6. Adapted from Clark and Clark: Self-identification of the participants through dolls

Dolls	Looks like you
Doll 1	1
Doll 2	2
Doll 3	3
Doll 4	5
Doll 5	3

The choices of self-identification of each participant are presented with other essential data (age and origin) as a reminder to aid in reading the data and the analysis, along with my perception of the participants' skin color in the following table. Each row is painted according

to the approximate doll color they identified themselves with, given in the second column. Accordingly, ten out of fourteen participants identified themselves with the closest skin color to theirs presented in the stimuli.

Table 7. Adapted from Clark and Clark: Detailed results of self-identification and my perception of children's skin color

Participants	Participant's perception of which doll they look like (Q.15)	Country of Origin	Age	My perception of the children's skin color
Alba*	Doll 3	The Dominican Republic	6-7	Doll 3
Alberto	Doll 2	Colombia and Spain	6-7	Doll 2
Brais*	Doll 5	Senegal	3-4	Doll 5
Camilo*	Doll 3	Senegal	5	Doll 4
Cristina*	Doll 3	Senegal	6	Doll 4
Diego	Doll 4	Senegal	5-6	Doll 4
Fernando*	Doll 4	Senegal	5-6	Doll 4
Humberto	Doll 5	Senegal	5-6	Doll 4
Juan*	Doll 4	Senegal	5	Doll 4
Laura*	Doll 2	Senegal	4	Doll 5
Melisa*	Doll 4	Senegal	6-7	Doll 4
Pablo	Doll 1	Senegal	3-4	Doll 5
Santiago	Doll 5	Senegal	5-6	Doll 4
Tania*	Doll 4	Senegal	7	Doll 4

Table 7 shows that Laura ascribed doll 2 to herself while she is more like doll 5, and a similar pattern can be seen in Pablo's selection with the selection of doll 1, whereas he looks like doll 5. This is the "common" result of the original and most of the replicas of the doll study. In this study, however, only two participants had self-identified themselves with very different skin colors than their actual skin colors. Camilo and Cristina selected doll 3, while they look more like doll 4. Camilo and Cristina's self-identifications are not as different as Laura and Pablo's. Furthermore, some participants selected dolls that were relatively darker than themselves. This selection and the perception of color were tricky because it can be hard to distinguish between doll 4 and doll 5 sometimes. Most children of Senegalese origin had difficulty deciding between these two dolls.

There may be two possibilities, and questions come to mind about the difference between their skin tone and the one they ascribed to themselves. Can the selection of lighter skin color be the result of a desire to approach what is perceived as "normal" or "good" in the host society,

or can this selection be a tactic of "camouflage" to fit in? On the other hand, some participants selected darker dolls. What would be the reason, and how this selection can be explained?

While the self-identification question can be compared with other questions in this study, I prefer to analyze it with observation and child-centered activities. This is the one question that came out of the doll study and was referred to during the participant observation by some participants without being reminded or mentioned.

The first part of the analysis starts by analyzing nation and skin color association. The first data presented is the children's answers to the doll study's nation and skin color questions. This is broadened with the self-identification question of the doll study, the data collected from observation, and the child-centered activities to cover all similar ideas and events that happened throughout the study. The second section of the analysis examines the association between skin color and religion through the role of country of origin, participant observation, and child-centered activities. This allows for a wider perspective and interpretation of the results by considering the data collected from the triangulated methodology. The third section analyzes the doll study's preference questions and the child-centered activity called "superheroes." While these questions are significant to understand by themselves, as they were analyzed by most of the other doll studies, they provide a broader and better understanding of children's perspectives and choices when combined with participants' interactions and comments on various activities collected throughout the study. The fourth section examines how children perceive their home and host countries and what makes one more attractive than the other. The fifth section analyzes the data gathered from the focus group discussion conducted with the NGO staff and the interactions recorded during the observation phase with other adults. This section mainly explores whether adults' approach or point of view affects minority children's perception of belonging and the host country. The last section presents a recapitulation of the primary outcomes to ensure a short and comprehensive conclusion.

4.1 All the Blacks are from Senegal

One of the most interesting and important relations that this study discovered is the perception of the children of minority origin on the association of nation and skin color based on my doll study's stimuli. The original doll study was conducted in the US; most replicas used two or more stimuli. However, they did not include a question related to nation, which is inseparable from race and skin color-based studies, especially today from my point of view due to the increasing heterogeneity in the societies like the US, the UK, France, and Spain.

By adding the possible nations of the dolls question, I tried to expand the doll study from its primary historical use and purpose, searching for internal racism through self-identification

and its possible reasons, to another perspective which includes other essential elements such as perception of the nation through skin color. This idea occurred to me after witnessing the dialogues about skin color and nation among the pilot study participants. Therefore, this question tried to explore a different perspective: whether other factors like nation and skin color play a role in the perception of the minority children living in a society where minorities have distinct historical, political, geographical, physical, or cultural characteristics like in Spain.

Table 8. Adapted from Clark and Clark: Nation attributions to the dolls

Nation / Dolls	Doll 1	Doll 2	Doll 3	Doll 4	Doll 5
Spain	7	3	3	2	3
Senegal	1	1	2	10	7
A Coruña	2	4	-	1	2
France	1	1	4	-	-
Italy	-	2	1	-	-
The Dominican Republic	-	-	-	-	1
Mali	-	-	1	-	-
Nigeria	-	-	1	-	-
Colombia	1	-	-	-	-
Galicia	-	1	-	-	-
Portugal	1	-	-	-	-
Türkiye	-	-	1	-	-
Germany	-	1	-	-	-
Paris	-	-	1	-	-
Africa	1	-	-	1	1
London	-	1	-	-	-

Table 8 shows the participants' answers to question 10, the possible nations of the dolls. Even though the question was asked as a nation, the answers came as city, country, and continent. This was expected considering the knowledge of this age range (three to seven). Therefore, I did not try to change or explain more during the interview just to get nation names instead of city, country, or continent. Before conducting the doll study, I already knew this could happen because we played games where they had to name a city, country, and continent. I realized that they were not able to do it even though we worked on it from time to time during the participant observation, and not surprisingly, it was not enough. Moreover, their background greatly influenced the choices of cities, countries, and continents, especially with the references made to the home and the host country and others mostly from their immediate environment, such as the NGO. This was also experienced in the pilot study with participants

whose age range was older than the current study. Children's nation attributions to the dolls are presented in the tables precisely as they said (city, country, and continent).

Most of the attributions were made to Spain, one of its regions, Galicia, and A Coruña, as a city, also to the continent of Africa, and three African countries; Senegal, Nigeria, and Mali. The rest follows as the European countries and cities, and two Latin American countries, the Dominican Republic and Colombia. While these results can be expected and even considered normal, the lack of a city attribution from Senegal or other African countries is startling. A similar pattern is seen in the participants' answers of Dominican origin and Colombian Spanish origin. This can be explained by the host society(ies)'s way of differentiating others or minorities like skin color or country of origin. Some participants visited a city or cities in Senegal regularly or irregularly; nevertheless, they spent most of their time in Spain. Looking at it from this angle, often being referred to as Senegalese in the host country both individually and as a group may have influenced their perception. On the other hand, more diversity is observed in the answers for the nations outside Senegal and Africa, such as Europe (France, Italy, Portugal, Germany, Paris, and London). One possible explanation is that the participants observed greater diversity in the areas where they spent more time.

The first and the lightest doll was mostly attributed to Spain (seven times) and twice as to A Coruña, where they lived. The possibility of the first doll being Senegalese or African was given only by two participants, Humberto and Fernando, whose skin colors were dark and of Senegalese origin. This indicates that nation was not necessarily related to skin color by all the young participants, unlike the matchings of the pilot study participants. There were also countries from Europe like France and Portugal. Santiago matched doll 1 with South America through Colombia. He may be affected by Alberto's skin color as unique and the closest contact with the lightest skin color in the group. This shows that children knew and had an idea about these countries, but it does not explain the reasons behind these matchings of nations with the dolls. On the other hand, the lack of other countries where this doll could also represent, like Russia, China, or Japan, brings the question of whether the children possess the knowledge of other countries. However, since the question and the stimuli tried to emphasize real-life cases, participants may have thought only about their immediate environment. Even focusing on the immediate environment, the participants excluded other common groups, such as the Chinese. In the pilot study, on the other hand, none of the children gave the possibility to Africa or any African country to doll 1. They were stricter in their choices, attributing to A Coruña, Spain, China, and Türkiye. Accordingly, this doll was also the second least diverse for this group.

The attributions to dolls 2 and 3 varied more than the other dolls generalizing the answers on a continent level. All the participants selected a city or a country from Europe for doll 2, except Camilo, who attributed this doll to Senegalese. Other answers were Spain, Galicia, A Coruña, France, Italy, Germany, and London. This doll represents Europe more than the others, but it also emphasizes the diversity children saw in Europe, unlike in Africa or Senegal. On the other hand, the pilot study participants considered different countries for this doll: Lugo, Bolivia, Spain, China, the Dominican Republic, Russia, and England. Unlike the current study participants, they did not mention Africa or Senegal for this doll either.

Doll 3 was matched with Spain, Senegal, France, Italy, Mali, Nigeria, Türkiye, and Paris. This doll is the second most diverse one in terms of continent, country, and city. There are two countries from Africa that were not mentioned before, and the tendency decreases in the European answers compared to the first two dolls. Nevertheless, looking at the sum, this doll is still mostly associated with European countries and cities after doll 2. Pilot study participants attributed this doll to A Coruña, Peru, Iraq, Algeria, the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, and Argentina. Unlike the current study, pilot study participants found this doll more diverse than the other dolls.

The dramatic change in the answers of doll 4 was both expected and surprising. It was expected, considering the number of participants of Senegalese origin, that eight of them had identified themselves with dolls 4 and 5. Eleven of the fourteen participants identified the doll as Senegalese and African, while the other two identified it as Spanish. It was also surprising because not all these participants of Senegalese origin who attributed this doll as Senegalese also self-identified themselves with doll 4. This doll is the least diversified one, explicitly referring to Spain, A Coruña, Senegal, and Africa. Therefore, it can also be seen as the opposite of dolls 2 and 3. Furthermore, Spain and A Coruña's attributions indicate that children did not stick to specific skin color and country of origin matching like they did not in the other dolls. Only the possibility is reduced in this specific color. However, older children from the pilot study did not give the possibility of a city from Spain, Spain, or any European country to this doll. They again associated this doll more with South America, Argentina, Colombia, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Latin America, and Brazil, and only one associated it with Senegal.

Doll 5, on the other hand, shows a different kind of diversity even though it was mostly attributed to Senegal. With eight African, five European (Spain and A Coruña), and one Latin American (the Dominican Republic) answers, this doll was considered more diversified than doll 4 and almost as distinct as doll 1. The similarity of the answers between the two lightest dolls is not detected between the two darkest dolls. Moreover, both dolls 1 and 5, despite being

the extremes of skin tones, brought somewhat more diverse responses than their neighboring dolls.

One of the most interesting but also predictable answers was the Dominican Republic for doll 5. While they spent four months together till the doll study and more on previous occasions with Alba, who looked like doll 3, they did not mention this country for other dolls. However, I believe the Dominican Republic came up especially in this doll because we had a teenager from the Dominican Republic in the oldest group, and he had a very dark skin color. The reason for that could be that one day when we were waiting for the parents together in the hall, the boy from the Dominican Republic was also with us, and some participants talked to him in Wolof. He said, "I do not speak Wolof, and I am from the Dominican Republic." The participants were amazed, which may very well be the reason for the mention of the Dominican Republic in this doll. This doll in the pilot study, on the other hand, was matched with Africa and Senegal by all the participants. There was only one attribution to India. Accordingly, this was the least diverse doll for the pilot study participants.

The data collected for dolls 4 and 5 from the participants shows only five different possibilities of places, while other dolls were considered more diversified. This can be interpreted as children seeing Europe as more diversified than Africa and Africa with less physical variety. Spain is one of those countries where all the presented skin colors can be found. Accordingly, it may be regarded as natural that children gave all the dolls the possibility of being Spanish. However, Spain, Galicia (an autonomous region in Spain), and A Coruña (a city in Galicia) were associated with dolls 1 and 2 more than the others. Senegal is the other country that participants matched with all the dolls but mostly with dolls 4 and 5. Overall, participants tended to correlate some skin colors more with some countries or continents than others. They also saw the diversity, such as dark-skinned Spanish and light-skinned Senegalese, which was not found in the pilot study's results.

In addition to the overall findings from the doll study, I also analyzed the data based on each participant's self-identification and compared it with other data collected throughout the academic year. While this study could do this kind of analysis due to few participants and structured observation, this can also apply to the research conducted with more participants, and the data can be analyzed on a different level, like frequent tendencies observed in different groups. After this analysis, the results are compared with the ones collected solely from the doll study of the pilot study.

Pablo was the only participant who found his skin color closer to doll 1, which is one of the most extreme and rare ones among the others, whereas he looked like dolls 4 or 5. He was the most recent addition to the group. It was not only the group he was new to; he had been living

in Senegal for approximately a month before joining the study. Therefore, unlike the other participants, his comments might represent a recently arrived child's observation, perception, and feelings.

He matched dolls 1, 2, and 5 with A Coruña and dolls 3 and 4 with Senegal. Interestingly, he did not just classify like some participants did, all the light colors to A Coruña or Spain and the darkest ones to Senegal. However, like the others, he did not use a city name while referring to his home country but to the country itself directly. On the contrary, instead of Spain or Galicia, he said A Coruña. Therefore, the possibility of living outside the home country longer or shorter might not affect the responses in this sense. While he separated the dolls and nations in this way, by selecting doll 1 to self-identify and ascribing A Coruña to this doll, he might have tried to fit himself into the "normal" or the majority that he perceived from his new environment's dominant skin color. In ascribing a place or nation, he might have simply considered himself from A Coruña because he began to live there.

Doll 2 was selected to self-identify by Alberto and Laura. While Alberto looked like this doll, Laura was more like dolls 4 and 5. However, Alberto did not relate any of these dolls with the possibility of Colombia, but with France, Germany, Türkiye, and Senegal for the two darkest dolls. This can be reasoned with the multiethnic society structure of Colombia or, better to say, the majority of the countries in South America.

Laura said that all the dolls were from Spain except doll 4. The same logic considered for Pablo's selection can also be applied here in a different way, despite the fact that she was born in Spain and has only visited Senegal a few times. The doll that she self-identified with was also pointed out as Spanish. She might have considered herself Spanish rather than Senegalese, and the doll's skin color might reflect the one that she desired to have, or she found suitable for herself because of the "normal," "good," or "majority" that surrounded her immediate environment.

As I mentioned, some participants brought back self-identification questions during child-centered activities. The reason I wanted to conduct this study in the middle or through the end of the academic year was to see whether the subject of this study would affect their attitude or if they would bring it to our daily activities and interactions. According to my observations, the doll study did not change or affect the data collection for the rest of the methods used in the study.

Laura was one of those participants who referred to self-identification during the "dressing my family" activity, which was realized about a week after the doll study. Participants were expected to cut and paste pieces of clothes from various magazines we brought to dress their

families; examples are presented in the research design and methodology chapter (see Figures 22 & 23). Laura found a picture of a girl, and she called me to show how similar the girl in the picture was to her (Figure 32). This picture strongly suggests that Laura did not select doll 2 to identify herself randomly, but she believed she looked like doll 2, similar to the girl in the picture. This case shows explicitly the same results as Clark and Clark, self-denial and possible internalized racism. However, it is hard to say the reasons behind the participant's reference because this study and the original study are similar, but the background of the participants and the timeline are entirely different from each other.

Figure 32. The girl from the magazine that Laura thought of herself looks like

Doll 3 was selected to self-identify by Alba, Camilo, and Cristina. Alba, of Dominican origin, selected the doll with the closest color to hers. However, she did not mention the Dominican Republic for doll 3 or any other while ascribing nations, even though she frequently referred to her experience and relatives there. Alba thought doll 1 could be from Spain, doll 2 from London, doll 3 from Paris, doll 4 from Senegal, and doll 5 from Africa. The heterogeneity in the society that she witnessed both in the Dominican Republic and Spain may explain the diversity in her answers. Accordingly, it is possible that she did not necessarily and explicitly consider the country of origin while attributing nations/countries to the dolls. This raises the question of whether the doll study is enough to make further comments based on the gathered data by itself because other physical characteristics, or even fashion-like clothing and accessories that were not presented might have brought different results.

Camilo and Cristina, of Senegalese origin, were the two other participants who self-identified with doll 3, but their skin color was similar to doll 4. Camilo said that doll 1 could be from A

Coruña, 2 from Senegal, 3 from Francia, 4 from A Coruña, and 5 from Spain. Like Laura, he did not strictly associate dark skin color with certain nations. Therefore, this can be considered from the perspective that they both might have seen having dark skin color and being Spanish as normal, unlike what the pilot study participants revealed. His choice of doll for self-identification (doll 3) and the nation (France) ascribed to it may indicate that this was not a random match because some participants had friends and family members living in France or, like in this case, parents working or traveling there regularly. This is very interesting compared to the pilot study's results because dolls 4 and 5 were not matched with any European country. Moreover, dolls 1, 2, and 3 were never matched with Africa or any African country.

The answers of Cristina to the nation question are different from Camilo's. She said that doll 1 could be from Spain, A Coruña for doll 2, France for doll 3, Senegal for doll 4, and the Dominican Republic for 5. Despite placing the fourth doll as Senegalese and having a skin color similar to doll 4 or 5, she identified herself with the third doll, exactly like Camilo. A crucial match here is the fifth doll with the Dominican Republic. Considering the South American multiethnic society, and the incident in the hall of the NGO, the answer may come from a memory of that day. However, what is really startling is why Cristina or others have not considered ascribing the Dominican Republic to the other doll(s), considering their classmate, Alba. Another explanation could be that the participants just took into account the majority of society when they came across light skin colors. When it was about finding the "rare one," they had to go through their memories to find the suitable answer, as in this case, it seems like she had a striking memory of the conversation. If, of course, the conversation or any other similar confrontation was the reason for this ascription.

Diego, Fernando, Juan, Melisa, and Tania, of Senegalese origin, found themselves similar to doll 4. That is also the way I perceive them. Diego was some of the few participants who had consistency in his answers to nation and self-identification questions. He said the dolls with light skin colors (1, 2, and 3) were from Spain, and those with dark skin colors (4 and 5) were from Senegal.

Diego was always painting people with light skin color, as can be seen from an example of his paintings (Figure 33), whether they were friends or family. Based on that, I expected him to self-identify with one of the light-skinned colored dolls.

Figure 33. Diego's representation of his family

However, on another occasion, when I asked them to paint their "favorite places," Diego painted a beach in Senegal (Figure 34). He said the big black circle-like thing in the middle of the page was the sea in Senegal, and the black points were the people sunbathing on the beach.

Figure 34. Diego's painting of sea representation in Senegal

Without conducting the doll study and looking at these works of his, I may have considered he did know that the majority of the Senegalese people are dark-skinned (corresponding to dolls 4 and 5), but he would not identify himself as such. After the doll study, I can see that he could identify himself correctly, even if he painted himself and his family with light skin colors in a random painting activity.

Fernando is the other participant who identified himself as doll 4 and also ascribed Senegal to it, and while doing that, he stripped his sleeve and took his arm near the dolls to compare and then decided.

He matched doll 1 with Africa, doll 2 with Italy, and the rest with Senegal. I think it is worth noting that Fernando frequently visited Senegal and spent most of his summer vacations there. Even though the match of the first doll with Africa may seem strange, this may have occurred because of seeing people with light skin color traveling to Africa or in Africa. He often referred to Italy as well on different occasions, but unfortunately, I could not find out if he knew someone there.

About skin color and cultural and religious differences between the home and host countries, he always tried to show or emphasize the differences between the host and home country, and he was proud of it. This time to time came out as showing differences to the others, time to time correcting others, or time to time teaching others. Thanks to his curiosity and love of comparison, I conducted an activity where they had to write or paint the differences between the home and host countries. Skin color did not come up, but he focused on other elements of this subject, which is discussed in the fourth section of this chapter.

During the "dressing myself" activity, all the children simply cut and pasted clothing and accessories to finish the task. However, Fernando was notably concentrated on the activity and even painted his skin color afterward, as shown in Figure 35. When I asked why he did it, he said, "Because it does not look like me without the color." Even though sometimes this kind of behavior was followed by others, this time, others did not. His choice of color for this activity and the doll study are almost the same. Unlike some, he always proudly pointed out and applied these differences.

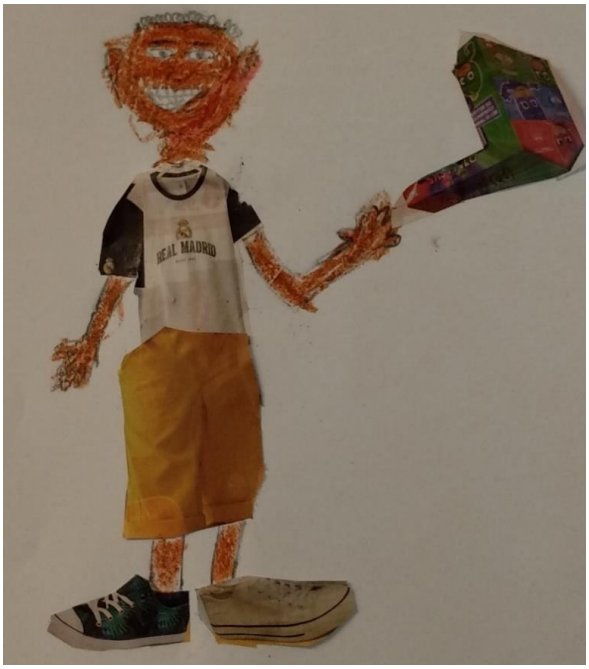

Figure 35. Fernando's dressing myself artwork

Juan matched dolls 1, 3, and 4 with Spain, 2 with Galicia, and 5 with Senegal. Considering he identified himself as doll 4 and associated it with Spain looks interesting, but this was also observed in other participants, and again, this may indicate that having dark skin color is not preventing the people from being or feeling Spanish. However, none of the participants during the academic year also attributed themselves as Spanish except Brais.

Melisa identified herself with doll 4. She also associated this doll with Senegal, as expected from her comment on our first day, "All the Blacks are from Senegal." For the rest of the dolls, Melisa attributed Spanish, Italian, French, and Senegalese to both doll 4 and doll 5 in order. She attributed European origins to the dolls with the lightest skin tone, while the two dark-skinned dolls were considered African.

On the first day of the participant observation, I prepared a questionnaire to get to know them better. The questions asked were regarding their place of origin, the languages they speak, and the school they went to. I approached each participant individually, repeating the questions and jotting down their answers on the questionnaire. Some of them could not read or write, so I assisted them. While they were engaged in another activity, I repeated the same questions to each participant to ensure they heard them. Finally, Melisa got tired of this and said, "All the Blacks are from Senegal. Stop asking!" Everybody laughed at her reaction, like supporting her idea. This could be interpreted in two ways; either she knew all the children of Senegalese origin in the group, and she just wanted to stop hearing the same questions-answers and meant

that “All the Blacks in the group are Senegalese,” or she genuinely thought that “All Blacks are from Senegal.” After this, I already had some expectations from her answers to the nation-related question of the doll study. Accordingly, her doll study results seem to support the second interpretation of the incident. Nevertheless, there were no similar incidents or comments in a different timeline or activity for me to explore thoroughly.

Tania was the oldest of the group. She identified herself as doll 4, as did I. She also matched this doll with Senegal, as expected, through her comments on our time together. She selected Spain for the first two dolls, Italy for doll 3, and Senegal for doll 5. Her unique perspective on skin color and culture was more profound and detailed than others, as is mentioned in the following section. Like Fernando, she also traveled to Senegal annually, mostly during December and January. When I conducted the doll study, she had returned from Senegal recently, and she was talking about how things were so good there all the time. She came back with a different hairstyle. She felt a sense of pride when people stopped and asked about her hair, which was meticulously styled by her relatives in Senegal (Figure 36).

Figure 36. Tania’s hair when she came back from Senegal

The participants who said that they looked like the fifth and darkest doll were Brais, Humberto, and Santiago. Brais was the only one who looked as dark as the fifth doll, whereas Humberto and Santiago were more like between dolls 4 and 5. Even though some participants were mostly between the fourth and fifth doll, these three participants selected the fifth doll without considering it twice.

By matching the dolls with Portugal, A Coruña, France, Spain, and Spain respectively to the doll's order, Brais became the unique participant who did not mention Senegal or Africa in his matchings, although he was in the very center of the community and visited Senegal. However, there is also a correlation between his matchings and self-identification. He started almost a week later than the others. He was not there when I asked the introductory questionnaire to get to know the participants, but he answered them when he started. Brais and Frank[14], Western Saharan and skin color, like doll 3, were the only ones who did not mention their country of origin to the question where they were from. Brais said A Coruña directly, and he identified himself with doll 5 and matched A Coruña with the same doll. Even though it seems interesting compared to the others with zero mention of the country of origin, the answers and matchings of the doll study are parallel with his perspective and other comments.

Apart from these, Brais, like Laura, was the other participant who found a similar picture of himself and called me, "Come Zeynep! See, this boy looks like me." (Figure 37), and he was right. This confirms that he intentionally chose doll 5 and did not find it strange to express his preference. Maybe, he just wanted to take my attention when he saw Laura do the same.

Figure 37. The boy from the magazine that Brais thought himself looked like

With his football skills, Humberto was another loved and well-known child in the group, community, and school environment. However, his father was less present than Brais'. He was mostly taken care of by his older brother. In the case of Humberto, this status of his may be effective on his answers. He identified himself as doll 5, which is not far-fetched as he was somewhere between dolls 4 and 5. Humberto matched the dolls with Senegal, A Coruña, Mali,

[14] He left the NGO around February 2018, and according to the rumors, he moved back to his country of origin.

Senegal, and A Coruña, from the lightest to the darkest. He incorporated both African and European origins into his depiction of light and dark skin tones. During the observation or activities, he always avoided entering the conversations with comparisons or differences between Senegal and Spain in any way. Consequently, I do not have any other material or recorded data where he expressed his ideas to compare or contrast this finding of the doll study.

Santiago, Diego's identical but introverted twin brother, identified himself as doll 5. He was another participant whose skin color resembled doll 4 or 5. He matched dolls 1 with Colombia, 2 with France, 3 with Nigeria, 4 with Africa, and 5 with Senegal. He was consistent in all answers, both in the doll study and observation. He was the only one who mentioned Latin America for doll 1. This answer may be related to Alberto, who had the lightest skin color among the participants. Like Fernando, he matched the last three dolls with African origins. He also brought up Nigeria, the only other reference to Africa apart from Africa, Senegal, and Mali.

All the matchings of the dolls with nations show that children referred mostly to Senegal (twenty-one), which is followed by Spain (eighteen), A Coruña (nine), France (six), Italy (three), and Africa (three times). The Dominican Republic, Mali, Nigeria, Colombia, Galicia, Portugal, Türkiye, Germany, Paris, and London were mentioned once.

The participants made the most attributions to where they lived or their country of origin, but they did not reflect the diversity in the home country like in the host country. This is natural in places where people have first-hand experience. Although the immediate surroundings, such as the school, neighborhood, and NGO, were diverse, there was no mention of individuals from other origins and ethnic backgrounds, like Moroccans, Chileans, and Roma. For instance, Frank shared the same immediate spaces with most participants, like in the school, neighborhood, and NGO, but participants never mentioned even once Western Sahara. It is intriguing that the participants overlooked their close acquaintances and opted for more matches with other European origins in terms of countries and cities. They also mostly neglected African countries and cities and referred to them as a continent, generalizing their diversity. This can be explained by the minimum interaction among some groups of minority origin and ethnic groups since they did not compose the majority. However, that can hardly be the case because they mentioned London and Germany. Another reason could be more or less representation of some nations, origins, and ethnic groups in the school curriculum or media. Moreover, the knowledge of other European countries and cities could be related to the relatives that lived there, and the frequent travels of their fathers to those countries might have led them to these references. Another argument can be the lack of knowledge of other nations

or places. However, this interpretation was challenged by the data that emerged from the "dream girl" activity described below. It is fascinating how they recognized Europe's diversity by mentioning cities, regions, and countries while they tended to show the opposite in Africa, from which they had yet to mention a city or a region and concentrated on Senegal and only two references to other African countries.

I conducted the doll study adapted from Radke and Trager about a month before conducting my own, adapted from Clark and Clark. Their study examined children's skin color perception in a broader context. I gave the participants Figure 28 and asked them to cut out each piece and match them. Later, participants were asked to give jobs, names, friends, boyfriends or girlfriends, age, nation, and religion to create a story as complete as possible for the women figures.

Radke and Trager named the houses as good and poor. I gave only two houses instead of four, which is why the relation based on houses is not presented. The houses were used to get a better or complete story as the job, age, friends, and boyfriends or girlfriends. On the other hand, the dresses presented as shabby, work, and dress-up in the Radke and Trager study. Two of each were given to the participants so that children would not feel forced to select one and assign the left one to the other figure. However, since the dresses were in black and white and there was no visible difference between shabby and dress-up, I labeled them as good and poor for the work dress, which is indicated in the middle in Figure 28.

This study was conducted as a child-centered activity rather than individually in a separate room, unlike how Radke and Trager conducted it. I asked the participants to do it in pairs, and I tried to pair them as one older, who knew how to write, and one younger, who did not have to write. Therefore, they could decide how they wanted to create their stories without help or influence from the other groups except their partners.

This study was not only important because of the setting and its different angle to approach the subject but also gave me a chance to practice some key points before my doll study was carried out. However, it is also criticized because of its forced choice of stimuli (Aboud, 1988; Bagby-Young, 2008; Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009). The major difference in this adapted study was the representation of solely two figures. In contrast, the stimuli of my doll study insisted on the significance of the variety and avoided putting children in a position where they were forced to select between a dark and a light skin color. Because of that, I do not find as valuable the matchings made for the figures and the housing as the matchings made among figures and dresses because by labeling them as two good and one poor, participants were not put in the same forced positions as the housings. That is why I focus on the association that participants made between figures and nation in this section,

figures and religion, and figures and dressing in the following sections. In other words, the analysis of this study does not try to understand the children's perception through their comments and matchings on skin color and social and economic factors relations or background of the participants as the original Radke and Trager's doll study did.

Table 9. Adapted from Radke and Trager: Nations attributed to the figures

Nations/Woman Figures	Dark-skinned Figure	Light-skinned Figure
Senegal	6	4
Spain	2	6
France	2	2
Italy	2	-

The analysis starts with nation and figure ascriptions like the previous one. This study shows that only by two stimuli and conducted in couples, the participants only mentioned Senegal, Spain, France, and Italy, which is considerably different from the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark. Two possible factors can explain this difference: the minimum diversity in the stimuli or the effect of the pair. Considering the various countries mentioned in the study adapted by Clark and Clark, it can be said that it was more effective in gaining deeper insight into children's knowledge and perspectives.

The dark-skinned figure mostly matched with Senegal; however, there is also an equal reference to Europe through Spain, France, and Italy. The light-skinned figure was associated with Spain and France eight times but also matched with Senegal four times. The possibility of the figure being from France was equally distributed for the figures. This may seem acceptable compared to my doll study's results and the participants' personal experiences. Whereas Italy was only associated with the dark-skinned figure, and since the possible personal relation with this country among the participants was not mentioned in any other activity, it is hard to see the possible connection or reason behind this attribution.

The attributions to Senegal and Spain are similar to my doll study from a narrower perspective. All the dolls were attributed at least once to Senegal, Africa, A Coruña, or Spain, but the tendency shows apparent changes from skin color to skin color in my doll study. Moreover, Spain and Senegal are the most mentioned countries in both studies, which can be explained by their familiarity and closeness with the people of both countries. In Radke and Trager's adapted study, the attributions may have been influenced by the forced choice format, which only offered two options. Some have criticized this as limiting the results. France was associated with dolls 1, 2, and 3. Therefore, seeing an equal distribution in this study as well is not really surprising. The results can be considered as the reflection of the group of CNN's

dolls onto the given light-skinned stimulus in this study. The distribution was different when they had more stimuli; however, having only two, it was distributed equally. Italy, on the other hand, was matched with dolls 2 and 3, but there were no matchings of Italy for the light-skinned figure in this study.

These comparisons and matchings show the importance of variety in the stimuli to catch a glimpse of the closest perception and ideas of the children. As I have been repeating, children do not separate as Black and White or dark and light. They see many colors, and colors represent more diversity in nationality, culture, and character. None of the participants had a clear or strict combination of nation and skin color; all point to combinations and diversity. In the next section, "dream girl," I discuss additional vital factors that were not considered in the two previous studies and evaluate them alongside these studies.

The original study of Radke and Trager tried to find a possible relation between skin color and social status through the housing and dress stimuli matchings, along with other questions they asked the participants during storytelling. Since my doll study was not conducted with the same idea and number of stimuli, only the dress attributions and skin colors are analyzed, which is also related to other findings through the child-centered activities.

Table 10. Adapted from Radke and Trager: Dresses matched with the figures

Women Figures / Dresses	Dark-skinned Figure	Light-skinned Figure
Poor dress	6	4
Good dress	6	8

Both the poor dress and good dresses were equally given to the dark-skinned figure. Participants made slightly fewer matchings with the poor dress and slightly more with the good dresses for the light-skinned figure. Even if there is little difference in the attributions, these results indicate that children perceived the light-skinned figure as better dressed than the dark-skinned figure. Nevertheless, these attributions may have diverse reasonings behind such as various occasions and contexts that were not mentioned by the children directly. This is analyzed further along with other findings in the following section.

Even though the original studies, Clark and Clark and Radke and Trager, were conducted differently, they pursued similar objectives in their own time. Their adapted versions were conducted for the same reasons and, in some cases, for some other related objectives. As a result, minor and major changes were made to the authors' original doll studies to suit the needs and realities of this century, including the background of the participants involved in this study. Furthermore, these adapted versions of the doll studies were used as part of the

triangulation methodology to be able to consider the surroundings and contexts that participants experienced related to skin color in their daily lives.

The way these versions of the studies were carried out gives a chance for other researchers to see the positive and negative implications for future studies, in pairs or one-to-one, storytelling, or close-ended questions, two or more stimuli, the advantages or disadvantages of the new questions, such as nation and religion. All the similar studies and this study tried to focus on children's perspectives on and through skin color. To do that, this technique tried to eliminate all the other factors except skin color, like physical characteristics that may be related to skin color. However, this perspective, followed by these studies, raised some significant questions: Can avoiding all other differences really help to understand children's perspectives thoroughly? Do we minimize, restrict, narrow, or even underestimate children's capacity and capability to get what we (researchers) want by only presenting skin color and nothing more? Do we not assume children are less complicated than adults in these kinds of studies? Because people usually make decisions and form opinions based on a combination of various factors like physical appearance, including features such as hairstyle, clothing, height, weight, and more. As this study tells from the beginning, one method, one side, and one answer should not be acceptable or enough to explain race as a proxy for skin color as it is already complicated in itself. The following child-centered activity, "dream girl," sheds light on this argument.

Participants were asked to attribute nations to women figures drawn with different characteristics, such as hair, cloth, accessories, and height, except skin color, which is basically everything the two adapted doll studies avoided. In the first doll study with two stimuli, Radke and Trager's adapted version, there were only mentions of Spain, Senegal, France, and Italy. In the following study, with more stimuli, the participants attributed other nations, regions, cities, and continents, such as A Coruña, Colombia, Portugal, London, Mali, Germany, and Nigeria, to the dolls. When "dream girl" was conducted, which excluded skin color and brought other elements like make-up, clothing, and accessories, participants revealed knowledge of other nations, countries, and continents. Therefore, skin color alone was insufficient to find this information and children's perspectives. Accordingly, it can be considered that traditional doll studies, such as Clark and Clark, CNN, and Radke and Trager, may all have missed some significant perspectives of children by only focusing on skin color.

For Figure 38, participants said that the woman could be from South America or Morocco because of the collar of the garment and the type of hijab or turban on her head. Morocco was never mentioned in other doll studies (including the pilot study). Even though the number of Moroccans living in Spain was and is very high, interestingly, children did not even think of them. However, it is found that a hijab-looking cover on the head is more important to recall

Moroccans and talking about them than their skin color. It is noteworthy how a hijab evoked Morocco while a collar evoked South America for the participants. Participants did not seem to know much about the continent of America before. Nevertheless, in this activity, there was a direct reference to it, and it was South America, not the Dominican Republic or not Colombia. Therefore, they had an image of South Africa, and a collar of a garment brought out that knowledge.

The following woman figure (Figure 39) was thought to be from Africa without any doubt among all the participants due to the hairstyle and tiger-like animal that she has next to her. While in the previous activities, there was only one reference to a continent and a direct reference to a country; in the second drawing, they again thought of a continent rather than a country or a nation. Hair seems very interesting in terms of reasoning because most Africans do not have this hair texture as it appears in the drawing. However, in Senegal, which I am not sure if applies to other African countries, the use of wigs is common and symbolizes the wealth of that family (I discuss this in further detail later in this chapter). Hence, children were used to seeing different and glamorous hairstyles. Therefore, they may have directly called that image of a woman in Senegal (possibly in Africa) while commenting on it.

Figure 38. South American or Moroccan woman

Figure 39. African woman

The woman in Figure 40 was attributed as Senegalese because of her long hair and dress. As mentioned above, the reference to hair can be understood because of its importance and representation in their community. However, what is interesting here is the dress. I cannot be sure how they related it because their traditional clothing, boubou, is not close to the one in the figure. They generally preferred vivid colors, but the flower design may have brought out this answer. Like in Figure 38, here as well, they referred to two different countries (Senegal and Spain), which could be considered distinctive with their traditions, image, and the physical

characteristics of the majority of the society and culture. Nonetheless, it is clear that children noticed the shared complexities or similarities between these two nations.

In the first glimpse at Figure 41, participants said, “It is so ugly.” Then, one of them said that she could be from Portugal. This comment at the end converted to “Ugly from Portugal *(Fea de Portugal)*,” followed by confirmations and laughing. After looking at it more, they said the figure could also be Romanian. Even though they mentioned Portugal in the doll study once and they never mentioned Romania in any other activity, they lived with these people in their immediate environment. In other words, they had a first-hand idea about these groups, but it seems like until they saw this drawing, there was not any symbol to remind this group to the children.

Figure 40. Senegalese or Spanish woman

Figure 41. Portuguese or Romanian woman

The woman with shorts, high heels, and glasses in Figure 42 was considered Spanish or French; the two most mentioned European countries in the previous doll studies analyzed above. This figure brought them together because of her hair and glasses. Since they had relatives and family in both countries, this made me wonder, especially because of the hair, if they somehow thought the image of Senegalese French and Senegalese Spanish combination together while looking at it.

The following figure, without a doubt among all, was considered to be Japanese because of her dress and eyes. Japan was another country that had never been mentioned at all. Make-up and dress played a vital role in this figure, and again this would not be possible to discover only by the doll studies. On the other hand, participants attributed Japanese to Figure 43 without hesitation or suggesting other alternatives because of her eyes and dress. Even though everybody agreed on Japan instantly, looking at other figures, it can be observed that the eyes are not noticeably different in Figures 39, 42, and 43. I believe the participants unanimously

chose Japan due to the combination of factors such as the attire resembling a kimono, the eye and hair features, the make-up, and even the presence of leaves in the background.

Figure 42. Spanish or French woman

Figure 43. Japanese woman

Like the Japanese figure, another drawing they all agreed on instantly is the following one because of her hijab. They said that this figure could be Moroccan. In contrast to Figure 38, considered Moroccan or South American, this one stands out due to its long and stylish hijab. How interesting seeing both women's drawings with hijab are attributed as Moroccan because a pattern can be detected, but not toward other nations like Arabia since hijab can also be associated with other nations or regions. This may indicate the effect of familiarity, proximity or distance, and representation. Familiarity is because they lived close to most of the nations that they mentioned. South America is farther away than Saudi Arabia in terms of distance. However, countries closely associated with Islam, such as Saudi Arabia, may not be as captivating for children as Morocco due to the way these countries are portrayed in the media and the community. On the other hand, Japan may be an example of representation with its more specific, distinctive, and prominent features that made all the participants comment and agree at once.

The following woman figure with short hair and painted pink was thought to be from the US due to her hair. This was the only painted page of the book; I also shared the image below as how it was presented to the participants. We talked about the US only once, specifically about New York, because Alba's cousin lived there. Alba wanted to visit her, whom she mentioned during the "plane ticket" activity. For that reason, this attribution is very interesting. As previously stated, this may result from how the US is portrayed in the media rather than personal connection because most participants agreed.

Figure 44. Moroccan woman

Figure 45. The woman from the United States

Figure 46, with flowers on her hair, was associated with South America. Children were very clear in this one as well. The reason was her facial characteristics. Unlike the others, they did not refer to her clothing or hair. They specifically mentioned the features of the face. The reasoning behind this may explain why the participants did not mention South America often or the nations in this territory in the previous doll studies. They might have sought more concrete or distinctive features than just skin color. Or were they too focused on the facial characteristics; therefore, they just discarded the other features in this stimulus? If yes, this may mean that doll studies were on the right track by excluding other features in the stimuli to get children's perspectives. Or can it be considered that because the original doll study was focused on the US situation, it was well-designed according to its aim? Or this implies that while each activity and approach is useful in gaining insight into children's perspectives, none alone is sufficient to uncover all the critical details that can be achieved by using them together.

The woman in Figure 47 was identified as African based on her attire. However, unlike in Figure 39, no remarks were made about other characteristics. The attire, again, is different from the traditional Senegalese one or anything in concrete similar to what I have seen in their parents or familiars in the community. It is possible that there was another connection to Africa that the children saw but did not mention since that was the only attribution given.

The dresses used in Radke and Trager's study were quite different from the clothing shown in Figures 39 and 47, as well as the outfits worn by the dream girl figures. However, some aspects can still be compared. The participants were provided with three dresses to match two women figures of different skin colors. Both good and poor dresses were matched equally with these figures attributed as Senegalese. Nevertheless, a different pattern emerged regarding the dream

girl figures, without any indication of good or poor clothes or skin color. Although these dresses appear to be more detailed and of better quality than those used in Radke and Trager's study, the figures depicted do not have any specific physical features of dark-skinned people, such as the shape of a nose. It is possible that the results of Radke and Trager's study may not have been specific enough to fully grasp children's perceptions in that sense, even though they were focused on African-descended people living in the US at that time.

Figure 46. South American woman

Figure 47. African women

The two figures below were identified as Senegalese due to their accessories, especially earrings and hairstyles. In particular, Figure 48 resembles the traditional dress, boubou, and accessories worn by Senegalese women, including the headband, earrings, and hairstyle. Figure 49, on the other hand, like the other figures attributed as Senegalese, was reasoned by her hair and earrings. Although none of the figures matched to Africa or Senegal displayed typical physical features associated with African people, participants still associated them with Africa or African countries based on other features. This pattern was not found in the other two doll studies.

Figure 48. Senegalese woman

Figure 49. Senegalese woman

While the adapted doll studies from Clark and Clark and Radke and Trager made me question the participant's knowledge about the other ethnics, countries, and nations because of their answers to Africa, Europe, and two South American countries, I realized the importance of other visual factors like clothes, accessories, hair, facial or body characteristics with this activity even without the impact of skin color. The children revealed that neither their knowledge nor perspective was limited, as it was thought before conducting the "dream girl" activity. However, it also raised some questions: Were the children so attentive to the striking factors mentioned, like hair, clothing, and accessories, to ignore the rest, like the common physical features of Africans or African descendants? Did this cause them to ignore some crucial factors? Overall, to obtain a more comprehensive and meaningful analysis of the correlation between nation and skin color, it may be beneficial to conduct multiple versions of doll studies, add other techniques, and combine their findings.

4.2 The Blacks ate chicken with rice, and the Whites ate chorizo with potatoes

This section mainly focuses on the cultural aspects of the daily events and activities of children of minority origin. Religion is one of the most crucial parts of culture and the aspects of this study. Most migration studies, especially conducted with children, have not considered it as significant as the discrimination and differences caused directly by skin color. In this section, I analyze the impact of religion and explain why it is important to consider it along with other essential factors and backgrounds of children of minority origins when interpreting the data collected through triangulation methodology.

First, it is essential to have a perspective on being Muslim or Christian –I refer to two of them because although religion includes more than Islam and Christianity, these are the only ones

mentioned by the participants during the study. In the age of my participants, religion is not what or how an adult would perceive, practice, express, or describe it. In order to fully understand an event, it is essential to examine all of its components, including words, sentences, gestures, speeches, discussions, the volume of those involved, and the environment. Simply asking a child about their knowledge of religion may not provide the complete picture. It is necessary to view the event in its original context. For that reason, thick description plays a significant role in grasping other factors in the research field. It is important to listen to children's perspectives on events, but when multiple people are involved, they may not remember or notice everything thoroughly. As researchers, it is our responsibility to understand the context of the event and listen to all participants to understand better the reasoning behind their actions.

Secondly, the age range of the participants was very determinative of how the questions, activities, and events shaped the study in terms of culture, specifically religion. Culture and religion are entangled very profoundly, and it is hard to separate them from each other by singularizing a particular item such as food, dressing, and music. Nevertheless, I try to treat them separately since religion and pork gained a unique bond among the participants through this research. Even though religion is an abstract term, it was something that children practiced or obeyed in action through food, which made itself visible in this way. From this point of view, it may seem very simplified, but it is also very accurate for this study. "Pork" is very special compared to the other indicators or symbols because it is one of the religion's most strictly prohibited things and should be obeyed, especially for children. Based on what I have observed, the participants (or rather, their parents) were least willing to discuss this particular rule. It is important to note that religious practices can vary depending on culture or region. Therefore, this does not mean that eating pork and being Muslim simultaneously is impossible, but it is a personal preference. From what I have seen, the hijab, for instance, is more open to interpretations and applied in different ways in each culture and sub-culture, as in the case of Senegalese and Moroccans. In other words, Muslims recognize the prohibition against pork worldwide, and this food practice is widely and commonly understood and accepted as a defining feature of Islam.

Besides the mentioned importance of long-term observation and communication with the children, their skin color was not the only eye-catching difference from most of the society but also their beliefs and culture. Through the pilot study and observations realized with that age group, I wanted to see if the children of young age had any specific perception developed between skin color and religion as well. Therefore, I maintained the religion question in this doll study that was created in the pilot study. The doll study can be considered rather quantitative compared to the various activities and questions open to their comments and ideas.

However, the data collected from the adapted Clark and Clark's doll study is analyzed with the other methods used to get a broader perspective on the subject, as realized in the first sections.

I conducted the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark (my doll study) on March 12, 2018. Until this date, I had already collected considerable data, and based on that, I had some expectations. However, getting a child's perspective, which is very dynamic and adapting according to the situation and context, is complicated and not always predictable. The analysis of this section starts by presenting and analyzing data collected from the nation and religion questions from the doll study (Table 11). Afterward, it analyzes each doll, the data, and other techniques and methods.

Question 8 regarding religion was initially asked with the prompt, "Tell me the possible religions of these dolls." However, when a participant responded with "I do not know what religion is," the question was modified. The revised version based on the children's conversations during the study asked participants to identify which children (dolls) believed in Dios (God) and which children (dolls) believed in Allah (God). However, I realized that was not as clear as I thought either. Some were still in between, which is Dios which is Allah, even though some used these terms during the participant observation. Therefore, finally, I altered it for the rest of the participants to "Tell me which child(ren) eats pork, which child(ren) does not" since they all were conscious about it, and it was less abstract, more precise, and practice-based.

Table 11. Adapted from Clark and Clark: Nation and religion attributions to the dolls

Nation and Religion / Dolls	Doll 1	Doll 2	Doll 3	Doll 4	Doll 5
Spain	7	3	3	2	3
Senegal	1	1	2	10	7
A Coruña	2	4	-	1	2
France	1	1	4	-	-
Italy	-	2	1	-	-
The Dominican Republic	-	-	-	-	1
Mali	-	-	1	-	-
Nigeria	-	-	1	-	-
Colombia	1	-	-	-	-
Galicia	-	1	-	-	-
Portugal	1	-	-	-	-
Türkiye	-	-	1	-	-
Germany	-	1	-	-	-
Paris	-	-	1	-	-
Africa	1	-	-	1	1
London	-	1	-	-	-
Muslim	4	5	8	12	8
Christian	10	9	6	2	6

For the first doll, which is the lightest skin color, a significant majority of the participants thought that it could be Christian. In parallel, the doll was attributed as possibly from Colombia, Portugal, France, Senegal, Africa, and mostly Spain and A Coruña. Both in terms of nation and religion comparison, this doll's answers were as expected especially based on the data collected during the observation phase. On the other hand, this doll was only labeled as Christian in the pilot study. Older children were much clearer about the distinction between skin color and religion and skin color and nation in the answers to the first doll. Therefore, when the answers of both studies are compared, it is clear that younger children are more open to the possibility of having lighter skin color and being Senegalese or African origin and Muslim simultaneously. However, these answers cannot clearly explain the reasons behind this.

There are some differences between doll 1 and doll 2 in terms of their identified nationality and religion. Doll 2 was identified as being from Germany, France, Senegal, and London only once while being identified as Italian twice. However, most responses identified doll 2 as being from Spain, A Coruña, and Galicia. Again, this doll in the pilot study was not associated with Islam or any country from Africa or Africa.

Five times this doll was attributed as Muslim, and this religion was mentioned along with Italy (in both answers), Galicia, and two out of three Spain. Interestingly, although the participants mentioned Senegal once for this doll, unlike doll 1, they did not relate its religion to Islam. This may be another great indicator that light skin color and Christianity were not associated blindly like in the pilot study. Consequently, this shows that there are more factors to consider that this study could not reveal all by itself for younger children.

Since these were the lightest skin colors and by analyzing them thoroughly, I found that all the participants who identified these dolls as Muslims were from Senegalese-Muslim households. Considering this matching was based on their experience, it shows that as minorities in terms of appearance and religious practice, they may be more sensitive to differences.

Doll 3 can be described as the most complicated one for the participants because they were in between, especially while answering the religion question. As a result, the religion answers are pretty close to each other in numbers. While the majority ascribed Muslim, six thought this doll was Christian. The same tendency was detected in various answers to the nation question. The majority of the participants believed that the origin of doll 3 could be from various countries like Mali, Nigeria, Italy, Türkiye, France, Senegal, Paris, and Spain. However, unlike the first two dolls, France was the most commonly suggested origin for this doll.

Participants associated the nations Turkish, French, Spanish (two times), Senegalese, and Italian with this doll and also considered them Christians. The match between Turkish and Christian may seem interesting because I mentioned Türkiye and its dominant religion during some events. However, I believe the way I explained it was not clear enough or engaging for them to remember. Moreover, this answer was given by Alberto, of Colombian Spanish origin, and none of the children of Senegalese origin mentioned Türkiye during my doll study even though we spent more time with most participants of Senegalese origin and had different activities based on nation and language where they painted even the flag of Türkiye. The same strict tendency observed in the pilot study for the previous dolls also continued for this one. None of the African countries or Africa and Muslim or Islam was mentioned for this doll by the older children.

France was one of the most common country choices in the first three dolls. While doll 1 and doll 2 were thought to be Christian by the children, they associated doll 3 more with Muslim. As indicated in the previous paragraphs, the children may have had more idea about France because most of their parents (mostly fathers) were bilingual in Wolof and French, which may expose them to hearing more about France. Moreover, some parents traveled to France regularly. For instance, Diego and Santiago's grandfather was in France, as Santiago mentioned in the activity called "a ticket to anywhere" (Figure 50). Therefore, this can be

considered for others as well; they may have had relatives or acquaintances living in or been to France, which may have been reflected on this doll as a nation and religion.

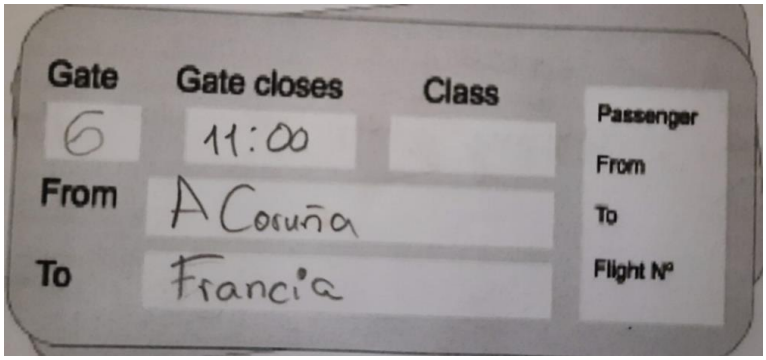

Figure 50. Santiago's plane ticket

Spain was the most mentioned country for dolls 1, 2, and 3. The mentions reduced gradually in each doll, but it was always higher compared to other countries. As France answers, Spain as well varied between Muslim and Christian. Even if it was only one time for dolls 1 and 2, Senegal was mentioned for all the dolls, like Spain. Senegalese answers to doll 3 were associated once with Islam and once with Christianity. At this point, the tendency continues that there is no fixed type of religion and skin color relation for the most mentioned nations, unlike the pilot study.

The color of the third doll brought variety to the answers. Nigeria and Mali are two of those that children did not mention in the previous or the succeeding dolls. This may give an idea of the children's perceptions, which is that participants did not limit either color or religion to Africa and Senegal because the previous choices of nations had shown a tendency among them.

Contrary to doll 3, doll 4 is where the minimum diversity is observed both as a choice of nation and religion. Most participants said the doll was from Senegal, while the other answers included A Coruña, Africa, and Spain (two times). It is evident that skin color affects the decision of nation and religion. Furthermore, looking at the answers to the question, the doll looks like you, doll 4 was the most self-identified one. Considering all, it is observed that most participants had certain ideas, but there are no clear patterns of ideas except for doll 4. Furthermore, even though most mentioned Senegal and Muslim together, a couple of Christian answers were also attributed to Senegal and Africa but not to the dolls identified as Spanish. As a result, the propensity is not as clear-cut as in the pilot study findings.

Doll 5, the darkest skin color presented, mostly attributed to Senegal, as doll 4, but the Dominican Republic, A Coruña, Africa, and Spain were also mentioned. Even though the

religion has the same tendency for doll 5 and doll 3, the diversity of origin given to doll 3 diminishes significantly. Doll 5 was considered from Africa, Spain (two times), the Dominican Republic, and A Coruña (two times) were also attributed as Christians. Interestingly, this is the doll that the participants mentioned Senegal and Muslim together without exception. In the pilot study, doll 5 was the only doll associated with Muslim, African, and African countries, except one participant associated it with India and Christianity. The apparent tendency among older participants was not observed again in the younger group, just like the other dolls.

The clear distinction between the attributed religion and nation can be detected in the answers to doll 1 and doll 4. However, participants also included different nations than Spanish and Senegalese and Christian for doll 4 and Muslim for doll 1, albeit in small numbers. On the other hand, dolls 2 and 3 represent various nations, the majority from Europe, but also two different African countries that were not mentioned in the other dolls. Moreover, both religions were attributed almost equally to these dolls. The most distinct one is doll 5, even if it was primarily correlated with Senegal because it also includes Africa, South America, and Spain, and both religions were attributed closely like in doll 3.

The indication of more diversity in the countries where they lived, like Spain and (supposedly) France, and less diversity in their countries of origin can be interpreted in two ways. They may see the diversity, including themselves, and understand or categorize every each of these differences through this distinction they saw. From another perspective, it could be a sign that spending more time in Spain created a more simplistic idea of the country of origin like most people living there are Senegalese (or African), dark-skinned, and Muslim. Unlike the pilot study, the participants showed no clear or general correlation among nation, skin color, and religion. There were some particular dolls that they attributed more to nation or religion. However, there were always other possibilities for nations and religions than the dominantly mentioned ones.

The doll study adapted from Clark and Clark discovered some tendencies and correlations between skin color, nation, and religion; however, the doll study adapted from Radke and Trager added another perspective. In Radke and Trager's original study, the idea and the setting differed from Clark's and Clark's. Radke and Trager did not involve direct questions or mention of nation or religion. Nevertheless, they managed to expand the horizon of the study by asking the participants to write a story about the stimuli, including dressing, housing, and occupation. I took the stimuli of Radke and Trager (see Figure 28) and added some specific questions like religion, nation, and boyfriend/girlfriend to enrich the storytelling and also in this way, I was able to practice with participants the terms like religion and nation before my doll study adapted from Clark and Clark. This study is significant because it was conducted

before my doll study and allowed me to compare both findings. It also gave a perspective where religion could relate to other aspects of life. These aspects, along with the participant observation, take religion from the sole analysis of religion-nation-skin color to culture mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

Specifically, the nation question in relation to skin color and other related factors from Radke and Trager's version was explained in the previous section. This section analyzes the religion-skin color, religion-nation, and religion-dressing relations. Before getting into the details of the events in the observation phase and showing the evolution of the form of religion question, the sum of children's answers to nation and religion questions are presented in Table 12, which gives a broader perspective to relate different themes and a better perspective to approach the understanding and perceptions of the children.

Table 12. Adapted from Radke and Trager: Nation and religion attributions to the figures

Nation and Religion / Figures	Dark-skinned Figure	Light-skinned Figure
Senegal	6	4
Spain	2	6
France	2	2
Italy	2	-
Muslim	8	6
Christian	4	6

According to the results gathered from the doll study adapted from Radke and Trager, the majority, eight out of the twelve participants, thought the dark-skinned figure could be Muslim, while the rest said the figure could be Christian. However, for light-skinned figure, they gave equal possibility for both religions.

When nation and religion matchings are examined in detail, the dark-skinned figure attributed as Senegalese was matched with Muslim four times and two times with Christian. On the other hand, the light figure attributed as Senegalese was identically associated with Islam and Christianity. Even though somehow similar results were gathered from the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark (taking into account the differences of stimuli), this is still surprising considering the comments made by participants throughout the observation.

Spain was mentioned eight times, two for dark-skinned figure and six times for light-skinned figure. The ones attributed to the dark-skinned were also attributed as Muslim without exception. However, there is an interesting result in the ones associated with the light-skinned figure. Spain and Muslim were associated two times more than Spain and Christian. It is hard to make a comparison because of the different number of stimuli in these two doll studies.

However, to see whether there was a connection between these two studies, I matched the answers of dolls 1 and 2 with the light-skinned figure and dolls 4 and 5 with the dark-skinned figure. The total number of times dolls 1 and 2 were attributed as Spanish was seventeen, including the city and regions, and these dolls were attributed as Muslim only five times. It is less than half of the total. In other words, the results obtained from the adapted Clark and Clark's study are opposite of the results or attributions to the adapted Radke and Trager's study. On the other hand, the number of times that children attributed dolls 4 and 5 to Spanish was eight, and the children associated Spanish with Muslim and Christian equally. The dark-skinned figure was only matched with Spain twice and associated with Muslims. This can be explained from two different aspects: creating a story made them think of these combinations from a different perspective, or the lack of representation of skin colors forced them to do the attributions in this way.

Upon examination of France's attribution results, it was discovered that France was equally attributed in both figures. The ones associated with dark-skinned stimulus were also associated with Islam and the light-skinned stimulus with Christianity. France was mentioned in dolls 1 and 2, and all the references were also attributed as Christian, whereas there is no mention of France for dolls 4 and 5. Most of the attributions to France were made in doll 3. Additionally, unlike the matchings of France and Christianity, this combination was mainly replaced with Islam in this doll. Nonetheless, not having any representation of doll 3 in the doll study adapted from Radke and Trager, the results cannot be compared, but this reveals that when the stimuli lack variety and detail, the findings are affected.

In the adapted Radke and Trager's version, Italy was mentioned once as Muslim and for the dark-skinned figure. However, Italy was associated with doll 2 as Muslim and doll 3 as Christian in the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark. The opposite answers gathered from both studies cannot be explored further due to the lack of representation of doll 3 in the study of Radke and Trager. Additionally, as previously mentioned, the insufficient data collected from other techniques makes it difficult to analyze the attributions to Italy.

The attributions made among skin color, nation, and religion by the participants may have various interpretations. Although there is no strict or exclusive correlation between skin color and religion, there is a noticeable trend toward darker skin tones being associated with Muslim. On the other hand, when the choices are compared with attributed country and religion but not skin color, it gets more complicated. This indicates that while children associate religion more closely with skin color, they do not collide nationality with religion. This can be considered in terms of Spain's diverse minority and citizen profile regarding different observed aspects, like

skin color, religion, country of origin, language, and culture in general, or the less representation of reality in the stimuli of both studies.

Considering skin color solely, dark skin color is not associated exclusively with minorities of African origin but also with other geographies like South American origin, as it was referred to in a comment of doll 5 from the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark. Therefore, Spain's variety factor can also be regarded here. For example, dark-skinned Christians of African descendants or origin in South America (like the teenage boy in the NGO) or the opposite light-skinned Muslims like Moroccans. This can be why participants may relate and give the possibility of dark skin and Christian correlation higher than I expected in comparison to the pilot study results. All these combinations show the complexity of the perception of young children of minority origin on religion, skin color, and nation.

In analyzing these doll studies, I regard dolls 1 and 2 as portraying the light-skinned figure, while dolls 4 and 5 depict the dark-skinned figure. The result revealed that children attributed dolls 1 and 2 as Christian nineteen times. In contrast, the light-skinned figure is equally attributed to Muslim and Christian. Dolls 4 and 5 were attributed twenty times as Muslim and only eight times as Christian, whereas the dark-skinned figure was eight times as Muslim and four times as Christian.

While the results of the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark gave more inside in terms of possible diversity that the participants may have perceived, in the adapted Radke and Trager's study, this data seems reduced and somehow tried to be forced to fit their perception through the given stimuli. However, the results of both studies are intriguing compared to the observed comments on daily events. These also created doubt about whom children may have considered while answering the questions. For instance, did participants refer to the Blacks in the NGO or the school, or was it a generalization? Only through the combination of various methods the data make better sense. Therefore, this brings the question if there were other methods, such as observation in the parks and the schools, would the study be able to give better results or gather different aspects?

The doll study adapted from Radke and Trager showed and guided me to realize the vocabulary limitations like nation and religion for this age group and the complexity of the children's associations. The nation question was altered to where they are from and religion first to believing in God (Dios) or Allah, then the final version to who eats pork and who does not. The religion question of the doll studies being reduced to eating pork or not may seem to be oversimplified. It is crucial to see how the question converted to that in time based on the interactions during observation.

On the very first day of the field research, just after the introductory session, we brought the afternoon snack[15], turkey sandwich with milk, and the participants' reaction was complete refusal at first sight because they did not know what kind of meat it was. We clarified that the food was not pork, but Frank, who was from Western Sahara, still refused to eat it. When Alba, who was not from a Muslim household, declined the food, I thought of peer influence, but later I learned that she had an allergy to turkey meat. We prepared a cheese sandwich[16] for her instead. We also offered it to Frank, but he preferred eating just bread and milk.

This was not the first pork incident; I experienced multiple instances where pork was an issue. These situations occurred in various settings, sometimes for religious reasons and other times to exert power or avoid unwanted situations. It was not uncommon for this issue to arise in different contexts like in-group/out-group dynamics. Below, I broaden various incidents both with and without pork to reveal how the word pork became something more than it was among the other symbols.

On another incident at the beginning of October, we went to the park as an excursion. We placed the children in a line of two, some volunteers accompanied in the front, some in the middle, and some behind. As soon as the front row went out, they began to shout behind, "There is a chorizo sandwich on the ground. Be careful, do not touch it!" Afterward, this kind of warning turned into a scream, like the sandwich was "a bug," and children got out of the line to avoid touching the sandwich. Meanwhile, Alba said, "Oh! I love chorizo!" Jose, the volunteer leading the line with me, agreed with her. Those in the front hearing Jose's comment just stopped shouting and focused on the conversation between Alba and Jose. These children seemed to be feeling jealous. This may be because Jose was a highly regarded supervisor, and all the participants looked up to him. However, in this case, they could not agree or comment on the conversation between Alba and Jose.

On the same day, when we arrived at the park (Figure 51), people were walking their dogs, and another warning was in the form of a scream sent by the ones who entered the park first to the others behind. Jose and I tried to understand what was happening because the dogs were on the leash and were not barking or disturbing the children. Maria turned to us and explained that Senegalese and Muslims she knew from the neighborhood said Muslims could not have pets at home or pet the animals because they are dirty. Therefore, the parents encouraged their children not to touch or even get close to them. Alba, on the other hand, directly went to pet one of the dogs while the majority just put a reasonable distance between the dogs and

[15] When the children were registered, the NGO made the parents fill out a form asking about allergies, food habits, and any other restrictions or special requirements that had to be followed.

[16] The menu was generally decided on the same day according to the donations.

themselves and watched for a short while. However, there were also exceptions like Brais and Humberto, who joined Alba.

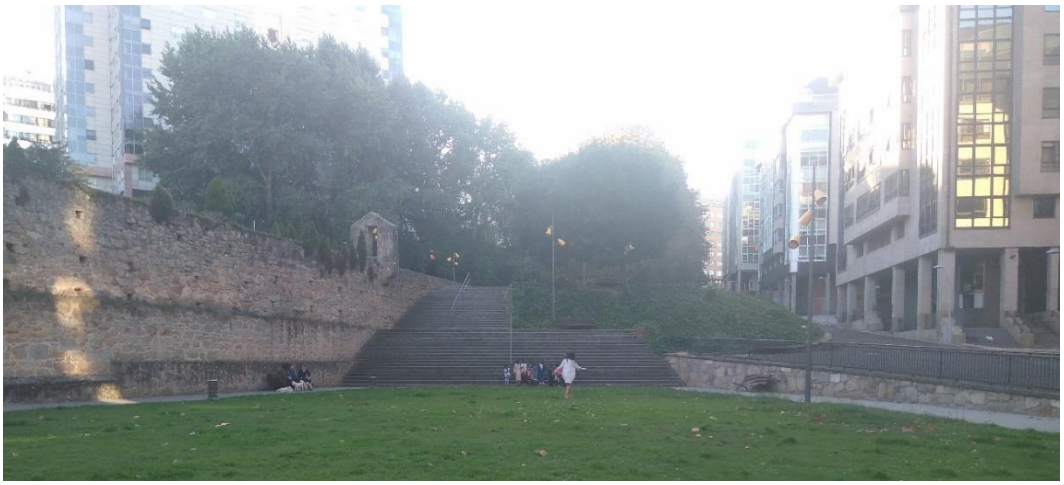

Figure 51. Paseo das Pontes Park, where some activities were realized

This attitude of the children raised in a Muslim household can be understood through their parents' teachings. Some Muslims think that dogs and cats are contaminated. Therefore, they do not keep them at home and say that dogs should not be touched. However, this belief is controversial. Not all Muslims share this idea or perception of dogs; it is a way of interpreting the Qur'an (Fuseini et al., 2017; Zaw et al., 2018).

Based on these specific reactions, various deductions can be made, such as shouting to warn about the chorizo, exaggerated fear of dogs, showing off their obedience to peers, or demonstrating their differences from non-Muslim peers. However, the reaction stopped when the peer (Alba) expressed herself, and the loved supervisor (Jose) responded to her. This may demonstrate that the shouting was not purely based on religious factors but much more than that, like to attract attention.

The similar reaction to dogs repeated almost every time we came across one but was less dramatic each time. Even some touched dogs in time with the encouragement of some supervisors. The reason behind this action may not be as apparent as the pork. Children may think they were warned not to touch dogs because they can hurt people.

On October 26, we prepared bread with chocolate cream, which is irresistible for most children, but all the children from Muslim households directly rejected eating it. After a while, they said their parents prohibited them from consuming these kinds of cream chocolates because they contained pork fat. Even though we tried to explain, they did not eat those

sandwiches that day, so we prepared cheese sandwiches instead. However, this attitude against chocolate and chocolate cream disappeared in time among all except Frank.

The first reaction can be seen as natural, like an instructed concern in the first days of school. However, the reaction disappearing in the following days like it never happened may tell that an idea was given by someone less authoritarian. This could be one of the children from the other older groups, even though I did not see them then, because the youngest group (participants) were inclined to listen to the older groups' (siblings, cousins, acquaintances) orders or suggestions. This did occur with either chocolate or chocolate cream sandwiches from time to time. This incident was familiar and not completely surprising to me because the versions of this based on eating habits also happened in the pilot study. Children often reminded the supervisors and their peers of their eating habits, but sometime after, they forgot the things that they refused before. Consequently, this could be peer pressure depending on the day or the influence of the figure who pronounced it just for attention.

On November 15, while the supervisors were bringing the snack, children were guessing what the day's menu was and talking about what kind of sandwiches they liked. Alba said that she liked chorizo and wished there was a chorizo sandwich. They briefly agreed with Alba, and then Santiago and Diego realized what she talked about. They said, "Nooo, we do not like chorizo," and the others agreed with him by confirming either verbally or shaking their head. Then, I asked why, like I did not know, or this type of conversation had not happened before. Some said that because they were Senegalese, and some said they were Muslim. The subject was closed with the arrival of snacks, and no further comments were made.

This was the second time children of Senegalese origin and Alba were included in a direct conversation about chorizo. At some point, these incidents made me question how the children perceived Alba or thought of her because she liked chorizo or, from this perspective, other people who liked and ate chorizo because these children were in an environment where chorizo (pork) was an almost daily conversation. It was coded as something to be avoided, but how about the people who consumed it, their teachers, peers, neighbors, and all the other people they were in contact with? During another conversation, I overheard some children discussing their beliefs. They said God (referred to as Dios, though they sometimes used Allah) would hate them if they ate pork. They seemed quite convinced and emphasized that they should never consume it. Then, I asked, "What about Alba? She eats pork. Do you think God hates her?" They were quick and crystal clear on the answer, "No, because she is different. We are Muslims." Consequently, I saw how others who ate and touched pork were perfectly reasoned and accepted as a part of their entourage by fitting in the logic of "being different."

As we did from time to time, Maria asked individually what they ate in school since the majority were in the same school and gave the same answers. Brais got tired and said, “The Blacks ate chicken with rice, and the Whites ate chorizo with potatoes.”

This statement shows my research was not far from the possibility of the children’s binding perception of religion and skin color. I was thinking this by listening to children’s mix of concepts like Senegal, Senegalese, and Muslim. This comment shows the apparent conflation of religion and skin color. In other words, as well as skin color racializes a person, religion indirectly becomes another indicator of race.

Following Brais’ sentences, Tania denied it by adding, “The older ones eat chorizo even though it is prohibited because of curiosity, and nothing happened!” From this comment, I understood that she was expecting something to be happened after eating pork as punishment or some visible effect. This also shows that children were prohibited from eating it, but they lacked information and reason behind it, as I deduce from her expression and expectations.

These expectations were not only observed in the food practice. Through the devil conversation between Santiago and Laura, I realized that fear or consequence is another crucial driver of attitude for the participants. According to Santiago, Laura was lying about something. He told her, “If you continue to lie like this, the devil will come at night (because it comes only in the night) and take your toys.” She said she did not have toys. Therefore, Santiago found another solution, and he said that then the devil would steal her clothes. This shows another clear pattern of using fear through religious/cultural norms, and the punishment is something tangible and must affect the belongings of the punished.

The food in the school was one of our common topics of conversation because they were coming to the NGO after lunch and having a little snack at home if they could. On January 22, they told us that their favorite days of lunch in the school were Thursdays and Fridays because they ate pizza and hamburgers. I asked them if they knew that pizza had ham inside. All except Tania said that the school always prepared different food for them. Tania, the oldest of the group, said that it did not matter; she ate everything and insisted that sometimes they ate pork without knowing. The other participants who went to the same school denied Tania’s claim that children ate pork without knowing in the school. However, as seen from other events, not all of them were as conscious or careful as her. Children may not have realized or even paid attention while eating with peers at school. I cannot properly comment on the events in the school cafeteria since I have not been to that environment, but it is possible that if their classmates ate the same thing, they might have wanted to eat or tried the same. Moreover, if no siblings were to control them, they might have tried pork.

Approximately five months later, from the pork discussion in the school, when I gave Tania the camera to take photos of the things she liked or wanted to show me, she brought me a photo of a ham and cheese pizza and said that this was one of her favorite foods. Based on my observation, I think she was well aware and able to distinguish between pork and other kinds of meat, and her comments reflected this accurately.

Maria brought Moroccan cookies two days after the school lunch conversation about pizza and hamburgers. She was excited because she thought children could eat it without having problems with the ingredients. All the groups got the cookies simultaneously, and in a few minutes, a teenager from the oldest group came to the younger ones and shouted, "Do not eat it is made by lard!" All the participants from Muslim households started to play with the cookies instead of eating them, and the crumbled pieces were everywhere afterward. Even though Maria went to the teenager and explained, he did not believe her because he continuously said it was in the ingredients and read it. The participants followed the teenager's advice blindly instead of reading the ingredients to see for themselves. Meanwhile, Alba was the only one in the group who tasted the cookie without regarding the discussions.

A few days later, I was in the hall with one of the participants from the pilot study, who was also in the oldest group during the current study. After talking about how she was doing, I asked her about this particular event of the Moroccan cookies. According to her, she did not come across the same information about the cookies as the other boy did. However, she said reading the ingredients whenever they give something new to them was a common practice. She said, "Because you never know, and I do not want to sin just because I have not read it and pray later for that sin."

This looks very similar to the chocolate sandwich incident mentioned above, but as far as I could see, they did not have the direct instructions of others like older siblings or parents. However, direct or indirect intrusion in the moment by others in both cases was followed by the children without question.

On the other hand, Tania gave me a chance to peep through the diversity and questioning among the other children with her comments. Maybe the reason for diversity in the answers of the doll studies, such as the dark-skinned dolls and Christian matchings, can be explained through Tania's insider comments. While they supported each other and "normalized" the situation among themselves in the group or public according to the situation, children also observed others. Having the chance to explain themselves individually in the doll study may just shed light on something hard to find out through group activities. The question of religion asked, "Tell me which children (dolls) eat pork and which do not." Therefore, while answering the religion question, some children might have thought of their acquaintances and friends

from the school or neighborhood that they had witnessed eating pork. In this case, the matchings of dark-skin color and Christian should be considered from a different perspective.

It can be challenging to prove without observing children's experiences in different environments, such as school cafeterias or shopping. However, just thinking through what was said by the participants and the below incident about Christmas and Santa Claus, it can be claimed that group influence plays an integral part in the perception and interpretation of religion, depending on the context. This could be expanded or related to skin color and religion matchings of the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark as well. However, group influence in terms of perception seemed to occur only when needed or beneficial for the children. While there seemed to be some clear rules dictated to the children to obey, there were some situations that they might benefit from otherwise. Then, it is possible that participants may have thought of these exceptions during the religion question of the doll study.

On another occasion, during the carnival period, I found out that while pork in the form of chorizo and ham was something to be feared and not to be touched, the animal was accepted in the form of entertainment. Maria decided to dress the children like a cow for the carnival. Thinking in that she brought cow masks for the children to paint, but they were pig masks. Most of the children painted it pink, thinking of Peppa Pig[17]. Once they finished, Maria was surprised and asked why they did not make it black and white. We explained and discussed whether the mask was a pig or a cow. When she accepted it as a pig mask, she said the parents of the children would kill her if she dressed them as pigs because of their religion. Therefore, she decided to throw all the masks. I do not know what the parents would say since this was just an activity, but the children did not react to the pig masks as they reacted to chorizo. They were even disappointed because their work was thrown into the garbage. Accordingly, it can be claimed that the animal and food were dissociated.

I have mentioned how the children blindly obeyed and followed the rules with or without the authority to tell them what to do and not to do, but this was not always the case. It was after Christmas when I heard them talking about Christmas, Santa Claus, and the Three Magical Kings. Santiago asked why they celebrated Christmas and got gifts on those days because they did not believe in them. Therefore, should they receive the gifts? I was speechless and listening to the discussion as it went on. Cristina jumped in and said, "But everybody celebrates, and if it was bad, our parents would say 'no,' no?"

This conversation indicates that parents (or older figures of the house) played an essential role in rules and boundaries, such as reacting to chorizo, pig masks, dogs, and the devil's actions.

[17] Peppa Pig is a preschool animated cartoon for children.

Therefore, it would not be wrong to consider that some of the ideas and rules the children defended were sometimes (or even maybe mostly) coming through parents, family members, or maybe even the community. Even though they caught a point where they were not instructed about it explicitly and realized that it was not their religion or culture, it seems like because children already applied and enjoyed it, they just found a way to justify the actions. Accordingly, an action accepted, applied, or allowed to apply by parents should be okay.

Interestingly, children did not have this conversation or think about it during Christmas when we were doing intensive activities about this theme. Even though most of this group was not celebrating Christmas, we had a period when we did activities only dedicated to Christmas (mostly paintings for decoration) and the Three Magical Kings (wish letters). One of those activities was "What is Christmas for me?" We used those paintings to decorate the walls of the NGO. Surprisingly, they did not find this activity strange or different from their culture. Moreover, almost all the children painted a Christmas tree, snow, gifts, and Santa Claus. This may be very similar in the school as well. The integration of Christmas, the Christmas tree, and Santa Claus may be considered universal today, as well as the presents, even though they were not given by their parents or at least not with the traditional understanding of Christmas. This seemed or was perceived as a national holiday by the children rather than a religious one. Snow, however, was another conspicuous piece of Christmas combination that the majority found related to the event because it did not snow in Senegal or A Coruña.

Figure 52. Cristina's Christmas artwork

Another perspective could be the representation of the Christmas tree, Santa Claus, snow, and gifts worldwide. Santa Claus is a figure that may not only be associated with Christmas but also with New Year. For example, Türkiye does not have a public holiday on Christmas, but everybody knows Santa Claus, and he is integrated into the culture through the New Year. By living in this culture, participants may have just accepted the figure(s) and the symbol(s) as they are. Since there was no special night or meal for this reason in their households, they may have related it to the holiday season (Christmas, New Year, Three Magical Kings). It is also possible that since the majority of the children were born here and raised in this culture, it may be hard for them to think otherwise because all the streets, shops, schools, and the NGO celebrated and decorated for this period of the year[18].

From the parents' side, there may be four reasons to apply these traditions: because Islam recognizes Christianity, or protecting children from the attractiveness of the dominant religion in the territory by prohibiting their children from being part of a fun part, or the parents did not care about it, or protecting the children from feeling excluded. Whatever the reason, the parents did not mention the subject to their children specifically. Therefore, children thought it was okay to go with it if the parents did not warn them, even if it was not part of their religion. In other words, they applied and accepted the fun part but rejected the bad like chorizo, as in the definition of parents.

Another topic that came out and led to a curious discussion among them was having a boyfriend(s) and girlfriend(s). The frequency of this conversation made me add a question in both adapted doll studies. In one of these conversations, I asked them if their boyfriends and girlfriends were from Spain. Fernando jumped in and said, "No! Of course, from Senegal" (unfortunately, I am not sure if he meant that the girlfriends were from Senegal or living in Senegal). Humberto giggled and added that he had two girlfriends, and both were from Spain. Laura, who had two mothers (one lived in Senegal) and a father –polygynous marriage– said, "But you cannot have two." Then, I asked if they could have more than one boyfriend or girlfriend, and all said they could only have one, except Fernando. How Fernando perceived his mothers and his attachment to both was reflected in one of his activities, "dressing my family." Maria and I drew the head of their family members, those who lived in Spain, and asked the children to dress them from the pieces cut from magazines, just like in the "dressing myself" activity. After seeing his family drawing, Fernando said, "Nooo, this is not correct. Where is Mama Lisa?" Then, he drew her himself (Figure 53).

[18] In Spain, the preparations start almost a month before Christmas and end after the Three Magical Kings, around January 7.

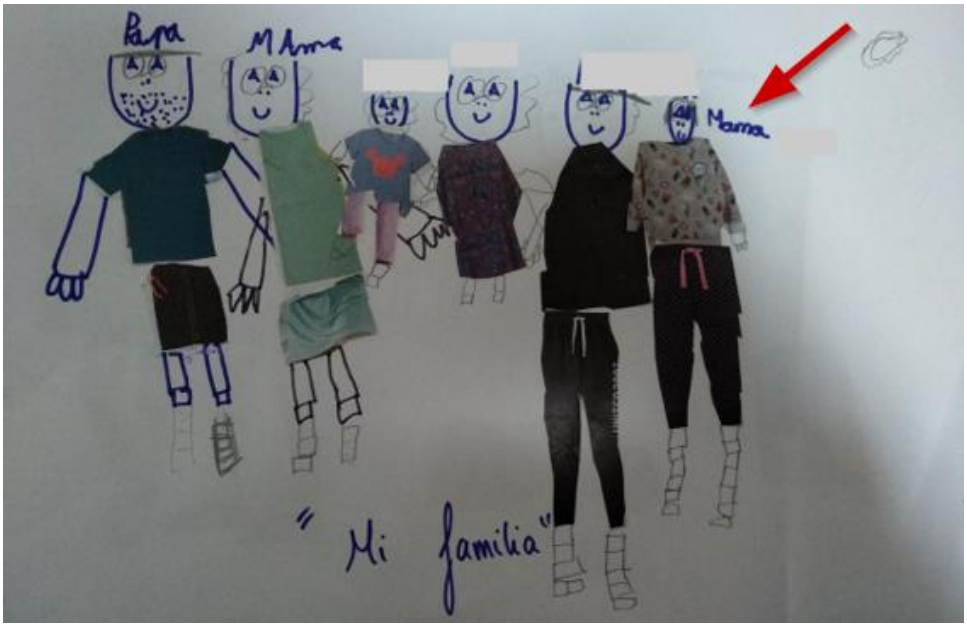

Figure 53. Fernando's representation of his family with two mothers

In Senegal, it is common for a man to marry more than one woman, which is accepted by religion and law (Bouland, 2020; Engelking, 2008). This can be one of the most distinctive cultural and legal interpretations and applications of religion (unlike most food-based practices) because this practice differs from most Christian and some Muslim countries. Therefore, the interpretation and acceptance of monogamy by children based on these comments was significant because most of them had two or more mothers[19]. However, most children physically had one of their moms in their homes; the other(s) was in Senegal (as far as I knew).

Considering the participants' different reactions, children seemed to be starting to discover the inconsistencies between their own religious and cultural traditions and the Spanish ones. They might support monogamy because they saw it in Spanish society and how they lived in their houses because most second, third, or fourth wives were not physically in Spain and lived with them. There may be two reasons why children did not have all their mothers in Spain: the economic welfare situation of the father in Spain or the Spanish law, allowing to regroup one wife. Consequently, this might have caused them to understand monogamy as more natural or normal. On the other hand, they may also divide this understanding into two. Children may consider polygamy normal in Senegal, and since my question was general and we were in Spain at that moment, it is possible that children answered according to the rules or perception of what is expected in Spain. This is like understanding and division of time and space

[19] This information was not included in the background of the children because I did not know the number of mothers they had in each case.

culturally and traditionally. One rule may be correct and acceptable for one space, while the same one might be incorrect for another.

A good example would be Fernando, who claimed to have two girlfriends and visited Senegal regularly. From our conversations, I learned that he had two mothers. Fernando lived with his biological mother and father in Spain but also had a strong relationship with his other mother. He mentioned both always and even included her in his work, as shown in Fernando's art project depicted in Figure 53, "*Mama and mama* (mother)." Fernando's behavior and perception differed mostly from other participants of Senegalese origin who had visited Senegal only once or twice, as he visited the country more frequently. This may also explain why he said that both girlfriends were from Senegal. However, when I asked him in the doll study which of the children (dolls) he would prefer to be his girlfriend or boyfriend, he selected doll 2, one of the lightest skin colors, and attributed it to Italy and Christianity.

This may be based on the lack of knowledge of the Spanish social norm of monogamy or his application of Senegalese traditions into the Spanish context. Fernando may have lacked the information that polygamy is based on tradition, religion, and its application in Senegal (Fried-Tanzer, 2013). Therefore, this may have given him the idea that having one wife or more wives in Senegal and one wife in Spain, regardless of their religion, can be expected. Alternatively, he might be unaware of specific polygamy practices in Senegal. However, he might simply assume that as long as the wives were different in skin color and religion and lived in different countries, as was his father's case, it could be acceptable. Or he was aware that there were two different sets of norms in each of the countries involved in his experience gained in transnational social fields and separated them spatially –maybe even unconsciously. As mentioned above, this could be one of the explanations for children's way of distinguishing two spaces culturally and traditionally or thinking on the possibility of merging these traditions according to or regardless of time and space.

Table 13. Adapted from Clark and Clark: Origin, skin color, girlfriend/boyfriend, and religion comparison through the dolls

Participants	Country of Origin	Participant's perception of the doll they look like (Q.15)	My perception of the children's skin color	Girlfriend/ Boyfriend's skin color	Girlfriend/ Boyfriend's religion
Alba*	The Dominican Republic	Doll 3	Doll 3	Doll 2	Christian
Alberto	Colombia and Spain	Doll 2	Doll 2	Doll 2	Christian
Brais*	Senegal	Doll 5	Doll 5	Doll 5	Muslim
Camilo*	Senegal	Doll 3	Doll 4	Doll 4	Muslim
Cristina*	Senegal	Doll 3	Doll 4	Doll 2	Christian
Diego	Senegal	Doll 4	Doll 4	Doll 4	Muslim
Fernando*	Senegal	Doll 4	Doll 4	Doll 2	Christian
Humberto	Senegal	Doll 5	Doll 4	Doll 4	Muslim
Juan*	Senegal	Doll 4	Doll 4	Doll 5	Muslim
Laura*	Senegal	Doll 2	Doll 5	Doll 5	Christian
Melisa*	Senegal	Doll 4	Doll 4	-	-
Pablo	Senegal	Doll 1	Doll 5	Doll 1	Christian
Santiago	Senegal	Doll 5	Doll 4	Doll 5	Christian
Tania*	Senegal	Doll 4	Doll 4	Doll 4	Muslim

Table 14. Adapted from Clark and Clark: Boyfriend/girlfriend and religion attributions to the dolls

Boyfriend or Girlfriend + Religion/ Dolls	Doll 1	Doll 2	Doll 3	Doll 4	Doll 5
Boyfriend/Girlfriend	1	4	-	4	4
Muslim	4	5	8	12	8
Christian	10	9	6	2	6

A concentration can be observed in dolls 2, 4, and 5 according to the correlation among girlfriend/boyfriend choices, the religion attributions, and their perception of themselves reflected on the dolls. Doll 1 was selected by the latest participant in the study. Pablo also saw himself as the doll he selected as a girlfriend/boyfriend. As previously stated, Pablo's situation may be considered from another perspective because he arrived in A Coruña (Spain) recently at that time. As being new to Spain and possibly perceiving more people with lighter skin color than him and seeing this color as the "normal" of the society, he might have found a way to fit in by selecting this doll, unlike the other participants who chose dolls with similar skin colors as a girlfriend/boyfriend.

Alba, Alberto, Fernando, and Cristina selected doll 2. Half of the participants who selected this doll as a partner were from non-Muslim households. All of these participants, except Fernando, who selected doll 2 as their partner, also self-identified themselves with doll 2 or close skin color. Furthermore, these participants ascribed this doll as Christian without exception. Almost all selected a color close to their perception of themselves. There is a possibility that if the two questions, religion, and boyfriend/girlfriend, were asked one after the other, then the answers could have been different. On the other hand, religion can be entirely irrelevant for those from Muslim households because their perception of the society they lived in evolved differently from their parents or the traditions of the country of origin.

Camilo, Diego, Humberto, and Tania selected doll 4. They also self-identified either with the same doll or a doll next to them as a girlfriend/boyfriend, and all said that this doll could be Muslim. The selection of this doll may be explained as opposite to doll 3. These participants can be considered as the ones who wanted to keep the tradition or just saw this as standard. In other words, this may reflect what they saw in their immediate environment.

A similar tendency was found by the participants who selected doll 5, Brais, Juan, and Santiago, with one exception, Laura. All of these children had similar skin colors to doll 5. From my perspective of her skin color, only Laura identified herself very differently, which was doll 2. According to her self-identification and comments during the observation phase, hers was the most surprising partner selection. I thought that her perception of her skin color could be an escape from reality or denial because she did not want to have that skin color. However, this may suggest another perspective since she selected doll 5 as a partner. Even though she did not see her skin as dark as I saw, this did not necessarily seem like she hated her color based on her partner's selection. There may be more to be explored to understand her complex perception that these techniques missed or were insufficient to reveal.

There is no clear idea of whether the children thought mixed or same-skin-color marriage and the number of partners (polygamy and monogamy) was normal. This study was lack of tools and techniques to get a better idea of this subject, unlike some of the other subjects that were much clearer and more repetitive to discover some patterns.

The doll study adapted from Radke and Trager questioned beyond the relation among religion, skin color, and nation. The study addressed other aspects of life, like the culture and socio-economic background of the figures.

As well as religion, this study asked the participants to dress the figures. Fashion can be a distinctive element of religion depending on its interpretation and culture based on various factors like geography, values, and physical differences. The importance of this connection

was the incidents and interactions that happened among the participants and their immediate environment. The relation between the selected dresses and the skin color was mentioned in the previous section (see Table 10). In this section, the relationship between religion and dresses is examined.

Table 15. Adapted from Radke and Trager: Dresses matched with religion

Religion / Dressing	Poor dress	Good dress
Muslim	4	10
Christian	6	4

When the answers about religion and chosen dresses are compared, the results show a high correlation (ten times) between Muslim and good dresses, while only four were associated with the poor dress. The study's large number of Senegalese participants may have contributed to these findings, considering traditional events of the Senegalese community that occurred during the study. Furthermore, as explained in the previous section, children attributed nations to the dream girl figures based on their appearance. Therefore, dress, accessories, and hairstyle are all significant to understand the participants' perception since they attributed figures mostly to Senegal and Africa based on the dress, hairstyle, and earrings in that particular activity. While the original and most replicas avoided giving all these details and missed an important aspect of the study, Radke and Trager added it to see another perspective: the perception of light and dark skin color concerning dress, job, and socio-economic background. Radke and Trager named the dresses to discover the children's possible perception of women and their social status. However, the combination of the results of dress choice connected with the events in the observation took the analysis from social and economic implications to another perspective in this study. This was because of the background of my participants, the different social conditions of Spain and the US, and how this question was incorporated into this adapted study.

There were two different religious events celebrated in the Senegalese community till December. In those days, we had few children in the NGO. I saw Senegalese people on the street, both women and men, with colorful dresses called boubou, which are used in special events, especially by women, but men also used a more modest style while going to the mosque.

Based on the information provided to me, the community selects a house or place to conduct the event, generally the biggest or wealthiest person's house or place. An Imam, a respected religious figure, comes from Senegal, reads Qur'an passages, and leads prayers throughout the day. Adults come together separately as women and men in two rooms. They eat, pray, and

listen. Children are not part of the ceremony and are not brought to that house. That day another family and house are selected for the children as well. They are brought together and spend the day there. Most children do not go to school or are not allowed to go to school that day, just like they did not come to the NGO. All the women and teenage girls start preparations for that day almost a week ago. This preparation includes the organization of the day, the house, the menu, clothes, hair, and jewelry. It is crucial for them to look beautiful and wealthy that day because it is like a showoff to the community and the Imam who would talk about this day when he returns to Senegal to the familiars as informing their relatives whether they were good or not. The women's dresses, accessories, and wigs are some of the things that show this goodness and wealth. Some families of the participants got food help from the organization. When these religious days were close, they came to eat (maybe a sandwich for lunch) at the NGO to save money and food so that they could use their food and money on other essential things like clothes, jewelry, and wig for this special day.

During this period, the children talked about it as a big event. However, since they were not special or active part of the event and had their own activity planned for that day, they were not very interested in the event but more in what women (mothers and sisters) wore, how beautiful they were, and who wore what. I did not spend enough time with the teenager/oldest group to see and explore their role closely. However, I believe the experience was different for them since none of them came on the day of the celebration and a few days before during the preparations because they helped their mothers. Their age was almost considered old enough to be part of the event, if not in that year very soon.

Accordingly, the matchings between Muslim and good dresses in the doll study may result from children's cultural backgrounds. However, one day Santiago came to the NGO with a beige Senegalese boubou (Figure 54), and as soon as he entered the room, everybody began to laugh. He was already shy, which made him even shier, and he went directly to his seat.

Figure 54. Santiago with the boubou (the second child from the left)

It was an unexpected reaction from the participants since this was common. Their parents wore it while going to a mosque, and they generally wore it to Sunday school in the mosque. His brother, Diego, explained later that Santiago went to the mosque before coming to the NGO. When they had special days or went to the mosque, they wore it, but it was not something common to use other than that. Therefore, that was the reason for this reaction from the group. However, nobody mentioned it again after the reaction at first sight, and Santiago's shyness passed after a while.

When an adult wore a boubou or used it on special days, it was embraced as usual and beautiful, as can be understood from their way of describing their mothers. However, even a dress as typical as they thought and found beautiful could turn into something to laugh at when used outside of its accepted environment. This reveals the importance of territory, context, and timeline for the children's perception. Children accepted and used both regular clothes and boubou, but each was defined, accepted, and considered in its own "suitable place". Radke and Trager's inquiry about the potential categorization of perception between light and dark-skinned figures inadvertently became intertwined with religion due to the participants' backgrounds.

The special events and understanding of beauty shed light on another perspective of children, which was hard to catch solely through doll studies: family, culture, and life outside of the institutions like school and daily routine places. The participants wore Western or regular or no different clothes from the others in the society, and no distinct cloth would suggest the effect of another factor like religious or cultural background. The data collected through the combination of the methods revealed the importance of another aspect of children's life. Many

scholars mostly discard, but other grounds (like an NGO in this case or a playground) as much as schools should be considered equally significant and included in the research to be able to see the other factors that play various roles in the construction of children's perception.

While Muslim women in some countries and cultures are closely related to hijab, this tendency was not observed directly in the mothers of the participants of Senegalese origin. They generally wore Western clothes like most of society. They did not have a specific piece on them that would make others tell this person is Muslim on a regular day according to "universal" signs such as hijab or chador. However, there is a significant physical feature to be mentioned and related to the type of clothing that Senegalese women use: the wig. Most of these women use wigs because of their hair texture or head ties. Boubou also has a head tie generally made from the same fabric as the boubou. It covers the head or part of their hair; head-ties are colorful and used in different styles. This brings to mind hijab, but head-tie is more traditional and fashion based than religious for Senegalese people (Grabski, 2009; Heath, 1992; Kastner, 2018; Sidikou, 1997). This may very well explain why when the children saw the women figures with covered hair in the "dream girl" activity, they said that the figures could be from Morocco.

I saw a similar tendency in the "dressing my family" activity. We drew only the heads of the family members, and they had to stick the clothes they cut out from the magazines and complete them by drawing arms and legs. When they finished, I saw that most children dressed their mothers and sisters in shorts, tights, miniskirts, and bikinis. This was interesting because I never saw female family members wearing shorts, miniskirts, or bikinis. However, this was hard to observe given the weather conditions of Galicia in general and the period of the study, the academic year. Then, I asked some children if their mothers and sisters' clothes resembled their artwork. Most children answered negatively and expressed their desire for their mothers' and sisters' clothes to be like their artwork because they found these clothes more beautiful. Even though I thought their parents' clothes were more like what everyone wore, both for the children and the mothers or the siblings, the children pointed out another perspective with their comments. Until I heard their explanation, I did not think from the participants' perspective. Maybe as an outsider, I did not realize the distinction of clothes the participants mentioned at that time of the year. However, children, as the ones who got to observe and live with it, had a different idea. This data, combined with the understanding of monogamy and polygamy described above, suggest that time and space are significant factors in children's construction and understanding of appropriate behavior.

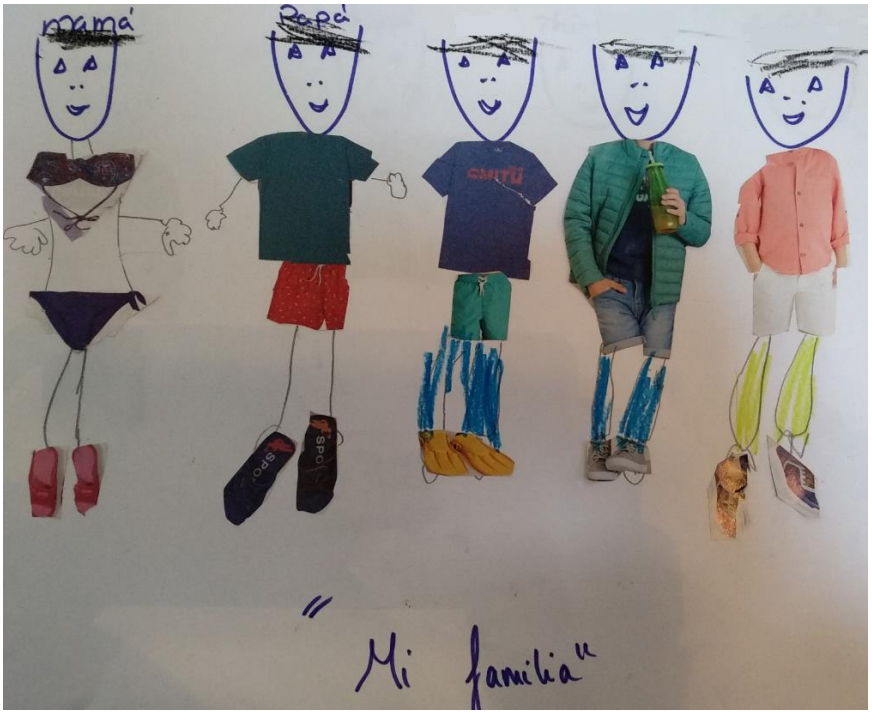

Figure 55. Camilo's artwork of dressing my family

In this case, Radke and Trager's dress question triggered something important to be considered and followed during the observation phase. However, this question and the answers cannot be interpreted all by itself because a person's perception, regardless of age, cannot be reduced to one aspect. It is a collection of small and big things that manifest themselves globally, sometimes piece by piece. It is our job to find these pieces and bring them together in order to get a closer look at children's perspectives. This could be interpreted the same way as the understanding of family structure: children's perceptions may change according to the space and culture of the event or subject, compartmentalizing appropriateness.

In both of the original doll studies, religion was not the focus. I altered them and added them for this study and the profile of the participants I worked with. In addition to conducting these studies, I observed participants' interactions to understand better the relevance of the data I collected. The reason(s) behind the choices, both on a personal and group dynamic, can enrich the data in terms of getting a broader understanding of these reasons.

When I conducted my doll study, I had assumptions about the results. Even though these assumptions were partially found in the results, they also revealed more complexity. For example, "The Blacks ate chicken with rice, and the Whites ate chorizo with potatoes" and "All the Blacks are from Senegal" were not denied by the others when pronounced. However, if everything were crystal clear as it is pronounced at that moment, they would all have the

same simplistic idea of skin color and select both dolls 4 and 5 as Muslim and Senegal or Africa (like they did in the pilot study), but they did not. The same can be applied to the variety of answers of the doll study adapted from Radke and Trager. They did not assume that the dark-skinned figure was Muslim, Senegalese, or African and the light-skinned figure was Spanish, European, or Christian.

The study adapted from Clark and Clark had a more diverse set of stimuli and explored how this combination of ideas could affect various perspectives, such as religion, nationality, and relationships. On the other hand, the version of Radke and Trager lacked that diversity, and it is likely that children were put in a position that forced them to select. The adapted Clark and Clark study had a more intimate and question-and-answer-based setting; it may have provided a different perspective. However, in the adapted Radke and Trager's study, we created a character together, like a regular activity on any given day. That is why as much as these two different doll studies are comparable, they are also not because both in themselves and with their own way of getting to some very significant and essential points. Nevertheless, they just scratch the tip of the iceberg without the perspective gathered by the other complementary techniques or interactions. In order to comprehend and interpret these comments, context is necessary, and the context is not always there in concrete question-answer techniques; it may depend on the participant's willingness to explain at that specific moment. I wonder what would have been found if the participants had been observed in schools, parks, and streets.

There are indicators of direct and indirect racialization of religion, especially as can be detected from the youngest one's reasoning of the situations (not eating pork because they are Senegalese or Muslim?) and verbalization (the Blacks ate chicken with rice, and the Whites ate chorizo with potatoes). I also found blind acceptance or obedience (not eating the Moroccan cookies) controlled by fear and cause and effect to avoid the bad behavior (devil will take your stuff) and questioning (Nothing happens after eating pork! or celebrating Christmas) of the practice both in and out-group comparison. These results and comments can be criticized because of the repeated or limited subjects and patterns found in the data. However, it should be remembered that these patterns and comments were collected from a small number of participants, and a considerable number were of Senegalese origins. Another really significant aspect of this study is the setting. Being conducted in an NGO gave me a rare opportunity to see children's ideas in an environment where the minority children formed the majority, which generally in formal school-like establishments is hard to find.

4.3 The preferential questions: Who is smart or ugly, and why?

Half of the questionnaire used in the Clark and Clark's doll study consisted of preferential questions. They asked the participants to give the dolls they liked to play with or liked the best,

the nice doll, the doll that looked bad, and the doll that had a nice color. Most replicas followed the same pattern, sometimes with little changes regarding preferential questions. The idea of this study for this part of the questionnaire was not to change the original version entirely but to adapt it as much as possible based on the participants' profile to the necessity of the time, space, and observations. Accordingly, I adopted questions of preferences from CNN's version of the doll study, which included the participants' direct preferences and perceptions of other children's and adults' perceptions through the dolls (Appendix B).

The similarities in the way of conducting these studies, the preferential questions, and the profile of the participants as well as their application in the same country, made the comparison of the results possible among them. Most of these studies were conducted in the US with Black and Brown or Black, Brown, and White children. Only a few reported whether the participants were citizens, minorities, or immigrants, and the focus of the majority was on the African American and European American children regarding skin color, which was also reflected in the stimuli of the studies as dark-skinned and light-skinned stimuli like the participants. Recent studies like the replica of CNN included various skin colors. However, they mostly continued to ignore or disregard the background of the participants except for their skin color and age, which I believe is another vital critique not mentioned before in the academic literature.

As far as I know, any version of the doll study has ever been conducted in Spain except the pilot study. Therefore, I partially compare these questions to Clark and Clark's study and CNN's version. It also should be remembered that this study follows a slightly different pattern than the original or the replicas by using a triangulation methodology conducted with different participant profiles, children of minority origin. Some preferential questions are compared with the results obtained from the pilot study as well. However, since the participants' countries of origin in both studies differ, these comparisons are made regarding age groups, just like in the previous sections.

The doll study started with preferential questions. Until these questions came out, the participants saw me just like another volunteer/supervisor; in fact, I had been a volunteer long before this study or the pilot study started. However, that perspective might have changed for the participants when the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark was conducted.

Preferential questions were challenging to ask or expect an answer to considering the sensitivity or approach to race in these years or even before. Furthermore, seeing the children's reactions in the videos replicating this study or the reports of the articles made me think about different possible reactions from the participants. For example, Clark and Clark reported that these were uncomfortable questions, and they faced different reactions from the participants, like crying, leaving the room, or teasing the questions (1947, p. 178). My participants did not

seem enthusiastic about them initially, but except for the partner question, which one participant did not answer, they replied to all. On the other hand, some of the participants did not find these questions logical. They asked, based on what they should select, the smart, dumb, or bad. The same reactions were given by the participants of the pilot study as well. Some of them did not answer all or some questions. Therefore, I could not ask "why" they (the participants of both studies) selected those dolls after this comment unless they explained it themselves. Furthermore, some preferred to select more than one doll for the second part of the preferential questions; this was accepted and reflected in Table 16 below.

Preferential questions were divided into two in this study. The interview with participants started with these questions and ended with them. The first six preferential questions were asked by the majority of the doll studies: smart, dumb, nice, bad, beautiful, and ugly. These questions were followed by the preference of classmate question, the possible religions of the dolls, the preference of boyfriend/girlfriend, and the possible nations of the dolls. The last four preferential questions were: the child (doll) that children and adults like the most and the child (doll) that children and adults do not like. These questions were taken directly from CNN's study. CNN included more questions, both similar and different to these. However, I only adopted the most general questions for adults and children, not boys/girls or teachers like in the CNN study or the pilot study, to avoid boring the participants, considering their short attention span and age. The last question is the self-identification question, frequently referred to in all the analysis sections.

Along with these questions, I also examine here the child-centered activity called "superheroes" conducted with the children a week after my doll study on March 19, 2018. In this activity, children drew and wrote about their superpowers. Later, they presented their powers to each other and explained why they wanted them. When they finished, I introduced my power, changing people's appearance as they wished, and asked them how they would like to use it. All, without exception, asked for physical changes, specifically on hair texture, skin color, and eye color. Through this, I had the chance to see their preferences without dolls or other types of limitations.

The analysis of preferential questions begins by examining each participant's responses individually. This approach helps to uncover any underlying reasoning behind their preferences that may have been overlooked in the overall analysis. After a case-by-case examination, the general tendency of the dolls is analyzed. Both types of examination can help understand their advantages and disadvantages, as well as their similarities and differences.

Table 16. Adapted from Clark and Clark: Preferential questions attributed to the dolls

Preferential Questions / Dolls	Doll 1	Doll 2	Doll 3	Doll 4	Doll 5
Smart child	1	3	4	4	2
Dumb child	2	2	1	4	5
Nice child	3	4	3	3	1
Bad child	3	4	2	3	2
Beautiful child	2	3	4	3	2
Ugly child	2	1	4	1	6
Classmate	4	4	1	4	2
Boyfriend/Girlfriend	1	4	-	4	4
Children like the most	2	3	2	4	4
Children do not like	3	6	3	1	3
Adults like the most	3	3	3	3	3
Adults do not like	6	3	-	4	2
Looks like me	1	2	3	5	3

Pablo, a three-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified himself as doll 1, whereas he looked like doll 5. He did not make any attributions to doll 1 in the first preferential questions. Both for the smart and the dumb child, he chose doll 4. Pablo showed no positive or negative differences between these two opposite attributions. However, in the following questions, the nice child was matched with doll 5 and the bad child with 2. This difference may have resulted from other children's attitudes toward him as the new child in the neighborhood and the school. Nice may refer to the majority of the children of Senegalese origin who tried to help him adapt, while bad may represent the people who did not care or did not engage in helping him. During his initial days at the NGO, participants provided him with assistance for all his requirements.

Understanding the concepts of beauty and ugliness can be difficult and complex. Through observation and child-centered activities such as "dream girl" and "dressing my family," I noticed that various factors, such as place, occasion, clothing, hairstyle, and accessories, influenced children's perceptions of beauty. This suggests that beauty and ugliness go beyond just skin color.

Pablo chose doll 3 as the beautiful one and doll 4 as the ugly one. Doll 4 was chosen for half of these questions by him. On the other hand, he almost avoided making positive or negative comments about the lightest dolls. However, he wanted a classmate and girlfriend like doll 1, just like the doll he identified himself with. This can be the effect of his new arrival again, or this may show self-denial, internalized racism.

During the second part of the preference questions, Pablo pointed out that children preferred doll 1 the most and doll 2 the least. For the following questions, he chose doll 3 as the one

adults liked the most, while doll 4 was chosen as the one adults did not like. These orderly matchings may have few explanations. Pablo may have gotten bored with the questions and selected the dolls in order for the last four questions. Another possibility would be that he did not understand the questions because his language abilities were not as good as the others. These questions were longer and more complex than the previous ones. Alternatively, he indeed perceived children's and adults' perspectives as he selected the dolls. In that case, it is fascinating how he was able to distinguish the first two light-skinned dolls and the following dolls between them. On the other hand, considering that he selected the first doll to identify himself, his preferred classmate, his girlfriend, and the one children liked the most, there may be a consistent and meaningful perspective that he indicated for doll 1. Doll 2 was matched with the bad child, and the one children did not like. This may reflect his perception of children who helped or not; in that case, children who did not like doll 2 can be understood differently. Doll 3, the most liked one by adults, is also challenging to understand because he matched this doll only with beautiful. He may have thought the words "like" and "beauty" were alike. In that case, it would explain why adults did not like being matched with doll 4 because he also called this one ugly.

In the "superheroes" activity, when I asked them what they would like to change, Pablo said he wanted lighter skin color and straight hair. His emphasis on skin color is critical because he actually self-identified himself as doll 1, with the lightest possible skin color in the stimuli. This may mean his self-identification during the study reflected his desire for it.

Alberto, a six-year-old of Colombian Spanish origin, identified himself with doll 2, who also looked like him. He was one of those participants who asked, based on what the child should be smart or bad. However, he wanted to keep going and selected one child for each question. Like Pablo, Alberto saw a difference between dolls 1 and 2. He matched the smart child with doll 2 and the dumb one with 1. The smart and self-identification were matched with doll 2, but he did not mention the doll again in the following opposite preferential questions. His matchings for the nice, doll 4, and the bad child, doll 5, were also interesting because he selected the two darkest dolls. For the beautiful child, he selected doll 3, and for ugly doll 1. He associated doll 1 only with negative attributions through ugly and dumb choices.

However, his matchings on the following two questions revealed another emphasis for doll 2. Both for classmate and girlfriend preferences, he selected doll 2. He found this doll, like himself and smart, and preferred it as a classmate and girlfriend. In this first set of preference questions, he focused on doll 1 for negative attributions and doll 2 for positive attributions through classmate and girlfriend preferential questions.

In the last set of preference questions, although he matched doll 1 with ugly and dumb in the first part, to the question children liked the most, he selected doll 1. This can be a good indicator of how questions and categories differed for the selections. When I asked his preference and opinion, he matched doll 1 with more negative attributions than the others; however, when I asked his opinion on other children's perspectives, this doll changed its position by his positive match for children liked the most question. For children did not like, he selected doll 5. There may be two different points of view for this attribution because he also selected doll 5 as bad. He may have associated this with other children's perspectives and his point of view. Another would be based on his direct observation of children's attitudes toward this skin color. These two possibilities mean that his personal view and the other children's views were parallel.

He selected doll 2 as the one most liked by adults. He found this doll smart like himself and wanted as a girlfriend and classmate. However, he did not select this doll as the one children liked the most. Instead, he pointed it to the one that adults liked the most. This is very interesting because, unlike most participants, he consistently selected and matched some dolls with positive and negative attributions, which means he might have made a significant emphasis on the dolls. He may have valued gaining adults' approval or their perspective more than children's approval or opinion.

For the question about which doll adults did not like, he chose doll 4. Previously, he matched this doll with nice. This suggests that while he may have found doll 4 nice, it was not well-liked by adults. Interestingly, it was not doll 5 either, which he had chosen from a child's perspective. On the other hand, Alberto's answers could not be compared with "superheroes" activity because he did not come that day, but I doubt that he would want to change something in his appearance.

Laura, a three-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified herself as doll 2, whereas she looked like doll 5. She selected doll 4 as the smart child and doll 2 as the dumb one. This is very interesting because she actually found the one that closely looked like her perception dumb and the one that she looked like in reality smart. However, in the following opposite questions, she matched doll 2 with the nice child and the bad child with doll 3. While doll 2 in these preferential questions was attributed both as dumb and nice, there was no other reference to doll 3 except the bad child. This matching is different from the first ones. It gets even more interesting with the beautiful child match, doll 5 (the one that looks like her from my perspective), whereas the ugly one is doll 1 (the one she chose to self-identify).

In similar doll studies, it was observed that if a child shows a different color from herself for self-identification, generally, there is parallelism and consistency in the answers through the

selection. What I observed here is precisely the opposite. She seemed genuine in her answers, there was no direct favoring the dark-skinned or light-skinned ones, but her self-identification was inaccurate. Following with classmate and boyfriend choice, while she preferred a classmate as doll 1, she preferred a boyfriend like a doll 5.

In the following set of preferential questions, Laura said that doll 2 was the one children liked the most. Doll 3 was one that children did not like. Doll 2, on the other hand, was selected as the one that adults did not like, and doll 5 was the one that adults liked the most. According to these choices, she showed her desire to have lighter skin color through self-identification because she possibly thought that lighter was more acceptable among children to make friends. However, from her perspective, this doll was pointed out as the least liked one for adults. Nevertheless, doll 5, her accurate representation, was selected as the one adults liked the most. Unlike the other studies' patterns among the ones who self-identified oppositely, I do not see the same types of matchings. It seems like she wanted to fit in each situation that she observed.

The complex pattern of her choices can be challenged or supported based on her responses to the "superheroes" activity. She said she would like darker skin color (even though she looked like doll 5), green eyes, and straight hair like Carla, a supervisor who spent three months with the group.

Alba, a six-year-old girl of Dominican origin, chose doll 3 as the one she identified herself with the most, and I agree that it closely resembled her. She also did not find these questions logical because she asked how this match could be made only based on the color, but she wanted to continue the study. Alba matched the smart child with doll 2 and the dumb one with doll 5. The nice child was matched with doll 1, and the bad one with doll 4. The pairings of these four contrasting questions indicate light-skin favoritism. However, in the following questions, she matched doll 3 with a beautiful one as herself, and the ugly one was ascribed to doll 2. Therefore, again as in some cases, there is no concrete division of positive and negative attributions through a specific skin color tone, unlike the tendency found in similar studies. She might have compared attributions as she observed from others and matched accordingly independent from her ideas because she also said these questions were not logical. She selected doll 2 for a classmate and her boyfriend's preferences. This also proves that her selection base was not through one side because she matched doll 2 with the smart and ugly doll.

In the other set of preferential questions, children's and adults' perspectives, she pointed to doll 5 as the one children liked the most and doll 1 as the one children did not like. She may have based this answer on her observation of how the other participants were treated in the NGO or the neighborhood because she also lived close to the other participants. However, she attended a different school than the majority, and I wonder whether the situation in the school

affected these choices. For the doll adults liked the most, she selected doll 4, and adults did not like doll 2. There is a similarity in the answers to children's and adults' preference questions, which may indicate that she either avoided or did not see herself in those dolls.

In the "superheroes" activity, she asked for blue eyes and straight hair. She had curly and long hair, and her mother made her a different style every day. Even though every time she got compliments about her hair from her classmates and supervisors, she wished to have straight hair like the majority of the participants. She did not say anything about her skin color. Considering that she also self-identified correctly, it is possible that she was happy, or it was not something determinator for her.

Cristina, a six-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified herself as doll 3, whereas she looked like doll 4. She was one of the rarest participants that followed the same pattern and choices almost for all her answers. In that sense, her answers show consistency with similar studies. All the positive attributions were made to the light-skinned color and the negative ones to the two dark-skinned dolls.

Cristina said that the smart child was doll 1, the nice child was doll 2, and the beautiful child was doll 3. Beautiful was the only one she matched with her self-identification in this first set of preference questions. She matched the dumb and ugly child with doll 5 and the bad child with doll 4. The same pattern of selection continued in the classmate and boyfriend preferences. She said she would like a classmate as doll 1 or doll 2 and a boyfriend as doll 2.

Cristina selected two dolls for each question that adults and children liked and did not like. In the positive questions, she included the doll she identified herself with. Accordingly, she selected dolls 2 and 3 as the ones that children liked and dolls 1 and 3 as the ones that adults liked. The opposite and the same answers were given to questions children and adults did not like: doll 4 and doll 5. This raised the question of whether Cristina felt excluded or disliked by children and adults around her and possible traces of internalized racism since she continuously matched the negative attributions with the darker-skinned dolls.

In the "superheroes" activity, Cristina wished to be taller, with blue eyes, light brown skin color, and straight hair like Carla. Her wish for lighter skin color was like the one she identified herself. Therefore, it can be considered that she self-identified herself through her wishes.

Camilo, a five-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified himself as doll 3, whereas he looked like doll 4. He made very close matchings for the opposite questions. Therefore, the same dilemma in Laura's attributions is discovered in Camilo's as well. He said the smart child was doll 3, like his perception of himself, and the dumb child was doll 4, like he was according to my perception of his skin color. The nice child was matched with doll 2, and the bad child

with doll 1. He attributed the beautiful child to doll 4 and the ugly one to doll 5. Especially for these questions, it seems like he avoided using doll 3. However, he was very open to giving his opinions on dolls 4 and 5. He also preferred doll 4 as a classmate and girlfriend. This indicates that, unlike his matching of dumb with doll 4, this was his opinion, and there were no continuous negative attributions to the doll that he self-identified or the dark-skinned dolls.

An interesting selection was found for the last set of preference questions. Camilo said the doll children liked the most was doll 5. Even if he said this doll was ugly, his perception of other children's like differed from his point of view. For the question that children did not like, he pointed to doll 3. This is very surprising because he selected this doll to self-identify and saw a clear difference in selecting it as the one children did not like.

For adults, he said they liked doll 1 the most, which was only attributed as the bad child and no more references. Doll 5 is the one adults did not like, which is the opposite of what children liked. Among all the others, this made me wonder which adults we talked about, the adults with teacher roles or the adults as parents, or in general, what they observed around? I assume adults in general, except their parents, because especially Camilo and Juan, twin brothers, were loved and coddled in the family more than I observed in the relationships of other participants and their parents.

He said he wanted to be taller like his father in the "superheroes" activity. He wanted blonde hair, light-brown skin color (as he also self-identified), and straight hair like Alberto.

Juan, a five-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified himself as doll 4 and looked like doll 4. He showed no specific positive or negative attribution except his preferences for classmates and girlfriends. He matched the smart child with doll 5 and the dumb child with doll 4 while he pointed to doll 3 for the nice child and doll 2 for the bad one. Doll 3 was also matched with the ugly one, but he said the beautiful one was doll 1. He selected doll 5 both for classmate and girlfriend preferences, which also matched with the smart child.

For the last set of preference questions, Juan thought that doll 3 was the one children liked the most, but doll 2 was the one children did not like. For the adult-related preferences, he said adults liked doll 1 most and did not like doll 2. Doll 2 was selected as the least liked both by adults and children. This doll was also pointed out as bad in the previous questions. Even though there seems to be some connection among some of his answers, it is hard to find one fixed clear selection as in Cristina's answers. However, his answers were not as conflicting as in Laura's case because he also self-identified to doll 4, which resembled him.

Juan said he would like to change two things by using his hypothetical superpowers: his skin color; he wanted it as dark as Brais', and straight hair like Alberto's. This can actually be

related to his selection of a classmate and girlfriend, which were equal to the desired skin color.

Diego, a five-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified himself with doll 4, which looked like him. His answers were very close to their opposites in the first preference questions. These close choices, especially between the lightest and darkest skin colors, made me wonder how he was able to distinguish because it can get hard to decide which one would be the close representation of the participants of Senegalese origin, doll 4 or doll 5, as can be seen in Figure 31.

He said the smart child is doll 4, and the dumb child is doll 5. The nice child was matched with doll 3, and the bad one with doll 2. Similar close matchings were made for beautiful with doll 4 and ugly for doll 5. Both for classmate and girlfriend, he selected doll 4 as well. He based his positive attributions and preferences on doll 4. Even if it is difficult for me to differentiate between the two darkest dolls in terms of their representation of the participants of Senegalese origin, Diego was perfectly capable of differentiating them.

His preferences on the following preferential questions also proved that. He said both children and adults liked the most doll 4. However, for children liked the least, he selected doll 2, and for adults' doll 1. Doll 2 was mentioned once and matched with the bad doll, but doll 1 came out only once in the last preferential question.

Even though he showed coherence in his choices with doll 4, when I asked him in the "superheroes" activity if there was something he wanted to change in his appearance, he asked for blue eyes, straight hair like Carla, and light brown skin color. Only by looking at the consistency in his doll study preference questions, I genuinely would not be able to see his perspective if I did not ask the questions directly.

Fernando, a five-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified himself as doll 4 and looked like doll 4. He was another participant who asked if he should match these dolls with the questions and according to what. In his answers, there is somehow a different connection than the others. He matched the smart child with doll 3 and the dumb one with doll 1. In both of which, he did not think of a darker doll. However, he selected doll 4 for the nice child and the bad one for doll 2. In the following ones, beauty was matched with doll 5 and ugly with doll 3. He said he preferred a classmate like a doll 4, like himself, but a girlfriend like a doll 2.

He selected doll 4 both for the questions children and adults liked the most. Children did not like question doll 2, and adults did not like question matched with doll 1. He associated positive attributes mostly with doll 4 and beauty with the darker-colored doll 5. However, he

surprisingly picked doll 2 as his girlfriend, despite previously associating it with negative qualities and believing that children did not like it.

When I asked if he wanted to use his superpowers, he wanted dark blue eyes, very very white skin color *(blanquísimo)*, and blue hair. Based on his description, I suggest he wanted something fictional, unlike other participants. Furthermore, I have reason to believe this based on his evident love and affection for Senegal and its culture, as well as his comments regarding his skin color and general preferences.

Melisa, a six-year-old girl from Senegal, chose doll 4 as the one she identified with, and she also resembles that doll. When I asked her to select a doll as the smart child, she said, "But how? They are all the same except the skin color." I said, "Yes," and asked her to select one if she thought that was okay. She did and wanted to continue, but she seemed somewhat reluctant, unlike the other participants who similarly questioned the questions. She matched the smart child with doll 4 and the dumb one with doll 5, another example of close choice from a participant of Senegalese origin. However, no similar matching was made in the nice, bad, beautiful, and ugly questions. Melisa matched the nice child with doll 1 and the bad one with doll 3. This doll was also matched with ugly; for the beautiful one, she selected doll 2. She did not answer to boyfriend/girlfriend question. For a preferred classmate, she showed doll 2 as in the matching of beautiful.

She chose doll 4 as the most liked among children, while doll 5 was the least liked. Doll 4, the one she identified herself with, was also attributed as the smart and the most liked by children. To adults' perspective questions, she said that adults liked doll 3 the most and did not like doll 1. Doll 3 was also matched with bad and ugly. This may indicate that her perception was not the same with adults.

Like Alba, Melisa did not mention skin color when asked to consider what she would do with her superpowers. She only asked for straight hair like Caroline. She also pointed out a doll that looked like her. It seems like for some participants; skin color was not something as important as having straight hair. This recurring tendency among the answers of both the female and male participants may be the indicator of internalized racism through another physical characteristic that was not taken into account before the children mentioned it consistently. Unlike the clear results of Clark and Clark's study and replicas, straight hair seems like a more revealing or repetitive factor that was mentioned by the participants a little more than direct skin color reference in this study.

Tania, a seven-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified herself with doll 4, and I think she also looked like doll 4. She matched the smart child with doll 2 and the dumb with 5. The nice

child was matched with doll 4, and the bad one with doll 1. The beautiful child was doll 2, and the ugly one was doll 5. While she matched the two positive attributions, smart and beautiful, with doll 2, the opposites, dumb and ugly, were matched with doll 5. For a classmate and boyfriend, she selected doll 4, also mentioned as the nice one and her representation.

The same preference for doll 4 continued for the question children liked the most. Dolls 1 and 2 were selected as children did not like. However, in the direct questions of smart and beautiful, she matched them with doll 2, whereas only the bad child was related to doll 1. Through this, it can be said that her direct opinion and the perspective of other children were not the same.

The same difference can be found in the question adults liked the most. Doll 5 was only associated with the negative attributions, dumb and ugly, but she thought that adults and children liked doll 5 more than the others. On the other hand, doll 1 was selected for the adults and children disliked questions, and this doll was also attributed as the bad one.

Like many other participants, Tania wanted to use her hypothetical superpowers to change the color of her eyes and to have straight hair like Carla. As she identified herself correctly, this may indicate that she was happy with her skin color or did not want to discuss it.

Santiago, a five-year-old boy of Senegalese origin, associated himself with doll 5, even though he resembled doll 4 more closely. He said the smart child was represented by doll 5, and the dumb one was by doll 3. The nice child was matched with doll 2, and the bad one with doll 1. He said the beautiful child was doll 4, and the ugly one was doll 3. He selected doll 5 both for his classmate and girlfriend. By analyzing his selection of doll 5 based on his self-identification and doll 4 based on his accurate skin color representation, it was observed that dark colors were not viewed negatively. However, doll 3 was perceived as the least desirable by his dumb and ugly attributions among the others.

In the last set of preferential questions, he said doll 5 was the one children liked the most and doll 2 was the least. Doll 5 had clear differentiation from the others with its positive attributions, and a clear parallelism can be observed between his direct choice and other children's perspectives. For adults liked the most, Santiago selected doll 2, which was also attributed as nice and the least liked by children. Doll 1 was mentioned once as the bad child, and he also said it was the least liked by adults.

In the "superheroes" activity, Santiago asked for green eyes, brown hair, and yellow skin color (not blonde). Like Fernando, he might have referred to a fictional character, which would also be perfectly normal since I did not give them any restrictions. However, it is interesting that none of them asked about other crazy things like a third eye or extra head or leg.

Brais, a three-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified himself with doll 5 and resembled doll 5. His matchings of the first preferential questions showed a clear correlation between the dark-colored dolls and the negative attributions. He matched the smart child with doll 3 and the dumb one with doll 4. The nice child was represented by doll 1, whereas the bad one by doll 5. A similar pattern was followed in the last opposite questions, the beautiful matched with doll 2 and the ugly with doll 5. He selected doll 1 as his preferred classmate and, interestingly, doll 5 as his girlfriend. He was always self-aware of his skin color. He made it very clear through observation and other activities. For that reason, I actually was not expecting these attributions. These may reflect his honest ideas, but he did not reveal any similarity of preferences gathered through other activities or methods. On the contrary, he always liked to be called and liked to pronounce or show that he was the smartest one in the room. This also makes me wonder whether he was teasing the questions through his answers, as reported in the original study article with some participants.

In the last set of preferential questions, there were other interesting choices. He said the doll children liked the most was 2, and the least was doll 1. This is interesting because both of these dolls are close to each other regarding skin color, and he matched them with positive attributions. The same types of answers were also observed in adults liked the most, doll 5, and adults liked the least questions, doll 4.

Brais was one of the few who asked for unrealistic changes in his appearance in the "superheroes" activity. He wanted yellow eyes filled with lemons, white hair, and pawns with curved nails. He was a fan of the cartoon, Paw Patrol[20], there may be a connection between his desires and the cartoon characters.

Humberto, a five-year-old of Senegalese origin, identified himself with doll 5 but resembled doll 4. He matched the smart and the nice child with doll 3, the dumb with doll 2, and the bad with doll 4. Different from all the other matchings, he matched the beautiful with doll 1 and the ugly with doll 5. He wanted a classmate as doll 3, like his matchings for smart and nice. Even though he said the bad child was doll 4, he also selected it as his girlfriend.

Humberto said that the doll children liked the most was doll 5 as his self-identification. Considering his popularity among the children, this experience may have influenced his perception. Doll 3 was matched with the smart and nice, and preferred as a classmate, but he said this doll was the least liked by children. This also may indicate that his perception differed from other children's perceptions. For the questions adults liked the most, he selected doll 2,

[20] Paw Patrol is a preschool animated cartoon primarily for children.

and adults did not like doll 1. The selection of these two light-skinned dolls is interesting. Like some participants, he also detected a difference between these two dolls.

Unlike Fernando and Brais, he did not ask for surreal changes in the "superheroes" activity. Like Alba, Melisa, and Tania, he did not ask for a change in his skin color either, but only straight hair like Alberto.

The only question external to the doll study that was analyzed in this section is the use of superpowers, and it was united with the preference questions of the doll study because it is considered suitable and relevant to be compared within this section. In conclusion, all the participants wanted to change something about themselves and to something that can be found in other human beings except three of them; Fernando, Santiago, and Brais. Out of thirteen participants, seven wanted to change their eye color, eight wanted to change their skin color, and twelve wanted to change their hair texture. What makes this interesting is that these responses were gathered independently from all the other questions in the doll study, and they were asked in a different timeline without any stimuli or topic referring to race or any other specific concepts that I worked with. The desire to change skin color did not surprise me. I was also pleased to see this on another timeline since it allowed me to analyze it with self-identification and other preferential questions. On the other hand, what surprised me was the specific and majority of the desires for change in eye color and hair characteristics. I could have guessed that hair would be a focus, maybe because it was something that we often talked about with the participants. However, I would not make a comment going far that they wanted to have other kinds of hair if the chance is given if I have not heard it from them. That is because I know how hair was important, especially in the Senegalese community, and how they liked and cared about their hair regardless of age. As was mentioned above, this may be a sign of internalized racism different from other studies conducted with children in similar ways and contexts. One of the things in this specific hair context is that the same subject in different contexts came out in the pilot study with older participants as well. If I had the chance to talk about this specifically with those participants, the same or similar result may have occurred. Eye color, on the other hand, was the one that I did not expect to hear, but it can be said that if they could change whatever they wanted and think of hair, why not the eye color as well?

By looking at the preferences in the *smart child*, doll 1 and doll 5 are the least mentioned ones, while the rest are distributed almost equally by the participants. These results do not show any specific preference by the majority through one specific doll. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the lightest and the darkest dolls are the rarest ones because the light skin color is extremely light, while the dark skin color represented on the stimulus is extremely dark.

Accordingly, the participants may have avoided labeling them smart based on that rare real-life representation. Most pilot study participants who answered this question labeled doll 3 as smart. Both age groups showed similar tendencies in this question even though these questions were refused to be answered or not found logical by most participants.

The *dumb child* question, opposite of the smart child, indicates a clear preference by the majority through dolls 4 and 5. However, doll 4 was also equally selected as the smart child. While it is observed that children almost avoided selecting the lightest and darkest dolls in the first question, there is an apparent change in the dumb child's preference for doll 5. From this perspective, participants showed the same pattern as most doll studies: dark skin color was associated with lower intelligence. On the other hand, while doll 3 was frequently mentioned in the first question, it appears that this trend decreased in the opposite question. However, the pilot study yielded the opposite results. There was a clear emphasis on the lightest dolls, 1 and 2, for this question, unlike the original study, replicas, and the tendencies observed in the current study.

In the *nice child* preferences, almost all the dolls were equally favored except for doll 5. For the *bad child* preference, there is an equal tendency in all the dolls, unlike the answers given in the first two opposite questions, the smart and the dumb child. Doll 2 was the only one attributed slightly more than the others. It seems like one doll can be nice and bad equally. This shows consistency considering the questioning of some participants: How these attributions and matching can be made through dolls with different skin colors but nothing else? On the other hand, these answers may have been affected based on their understanding of nice and bad. What makes a person or child nice or bad or according to what people decide if someone is bad or nice, without a base, can be seen as illogical or oversimplified. In the pilot study, the nice doll was associated with doll 3 by the majority. The bad child was primarily attributed to dolls 2 and 4. The general tendency in these two questions indicates that these participants avoided the first and the last dolls as the younger participants did in the smart child.

The following opposite questions, *beautiful and ugly*, came out in other activities, such as the doll study adapted from Radke and Trager while talking about the dresses and a similar way of expression in the "dream girl" activity. Based on the participant's matchings, the results of these two questions can be analyzed in various ways, but also other factors that were not indicated in the stimuli should be kept in mind, such as participants' understanding of beauty according to occasion and place.

Beautiful was attributed to all the dolls, but slightly less to those with extreme colors, 1 and 5, and slightly more to doll 3. However, doll 3 was also attributed as the second ugliest doll after

doll 5. As in the other opposite questions, some dolls, in this case, dolls 1 and 3 equally attributed as beautiful and ugly. Dolls 2 and 4 were considered beautiful by three participants and ugly only by one. Taking into account the high amount of self-identification with doll 4 and the high association of beauty and minimum association of ugly to this doll suggests the contrary of the findings of the other doll studies. On the other hand, the real difference between these two questions is seen in doll 5, which was found beautiful by two participants but selected as the ugly one almost by half, all of whom were of Senegalese origin. Conversely, pilot study participants made clearer and distinct choices on these attributions. They associated doll 4 with beautiful and doll 3 with ugly more than the other dolls. Moreover, none of the pilot study participants attributed ugly to doll 5.

The results of the beautiful and the ugly questions can be the most complex to analyze because the children mentioned beauty in different contexts based on many factors. Accordingly, children could have thought factors that were not present in the stimuli, such as hair texture or style, accessories, and clothing, just like they pointed out in other child-centered activities. Especially the lack of concentration on one or some dolls as being attributed beautiful can be related to this reason as well as the extreme concentration of ugly preferences on dolls 3 and 5. Considering that children did introduce other characteristics that were not reflected on the stimuli, it is understandable why they did not directly attribute all the negative attributions to doll 5 but only to dumb and ugly.

On the other hand, considering the other possibility that children based their preferences only on what they saw (the stimuli) and disregarded the other data, factors, and preferential questions for the dumb and ugly matchings, then it can be claimed that this study found similar results like the original doll study and the replicas. However, not all the negative attributions were exclusively associated with doll 5. Therefore, an overall comparison or deduction would not be correct to comprehend this study's results.

Like most similar studies did, comparing the positive and negative preferences for the first questions, the dolls that received the most and the least comments were dolls 1 and 2. Dolls 2, 3, and 4 were almost equally matched in the positive attributions. Meanwhile, dolls 1 and 5 were the least preferred for smart, nice, and beautiful child preferences. All the dolls except doll 5 were nearly equally selected for the negative preferences. Participants avoided the selection of the lightest and darkest dolls in the positive attributions. Interestingly, in the negative ones, the lightest doll was mentioned as equal to the other dolls, and the darkest doll was associated more with these questions than the other dolls. Accordingly, this study found similar results to most doll studies for negative attributions. However, to see the meaningful difference rather than just generalizing as positives and negatives, these questions should be

compared with their opposites, and other factors that might affect these selections should be considered carefully, as demonstrated in the previous paragraphs. For instance, children may have associated smartness and dumbness with having good grades or being careless, being nice or bad with people's attitude toward others, or beauty and ugliness would be purely based on the perception of having beautiful hair or no hair.

Moving onto a different type of preference question, doll 1 was selected as the preferred *classmate* by four participants of Senegalese origin. The high number of preferences as classmates is very impressive because participants equally selected this doll for the positive and negative attributions. This doll was self-identified only by one participant. Therefore, this may imply that the children wanted, became accustomed to, or did not mind having lighter-skinned classmates. Doll 2 was also equally selected as a classmate, like doll 1, by two participants of South American origin and two of Senegalese origin. This doll also carries similar characteristics to doll 1 in terms of its positive and negative attributions. In the pilot study, on the other hand, the results were the opposite of the current study. Doll 1 was not mentioned for the classmate preference, and doll 2 was only mentioned once. Like in other comparisons, younger children seem more open to having variety than older children.

Doll 3, on the other hand, was associated with positive attributions more than the other dolls and equally minimum negative attributions like dolls 1, 2, and 3. However, only one participant preferred this doll, a classmate, Humberto, of Senegalese origin, who identified himself as doll 5. Again, contrary to what the children of the current study preferred; pilot study participants preferred this doll more than the other dolls.

Doll 4 was the other mostly selected classmate choice, and the participants of Senegalese origin selected all. It might even be expected because most participants also thought this doll looked like them. However, saying the same is not possible for doll 5. Three participants looked like this doll, but it was only selected as the preferred classmate two times by Santiago and Juan, both of Senegalese origin. Overall, the children preferred having classmates like dolls 1, 2, and 4 more than dolls 3 or 5. Additionally, the pilot study participants selected these dolls equally as the second (after doll 3) most preferred classmates.

A detailed analysis of the *boyfriend/girlfriend* question was made in the previous section. That is why it is shortly compared to the other preference questions here. Dolls 2, 4, and 5 were selected equally (four times), doll 1 only once, and doll 3 was not selected at all. In contrast, most children mentioned doll 1 as one of the most desired classmates. The same doll was mentioned only once for the boyfriend/girlfriend question. Dolls 2 and 4 were equally mentioned in both classmate and boyfriend/girlfriend questions. Doll 3 was mentioned only once as a classmate, but nobody selected it as a desired boyfriend/girlfriend. Furthermore, doll

3 was mostly attributed to positive preference questions. On the contrary, doll 5, the one most associated with negative attributions among the other dolls, appears as one of the most desired partners by the participants, as much as dolls 2 and 4.

After the first set of preferences and classmate and boyfriend/girlfriend questions, the second set of preference questions was taken from CNN's questionnaire. These questions, rather than asking their specific opinion on a doll like smart or bad, tried to get the perspective of participants from other children's and adults' eyes by asking to show the doll that children like the most, children do not like, adults like the most and, finally, adults do not like. These last sets of questions were included in the pilot study, but there were more variations similar to these, such as boys like/do not like and girls like/do not like. Since the results of these questions were analyzed with their opposites (including the boys' and girls' questions which were not presented in this study) and face-to-face in-depth interviews that were conducted with the participants of this study after the doll study, the comparison of the last preferential questions of these two studies cannot be made accurately.

For the question *children like the most*, more than half of the participants selected dolls 4 and 5. It is interesting to see doll 5 as one of the most liked considering how participants matched this doll with the negative attributions in the first set of preferential questions. However, it can also be expected because the first set of questions focused on their opinion; presumably, they directly reflected on that. The number of mentions of dolls 4 and 5 is followed by doll 2 with the answers of three participants. Dolls 1 and 3 were mentioned twice.

Participants were also asked which dolls other *children do not like*. These questions were organized like the direct preference questions –positive followed by negative form. In the first set of questions, doll 2 was frequently linked with positive traits. It turns out that the majority of the participants thought that other children did not like this doll. Similar contradictions were observed in the previous question with doll 5. This can be explained as proof that their and other children's opinions differ significantly. Dolls 1, 3, and 5 were selected equally (three times) for the least liked by other children after doll 2. On the other hand, doll 4 was only selected once as the least liked by other children. It is also the doll that most participants self-identified with. This doll received a mix of positive and negative feedback. This shows that participants were not favoring doll 4 because most identified themselves as this one, considering that these results reflect their direct opinion of other children.

For the question *adults do not like the most*, participants said doll 1 is the least liked child representation by adults. This is surprising, considering most of the negative attributions made to doll 5. However, this is another indicator that participants' comments differed from how

they perceived and observed adult preferences. In this question, the most selected one is doll 1, followed by dolls 4, 2, and 5. Doll 3, on the other hand, was never mentioned.

The selections that children made in these two opposite questions are very significant. The question, before the adults do not like, *adults like the most*, shows no specific skin color-related reason to like or dislike a child. As a result, the distribution is equal for all the dolls. However, the answers to this question can be interpreted as it is not that adults did not like children with specific skin color (doll 1 or doll 4). The participants may have answered the questions based on some specific cases. Although adults generally treat everyone equally, adults get angry or react to a temporary situation that does not mean or should not be generalized as disliking someone. In other words, participants may associate dislike with momentary emotional reactions to specific incidents that may not lead to generalized or lasting feelings that can be normalized or interpreted as dislike. The other question mark that the answers to these two last questions left me was which adults we talked about. When I prepared these questions, CNN's study had various adult versions of the questions. However, in order not to bore the participants and because, in terms of the language, they were more complex than the simple questions of beauty or smart, I decided to eliminate them. However, analyzing these answers made me think of those questions and their possible assistance to the results.

Approaching from this perspective, these questions are only appropriate with a story behind it from my point of view. An example could be a memory or a situation from the school for the selection of dolls 1 and 4 in the adults' dislike question. If the number of dark-skinned children was less than that of light-skinned children in the school, it would be more frequent to see them discussing or having problems. Accordingly, they would be warned by the adults more than the dark-skinned children. Therefore, this question would discard many essential factors. Like in most doll studies, some matchings and attributions cannot be explained through sole doll study. It would be better to support it with other techniques and various settings like school, neighborhood, and activities in which children participated.

Since the study was conducted where the dark-skinned color children formed the majority in the group, this result cannot be explained only through this environment, but this brings some possible explanations. One could be that "child(ren) or dolls" in the questions may have been thought of as some specific groups of children, like the ones from the neighborhood or park where the participants were not perceived as a minority. The second possibility is that participants considered all the children they were in contact with regardless of their background, and the results simply represent reality. Another possibility that can be considered is that participants answered these questions by thinking of the majority, including the children that they did not know. In this case, they may think of the conflicts they observed among the

light-skinned children, which can be less compared to them or dark-skinned children. Therefore, they may have interpreted this relationship as not being liked.

As I said at the beginning of this section, these questions are essential to the nature of these studies considering how these studies started to be conducted at the end of the 1930s and the following few years in the US society. However, as much as in the US and other countries where the study was repeated, from those years till today, each society has changed and evolved in different ways. Even the language used in these studies, once accepted as normal, is not appropriate today. Therefore, we (researchers) should change and adapt it according to the research needs but multiplying the number of times the same study and comparing the results would not be enough to take us further. Even by adapting the study and supporting it as much as possible with other techniques, I still find it hard to make sense of both some of the questions and the answers. This does not necessarily mean that the study or the data is not valid but needs other types of support from other fields or methods and broader observation. In other words, this study conducted this way still leaves a significant question unanswered: How can we separate skin color from other physiognomic features, like hair texture or facial structure, or do we have to separate it? In addition to the differences that are clearly important but not shown in the stimuli, the doll study cannot fully capture and understand children's perceptions without representing other significant elements, such as clothing, food, and traditions that this study discovered.

4.4 The comparison between the home country and the host country

This study was initially designed based on a pilot study and the background of the participants, including the place and time it was conducted in. It was mainly focusing on the relations of the racialization of skin color, culture, and nation. Accordingly, it used a triangulation methodology combining participant observation, the doll study adapted from Clark and Clark, and the child-centered techniques. However, apart from these specific subjects, another topic emerged the feeling of belonging and multicultural identities that children create between the home country (country of origin) and the host country (Spain, where they live).

Even though it may seem natural to find this tendency in these kinds of studies, what really surprised me was the age of the participants. Most were born in Spain or came to Spain as a baby. This may seem like an insufficient reason to be surprised, but some of these participants had been to their country of origin only once or a few times. I suppose it is not enough to create a complete picture of their life in the country of origin, better or not, or to fall in love with it based on the limited time and experience they had there. However, I believe that with their visits and the stories they listened to from their family or the community, they created an idea of their home country and an identity based on that perception.

There were two specific child-centered activities, “a spider diagram of me” and “plane ticket to anywhere,” that I conducted with them about this and two other random activities in which the subject came up. Finally, through the end of the research, I directly asked them to paint or write the differences between “their home country and Spain” because apart from these three specific activities, there were times that children expressed their ideas about the home country and Spain randomly during the participant observation. Maybe the results should not be that surprising because when I asked them on the first day where they were from, except Brais and Frank, all said their country of origin regardless of their place of birth.

On November 10, 2017, I asked them to paint their “favorite place.” Seven out of ten painted something about their relatives in their home country or someplace from their home country. Their paintings were unclear to me. Therefore, I asked them individually what the painting was about. Alba painted her aunt’s house in the Dominican Republic because it always smelled good, and she got gifts and loved her aunt (see Figure 13). Santiago painted his grandmother’s house in Senegal (Figure 56) because she cooked well and gave gifts, and Diego a beach in Senegal (see Figure 34).

Figure 56. The house of Santiago’s grandmother

Melisa painted a house in Senegal. She said, “It is not someone’s house; I just like the houses in Senegal with hammocks” (Figure 57).

Figure 57. A house with a hammock in Senegal from Melisa's perspective

Fernando painted a monster from Senegal (Figure 58). He could not say the name and did not know how to write it either. Therefore, I could not get more direct information from him. According to what I could find on the internet, some spiritual activities and celebrations in society include a person dressed like a "monster." However, it is not in the traditional sense to scare. On the contrary, to bless the event, some call it a kind of shaman. When I showed Fernando the picture of "the monster", he said, "I think this is it," but I am not sure if he knew what he was referring to with his painting.

Figure 58. Senegalese monster from Fernando

Cristina painted the house of her aunt and grandparents in Senegal (Figure 59) because she missed them.

Figure 59. The house of Cristina's aunt

Humberto painted a tree, sea, and people in Senegal. He said that he missed Senegal and the sun (Figure 60). Given the weather conditions of Galicia, I am actually surprised how this was not mentioned before and more often by the other participants.

Figure 60. Humberto's representation of trees, sea, and people in Senegal

Painting their "favorite places" was the first activity that this subject came to, and I was surprised with the results because almost all of them referred to a place from their country of origin rather than where they spent most of their time. The reasons they gave for all were more or less the same in each because they missed their relatives, good food, and gifts.

This first activity with children's reasoning of their "favorite places" caused me to think of the possible perception and yearning for a nostalgic and imagined country. Being the youngest or one of the youngest members of their family and relatives and living away from these people, these children might have been given special attention when they visited their home country, like getting gifts and having their favorite food cooked. In addition, family members such as grandparents, uncles, and cousins may focus on the children more than usual to spend time with them and bring them joy during their limited time together. However, could this create an unrealistic perception of a constantly happy environment for the children, leading them to imagine an idealized world of perpetual happiness? I believe children thought or had an image that if they were not living in Spain, this treatment could always be like this. Similar results were found in the study of Oso (2011) with the children of Spanish immigrants in France and Smith (2006) with the children of Mexican immigrants in the US.

On the other hand, three participants did not mention their home country that day. Brais painted Riazor beach in A Coruña (Figure 61) because he had a good time there in the summer with his family.

Figure 61. Riazor Beach from Brais' perspective

Laura painted ghosts because she wanted to. Finally, Frank painted his house in Spain and a park with people and clouds close to his home (Figure 62).

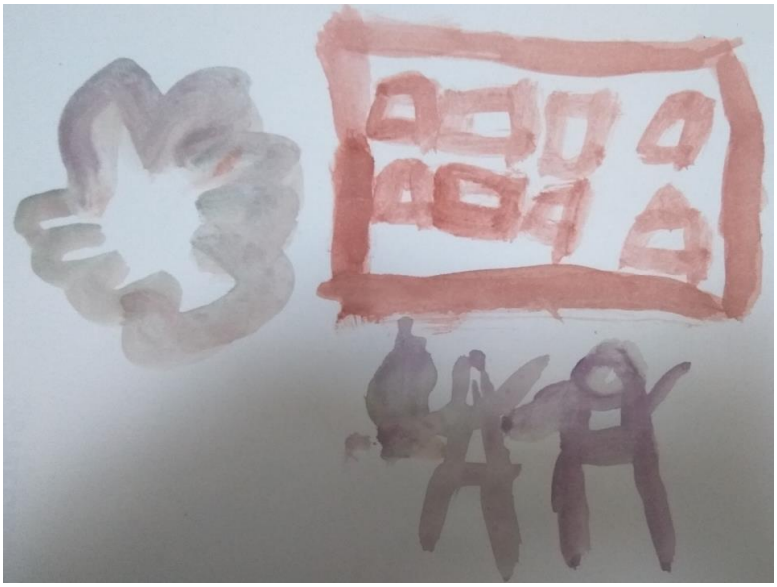

Figure 62. Frank's house and the park nearby

Because of the intriguing results of the "favorite place" painting, I decided to do the "plane ticket" activity that I found in Rovetta Cortés' article (2017) with the participants to see where they would want to go to or even mention their country of origin if there was not any restriction on money or obligation of place. Would the ideas and paintings resemble their favorite place or country of origin? I focused on the destination and the reasons for the desired place because of the age and attention span of the young participants. On the other hand, Cortés had the chance to talk and listen to her older participants' choices with every detail of the ticket.

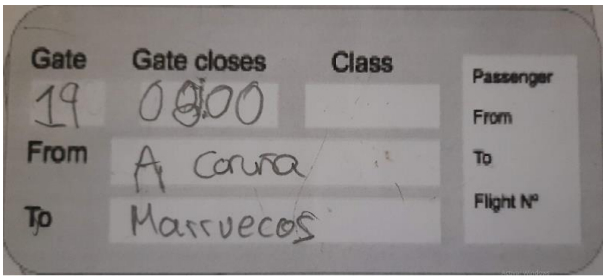

Figure 63. Frank's plane ticket

All the participants wanted to go to their country of origin, or somewhere they had a relative, even Frank (Figure 63). Furthermore, Laura and Brais were the only ones in the "favorite place" activity who did not mention their country of origin. When this activity was more specific and about traveling, they also gave similar answers to other participants.

Alba, different than her favorite place, wanted to go to New York because her cousin lived there. She said there were tall buildings and wanted to see her cousin (Figure 64). This is one of the two exceptions among all but related relatives.

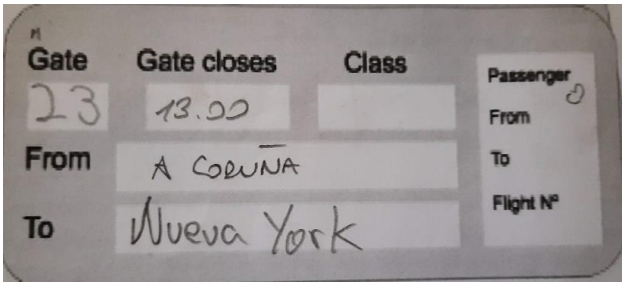

Figure 64. Alba's plane ticket

Santiago's ticket was the other different one. He wanted to go to France (see Figure 50) to search for his grandfather. Santiago said his grandfather was lost in France, and he could go there to find him and bring him back to Senegal. Like Alba, this is also related to relatives. It is striking that when these children were offered the opportunity to go anywhere, they all wanted to go to a place where their relatives were instead of a fun place like Disney.

In another activity called "me (yo)" with spider diagram, I asked the participants to put eight things (eight legs of a spider) that defined them (Figures 65 & 66). This activity was conducted to see how they would define themselves, such as their favorite things and interests. The most interesting among all the things they put on these legs were the flags. Even though I did not mention national flags, six of the eleven children included them in their spider diagram.

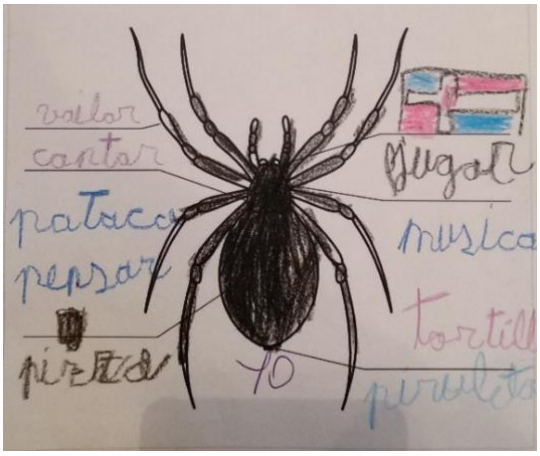

Figure 65. Alba's spider diagram of me

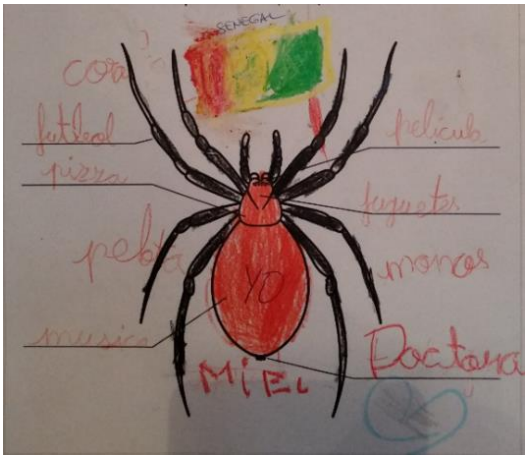

Figure 66. Tania's spider diagram of me

About two months after this activity, we made a castle from recycled materials (Figure 67). When it was finished, we (supervisors) asked the children to paint flags to put on the castle. Just flags; nothing was mentioned about a country. They all painted the flags of their country of origin. They even asked me how to paint the Turkish flag and made one for me. When all was finished, Maria collected them to put on the castle and saw that there was not any Spanish flag. She asked, "How about mine? You even made one for Zeynep." Tania said, "Do not worry. I will make one for you now." Tania and Cristina painted two Spanish flags, and we

also put them on. Interestingly, none of the children chose or even thought of the Spanish flag or the Galician to represent them or just to put as a decoration, while they thought of the Turkish flag. Could this be interpreted as the exclusion of Spain, not feeling as a part of it even if they were growing up in Spain (Galicia) and spent less time in their country of origin or none every year? Why not even one of them did not think of painting a Spanish or Galician flag?

Figure 67. The castle of flags

After these specific activities and some time, I decided to ask them what differences they found between their country of origin and Spain. Fernando's painting and the notes I added while he explained covered almost all the points others mentioned as well (Figure 68). He said there were chairs to sit and eat, many toys, a marketplace with a roof, different sand, and different money in Spain. Whereas people did not use chairs while eating, they had a small number of toys, bigger family buildings, and houses without roofs with many animals in Senegal. Some participants added rain, music, language, flag, food, sun, and friends to Fernando's list. None of the children represented skin color in their paintings, even though they often referred to it during other activities except Fernando. He painted his family members in dark skin colors in both countries. It is possible that Fernando and the others found this so natural that it was not worth mentioning.

Figure 68. Senegal v. Spain

Children continuously compared the host and their home country during the study. Similar findings were obtained by other studies conducted with children of minority origin or their family members, especially on the effect of mobility or transnationalism and the perception of self, identity, country, nation, and culture in the school context, like language abilities or friendship context. Most of these studies were conducted in schools and with older children than the participants of my study; some of these are Korn's research with immigrant children in the US (1997), Moskal and Sime's research with children of Polish origin in Scotland (2016), Veale and Andres' research Nigerian parents and children both in Ireland and Nigeria (2020), Welply's research with children of various origin in France and England (2015), Rousseau and Heusch's research with refugee and immigrant children in Canada (2000). While some of these studies used similar child-centered techniques to this study, their approach to the subject was not the same. Comparing these studies, which were conducted in different contexts, with the results of this study in general, there is a tendency for children growing up in transnational social fields families to develop a dual understanding of culture. However, especially in this case, I observed that children at this age seemed more focused on the specific features of there (country of origin) than here (Spain). Most of these studies

connect these findings with the child's personal experience and also to a national focus of the educational curriculum of the countries. I believe that as much as the effect of the school curriculum, the effect of the host society and the child's personal experience should be considered in the analysis because it plays an essential role in creating the self and multicultural identity of the child who grow up in transnational social fields.

4.5 Adult perspective on children's understanding

The focus of the study was always on the children and their perspective on race through skin color, religion, culture, and nation. Since these notions are socially constructed, I needed to see the children's perspectives in different settings. To ensure accuracy, I utilized a triangulation methodology that incorporated the viewpoints of individuals who were familiar with the participants as well as those who were not. I always questioned and interpreted the observations, incidents, or children's expressions from a perspective of a researcher and an outsider as a person who did not grow up in Spain. The way children pronounced their ideas often fascinated me, like Brais' comment on what they ate that day: The Blacks ate chicken with rice, and the Whites ate chorizo with potatoes. However, I also wanted to see if these were as important for me as the others, like locals or White Spaniards—who can also be described as insiders—and volunteers, workers, interns, and non-racialized stuff—who can also be described as me, outsiders. On the other hand, I wanted to see if there was a possible effect of adults (outsiders or insiders) on children's perspectives through my interactions with adults who did not know the children during the observation and through the focused-group discussion with adults who knew children. This part of the methodology and analysis was initially designed based on the focused-group discussion. However, I had to include my interactions with outsider adults because there were various meaningful conversations I had with whom I assume were from the autochthonous community (White Spaniard) that made me think afterward about some of the children's reactions and approaches to some events.

Most of the NGO staff[21], from different backgrounds, were there for a considerable period, some during the study and some even long before that. This is mainly why I also wanted to see if they observed or paid attention to the same or different things that participants did and how these adults would describe them as White Spaniards or as a part of the organization (see Table 4). Therefore, I prepared a presentation introducing the original doll study and the results of my doll study, which was the only part of the study that they did not see. Moreover, I chose my doll study to talk about the research because it was a specific and structured study with results, and it was easier to explain the idea of the whole study around it. Race is not a common

[21] White Spaniards and non-racialized volunteers, interns, and employees.

or easy subject to talk about. Even though we were in an organization where we saw its effects first-hand and worked against it, when race was a topic of discussion, not everybody was willing to share their ideas forthrightly. Hence, with this in mind, in order to encourage a discussion, I prepared a series of questions: (1) whether they found the results of my doll study surprising, (2) what they thought skin color meant for participants, (3) if they believed skin color, religion, nationality, and race are linked to each other, (4) how they thought children understand race, (5) how they thought that participants related skin color with religion and nationality (Appendix E).

When I first shared the original doll study and explained the aim and its effects, not everyone agreed on its significance. Some did not recognize the prevalence of racism or skin color bias among children in Spain, especially for our participants. Therefore, they did not view it as a significant topic for investigation. I went on and shared my doll study and the children's responses. They found it different and softer than the original study because of the presentation of the questions. From my point of view, the questions were not softer or very different from the original ones. However, maybe the way of presenting the dolls and the free matching questions about nationality and religion affected the staff's perception. Some also found it very interesting, mainly because of what they experienced with the participants.

They said they saw and heard some things among the children, as in my doll study questionnaire, but they did not think those were significant. After the presentation of the results of my doll study and short comments to my first question about whether they found the results surprising, I asked the rest of the questions mentioned above.

Not all the participants answered the questions directly. However, the questions helped to start the discussion. The staff tried to explain their ideas through what they shared with the children and their anecdotes from the conversations with participants' family members, people from the community, and the neighborhood. In this way, I had the chance to see different perspectives on the subject because they shared their ideas and experiences while discussing and explaining the possible reasons for the events they witnessed. However, I focus on the comments the staff made directly related to the participants in this section.

(2) What skin color means for the children

An *important value* because it defines the children and their behavior. This is one of the points made by the staff, but it is quite broad in scope. Explaining it as an important value gathers all the following elements: behavior, family, friends, and culture. This approach to skin color is very parallel to children's perception. This general and wide answer to this question was expected, considering that this question was less specific than the others.

A specific *behavioral trait* was said and exemplified by the well-known sentence said by Brais, "The Blacks ate chicken, and the Whites ate chorizo." This statement not only captured my attention but also drew the staff's attention. This point made by the staff provided me with a more nuanced perspective rather than just a significant value. As a result, it made me question the initial assertion by the staff that the children were too young to experience racism and that racism was not a crucial topic to investigate. Consequently, this raised the broader question of what adults understand from racism. Is it limited to arguments or physical attacks occurring only among adults and solely based on skin color? Or was the staff's perception shaped by the focus on skin color in the question?

Skin color also meant *family and friends* whom the children can talk to, touch, and salute freely, said the staff. Unlike other participants who were not of Senegalese origin, young children and teenagers of Senegalese origin did not talk or greet us when we came across them outside the NGO. Some staff explained this as not being part of their family and friend circle, which was formed mainly by skin color because skin color meant that you are one of them. However, while this may be children's perception, their parents did not act this way in the street or when they came to take their children. On the other hand, some also emphasized the effect of the NGO on children's attitudes outside the NGO. They said teenagers might be ashamed because they got help from an NGO, and younger ones might be shy to talk to us in the presence of adults.

(3) Whether skin color, religion, nationality, and race linked to each other

All the questions were closely related to each other. Therefore, the examples given in this question were short and focused. As soon as I finished the question, Maria remembered Camilo's statement from a few days before, "We are all Black except Alba, who is White." Jose interpreted it as enlightenment because the children were together for months, and he did not realize this before. Therefore, this was just a realization of the situation and an innocent and loud expression of Camilo's thoughts. Additionally, these children often found themselves in the minority position within groups such as schools, which could feel unfamiliar or surprising in that particular setting. It can be accurate for that day because there were some days that only children of Senegalese origin came; it was rare, but it happened. Conversely, there were other light-skinned children like Alba, Alberto, and Frank, as well as visitors from various nations and with different skin colors, and the children of Senegalese origin were consistently in the majority. On the other hand, this comment may have appeared intriguing to the staff because, as we age, we learn how to filter and not share every thought that comes to mind. However, children of that age often do not think like adults and express their ideas without restraint. This is one of the aspects that researchers should observe and learn from

children. While this example may not provide an elaborate explanation or serve as a direct response to the question, it is a notable instance that highlights how staff observed and remembered such comments even though some said race and skin color did not play an important role in children's lives.

This was followed by Carla's conversation with Brais. Carla mentioned that Brais had been telling her about the delicious, hot, and spicy Senegalese food served at his father's restaurant, and he invited Carla to try it. Carla expressed her concern, saying, "But if it is so spicy, I will not be able to eat it." In response, Brais reassured her by saying, "Do not worry! We do not prepare such spicy food for White people."

Brais showed again how he perceives differences. In the beginning, his statement, "the Blacks ate chorizo, and the Whites ate chicken," made me think that he made a deduction and refined this based on religion and skin color. However, the conversation between Carla and him shows that it is not just a basic comparison of Black and White or dark and light skin color through pork or religion. When the subject changed from pork to food in general, he continued differentiating, categorizing, and making sense of the diversity that he lived in. This brings another question: Did this differentiation, whether based on religion or culture, apply to only Spanish or all non-Senegalese people with light skin color?

When Maria heard the reference to white in Carla's conversation, she said, "Oh! They do not call me White; they say I have flesh tone *(color de carne)*." Maria held the distinction of being the eldest among us and the most senior staff member of the NGO. She spent much time with the Senegalese community, and as much as being a friend to the families and the community, she was also like the nanny of the community. She ate, drank, and celebrated with them. Therefore, the community embraced and treated her differently, which was why Maria's experience differed from others. She said they did not call her White or see her as a White regular Spanish, but that was because of her bond with the community. In other words, this would not change the comment of Brais except for this particular case but gives an idea about how the proximity of the people from the "locals (especially White Spaniards from the autochthonous community)" can change the perspective. Therefore, would a closer relationship between the communities change the perspective of both sides regardless of skin color? Would this be a sign that the closer the relationship, the lesser the assumptions and prejudices to bring the barriers down, like preventing a type of categorization or stereotypes that Brais made on various occasions?

Maria's mention of the significance of skin color is indeed crucial. When she said Senegalese called her "color de carne*"*, she referred to all in the Senegalese community, adults, and children. I also heard this from the participants. When they looked for colors like "light

golden" and "medium almond" skin colors, which refer to light skin colors, participants always used the term "flesh tone or skin color." Once, I heard Melisa asking for skin color during a painting activity. I stopped and asked her, "How about your skin color? Is it not called flesh tone? How do you differentiate?" Fernando answered, showing his arm, "You see, this is brown. It is different." Skin color is skin color, just a description with a missing adjective. They could have used brown or dark skin color to refer to a specific tone, but that was how they used it in their daily lives. Skin color or flesh tone (color de carne) referred to a light skin color, while theirs were "simply brown." Crayola appears to have found a solution to this problem recently (Setty, 2020). It created a new pack of colors called "Colors of the World," this is how I found about the light golden skin color or medium brown descriptions, and I think if this can be placed in the vocabulary of children, this may very well reduce these kinds of interactions and increase the awareness.

(4) How children understand race

Miriam, the intern from Sociology who supervised the oldest group, said Camilo's comment, "We are all Black except Alba," explained how the children understood race. She added that she saw the difference between her group and the group I conducted the study with. For her, the oldest ones were more conscious than the younger ones.

I argue that they were all conscious regardless of age (as can be seen from the participants' comments). They all observed the differences first-hand. Young ones did not pronounce race as adults did, but they could explain and show the effect of race in their daily lives in different ways. In time the impact of race in their daily lives may change, and they learn not to talk about it or how to talk about it. Therefore, each age group is valuable to understand how they perceive race, live with it, and deal with it.

Another different approach was given by Alejandro. From his perspective, race meant skin color, and skin color meant family. This was primarily visible in older children's interactions because they learned new rules to obey apart from food habits or restrictions as they got older. For instance, some women in the community did not touch men, and some men did not touch, talk, or even salute women because of their religious beliefs and practices. Alejandro mainly referred to women. I did not realize this as a woman because they (both fathers and mothers) were talking to me. That was because my gender allowed it, especially for women. This could have been an aspect to consider and explore if this was conducted with the oldest group or if the study included other settings like neighborhood, community, home, school, and other leisure activities in which children were involved. The gender roles of the community, culture, and religion did not apply to the youngest and middle groups. That is why Miriam and

Alejandro thought that my participants were very young to understand the "real" problems that minority children faced.

(5) How children relate skin color, religion, and nationality

According to Maria, it would be best to ask this question in May 2018 since that was the month Ramadan occurred that year. She explained how the children's routine would change, there would be conflicts because some would fast, and some would like to pray at that hour in their homes. Therefore, they would not want to come to the NGO. However, all of these comments referred to the oldest group because the youngest and middle age groups of the NGO were exempt from the "rules" or "practices" of religion since they were very young, like the other issues mentioned above.

Jose thought religion was related to skin color because children learned from repetition. Therefore, children of that age (participants) may think all Blacks are Muslims and Senegalese. Alex objected to Jose. Alex said the children of Senegalese origin saw people with lighter skin colors who were Muslims and gave the example of Frank, Western Saharan, who was with us almost the whole first semester. As mentioned before, it is astonishing that children neither in the doll study nor in other activities remembered the example of Frank with his skin color or religious practices, as in Alex's reference. On the other hand, I do not think that Frank was the only example. They had other children around the school or neighborhood. However, I was not able to observe their relationships (if there were any).

Miriam, the supervisor of the oldest group, and Carla, the supervisor of the youngest group, shared another memory, including the youngest and oldest group. One day at school, the older sister of Cristina ate ham without realizing it. When the older sister noticed this also happened to the other children from my group, including Cristina and the twins (Diego and Santiago), the sister stopped them and changed their plates. Miriam and Carla asked, "Then what happened?" Cristina's sister said, "There is nothing to do for the young ones. We should just be careful and check them. For me, I prayed for it and asked for forgiveness from God." This confirms my assumptions that I saw in the Moroccan cookies incident. Young children were used to being warned by the older children.

This conversation also reminded me of what Tania said in the class, "The older ones eat chorizo even though it is prohibited because of curiosity, and nothing happened." While Tania described the situation like this, I think older ones' approaches also differ among themselves. It appears that things seem forgivable until they come to the age of responsibility of praying and practicing some "rules" of the religion. However, since they did not know the mediums to correct these "mistakes," children may have translated this as nothing happens or there is no

punishment. As mentioned before, Tania's comment makes me think she was expecting a physical or tangible change. Moreover, this shows how older ones differentiate in the group, according to comments of Tania. While some might be willing to try and see, others might see this as a sin and try to correct the mistake. However, this comment is not enough to see the other side of the issue since I did not work with older children or was not in the school to understand how these situations evolved.

Miriam shared another event from the oldest ones. On a special occasion, we gave potato chips to the children from the donations after the lunch snack. Without checking, Miriam took some from the box and gave them to her group, children ate it and liked it, and then one of them realized that it had a ham aroma. A Senegalese girl from the group says, "No worries, that is just an aroma. It is not real ham." This also shows how children adapted or challenged the situation according to the desired results but, of course, within reason, just like the young one's "legitimization" of receiving gifts from the Three Magical Kings. I do not think they could legitimize eating pork, but they seemed to be able to find a reason to support the desired outcome depending on the occasion.

Most of the incidents or moments recorded as memorable by the staff were related to religion. Even though some staff members did not spend a long time or were directly included in the activities with the participants, their contribution gave another perspective and a chance to compare or rethink children's interactions in a broader context, such as with family members and the community.

In addition to the NGO staff, I encountered other adults during the study. I call them outsiders, who had no or short contact with the participants. Although this aspect of the analysis was not initially planned, two specific incidents involving outsider adults introduced different perspectives and valuable insights, particularly about understanding the children's perspectives.

On October 5, we were at a playground where we went regularly with children. Children played, and we, three supervisors, watched them. A woman, I assume a Spanish grandmother, was also watching her grandson next to me. She said, "Oh! So many Black children," and turned to me and asked me where the children were from. I said the majority were of Senegalese origin. A few seconds later, she asked me if they were there for a vacation. I said, "No, they live here." Then, she asked, "Are they adopted?" I said, "No, they live here with their families." She was surprised and asked me this time why they were there. I explained that we were an NGO, children came after school, and we were there for an excursion. After that, she thanked me and walked away. It was interesting because I think she missed that her grandson greeted some of the participants. This may suggest a kind of disconnection between

generations since she was unaware of the diversity around her and her grandson's relationship with them. What was more surprising was that the grandmother had never seen the participants, although they lived in the same neighborhood and some children were in the same school as her grandson.

A similar incident occurred during the pilot study. We took the pilot study participants for an excursion in Cidade da Cultura, Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain). A volunteer from another NGO asked me if the children were orphans. Therefore, the comment of the grandmother was not very surprising. After experiencing two similar interactions, I wondered if children of minority backgrounds receive the same reactions from adults. I also pondered if these attitudes would impact their self-perception, identity, and sense of belonging in the host society and how this would affect their perception of the host and home countries.

These two incidents are critical in terms of reminding us that while children are largely surrounded by peers and adult carers (family, NGO staff, teachers), their world also includes adults who do not know them and whose comments and actions may influence children's perceptions. I confronted these two similar incidents in different contexts and years. However, the reaction of the light-skinned Spanish adults of different generations was similar to each other. Consequently, this makes me question whether or how often children are exposed to these kinds of conversations, comments, or actions. Considering these, maybe the way children identified and expressed themselves as Senegalese and often drew the flag of Senegal or the Dominican Republic can be natural.

Figure 69. Participants in a car in the playground

Figure 70. Participants on the merry go round

On December 21, we went to a circus with all the children of the NGO. We had to take buses on the way to reach the circus. The organization that arranged the buses also sent volunteers

to supervise the children. When we left the NGO to take the buses, we were well-organized. The youngest and the middle group took one bus, and the oldest group took another to the circus. However, the groups were mixed on the way back. While we were returning to the NGO on the bus, the children began to talk in Wolof, and then suddenly, they began singing. At first, the song sounded like hip-hop. The volunteers talked to each other and did not say anything to the children. When the children chanted Allah, the Takbir (*Allāhu akbar*) and the Basmala (*bismi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm*) in the song, volunteers stopped talking, looked at the children and each other. Afterward, they approached the children and asked them to stop politely and nervously. The children did not stop singing but stopped singing loudly till we arrived. This incident, like the one with the grandmother, makes me wonder if these children had similar confrontations in different settings or contexts and how these events and reactions of the others shape their perception of the locals.

With these kinds of approaches, will children ever feel like Spain is their home or identify as Spanish? Are there any other interactions that children of minority origin encounter, or how do these events make children feel? Accordingly, is it astonishing seeing children painting only the Senegalese flag? Of course, these questions cannot be answered only through this study, but a glimpse of an idea arose through these three incidents to consider in future studies.

4.6 Summary of the main results

The analysis of young minority children's perceptions of race, ethnicity, nation, religion, and culture was established on participant observation, child-centered techniques, the doll study, and a focused group discussion with the NGO staff methodologies. Each method in this triangulation made a unique contribution, and they all worked together like a puzzle to reveal distinct viewpoints of children in various circumstances. Three significant results were obtained:

Complex Perception and Interpretation:

The study revealed that young children of minority origin possess the ability to perceive and interpret behaviors and events in a complex manner, like adults. Through participant observation, doll study, and child-centered techniques, it became evident that children consider various contextual factors to differentiate and understand "differences" in their daily lives.

Compartmentalized Appropriateness:

The research highlighted how young children of minority origin develop a sense of compartmentalized appropriateness. Their understanding of what is appropriate in different contexts, such as beauty standards or family structures, was observed to vary. The methods

used in the research, particularly active listening and communication with the children, facilitated the exploration of these complex cultural and physical traits.

In-group Influence:

In-group discussions and reasoning among young children of minority origin played a significant role in making sense of cultural events, especially the ones that their families did not participate. These discussions helped the children reach conclusions that mostly aligned with their desired outcomes. The in-group influence was observed to shape their perceptions, understanding, and practices.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

In this final chapter, the study ends by summarizing the overall research findings in relation to the research aims and questions through triangulation methodology. Afterward, it explores the significance and impact of these discoveries on the current knowledge base. The following sections critically analyze the study's limitations and challenges and suggest possible directions for future research that could expand on the knowledge gained from this investigation. It ends with an overall reflection of the research.

5.1 Overall findings in relation to research aims and questions

One of the aims of this study was to examine how young children of minority origin comprehend and interpret "difference" based on physical characteristics and cultural traits in their daily life experiences.

The children, who possessed visible and tangible differences compared to the majority of the community they interacted with, engaged in comparisons of the differences across various contexts. It is found that their complex, analytical, and context-based abilities enabled them to differentiate and understand situations and circumstances, similar to adults. One of the most salient differences this study's participants had was their skin color, just like the pilot study participants. This was considered to be an important factor after the critical incident and the conclusions gathered from the pilot study. After skin color, the other leading difference that significantly impacted children's daily life experiences were the cultural practices of the children in the pilot study. The current study undertook an analysis of the salience of these and other perspectives for younger children. Accordingly, rather than questioning the validity or possibility of the effect of physical and cultural traits, I directly focused on children's perspectives and interpretations of these traits in their daily life experiences.

Young children of minority origin interpreted these differently from the older children who were part of the pilot study. Young children's statements were more neutral, like statements of the facts and their experiences, while the older children included their subjective perceptions and approaches to the events. Furthermore, younger children also had different capabilities and command of language than older children, especially in terms of vocabulary.

These are some of the reasons why I conducted a triangulation methodology. With direct questions and isolating other factors, the doll study focused on the interpretation of differences from a specific perspective, skin color. Unlike the pilot study participants, younger children did not reveal any specific or fixed connection among skin color, nation, and religion. Further investigation through participant observation and child-centered techniques uncovered that

these children interpret physical and cultural differences according to the context and circumstances. Statements, like “All the Blacks are from Senegal,” “The Blacks ate chicken with rice, the Whites ate chorizo with potatoes,” and “We do not prepare such spicy food for White people” show the complexity of children’s perceptions of both physical and cultural traits.

Another question raised for this study was how young children of minority origin interpret key concepts like race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality.

Young children do not use socially constructed concepts in ways similar to older children or adults. These concepts on their own are too abstract for young children but are observable and meaningful in a tangible context. This study adopted an emic perspective and thick description approach to understanding comments and events in which children were involved thoroughly. This way, children’s backgrounds, such as culture and age, were taken into consideration as well as the context of the event.

Children often referred to these concepts when they commented on their daily experiences, realized new things, and compared situations. For instance, food was a constant reminder of how their religious practices differed from those of the majority. This was also mixed or included with other characteristics of the group. For example, when talking about chorizo, I asked them why they did not eat chorizo and they told me that it was because they were Senegalese and/or Muslim. Even though they did not know how to separate various cultural factors from each other from an adult perspective, they were conscious of them and their effects on their daily life experiences.

Furthermore, children understood and pronounced these differences in practice through in and out-group comparison. Eating habits, religious practices, and skin color might not have been their focus if they lived in their country of origin or in a society where the same cultural and physical traits were shared. Therefore, this shows also why minority groups should not be considered as a single unit of analysis. For instance, the Dominican and Colombian Spanish origin participants did not mention these cultural examples, who shared similar cultural practices with most of the Spanish community.

The third objective of this study was to understand how young children of minority origin racialize skin color, religion, culture, and nationality.

Young children who observed differences based on skin color, religion, culture, and nationality between them (people like them) and others (people not like them) learned from experience how to differentiate themselves, apply, and organize their daily lives within and around these differences in the process. This distinction is not simply based on the separation

of religion, food, or color for young children. The doll study I conducted with older children revealed that older children made some correlative matches between religion, skin color, and nationality. However, these tendencies were less apparent in the younger children's perspectives. Moreover, this was also supported by the children's ascriptions of the dream girl figures. While the doll study approached understanding children's perceptions only from the perception of skin color, other child-centered techniques, especially "dream girl" by shifting the focus away from skin color, revealed other important details that affect and form children's perceptions. This indicates how young children of minority origin utilize complex and context-based details for composing their perspectives.

The last question raised in this study was how young children of minority origin construct multicultural identities in transnational social fields.

This question emerged after witnessing children's continuous nostalgic comments about the home country and the comparisons between the home and the host country during the study. Children of minority origin, exposed throughout their upbringing to different cultural practices associated with their countries of origin, conceptualized and contextualized events and meanings from perspectives that differed from their peers. This exposure influenced their process of identity construction and shaped their understanding and acceptance of culture and ways of life within multiple overlapping contexts.

Each time children had the chance to talk about their home countries, they talked about them with longing. In the "plane ticket to anywhere" child-centered activity, all the children wanted to go places either where they had relatives or directly to their home country instead of a fun place like Disneyland. Similar findings were gathered from the children's paintings from the "my favorite place" activity. In every conversation and activity related to places, these children mentioned people or places from their home country. The surprising side of this result is that most of these children's ages ranged from three to seven years old, and most had been to their country of origin maybe once or twice. Therefore, how could these children yearn for these places or people? How did these places become more attractive than well-known places like PortAventura World?

Being raised in a transnational social field significantly affected children's perception of identity. Through their simultaneous exposure to two cultural norms, I found that children developed multicultural context-based appropriateness of behaviors, events, and even fashion. One of them was about the perception of family structure –polygamy (Senegal) and monogamy (Spain). Most of the children of Senegalese origin had more than one mother. However, all had only one of their mothers in Spain. In the "dressing my family" activity, Fernando included his second mother and often referred to her during the observation phase.

After one of these conversations and the conversation about having boyfriends and girlfriends, I asked the children if they could have more than one partner. All said, "No." Even though they said no, some claimed they had more than one girlfriend. Since I did not specify the place, children may have considered this question in the context of Spain.

Likewise, in another discussion, children revealed their understanding of beauty. From my perspective, children or their families did not dress differently than their peers. However, it should be noted that I saw the children and their families during the fall-winter season, and Galicia, in general, is famous for its bad weather and rains throughout the year. Some children put skirts and bikinis on their mothers and sisters in the "dressing my family" activity. When I asked the children if their mothers and sisters wore these types of clothes, they said they wished. However, this comment did not mean that children entirely disliked or hated their mothers' and sisters' garments or dressing styles. They also talked about how beautiful the traditional dresses of Senegal, boubou, the hairstyles, and the accessories during the religious festivities. However, when these dresses were used outside the appropriate space and time, this became funny for the children. When one of the Senegalese participants came dressed in boubou on a casual day, they made fun of him. Therefore, these two events explain how children compartmentalized the appropriateness of an event, culture, or even dress. Neither one nor the other was the appropriate one for all. Most probably, children had been applying these in other contexts as well, but this study could uncover only these aspects.

The other important aspect encountered in the pilot and current study was the White Spanish adults' approach to these children. After confronting this situation in three different contexts and with actors of different generations, I began to question the reflection of this attitude on the children's perception of the host country and their identities. As described in the analysis section, I was asked on two different occasions, once in a public park and the other time in a cultural activity center whether the children were orphans visiting Spain. On another occasion, when children chanted, they were asked to stop by the adults because the song had Islamic words like Allah, the Takbir, and the Basmala, and from what I observed, it was because on that occasion, they were clearly uncomfortable and nervous. Suppose these children had similar confrontations in different settings or contexts? In that case, I wonder how these events and reactions of the others might help shape children's perception of the White Spaniards, themselves, or the host country? These children are treated as outsiders, despite having been born and raised in Spain. Given these experiences, it is not surprising that they do not feel part of the host society. Moreover, in this specific case, the children and the community in general are known as "the Senegalese." In other words, attention to their identities was frequently recalled in the neighborhood. I suppose that since their school and social environment were also in the same area, this identity was similarly often used by others.

Children operate in multicultural settings that are shaped in part by transnational social fields. So, on the one hand, they have affinities, relationships, and ways of being that are partially rooted in the home country of their parents. Their homes follow many of the cultural patterns their parents developed in the country of origin, and they also visit the country, interact with friends and relatives there, and develop a sense of an imagined homeland fueled by the special treatment and status as visiting relatives from abroad. Moreover, on the other hand, Spanish people see them as "Other" –never Spanish. However, the work of creating a sense of self and place is done mainly with regard to their country of residence, Spain, in the specific multicultural context of A Coruña and the NGO.

These research questions all explore different ways in which children use and interpret socially constructed concepts. They did not differentiate these concepts in the same way as adults do, nor did they experience them in similar ways. The following quotes from children's comments were discussed in detail throughout various chapters; they summarize how children's perspectives are interconnected. The last quote was made by the (White Spanish) adults. I also share that to remind the possible effect of adult's approach and perception on children's perspectives:

> "All the Blacks are from Senegal."
>
> "The Blacks ate chicken with rice, and the Whites ate chorizo with potatoes."
>
> "Do not worry! We do not prepare such spicy food for White people."
>
> "The older ones eat chorizo even though it is prohibited because of curiosity, and nothing happened!"
>
> "If you continue to lie like this, the devil will come at night and take your toys."
>
> "But everybody celebrates Three Magical Kings, and if it were bad, our parents would say 'no,' no?"
>
> "Are the children orphans?"

In conclusion, the triangulation methodology played a crucial role in revealing different perspectives and details, either by focusing on specific concepts or combining them according to the study's requirements and participants' interests by being conducted in an NGO where the minority children formed the majority. The study's major outcomes include the complex perception and interpretation of events and behaviors by young children of minority origin, the influence of in-group discussions on children's understanding, and the development of a sense of compartmentalized appropriateness in children of minority origin. The doll study,

participant observation, and child-centered techniques were instrumental in uncovering these outcomes.

5.2 Contributions to the field of children and race

This study uncovered new insights about race and other imminently relevant social constructs that had not been previously explored in in-depth studies conducted with children. These findings contribute to a more profound understanding and perspectives of the topic.

One of the findings is the need for more studies concerning children's perspectives on race in the academic literature. This study offers a new perspective by examining how young children of minority origin experience and understand race from a complex, context-based, and cultural perspective. Adult perspectives and perceptions predominantly orient the academic literature. There are very few studies dedicated to children's perspectives on race. When one enters this field, one first needs to go through adult perceptions of race, including how it is constructed and deconstructed, as well as approaches and theories of the concept including how it has evolved over time.

Furthermore, the few studies conducted with children on race mainly focused on the topic from one determined perspective and through quantitative methods that have endured over an extended period, such as Clark and Clark's doll study (Barker & Weller, 2003; Due et al., 2014). Changes to this approach have only begun relatively recently with qualitative methods more common in current studies. This distinction was also affected heavily by researchers' approaches to children's position in the academic literature. The common use of quantitative methods was because children were not considered reliable agents. Accordingly, children were regarded as becomings or changing beings into adults in the literature. Once this perspective began to shift, qualitative research techniques gained importance. This also meant the approach to children's position in the literature altered. Children turned from the objects (becomings) of the studies to the subject of the studies (beings or social actors) (James et al., 2012; Punch, 2002). However, the trend of approaching children from a narrow perceptive carried on, especially in the very few studies on race.

Consequently, the second contribution concerns the importance of triangulation methodology, emic perspective, and thick description approach. The combination of the participant observation (Corsaro, 1996), the doll study (Clark & Clark, 1947), and the child-centered techniques (Punch, 2002) made it possible to gather participants' perspectives in different contexts. Participant observation helped discover children's backgrounds, cultures, interests, arguments, ideas, and how they made sense of the things around them and carried out a process of deduction. Furthermore, this was essential in constructing and conducting the other

methods. The child-centered techniques adopted from other studies and the new approaches created for this study were especially tailored according to the data gathered from participant observation.

Child-centered techniques aided in discovering the details in children's perspectives on specific topics. The spider diagram and painting activities provided deeper insight into what has been observed among the children. Compared to participant observation and child-centered techniques, the doll study was more quantitative. It was incorporated into both studies after witnessing the critical incident. After this incident, I knew for these children, their perceptions of skin color were based on considered beyond mere skin tone. Therefore, when I learned about the doll study and could not find other similar and rigorous studies that searched specifically for the impact of skin color on children's perspectives, I decided to use the approach in my study as well. Considering that this study was first conducted at the end of the 1930s, I made some changes to adapt the methods to my participants' backgrounds and how I analyzed the data gathered from it. In both phases of this study participant observation and child-centered research methods were crucial. Some of the answers gathered from children in the doll study were further discussed, along with the children's comments in other activities. In this way, the doll study's quantitative characteristics were transformed into a qualitative approach.

Furthermore, the utilization of the emic perspective (Erickson, 1977; Helfrich, 1999) and thick description (Geertz, 1973) played a significant role in uncovering the children's unique perspectives and gathering meaningful data in qualitative research. These approaches allowed for a deeper understanding of the subjective experiences and interpretations of young children of minority origin, shedding light on their mindset within their cultural and social contexts.

This study contributes to children and race studies by employing a unique combination of research methods, including participant observation, the doll study, and child-centered techniques, in conjunction with applying the emic perspective and thick description. This interdisciplinary approach allowed for a comprehensive exploration of young children of minority origin's understanding of race, culture, and identity. To the best of my knowledge, no similar study combining these specific methods and perspectives has been documented in the existing academic literature, making this research innovative in its approach.

Another important aspect of this study's design that contributed to its findings is the choice of setting, an NGO, defined as a semi-formal setting. By embracing the NGO context, this study attained an extensive and contextually enriched comprehension of how young children of minority origin apprehend the concept of race. Within the NGO setting, children participated in a diverse array of activities, unrestricted by the rigid regulations often imposed within

schools. This deliberate approach and setting facilitated a more profound and comprehensive exploration of the intricate interplay of cultural, social, and environmental elements that influence and mold these children's perceptions of race and their cultural identity.

The decision to conduct this study outside of a traditional school setting, coupled with the utilization of a triangulation methodology, contributed to the existing literature on children and race. This approach emphasized the necessity of exploring multiple contexts and settings when examining the experiences and perspectives of minority children.

Another contribution of this study is related to the participants and their backgrounds, as well as the specific setting in which the research was conducted. The study involved a small number of participants who were predominantly from a minority background and was carried out within an NGO where these minority children formed the majority.

These participants from a minority background added significance to the study as it provided insights into the experiences and perspectives of a specific marginalized group from their own point of view. By focusing on a smaller number of participants, the study was able to delve deeper into their backgrounds and experiences and how they perceived themselves and their cultural and social milieu. Despite the limited sample size of having only one participant who lived under more favorable economic conditions than the others, his comments and experience helped me to understand his different and detailed perspective and to contemplate factors such as class, privilege, and social position on minority children’s contemplation of race.

Conducting the study within an NGO setting where most children belonged to a minority group offered a unique context where these children interacted and engaged with each other, fostering a sense of community and shared experiences compared to their usual conditions at school. It provided an environment likely to shape their understanding of race and cultural differences in distinct ways, which might differ from more structured settings such as schools where they have to follow established routines such as seating arrangements and individual class work.

5.3 Reflection on research challenges and limitations

I encountered some challenges, particularly in studying race, when working with children during the research project. Three significant points are highlighted: perception and knowledge, communication, and establishing a balanced power relationship between the researcher and the participants.

By understanding the age group’s knowledge, limits, and specific capabilities, I could adapt the tasks accordingly. The long period of participant observation was key in understanding the

study's research collaborators and developing ways to cope with problems smoothly. The language barrier was one area that might have been a handicap in the beginning, however, as I taught English to my participants and they taught Spanish to me, our mutual learning, as pointed out by Corsaro in Italy, became a point of entry, and actually worked to develop trust between us by breaching the distance between our ages and my status as an authority figure.

Building rapport with children, establishing a role in the study, and managing relationships with adult gatekeepers were the other crucial points managed during the field research stage. My prior involvement with the NGO and familiarity with the community helped to overcome these obstacles easily.

The vulnerability and competence of children as research participants is one of the most discussed issues in the academic literature. I treated children as active contributors to society. Moreover, I used triangulation methodology to minimize the possible interventions, address challenges, and maintain a holistic approach to the study.

While the use of participant observation, the doll study, and child-centered techniques in this study enriched the field of children's research—particularly concerning race—it also raised questions and considerations regarding their limitations. One notable aspect is the importance of exploring formal settings, such as schools, and informal settings, including parks, neighborhoods, and homes. Examining various contexts could have provided a more comprehensive understanding of how children of minority origin perceive and navigate race-related experiences in different environments. Additionally, including White Spanish children or individuals from different minority backgrounds could have added further value to the study by providing a broader range of perspectives and insights. Moreover, involving the parents or teachers of the participants could have offered valuable input regarding their observations, beliefs, and support systems, contributing to a more complete and complex understanding of the children's experiences.

The focussed number of participants in the study can be viewed as both an advantage and a disadvantage. On the one hand, a smaller sample size allowed for a more in-depth examination of individual experiences, providing rich and detailed data. On the other hand, it limited the generalizability of the findings, as the experiences of a few participants may not fully represent the diversity and complexity of young children of minority origin as a whole.

Overall, while the study made significant contributions to children's research on race, it also highlighted the need for further exploration of different settings, including diverse participants, consideration of additional stakeholders, and exploring alternative child-centered techniques

and methods. Addressing these limitations could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences and perspectives of young children of minority origin in relation to race.

5.4 Recommendations for future studies

Based on the previous challenges and the identified limitations, several recommendations can be made for future studies in the field of children and race.

Diversified settings: Future studies should aim to explore a broader range of settings, including both formal (e.g., schools, educational institutions) and informal (e.g., parks, neighborhoods, homes) contexts. This would provide a more comprehensive understanding of how children of minority origin perceive and operate race-related experiences across different environments.

Including diverse participants: In order to capture a broader range of perspectives, future studies could consider including participants from various minority backgrounds as well as non-minority children. This would offer a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences of children of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and their way of communication among the groups.

Considering larger sample sizes: While small sample sizes can provide rich and detailed data, the approach could benefit from collecting larger sample sizes to enhance the generalizability of findings. Including more participants from diverse backgrounds would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences of young children of minority origin.

Involving parents and teachers: Involving parents and teachers of the child participants can provide valuable insights into their observations, beliefs, and support systems that would deepen understandings of how children's experiences of race are shaped within their familial and educational contexts.

Exploring alternative child-centered techniques: While the current study employed participant observation, the doll study, and child-centered techniques, future research could explore, create, and incorporate additional methods and techniques. This could include innovative approaches such as arts-based methods, narrative interviews, or digital storytelling, which may offer new insights into children's understanding of race and their experiences.

Conducting longitudinal studies: Conducting longitudinal studies that follow children over an extended period can provide a deeper understanding of how their perceptions of race evolve and change as they grow older, just like the historical changes of race in different societies, groups, nations, and countries. Longitudinal research can capture the developmental

trajectories of children's understanding and experiences of race, offering valuable insights into the long-term impacts of their social and cultural environments.

By implementing these recommendations, research can contribute to a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of how young children of minority origin perceive race while addressing some of the limitations identified in previous studies.

5.5 Overall Reflection

In the journey through this research, I have explored how young children of minority origin navigate the intricate terrain of "difference" in their daily lives. Through the lens of triangulation methodology, I unraveled the tapestry of their experiences, interpretations, and perspectives. It became evident that these children, distinguished by visible and tangible differences in their physical characteristics and cultural traits, are far from passive observers of the world around them. Instead, they are astute interpreters equipped with complex, analytical abilities that allow them to decipher situations with remarkable acumen.

Indeed, their skin color emerged as a salient point of reference, echoing the pilot study's findings. However, this study ventured beyond surface perceptions, focusing on how children themselves interpret these differences in their daily lives. Notably, younger children in this research displayed a more neutral tone in their comments, often presenting their observations as statements of facts and experiences. In contrast, older children incorporated subjective perceptions and personal approaches into their narratives. Differences in vocabulary and linguistic capabilities compounded these nuances in expression.

I employed a triangulation methodology to capture the multifaceted nature of these children's perceptions. The doll study, while initially centered on skin color, was instrumental in unearthing deeper insights. I observed that these young minds do not rigidly tether skin color, nationality, and religion together, as older children sometimes did. Instead, their interpretations are contextual, fluid, and contingent on the circumstances they encounter. They astutely navigate the complexity of both physical and cultural traits, as evident in their remarks such as, "All the Blacks are from Senegal" and "We do not prepare such spicy food for White people."

Moreover, I probed into how these young children grapple with abstract concepts like race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality. It became clear that children do not utilize these socially constructed concepts in the same manner as adults. Their understanding of these concepts is grounded in tangible contexts, often intertwined with daily experiences and cultural practices. For instance, food (more specifically pork) was a constant reminder of religious distinctions, as reflected in their comments about dietary choices.

As part of examining the experiences of these children, I also looked at how they racialize skin color, religion, culture, and nationality. While the doll study illuminated some of these connections, it was the child-centered techniques, particularly the "dream girl" activity and participant observation, that unveiled a more nuanced perspective. Young children of minority origin employ a sophisticated and context-driven approach in composing their viewpoints. They used these traits and concepts to understand intangible cultural differences, such as food preferences among different races: "Blacks eat chicken with rice, while Whites eat chorizo with potatoes."

Beyond these core questions, this research explored how these children construct multicultural identities. It became evident that their experiences living in transnational social fields context profoundly influence their identity formation. They are shaped by the juxtaposition of diverse cultural practices associated with their countries of origin, which, in turn, molds their understanding and acceptance of different cultures. Notably, the "plane ticket to anywhere" and "my favorite place" activities revealed their strong emotional ties to their relatives and home countries, with many expressing a longing to return. Similarly, the "Spain v. home country" activity highlighted how they navigate between their cultural origins and the dynamics of their current environment, forging unique identities. These techniques offered profound insights into the complex process of these young children's multicultural identity formation growing up in transnational social fields. Despite their limited physical presence in their home countries, these young children of minority origin exhibit a deep longing for their roots, evident in their recurrent nostalgic remarks and preferences to return "home."

However, it is essential to acknowledge the impact of external factors on these children's perceptions. The condescending or uncomfortable attitudes exhibited by White Spanish adults towards them, including inquiries about their "orphan" status or restrictions on their religious expressions, underscore the challenges these children face in their attempts to integrate into the host society. Such experiences contribute to their sense of being outsiders, even though they were born and raised in Spain.

In closing, this research advances the field of children and race by offering a distinctive perspective, one rooted in the experiences and voices of young children of minority origin. It underscores the necessity of expanding research in this domain to better understand children's unique perspectives on race, which has historically been dominated by adult viewpoints. Moreover, it highlights the importance of employing a triangulation methodology, an emic perspective, and a thick description approach to explore children's experiences more profoundly and holistically.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Pilot Study: Doll Study Questionnaire

1. Show me the smart child - Señálame el/la niño/a inteligente
2. Show me the bad child - Señálame el/la niño/a malo/a
3. Show me the nice child - Señálame el/la niño/a bueno/a
4. Show me the dumb child - Señálame el/la niño/a idiota
5. Show me the beautiful child- Señálame el/la niño/a guapo/a
6. Show me the ugly child - Señálame el/la niño/a feo/a
7. Show me the child girls like the most - Señálame el/la niño/a que más gusta las niñas
8. Show me the child boys like the most - Señálame el/la niño/a que no gusta los niños
9. Show me the child girls do not like - Señálame el/la niño/a que no gusta a las niñas
10. Show me the child boys do not like - Señálame el/la niño/a que no gusta a los niños
11. Show me the child most of the adults like - Señálame el/la niño/a que más gusta a los/as adultos/as
12. Show me the child most of the adults do not like - Señálame el/la niño/a que menos gusta a los/as adultos/as
13. Show me the child most of the children like - Señálame el/la niño/a que más gusta a los/as niños/as
14. Show me the child most of the children do not like - Señálame el/la niño/a que menos gusta a los/as niños/as
15. Show me the child that you prefer as a classmate - Señálame el/la niño/a que prefieres como compañero/a de clase
16. Tell me the possible religions of these children- Señálame la possible religión de estos/as niños/as
17. Which one of these children do you think look like you? - ¿A cuál de estos/as niños/as te pareces?
18. Which one of these do you prefer to be your children? Why? - ¿Cuál de estos/as niños/as prefieres que sea tu hijo/a?
19. Tell me the possible nations of these children - Señálame la possible naciones de estos/as niños/as

Appendix B. Current Study: Doll Study Questionnaire

1. Enseñame el/la niño/a inteligente - Show me the smart child
2. Enseñame el/la niño/a idiota - Show me the dumb child
3. Enseñame el/la niño/a bueno/a - Show me the nice child
4. Enseñame el/la niño/a - Show me the bad child
5. Enseñame el/la niño/a - Show me the beautiful child
6. Enseñame el/la niño/a - Show me the ugly child
7. Enseñame el/la niño/a que prefieres como compañero/a de clase - Show me the child you prefer as a classmate
8. Dime las posibles religiónes de estos/as niños/as - Tell me the possible religions of these children
9. ¿Cuál de estos/as niños/as prefieres que sea tu novio/a? - Which one of these children do you prefer to be your boyfriend or girlfriend?
10. Dime las posibles naciones de estos/as niños/as - Tell me the possible nations of these children
11. Enseñame el/la niño/a que más gusta los/as niños/as - Show me the child children like the most
12. Enseñame el/la niño/a que no gusta los/as niños/as - Show me the child children don't like
13. Enseñame el/la niño/a que más gusta los/as adultos/as - Show me the child adults like the most
14. Enseñame el/la niño/a que no gusta los/as adultos/as - Show me the child adults do not like
15. ¿A cuál de estos/as niños/as te pareces? - Which one of these children do you think looks like you?

Appendix C. Consent Form: NGO

UNIVERSIDADE DA CORUÑA

Estimada _____:

Mi nombre es Zeynep Pamukçu y soy estudiante de doctorado en la Universidade da Coruña (UDC).

Para mi tesis doctoral investigo sobre cómo los niños forman sus identidades en contextos de diversidad cultural. En consecuencia y, como parte de mi trabajo de tesis doctoral, me gustaría poder observar y hablar con los niños de edades comprendidas entre los 3 y 7 años.

Por favor, firme aquí abajo si me concede permiso para este propósito.

Dear _____:

My name is Zeynep Pamukçu. I am a PhD student at the University of A Coruña (UDC).

My thesis/research is about how children form identities in the context of cultural diversity. Hence as a part of my thesis, I would like to observe and talk to the children whose ages range from three to seven.

If you allow me to do so, please sign below.

Zeynep Pamukçu

Nombre/ Name:

Apellidos/ Surname:

Firma y fecha/ Signature and date:

Appendix D. Consent Form: Parents

UNIVERSIDADE DA CORUÑA

Estimados padres y madres:

Mi nombre es Zeynep Pamukçu. Soy voluntaria en _____ y enseño inglés a sus hijos, al tiempo que los ayudo con sus deberes y otras actividades. Soy también estudiante de doctorado en la Universidade da Coruña (UDC).

Intento comprender cómo los niños forman sus identidades en contextos de diversidad cultural. Por este motivo y, como parte de mis estudios, me gustaría conversar con su/s hijo/s.

Por favor, firmen aquí abajo si me conceden permiso para hablar con ellos personalmente e intercambiar unas palabras.

Dear Parents,

My name is Zeynep Pamukçu. I am a volunteer in _____, teaching English to your children and helping them with other activities and homework. Moreover, I am a PhD student at the University of A Coruña (UDC).

I am trying to understand about how children form identities in the context of cultural diversity. Hence as a part of my study, I would like to talk to your child/children.

If you allow me to have a brief conversation with your child/children, please sign below.

Zeynep Pamukçu

Nombre/ Name:

Apellidos/ Surname:

Firma y fecha/ Signature and date:

Appendix E. Presentation of the Focus Group Discussion with the NGO Staff

Las percepciones de los niños y las niñas del racismo y la cultura

Zeynep Pamukçu

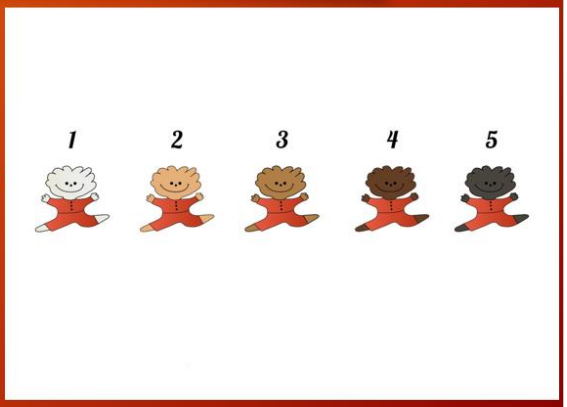
La Prueba de la Muñeca, Clark (1939-1940)

En el experimento, Clark les mostró a niños de raza negra de 6 a 9 años dos muñecas, una blanca y la otra negra, y se les hicieron las siguientes preguntas en este orden:

- *Muéstrame la muñeca que más te guste o con la que te gustaría jugar.*
- *Muéstrame la muñeca que sea la "buena".*
- *Muéstrame la muñeca que parezca "mala".*
- *Dame la muñeca que se parezca a una niña blanca.*
- *Dame la muñeca que se parezca a una niña de color.*
- *Dame la muñeca que se parezca a un Negro.*
- *Dame la muñeca que se parezca a ti.*

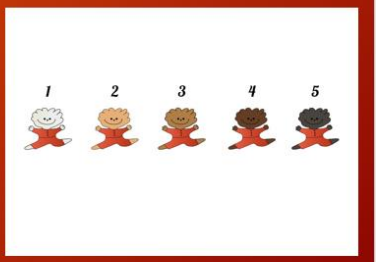
La Prueba de la Muñeca, Pamukçu (2016 y 2018)

- Enseñame el niño/ la niña inteligente
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña idiota
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña bueno/a
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña malo/a
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña guapo/a
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña feo/a
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña que prefieres como compañero/a de clase
- Dime las posibles religiónes de estos niños/ estas niñas
- ¿Cuál de estos niños/ estas niñas prefieres que sea tu novi@?
- Dime las posibles naciones de estos niños/ estas niñas
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña que más gusta l@s niñ@s
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña que no gusta l@s niñ@s
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña que más gusta los adultos
- Enseñame el niño/ la niña que no gusta los adultos
- ¿A cuál de estos niños/ estas niñas te pareces?



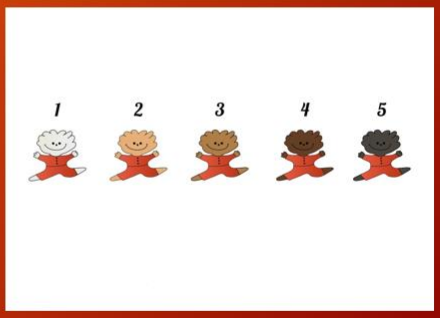
Resultados de Etiquetas: Las etiquetas representan las preguntas: inteligente, idiota, buen@, mal@, guap@ y fe@.

- L@s niños inteligentes son 2, 3 y 4.
- L@s niños idiotas son 1 y 5.
- L@s niños buenos son 1, 2 y 4.
- L@s niños malos son 1, 2, 4 y 5.
- L@s niños guapos son 2, 3 y 4.
- L@s niños feos son 1, 2 y 5.



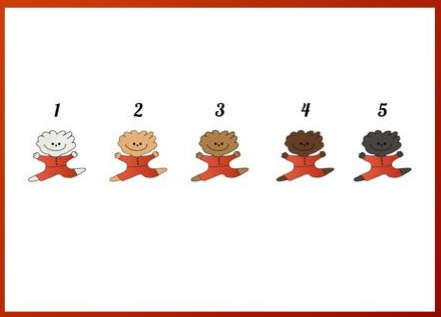
Resultados de Preferencias: Las preferencias son preguntas: Compañer@ de clase y Novi@

- Mayoría de los niñ@s prefieren l@s niñ@s 2 y 4 como compañeros de clase.
- Mayoría de los niñ@s prefieren tener como novi@: 2, 4 y 5.



Resultados de Especulaciones: Las preguntas de quien le gusta más a quien

- El niño/ la niña que más gusta a l@s niñ@s: 3.
- El niño/ la niña que no gusta a l@s niñ@s: 1, 2 y 5.
- El niño/ la niña que más gusta a los adultos: 1 y 5.
- El niño/ la niña que no gusta a los adultos: 1 y 2.



Resultados de Nacionalidad

1	2	3	4	5
Español (8), Portugués (1), African@ (2), Colombian@, Francés	Español (7), Senegalés, Francés, Italian@ (2), Ingles, Alemán	Español (3), Africano (3), Francés (5), Italian@, Turc@	Senegalés (9), África n@, Español (3)	Senegalés (7), Dominican@, Español (3), African@

Resultados de Religión

1	2	3	4	5
Musulmán:4 Cristiano:9	Musulmán:4 Cristiano:9	Musulmán:8 Cristiano:5	Musulmán:12 Cristiano:1	Musulmán:8 Cristiano:5

¿Preguntas?

- ¿ Os sorprenden estos resultados?

¿Preguntas?

- ¿Qué creéis que significa el color de la piel para ellos?

¿Preguntas?

- ¿Creéis que están relacionados: el color de la piel, religión, nacionalidad y raza?

¿Preguntas?

- ¿Cómo creéis que l@s niñ@s entienden la raza?

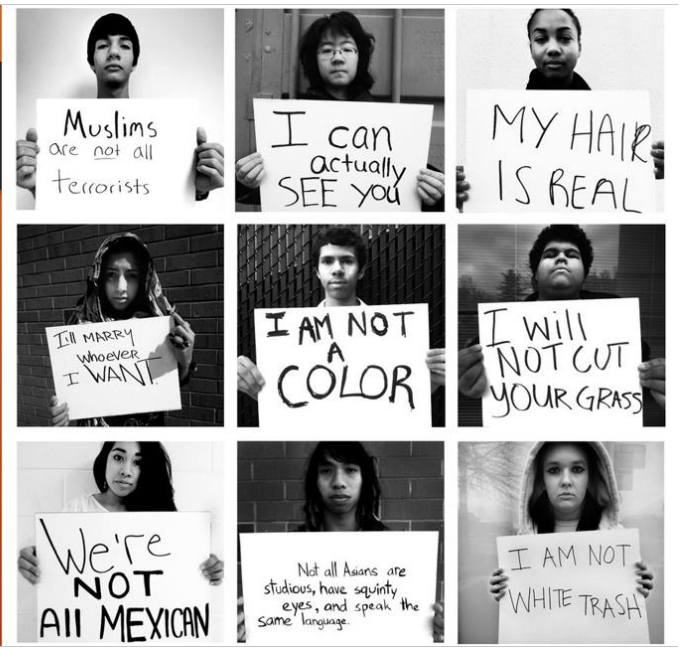
¿Preguntas?

- ¿ Cómo creéis que nuestros niñ@s relacionan el color de la piel con religión y nacionalidad?

GRAZAS

GRACIAS

THANK YOU



Appendix F. Resumen en Castellano[i]

Percepción de la raza por parte de la infancia minorizada. Una aproximación etnográfica desde la perspectiva infantil

Este estudio intenta descubrir las formas en que los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales perciben la raza y otros términos socialmente construidos que están estrechamente relacionados con ella. El tema del estudio se aborda principalmente desde la técnica de investigación cualitativa etnográfica. Existen dos razones principales para ello: poder analizar el efecto de la raza en la vida cotidiana de los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales desde diversos aspectos y debido a la naturaleza dinámica de la raza a través de la historia, las personas, el contexto y el lugar.

El estudio comenzó tras presenciar un incidente crítico entre los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales en una ONG en 2015. Tres niñas se enzarzaron primero en una discusión sobre el color de la piel y luego esta discusión se convirtió en una pelea. La niña con el color de piel más oscuro, de origen senegalés, fue insultada y molestada debido a su color de piel más oscuro por los/as demás, de origen boliviano y colombiano. Este incidente me sorprendió porque casi todos/as los/as niños/as de la ONG eran de diferentes orígenes y la mayoría tenía un color de piel distinto al de los/as locales o nativos/as. A partir de ese momento, el estudio comenzó a tomar forma y primero se realizó el estudio piloto para la tesis de máster y luego el estudio actual como tesis doctoral.

El estudio piloto ayudó especialmente a comprobar que los/as niños/as de corta edad no utilizan los conceptos de raza, color de piel, etnia, nacionalidad, religión o cultura de la misma forma que lo hacen los/as adultos/as. Para llegar a la perspectiva de los/as niños/as en diferentes contextos y entornos, el estudio utiliza diferentes técnicas complementarias, lo que también se conoce y denomina metodología de triangulación. En consecuencia, surgieron cuatro objetivos y preguntas de investigación:

(1) ¿Cómo entienden los/as niños/as pequeños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales la “diferencia” utilizando características físicas y rasgos culturales basados en sus experiencias vitales cotidianas?

Los/as niños/as pequeños/as utilizan diversos símbolos para hacer deducciones significativas o prácticas, tras el tiempo pasado con los/as niños/as se aprecia el significado de estos símbolos y/o las acciones. Para explorar y captar las formas en que los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales interpretan la “diferencia” en sus experiencias cotidianas, formar parte de su vida diaria mediante la observación participante puede proporcionar una perspectiva muy diferente.

(2) ¿Cómo interpretan los/as niños/as pequeños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales conceptos clave como raza, etnia, religión y nacionalidad?

Los/as niños/as pequeños/as no utilizan necesariamente conceptos como raza y religión de forma directa o pueden entenderlos de la misma manera que lo haría un/a niño/a mayor o un/a adulto/a. Es más probable que se centren en el significado práctico de los conceptos. Esto también puede significar que utilicen los términos sin usar sus nombres directos. A través del tiempo pasado con los/as niños/as, se puede encontrar el significado de los símbolos o las acciones en el contexto.

(3) ¿Cómo racializan los/as niños/as pequeños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales el color de la piel, la religión, la cultura y la nacionalidad?

La investigación existente ha explorado cómo, para los/as adultos/as, la racialización se basa en estos factores. A diferencia de los/as adultos/as, la interpretación significativa de los conceptos socialmente construidos por parte de los/as niños/as pequeños/as puede basarse en sus acciones más que en su elección de palabras. La variedad de los temas y contextos que se presentan a los/as niños/as aumenta la posibilidad de descubrir más de su perspectiva y evita centrarse y hacer suposiciones sobre una información limitada.

(4) ¿Cómo construyen los/as niños/as pequeños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales identidades multiculturales en ámbitos sociales transnacionales (*transnational social fields*)?

Los/as niños/as de minorías que crecen expuestos a una variedad de rasgos nacionales y culturales pueden conceptualizar y contextualizar acontecimientos y significados desde una perspectiva diferente a la de otros/as niños/as. Naturalmente, esto también puede afectar a su forma de construir la identidad y a las maneras en que los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales entienden y aceptan la cultura o las formas de vida en múltiples contextos superpuestos.

Aunque el incidente crítico y el estudio piloto desempeñaron un papel importante en el diseño, el desarrollo y la estructura de esta investigación, la significativa falta de estudios sobre niños/as y raza juntos en la literatura académica junto con el enfoque separado de la participación de los/as niños/as en el campo de la investigación me obligaron a dividir el primer capítulo, revisión de la literatura, en dos secciones principales. La primera parte se centra en la conceptualización de la raza, el racismo, la racialización y otros conceptos inminentemente relacionados, como el color de la piel, la religión, la etnia y la nacionalidad (por parte de los/as adultos/as). Aunque se denomina percepción “adulto/a”, aquí se hace hincapié en que la literatura académica ya está orientada hacia los/as adultos/as y en la falta o

escasa representación de los/as niños/as en el marco teórico de la raza y sus conceptos relacionados en la literatura académica. La primera sección se centra en la naturaleza fluida de estos conceptos construidos socialmente y en la forma en que han cambiado de contexto y de uso a lo largo de los años en función de la política, los lugares, las sociedades y los grupos de personas.

La segunda sección, por otra parte, se centra en la posición de los/as niños/as en la literatura académica en términos de temas y métodos de investigación. El debate principal de esta sección versa sobre cómo debe tratarse a los/as niños/as. Los/as investigadores/as han adoptado tres perspectivas principales a lo largo de los años. La primera perspectiva afirma que los/as niños/as son seres en desarrollo y en constante cambio que se convierten en adultos/as ("*becomings*" es otro término utilizado por los estudiosos), no conscientes en sus acciones y comportamientos al menos hasta cierta edad y, en consecuencia, esta perspectiva convierte a los/as niños/as en objeto de estudio. La otra perspectiva era la opuesta a ésta y defendía que las ideas de los/as niños/as son tan importantes como las de los/as adultos/as deben ser escuchadas y deben ser tratados como adultos/as como objeto de los estudios; en otras palabras, también se llamaba considerar a los/as niños/as como seres. Sin embargo, James, Jenks y Prout propusieron hace relativamente poco una nueva perspectiva que aúna los métodos tradicionales (la perspectiva de el/la niño/a como ser) y los nuevos (la perspectiva de el/la niño/a como devenir), al sugerir que los/as niños/as pueden ser tratados como adultos/as, pero con competencias y capacidades diferentes (2012).

Después de exponer estas perspectivas significativas de los estudios sobre la infancia, esta sección se divide en cuatro subsecciones para comprender cómo han afectado estas perspectivas a las formas en que se han estudiado la raza y la infancia a lo largo de los años: la comprensión que tienen los/as niños/as de la raza y el racismo interiorizado, la investigación con niños/as y su percepción de la raza a través de técnicas centradas en la infancia, la investigación con los/as niños/as y su percepción de la raza a través de la observación participante, y las preocupaciones comunes de la investigación con niños/as. La posición de los/as niños/as ha ido cambiando gradualmente en la literatura académica durante los últimos años en lo que respecta a los métodos de investigación, la investigación sobre o con niños/as, como sujetos u objetos de la investigación, etc.

El efecto del racismo en los/as niños/as afrodescendientes en los Estados Unidos se midió con *"doll study"* que fue descubierto por K. B. Clark y M. P. Clark a fines de la década de 1930 en Estados Unidos. El entrevistador (K. B. Clark) presentó a los/as niños/as los cuatro muñecos idénticos en una habitación; los muñecos eran exactamente iguales excepto en el color de la piel y el pelo: morenos/as y negras y los/as otros/as dos eran blancas y rubias. Se hicieron ocho

preguntas a los/as niños/as y se les pidió que respondieran mostrando los muñecos. Las preguntas eran sobre preferencias (dame el muñeco con la que te gusta jugar - (a) te gusta más, dame el muñeco bonito, el muñeco que parece malo, dame el muñeco que es de un color bonito), conocimiento de las diferencias raciales (dame el muñeco que se parece a un/a niño/a blanco/a, dame el muñeco que se parece a un/a niño/a de color, dame el muñeco que se parece a un/a niño/a negro/a) y autoidentificación (dame el muñeco que se parece a ti) (Clark & Clark, 1947). El estudio fue replicado por muchos/as, especialmente justo después de los años siguientes a su primera realización, y también fue criticado desde varios aspectos; sin embargo, no hubo ningún otro estudio que se realizara con niños/as para comprender y medir el racismo interiorizado hasta éste. El capítulo continúa centrándose también en otras técnicas centradas en la infancia, como el diagrama de araña, la fotografía, la narración de cuentos, que fueron desarrolladas por diferentes campos como la psicología, la sociología y la antropología. La observación participante es otra técnica utilizada por muchos/as para comprender la percepción de los/as niños/as. La última sección trata de las preocupaciones comunes de la investigación con niños/as, las posibles dificultades que pueden surgir al realizar una investigación con niños/as siendo yo adulta, tales como obtener el consentimiento de un/a niño/a para participar (cuestiones éticas), la presencia de adultos/as en el territorio de los/as niños/as, la creación de una buena relación, la posición del investigador, la fiabilidad y validez de los datos recogidos, la posible barrera lingüística entre adultos/as y niños/as, y la importancia del lugar donde se realiza el estudio. Este capítulo concluye centrándose en la investigación y en la perspectiva adoptada por la investigadora, que es la "descripción densa", las observaciones detalladas que tienen en cuenta el contexto para proporcionar la interpretación de el/la investigador/a, y la otra es la perspectiva *emic* que intenta acceder a las propias interpretaciones de los/as niños/as sobre situaciones y acontecimientos.

El siguiente capítulo trata del estudio piloto, y se sitúa especialmente antes de los capítulos de diseño y análisis de la investigación debido a su influencia en ambos. Como ya se ha mencionado, ayudó especialmente a elaborar el diseño metodológico y se comparan algunas de las principales conclusiones entre estos dos estudios en la medida de lo posible.

El grupo estaba formado por dieciocho niños/as pertenecientes a minorías: Senegal, Bolivia, Uruguay, República Dominicana, Perú y Colombia. La edad de los/as participantes oscilaba entre los nueve y los doce años. El estudio se llevó a cabo en una ONG donde los/as niños/as acudían a la salida del colegio de 16:30 a 19:30 de la tarde. En la primera hora, los/as supervisores/as (voluntarios/as) ayudaban a los/as niños/as con sus deberes. En la siguiente media hora, había una pausa para la merienda y en la última parte, tenían diferentes actividades a las que asistir como clase, clase de inglés o francés, atletismo, esgrima y manualidades hasta las 19:30. El personal de la ONG (supervisores/as) también formó una parte importante del

estudio y son de diversos orígenes, como España, República Checa, Venezuela, Turquía e Italia y de variadas profesiones, como profesor/a de inglés y danza, funcionario, agente de seguros, psicólogo educativo, especialista en educación infantil, profesor/a de primaria, siendo los/as estudiantes también de diferentes disciplinas, antropología, educación social y sociología.

El diseño de investigación del estudio consistió en tres técnicas principales: observación participante, *"doll study"* y entrevistas en profundidad, que se realizaron tanto a los/as niños/as como a los/as supervisores. Dado que el incidente crítico ocurrió en el periodo en el que llevaba un diario de acontecimientos interesantes como parte de mi interés personal incluso antes de saber que iba a estudiar un máster en estudios sobre migraciones, esta fase se denomina fase de observación libre y duró desde julio de 2015 hasta diciembre de 2015. Cuando decidí estudiar con niños/as como parte de mis estudios y pasé tiempo con los tres grupos de edad diferentes que la ONG tenía en ese año, llamo a esta fase de observación centrada en el grupo y fue desde febrero de 2016 hasta marzo de 2016. Una vez decidido el grupo, la fase de observación estructurada comenzó en abril de 2016 y continuó casi hasta el final del curso académico, mayo de 2016.

"Doll study" fue otra técnica utilizada en este estudio. Se adaptó del estudio original. Los estímulos (muñecos de dibujos animados femeninos y masculinos) y algunas preguntas preferentes se tomaron de la versión de la CNN según las necesidades del estudio y los antecedentes de los/as participantes. Me di cuenta de que la nacionalidad y la religión de los/as participantes desempeñaban un papel importante en su percepción y actitud. En consecuencia, se añadieron dos nuevas preguntas de etiquetado sobre religión y nación (dígame la posible religión y nación de estos muñecos) basadas en los datos recogidos durante la observación, teniendo en cuenta estas diferencias en los antecedentes de los/as participantes y las minorías en España en comparación con el lugar y la época en que se realizaron el estudio original y la mayoría de las réplicas.

Se realizaron entrevistas en profundidad cara a cara tanto con los/as niños/as como con el personal de la ONG. Las preguntas eran tanto abiertas como semiestructuradas para los/as niños/as y se realizaron después del *"doll study"* mientras estábamos solos en una habitación. Al elaborar las preguntas, formulé algunas directas sobre los conceptos clave del estudio, lo que le viene a la mente cuando digo racismo, cultura, nación y ONG. Además, hice algunas preguntas indirectas específicas a los/as participantes sobre los incidentes que registré en la fase de observación sin mencionarlos directamente. Las preguntas de los/as supervisores/as fueron más directas, les pregunté qué habrían dicho los/as niños/as cuando les pregunté sobre racismo, cultura, nación y ONG. Quería conocer su punto de vista sobre los/as niños/as; sin

embargo, los/as supervisores/as se sentían incómodos y tenían la sensación de estar siendo interrogados/as. La forma en que las fases de observación participante, *"doll study"* adaptado y las entrevistas en profundidad tanto con los/as niños/as como con los/as supervisores/as se orientaron al objeto del estudio es la forma en que se triangula la metodología del estudio piloto.

De este estudio se desprenden tres conclusiones principales. La forma en que los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales relacionaron los muñecos con el color de la piel y la religión y nacionalidad indicó que los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales utilizan este rasgo físico como sustituto de la nación y la religión. Los/as participantes no dieron la posibilidad de ser españoles/as a los muñecos más oscuras (muñeco 4 y 5) y el muñeco 3 sólo fue considerada de A Coruña por un participante. Sin embargo, los/as niños/as relacionaron los muñecos más oscuros/as con diversos lugares como India, Brasil, Panamá y no sólo con África y algunos de los países africanos. Se estableció una relación similar entre la religión y el color de la piel. Mientras que ninguno/a de los/as participantes dio la posibilidad de ser musulmán a los tres primeros muñecos de color de piel más claro, el/la católico/a se relacionó con todos los colores de piel. En segundo lugar, las reacciones observadas durante los acontecimientos y las declaraciones realizadas ante situaciones similares presentadas en las entrevistas en profundidad pusieron de manifiesto que las opiniones declaradas por los/as participantes no siempre coinciden con sus reacciones o su comportamiento, a lo que denominé lo que dicen frente a lo que hacen. Por último, los/as niños/as se mostraban más tolerantes entre sí que con los/as forasteros/as, a lo que yo llamo "los/as de dentro contra los/as de fuera". La única excepción que presencié fue el incidente crítico. Más adelante, los/as niños/as hicieron comentarios sobre los rasgos físicos y/o culturales de otros/as niños/as, pero todos/as ellos/as fueron recibidos como comentarios y no como ataques o bromas por los demás niños/as de la ONG. En cambio, cuando se enfrentaron a una situación similar con otros/as niños/as ajenos al grupo, los/as participantes no recibieron estos comentarios de forma tan amable o suave como con los/as otros/as niños/as del grupo. Por ejemplo, en una ocasión un niño uruguayo de nueve años le preguntó a una niña senegalesa de nueve años si cuando se casan llevan vestido de novia negro porque son negras, la niña senegalesa se sorprendió, pero con calma y humor le explicó que sí lo llevan blanco. Sin embargo, cuando en el patio de recreo otros/as niños/as (que supongo que son locales o nativos) hicieron un comentario sobre la textura del pelo de una niña senegalesa de nueve años, ella se enfadó empezó a gritar y al final todos/as los/as niños/as de la ONG se juntaron para contestar a los/as otros/as niños/as en el parque y se insultaron mutuamente.

Aunque el estudio piloto reveló algunas perspectivas nuevas sobre la percepción de los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales acerca de la raza como sustituto del color de la piel

y otros conceptos inminentemente relacionados como cultura y nación, también planteó algunas preguntas nuevas, como si estos resultados serían similares con grupos de edad más jóvenes, cuándo empiezan los/as niños/as a hacer estas correlaciones, si los resultados serían similares si el estudio se llevara a cabo en otro(s) entorno(s), si otras técnicas serían más eficaces o complementarias a la metodología de triangulación para tener una comprensión más profunda o una perspectiva diferente de los hechos.

El tercer capítulo trata del diseño de la investigación del presente estudio, que está influido por la experiencia adquirida en el estudio piloto. En consecuencia, este estudio también contó con la observación participante y *"doll study"* adaptado, pero en lugar de entrevistas en profundidad, se adoptaron técnicas centradas en la infancia, principalmente debido al rango de edad de los/as participantes, y se añadieron debates de grupos focales con el personal de la ONG en lugar de entrevistas con el personal de la ONG, debido a cómo resultaron las entrevistas en el estudio piloto.

La investigación tuvo lugar en la misma ONG que el estudio piloto, pero durante el curso académico 2017-2018. El rango de edad del grupo fue de tres a siete años para este estudio. El grupo tenía once niños y cinco niñas. Dos de ellos/as eran de tres años, uno de cuatro, siete de cinco, cinco de seis y solo una de siete. Uno de los niños era del Sáhara Occidental, otra de la República Dominicana y había dos con orígenes mixtos, Senegal y Marruecos, y Colombia y España. Todos/as los/as demás, doce, eran de Senegal.

Los/as niños/as venían después del colegio de 16.30 a 19.30 por la tarde. En las primeras sesiones, nada más llegar, estaban jugando y haciendo los deberes de 16.30 a 17.30. La siguiente hora era para la merienda de 17.30 a 18.30, esto se debe a que este grupo era muy joven y tardaban en prepararse para la merienda como preparar las mesas, ir al baño y limpiarse las manos, necesitaban más tiempo que los otros grupos. En la segunda parte de las sesiones, el/la supervisor/a o supervisores del día se encargaban de llevar a cabo las actividades previstas, que cambiaban cada día, como inglés los lunes conmigo, manualidades los martes y jueves, informática los miércoles. Además, cuando hacía buen tiempo, a veces los/as supervisores llevaban a los/as niños/as al parque o al patio en lugar de hacer actividades en el interior.

El personal de la ONG (los/as supervisores) también fue una parte importante del estudio. Eran de diversos orígenes, España, Colombia y Turquía, y profesiones, profesora de inglés, profesora de danza, agente de seguros, psicóloga, informático, auxiliar administrativa, especialista en comunicación, especialista en marketing, y estudiantes de ciencias de la educación y sociología.

La observación participante es la columna vertebral del estudio y, a diferencia del estudio piloto, sólo tuvo fases de observación en grupo focalizado y estructurada. La observación de grupos específicos duró una semana, cuando los/as niños/as se inscribieron en los programas y se hicieron los preparativos para el curso académico. En esta fase, decidí trabajar con el grupo más joven. Cuando el año académico comenzó con las actividades el 2 de octubre de 2017, comenzó la fase de observación estructurada que duró hasta el final del año académico en la ONG, el 14 de junio de 2018.

Las técnicas centradas en la infancia son el otro método significativo que se utilizó en el estudio. Esta técnica se utilizó en lugar de las entrevistas en profundidad en el estudio piloto porque no quería limitarme a entrevistar a niños/as pequeños/as y, además, la variedad de las técnicas y los temas proporcionaron una perspectiva mucho más amplia en diferentes contextos y líneas temporales, lo que también me ayudó a comparar las reacciones y tendencias diferentes o similares de los/as niños/as en diferentes circunstancias. Algunas de estas técnicas se tomaron directamente de otros estudios, otras se adaptaron y otras se crearon en función de las necesidades del estudio. Las técnicas que se utilizaron son el dibujo, la pintura y la escritura, la narración de cuentos, el diagrama de araña, las fotografías, vestir a las personas, cada una tenía un tema y una forma de abordar el tema y el objetivo del estudio diferentes. Todas ellas se realizaron en grupos durante el año mientras que algunas requirieron la colaboración del grupo para completarlas, otras fueron trabajos individuales, pero en ninguna de ellas se separó a los/as niños/as unos/as de otros/as o se les llevó a otra habitación para completar la tarea. La parte más difícil de esta técnica era que no todos/as los/as niños/as sabían leer y escribir, por eso en algunos casos los/as supervisores les ayudaban a completar la tarea, pero también esto aumentaba el número de actividades que incluían dibujar, pintar y hablar sobre las actividades y los temas. Otro posible inconveniente de esta técnica era que la producción de los/as niños/as quedaba abierta a la interpretación, ya que su imaginación es más vívida que la mía. Para evitarlo, siempre intentaba que los/as niños/as explicaran su arte o producción.

Mi versión del *"doll study"* (adaptada de Clark y Clark y CNN) se rediseñó para el rango de edad del grupo. Algunas preguntas se redujeron para evitar posibles barreras lingüísticas y, además, eran largas teniendo en cuenta la corta capacidad de atención de los/as niños/as pequeños/as. Las preguntas que añadí tanto en el estudio piloto como en el actual sobre religión y nación no eran lo bastante claras para los/as niños/as porque no conocían el significado exacto de las palabras. En consecuencia, se modificaron estas dos preguntas. La pregunta sobre religión pasó a ser quién come cerdo y quién no. Las palabras seleccionadas para la nueva versión de esta pregunta se basaron en las conversaciones y los intereses que se detectaron durante la observación participante. La pregunta sobre la nación pasó a ser directamente de

dónde es el/la niño/a (muñeco). Los estímulos (muñecos-niños/as) se cambiaron por la representación de niños/as de dibujos animados sin género tras comprobar su escasa repercusión en los resultados del estudio piloto. Este estudio es el único que se realizó en una habitación distinta de la habitual que utilizamos a diario y a solos/as con cada niño/a.

"Doll study" no fue el único que se llevó a cabo en este estudio. También se utilizó la versión de Radke y Trager del *"doll study"* original con algunas adaptaciones, pero se realizó como una actividad centrada en infancia en grupos de dos sin cambiar la escena del estudio, a diferencia de lo que hice en mi versión del *"doll study"* de Clark y Clark. Los estímulos eran dos mismas figuras de mujer, la única diferencia entre ellas era el color de la piel, una oscura y otra clara, como en el otro *"doll study"*. A los/as niños/as se les dieron opciones de vestidos y casas para combinar con estas figuras y luego se les pidió que escribieran una historia sobre la vida de estas figuras.

En otro *"doll study"*, llamado "*dream girl,"* también se llevó a cabo como una actividad centrada en la infancia y en grupo. Se presentó a los/as niños/as un libro de pinturas que tenía en su interior diferentes dibujos de figuras femeninas. A diferencia de los estímulos de ambos *"doll studies"*, las figuras de este libro eran diferentes entre sí en todos y cada uno de los sentidos, tanto en características físicas como en vestimenta y accesorios. Pregunté a los/as niños/as las posibles naciones de estas figuras y la razón de ello.

Por último, el grupo de discusión sobre el personal de la ONG se realizó con los/as empleados/as, voluntarios/as y becarios/as. La razón principal por la que quise realizar un grupo de discusión fue para obtener otra perspectiva sobre un tema tan subjetivo como éste. Además, dado que yo era una especie de "forastera" por no haber nacido y crecido en España y también por no estar del todo familiarizada con los valores sociales de España, era posible que estos informantes aportaran interpretaciones desde dentro. El debate en el grupo de discusión se decidió después de lo ocurrido en las entrevistas realizadas con los/as supervisores del estudio piloto. Para abrir la discusión, primero les presenté el *"doll study"* y las respuestas de los/as participantes al mismo, porque era mucho más estructurado y claro que las numerosas y diferentes actividades centradas en los/as niños/as que se realizaron con los/as participantes. Después, les planteé cinco preguntas para suscitar el debate. Éstas eran si estaban sorprendidos con los resultados, qué creen que significa el color de la piel para los/as niños/as (participantes), si creen que el color de la piel, la religión, la nacionalidad y la raza están relacionados entre sí o no, cómo creen que los/as niños/as (participantes) entienden la raza y cómo creen que los/as niños/as de la ONG relacionan el color de la piel con la religión y la nacionalidad.

En general, el diseño de la investigación se trianguló para poder captar el objetivo del estudio desde distintos y variados ángulos. También hubo obstáculos que superar como investigadora adulta y también ventajas de ser extranjera en ese momento que también se mencionan al final de este capítulo. La única técnica constante fue la observación participante y la duración del estudio y especialmente esta técnica me ayudaron y me dieron tiempo para trabajar en esos obstáculos. Excepto la observación participante, todas las demás técnicas (las técnicas centradas en la infancia, el *"doll study"* y la discusión en grupo del personal de la ONG) fueron puntuales, pero siempre se acercaban al mismo objetivo desde perspectivas diferentes. Como se verá en el capítulo siguiente, todas ellas funcionaron en armonía.

El capítulo cuatro, percepción e interpretación de los/as niños/as de los conceptos socialmente construidos en su vida cotidiana, es el análisis de los datos recogidos mediante la metodología de triangulación realizada en cinco subsecciones. La primera subsección, "todos/as los/as negros/as son de Senegal", se centra en las relaciones entre la nación y la atribución del color de la piel de los/as niños/as de los tres *"doll studies"* al estímulo dado, junto con la percepción de su color de piel, y las demás técnicas de las actividades centradas en la infancia y los acontecimientos ocurridos durante la observación participante. El análisis indicó que los/as niños/as presentan diversos rasgos físicos y culturales a la hora de hacer suposiciones y también que el contexto desempeña un papel importante. En consecuencia, los estudios como el del *"doll study"* original, al eliminar todas las características de las personas excepto el color de la piel, ignoran una parte enormemente crucial de la diversidad que los/as niños/as utilizan al igual que los adultos. Además, un estudio realizado con niños/as en un tiempo limitado puede ser insuficiente porque este estudio reveló que la percepción de los/as niños/as varía de un contexto a otro. Para poder sacar el máximo partido, es importante pasar tiempo con los/as niños/as y ver su forma de expresarse en diferentes contextos, tanto para temas específicos como generales.

La segunda subsección del análisis, "los/as negros/as comieron pollo con arroz, los/as blancos/as comieron chorizo con patata", se centra en la relación del color de la piel y la religión y otros rasgos culturales. Esta sección es más rica sobre todo con los comentarios de los/as niños/as sobre cómo perciben la cultura. Por ejemplo, el título de esta subsección es la respuesta de un niño de tres años de origen senegalés a una pregunta sobre qué has comido hoy. Los/as niños/as siempre fueron muy conscientes, tanto como pueden serlo a esa edad. Para los/as participantes, ser consciente de la religión significaba sobre todo comer o no cerdo o comprobar si una comida contenía cerdo. Debido a esta tendencia y a la falta de conocimientos sobre el significado de la religión, la cuestión de la religión en el estudio del *"doll study"* pasó a ser qué muñeco come cerdo y cuál no. Según los resultados, los/as niños/as mostraron tendencia a relacionar el color de la piel con la religión, especialmente en el caso

de los muñecos 1 y 4. Mientras que al muñeco 1 se le atribuyó mayoritariamente ser cristiana/o, a el muñeco 4 se le atribuyó ser musulmán/a. En realidad, esto no era tan sorprendente por lo que se había observado durante la observación de los/as participantes. Esta sección también se centraba en otros rasgos culturales como la vestimenta, la elección de pareja, la celebración de la Navidad y los Reyes Magos.

En esta parte, también me di cuenta de que los/as niños/as interpretaban a su manera los problemas a los que se enfrentaban. Especialmente para tomar algunas decisiones, se apoyaban unos en otros. Por ejemplo, un niño de origen senegalés preguntaba por qué celebraban los Reyes Magos si era algo para cristianos/as. Otro dijo: "sí, tienes razón, pero si fuera algo malo, nuestros padres no nos dejarían celebrarlo, ¿verdad? Así que no pasa nada". En otra ocasión que hablábamos de parejas, uno de los niños de origen senegalés dijo que él puede tener más de una pareja, ya que los hombres senegaleses pueden casarse con más de una mujer. Comprobando esto, otros comentarios y representaciones que hizo a través de la observación participante y en las actividades centradas en la infancia, veo que los/as niños/as posiblemente están separando o fusionando las formas en que aprenden en dos países diferentes. Otro ejemplo de ello es cómo se expresaban los/as niños/as al hablar de la ropa tradicional, boubou. Un día, en una ocasión especial, la comunidad senegalesa vestía sus boubou. Los/as niños/as cuando llegaron ese día hablaban de lo bonitos y coloridos, etc. que eran los vestidos de las madres, era obvio que a los/as niños/as les gustaban los vestidos tradicionales. Sin embargo, en una de las actividades centradas en la infancia, llamada vistiendo a mi familia, los/as niños/as vistieron a sus familias con pantalones cortos, cosas que no veo que las familias usen muy a menudo o ninguna debido a las condiciones climáticas en Galicia. Entonces, pregunté a los/as niños/as si sus padres y madres usaban estos, dijeron que no pero que les gustaría que los padres y las madres los hubieran usado. Aquí hay otro indicador en este caso de que los/as niños/as pueden tener una comprensión de la adecuación compartimentada, que va cambiando según el tema, el tiempo y el contexto.

La siguiente subsección trata sobre el análisis de las preguntas preferentes del *"doll study"*, la primera y la última parte del cuestionario, y una actividad centrada en la infancia, llamada actividad de superpoderes. No todos/as los/as niños/as encontraron lógica la primera parte de las preguntas, preguntaban según lo que debían elegir. El resultado más importante de esta sección fue cómo se identificaban los/as niños/as a través de la pregunta del *"doll study"* y qué deseaban tener según la actividad de los superpoderes, la mayoría de los/as niños/as querían cambiar el color de su piel, el color de sus ojos y la textura de su pelo. Lo que hace interesante esta actividad es que era independiente de todas las demás preguntas y se hizo en una línea de tiempo diferente sin ningún estímulo en torno a referirse a la raza o cualquier otro concepto específico que el estudio se centró.

Otro tema que surgió a menudo durante la investigación fue la comparación entre el país de origen y el de acogida. He visto que a los/as niños/as les entusiasmaba hacer la comparación y con frecuencia hacían referencias a su país de origen, especialmente mencionándolo, pintando la bandera, utilizando el idioma, hablando de los regalos que recibían cuando iban allí, de la comida y de los miembros de la familia. Esto me hizo preguntarme si estaban imaginando una vida en el país de origen llena de regalos, siempre la buena comida, y el buen trato de la otra familia que posiblemente sólo ocurre durante la visita de corta duración.

La última subsección de este capítulo se centra en el debate del grupo de discusión del personal de la ONG y en los datos recogidos durante la observación participante de los/as adultos/as de fuera. La pregunta principal de esta sección es si la forma en que los/as adultos/as tratan o se acercan los/as niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales estaría afectando a la percepción que los/as niños/as tienen del país de acogida o a su sentimiento de pertenencia.

En conclusión, creo que el estudio ha contribuido al campo de los estudios sobre niños/as y raza, especialmente con su metodología de triangulación. La observación participante se ha convertido en una práctica relativamente habitual en los estudios con niños/as, pero el *"doll study"* no es tan popular como solía serlo. Además, el estudio del *"doll study"* no se ha realizado antes en España, especialmente con niños/as pertenecientes a minorías raciales y de la forma que se adaptó en este estudio. Las técnicas centradas en la infancia son más comunes de encontrar en la literatura académica y su flexibilidad y adaptabilidad a los casos o temas específicos de los estudios infantiles las hacen indispensables. La forma en que se combinaron estos tres métodos y se llevaron a cabo en una ONG, un entorno semiformal, confiere al estudio y a los resultados una perspectiva amplificada.

El análisis de estos proporcionó una visión muy diferente de cómo perciben los/as niños/as el color de la piel, la religión, la etnia, la nación, las tradiciones, las normas, y cómo compartimentan utilizando rasgos físicos y culturales en su vida cotidiana, al igual que los/as adultos/as, para dar sentido a su posición en su entorno inmediato.

Sin embargo, esta investigación también aportó nuevas preguntas que deben responderse y comprobarse en profundidad. La incorporación de otras técnicas, el aumento del número de participantes y de los orígenes, la realización tanto en entornos más formales, como las escuelas, como en entornos informales, como los parques, pueden ampliar el horizonte del estudio.

[i] He optado por emplear lenguaje inclusivo en la redacción de este capítulo, al entender que la utilización del masculino plural no recoge lingüísticamente la diversidad sexogenérica.