Chapter

DEVELOPING ETHNIC IDENTITIES AND ETHNIC ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN: THEORY AND RESEARCH IN CONTEXT

*Virginia L. Lam**

University of East London

ABSTRACT

The vast amount of human migration and resettlement around the world since the last century has brought about lasting social, political and cultural changes to many countries, not least in terms of their ethnic demographics and consequently the senses of ethnic identity and attitudes that their young develop. This chapter reviews the major works from the great body of literature in this field spanning over several decades. These include empirical studies from North America and parts of Europe that have been typically ethnic 'heterogeneous' as well as those from societies that, until recently, have been relatively homogeneous so that contextual issues can be discussed. Critical analysis is devoted to theoretical perspectives and associated methodological approaches which have been used to conceptualise and investigate this aspect of child development with the aim of evaluating the role of cognitive/child-individual, social-developmental and other social-structural/contextual factors, processes and prevalent discourses. Certain recurring phenomena and debates are highlighted: the non-equivalent developmental patterns of ethnic majority versus minority children; the issues in understanding the ethnic identity of the fast-increasing number of mixed race or 'interethnic' children; the on-going challenge in reconciling diverse approaches to research (such as positivist 'quantitative' versus interpretive 'qualitative' approaches and explicit versus implicit measures). The chapter finishes with some recommendations for more inclusive and dynamic approaches towards studying this aspect of development as well as for applying this understanding in practical areas.

---

* Correspondence author: Dr Virginia Lam, School of Psychology, University of East London, Stratford Campus, London, United Kingdom E15 4LZ, E-mail: v.lam@uel.ac.uk.

INTRODUCTION

Human movement across countries and regions have occurred, as a function of exploration and exchange, diplomacy and trade, and war and conflict, for centuries, but the bulk of large-scale migration and resettlement has been happening mainly in the last century. This typically involves inhabitants from the poorer 'South' entering the post-industrial 'North' (America, Europe and Australasia) for economic or educational opportunities, a safe haven from war or persecution, reunion with family networks already resettled, or all of such reasons. This phenomenon has invariably changed the economic, political and cultural landscape of host countries.

One of the most observable and permanent changes is that of the demographic fabric of the host country—from one of relative ethnic or racial homogeneity to one of diversity. In many inner-city and suburban areas with established resettlements, we see second-, third- and even fourth-generation children of first immigrants (Office of National Statistics, 2011). Such a change may be seen by the host with, at best, ambivalence and at worst, hostility (e.g. Blitz, 2010; Boxell, 2011). The change itself and the sentiments felt by both the host and immigrant communities towards it are likely to impact on the way they view, and feel towards, their own and other ethnic groups, their place in society, and the relationship between them.

In addition, with the declining cost of international travel and mass communication in the last few decades, an increasing section of the world have both direct and indirect exposure to cultures that they would not be afforded otherwise. Such experiences provide opportunities for more intergroup comparisons and contact, which have been shown to change individuals' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, their own and other groups in both adults and children (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Cameron, Rutland, Hussain, & Petley, 2011; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). These issues related to the central realms of ethnic identity as an important part of children's development across different contexts will unfold through the review of research and theory in a strategic series in this chapter. Firstly, before delving into the literature, it is essential to operationalise the complex, and often conflicting, terminology that describes the phenomena of 'ethnicity', 'identity' and their associated attitudes.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity: Terminology

It has once been remarked by the highly accomplished researcher in adolescents' and adults' ethnic identity, Jean S. Phinney, that although most people have a 'common sense' notion of ethnicity, the concept itself lacks a clear theoretical framework with a limited empirical base (Phinney, 1996). This difficulty may lie, in part, in the differences between and within ethnic groups, and their members, in terms of their migration history, social class, country of origin, acculturation or enculturation, variation in cultural norms and practices, regional differences, among others. Additionally, there is an increasing number of children from 'mixed' race (or 'interethnic') backgrounds (Choudhry, 2010) that extend the range of groups even further or 'blur' the boundaries between them. For these reasons, there is little sense in trying to define ethnicity 'objectively' in terms of generalisations that apply to all groups. For congruence in this chapter, ethnicity, or any ethnic grouping, refers to a human unit of individuals who see themselves as being alike, and tend to be so regarded by others,

by virtue of one or more of the following attributes: common ancestry, national origin, race, religion, language, cultural background, and social customs, drawing from descriptions that came before (e.g., Foster, Martinez, & Kulberg, 1996; Porter & Washington, 1993).

Ethnicity should not be confused with 'race' (which is also covered here), if both are 'constructed' terms, and are used almost interchangeably in the literature concerning younger children (e.g., Foster et al., 1996; Quintana, 1998). Race is used by social scientists to refer to distinctions drawn from physical appearance (e.g., skin colour, hair texture facial features) or perceived genetic similarity with a 'quasi-biological' status (Zuckerman, 1990). Yet ethnicity includes cultural aspects that go beyond (Quintana & McKown, 2008) the physical on which preschoolers tend to pay attention largely due to developmental limitations (Aboud, 1988).

By contrast, there have been numerous attempts to 'objectively' study ethnic identity, even if its description still varies widely. Ethnic identity has been broadly broached as "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings and behaviour that is due to ethnic group membership" (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; p.13). In this vein, the concept includes several parts; not least the awareness of one's own and other ethnic group memberships, but also one's identification with, and attitudes towards, group members and behaviours associated with the group. The study of ethnic identity emphasises how group members understand and evaluate their own ethnicity and others, and individuals and groups do vary in the degree to which they identify with their ethnic group, the extent to which it is salient and important to them, and the degree of positivity/negativity they feel towards them. These feelings and attitudes change over time, particularly in children in the formative years of their development, and have significant implications for the ways in which they conduct themselves, interact with people, and how they live their lives and view their society.

The following sections firstly review the research literature of this development, in all of ethnic majority and minority and mixed race/interethnic children, before an evaluation of the major theories and methodologies that have underpinned such works. Finally, the chapter comes to a close with key conclusions that draw together the themes covered in an integrated framework, and practical implications from such works are suggested.

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

Due to the sheer amount of studies covering the lengthy relevant developmental period on the multifaceted nature of identity, this section is necessarily divided. It begins with a review of the key research from ethnic diverse white-dominant societies spanning over several decades, before more recent studies from relatively homogeneous places to highlight contextual issues. Finally, this section ends with the coverage of the relatively recent, but more 'eclectic' forms, of research, on the mixed race identity patterns.

Ethnic Identity Development: Children in Longstanding Diverse Societies

There is good reason that the literature on younger children has often conflated 'ethnic' with 'racial' identity. The general consensus from the extensive history of research in this field, in heterogeneous areas of the US and Canada, is that preschoolers first consciously

identify the most basic physical differences, skin colour, between 'white' and 'black' people by the age of 3 years, which precedes awareness of more 'ethnic' categories by around 4-5 years (reviewed by Katz & Koftin, 1997). There were reports that, by the age of 2 years, infants already notice this kind of racial differences (in the UK; Davey, 1983; Milner, 1983) and recent eye-tracking research has reported that babies as young as 3 months old prefer looking at same-race faces, implying higher familiarity with their own race (Bar-Haim, Ziv, Lamy, & Hodes, 2006).

Person categorisation on the basis of distinctive visual features before progressing on to psychological or societal stratifications (such as religion) is, indeed, seen as a fundamental stage of social perception (Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992; Tajfel, 1981). Considering that distinctions between the racial groups of white and black individuals tend to be visually salient (at least in terms of skin colour), it is not surprising that children can be aware of such differences, perhaps unconsciously, prior to showing any knowledge of societally subscribed ethnic classifications (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1987; Ramsey, 1987).

Further ahead, it is on entering middle childhood, from about 5 to 7 years of age, that children form increasingly more conceptual (or less superficial) differentiation that surpasses racial cues to include ethnic codes, if initially such cues are still relatively observable, such as dress code, speech pattern and culinary taste. In this period, they also start to grasp that one's ethnic group membership remains constant with age and regardless of external attributes (for instance, a white person remains 'white' despite acquiring a tanned complexion, dyed hair or donning an ethnic costume). This is seen as a more 'mature' form of awareness, called ethnic 'constancy' (Aboud, 1988), that consolidates through to 9 years and involves understanding that ethnicity is tied to properties deeper than superficial features. This development, from a psychological point of view, parallels that of 'gender constancy' where children understand that one's gender group membership is unchanged despite external changes (Katz, 1976).

The degree and nature of ethnic awareness also depend on the ethnic group to which a child belongs. Typically in white-dominant societies, non-white minority groups tend to show earlier racial awareness and greater sensitivity to race than their white-majority counterparts (Katz & Koftin, 1997). This has been explained by the idea of salience in that ethnicity tends to be more 'salient',to adults and children who form a minority in terms of either numerical representation or collective status within their social context (e.g., McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978; Powell, 1973). Which 'aspects' of ethnicity are salient also differ between ethnic groups; the racial feature of skin colour is more salient to black children and food and language are significant to Chinese children, for example (Aboud, 1987; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Critically, ethnic salience depends on the research context. When children are afforded a wide range of cues to categorise people or to spontaneously describe them, few will classify by ethnicity, and fewer still will describe their peers in ethnic terms, and this holds through to later childhood (about 10-12 years; Bennett, Dewberry, & Yeeles, 1991; Verkuyten &Kinket, 1999; Verkuyten & Masson, 1994).

With the awareness of cues signalling ethnic groupings comes the knowledge of oneself being a member of one (or more) such group as a first stage towards ethnic self-identification (Aboud, 1987). Emerging in the same developmental stage (from age 3-4 years), this gradual process not only necessitates perceiving the similarities (and differences) between others and between others and oneself, but also that the child eventually acquires, and uses consistently, the labels denoting ethnic group membership (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

Since some of the earliest documented studies from the US in the first half of the last century by African-American psychologists Kenneth and Marnie Clark working as a married team (Clark & Clark, 1939, 1947), many researchers have adapted their 'dolls' experiment to investigate children's identification with, and attitudes towards, racial and ethnic groups. The simple test involved asking children a series of questions that assessed their perception of the attributes of, and preference for, dolls (typically one representing 'white', and one 'black', or another minority group). This yielded results that held, and were largely consistent with those obtained by other measures (e.g., labelling, Aboud, 1977, 1980), for the next three or so decades. The overwhelming majority of white children from age 3-4 years, increasing to at least 6-7 years (Aboud, 1988), picked up the white doll as the one that 'looked like' them (e.g., Davey, 1973; Marsh, 1970; Williams & Morland, 1976). Concurrently, the white doll, the 'wrong' choice, was also picked up by a substantial majority of black and other ethnic minority children in all of North America (Goodman, 1964; Katz, 1976), the UK (Jahoda, Thomson, & Bhatt, 1972; Milner, 1973), and other white-dominant countries (Maoris in New Zealand, Vaughan, 1963; black Bantus in South Africa, Gregor & McPherson, 1966). There were significant increases in the 'correct' (black, or relevant ethnic) identification from age 5, and at 7 years most chose the non-white doll, but even then the figures rarely exceeded 90 per cent (e.g., reviews by Davey, 1983; Williams & Morland, 1976). This presents an interesting asymmetry since minority children, as reviewed above, tend to be aware of ethnic differences earlier than white-majority children.

Ethnic identity does not only consist of perceptual and cognitive elements, but also a significant affective or evaluative component, which includes the tendency to think of, or feel about, one's own and other ethnic groups in favourable or unfavourable ways, and a sense of liking or preference (or the opposite) for group members (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Such attitudes were often studied alongside identification; the Clarks' dolls tests included relevant items and others used drawings or photographs to elicit affective responses. Results paralleled those of identification above; by 3-4 years white children showed a pronounced preference for, and positive trait attributions to, white figures and some negativity towards dark figures, and this became more consistent with age (Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Katz, Sohn, & Zalk, 1975). There were reports of a decline after age 7 (Doyle, Beudat, & Aboud, 1987; Rice, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974), but some found no change through middle childhood (Aboud, 1977; George & Hoppe, 1979). Meanwhile, black and ethnic minority children in white-dominant societies formed pro-white attitudes (e.g., Aboud, 1977; George & Hoppe, 1979; Jahoda et al., 1972; Milner, 1973) but, after 7 years, showed either an increase in pro-black (or own group) preference or positivity (Fox & Jordan, 1973; Hraba & Grant, 1970) or no change (Aboud, 1980; Katz et al., 1975).

Notwithstanding the methodological issues within the studies (see next section), that minority children 'misidentified', preferred or judged more positively the stimuli supposedly representing the white majority was interpreted as a reflection of some elementary awareness of the connotations of power status between ethnic groups (Alejandro-Wright, 1985). It made sense as their earlier awareness of ethnic differences might give way to earlier exploration of status differences. The society in which many lived (and still live) was 'multiethnic', but the politically dominant group was (and is) white, as evident in its representations in the media and authority. This might also explain ethnic salience in minority groups even nowadays (despite their becoming a numerical majority in various cities), seeing their groups as the lower-status 'other' versus the white default (Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2001).

The argument based on relative statuses of ethnic groups above would hold when if one follows the trend of research findings since then through to the present. Studies in the 1980s from North America and the UK (e.g., Corenblum & Wilson, 1982; Davey, 1983; McAdoo, 1985; Milner, 1983) still reported major misidentification and white out-group preference by black and ethnic minority children. Then the 1990s saw a notable increase in published works from diverse societies outside of (and a decrease from within) America. While white-majority children still reported consistent identification with, and positivity or preference for, the white in-group, the ethnic minority groups reported comparable levels of same-ethnic identification and attitudes, particularly among older children (10-12 years; in UK, Boulton & Smith, 1992; South Africa, Kelly & Duckitt, 1995; Netherlands, Verkuyten, Masson, & Elffers, 1995). The trend was not seen as coincidental; it was argued (e.g., Barnes, 1980; Davey, 1983) that the increasing representation and involvement of black or minority persons in public life and the media post-desegregation should accompany a rise in ethnic pride among the young.

This elevated ethnic self-image since the 1990s seemed to bind into the period beyond the 2000s, the arguably 'post-racial' era (Wise, 2010). Indeed, since early childhood majority and minority children both identify with the ethnic in-group (Davis, Leman, & Barrett, 2007; Lam, Guerrero, Damree, & Enesco, 2011) and this tends to increase to late childhood (Marks, Kerivan Szalacha, Lamarre, Boyd, & Coll, 2007; Stokes-Guinan, 2011). The trend for ethnic attitudes is more mixed (part of which may be a result of the more sophisticated investigative procedures; see next section), in that minority children may prefer or positively evaluate their own group while at the same time favour white children over other minority groups (Griffiths & Nesdale, 2006; Stokes-Guinan, 2011) or stereotype their own ethnicity (Davis et al., 2007). The emerging body of work from non-ethnic diverse contexts also does not lend a particularly promising picture. We now turn to such work to highlight the relevant contextual factors.

Children in Ethnic Homogeneous or Recently 'Heterogenised' Societies

It is important to first determine that, by 'homogeneous', it does not mean that those societies have only one ethnic group that has little contact with other groups. In cases where research has been conducted in the past decade or so, the society is fast becoming more like the multiethnic contexts above (thus recently 'heterogenised'), but had until then remained non-diverse due to low levels of immigration. In others, 'contact' had been made in the past, but typically through colonisation by countries now representing the multiethnic societies, thus the interest to study the children across such places as 'comparison' contexts.

Some of the earlier work was conducted in post-colonial West Indies. A study based in Trinidad and New York preschools in 1986 by Sharon-Ann Gopaul-McNicol (1992) adopting Clarks' dolls test found that despite a lapse of 40 years since Clarks' work, a great majority of children, in both places, were similar in their identification with, and preference for, the white target and negativity towards the dark one. The author also reported the spontaneous remarks made by children ("I don't like being black; I will be rich if I am like the white doll"; p. 191), clearly indicating an awareness of status inequality and associated own-ethnic dislike despite their tender ages. Her further work involving over 300 preschoolers from more islands in the West Indies (Gopaul-McNicol, 1995) showed a similar pattern, leading to the conclusion that the impact of colonialism had continued to be evident (see next section for mechanisms). Fast

forward to the 2000s, research comparing black children in Jamaica (with few white people) and white children in rural New England (few black people) adapting the dolls test still found overall white favouritism (Cramer & Anderson, 2003). Worth noting is that this bias was not present in Jamaican pre-schoolers, and Jamaican children reported less 'correct' (black) racial identification than their (white) American counterparts, again suggesting that seeing white as an 'ideal' self is still acquired by some children some way into the post-colonial era.

Towards the 2000s, works emerged from European countries that had begun receiving larger-scale non-white immigrants since the 1980-1990s as their neighbours (e.g., the UK and Netherlands) had done earlier. The works tend to focus on white children as they witness the change. One country is Spain, which has had a larger contingent of South American migrants, and increasingly also from Africa and Asia (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, 2011). Projects of its children's racial awareness, identification, and attitudes, have been led by psychologist Ileana Enesco (e.g., Enesco, Guerrero, Callejas, & Solbes, 2008; Enesco, Navarro, Giménez, & del Olmo, 1999; Enesco, Navarro, Paradela, & Guerrero, 2005; Guerrero, Enesco, & Lam, 2011). The majority document that children have correct racial identification by the age of 5 (slightly later than those in multiracial contexts) and, from 3 to 11 years, prefer or positively rate fair-skinned stimuli (often peaking at 6-7 years), and some also reject or negatively rate dark ones. From about 8 years children show stable racial constancy, beyond which reasoning for preference changes (to become less about race, but social concerns related to ethnicity).

Another European country, Italy, with a similar picture of recent immigration (Ufficio stampa Censimento popolazione, 2011) as Spain, mostly from North Africa and Asia, has seen several recent works documenting white children's racial attitudes from preschool to middle childhood by Luigi Castelli (Castelli, Carraro, Tomelleri, & Amari, 2007; Castelli, De Dea, & Nesdale, 2008; Castelli, Zogmaister, & Tomelleri, 2009). With a focus also on parents' racial attitudes and their familial transmission (see the next section), the studies have found that children aged 3 to at least 6-7 years report a strong white playmate preference as well as positive trait attributions to white peers (and more negative attributions to black peers) believing that their parents endorsed such attitudes. Taken together with the Spanish research, it appears that the white-majority children in the newer immigration destinations display at least similar 'racial' identification and attitudinal trends (pro-white/same-race bias) as their same-race counterparts in historically heterogeneous societies.

The above does not mean that children of any ethnicity in any societal context tend to carry a 'pro-white' bias. Some research (Kowalski & Lo, 2001) with Taiwanese children by using photographs of different racial groups as targets has reported an Asian bias from age 3 through to 11 years. In fact, this bias abated only when an ethnic label, other than 'Chinese' (the children's ethnicity, and the majority, in Taiwan, a highly homogeneous place), was used to describe the Asian targets at 8-9 years, when children showed a marked increase in ethnic identification. The findings are similar to those from preschoolers in Taiwan and Hong Kong (highly homogeneous and non-stratified despite being a colony) two decades ago (Morland & Hwang, 1981), but contrast those from Chinese children in the West (e.g., Feng, 2011; Louie, 2006; Song, 2010). Considering Taiwan never had a history of western colonisation (if it was under Japanese rule until the end of World War II), this suggests that it is less about whether a society is ethnic diverse, but more about whether there has been a history or backdrop that has left that society stratified by ethnicity, that determine its members' ethnic identity patterns.

Children from Mixed Race/Interethnic Unions

The above has indicated that, whether they reside in an ethnic diverse or homogeneous place, children from a young age are aware of, and some highly sensitive to, race or ethnicity. Then it is not surprising that for those whose parentage consists of more than one race or ethnicity, mostly commonly called 'mixed' race/ethnic (but also bi-racial/ethnic, interethnic, or mixed-parentage) children, racial or ethnic issues are probably even more salient and have a greater or more complex impact on their identities. This final part of the section examines the major literature on such a population. Most of this research, the bulk of which built up from the 1990s, has taken somewhat different approaches (see the next section), often with older and smaller samples than those reviewed above, partly due to the approaches and their relatively small (if one of the fastest growing; ONS, 2011) representation, but also because of the wide variety of their racial or ethnic 'mixtures', within the population.

The interest in the young of mixed ethnic unions was arguably rooted decades back in clinical practice, with American psychologist Joseph D. Teicher voicing his concerns in 1968 that, "Although the burden of the Negro child is recognised as a heavy one, that of the Negro-white child is seen to be even heavier" (p. 249). Teicher reported case studies indicating that, apart from the devaluation of 'black' there were likely to be resentment towards both parents, and an inability to identify with either, among other problems, in their quest for identity. Was there any basis for his concerns? If so, is this the case in a multiethnic or 'post-racial' world?

Often based in clinical and counselling practices, the published works in the US from 1980s to 90s seemed to confirm Teicher's worries. They report identity problems and related school adjustment issues (e.g., Herring, 1992; Lyles, Yancey, Grace, & Carter, 1985; McRoy & Freeman, 1986) that stemmed from the overt racism affecting all ethnic minorities and the 'burden' of coping for those who view their families as 'pathological, unstable and peculiar' (Buttery, 1987). However, it is noted that some problems may be a result of adults perceiving them as such due to their heritage, when in fact those are normal developmental problems, or other issues unrelated to heritage. The studies have also tended to focus on black-white mixed children, who often end up regarding themselves as black, but that may be linked to US legal history (the 'one drop' rule) that considers persons with any African ancestry as 'black'.

A similar issue with the traditional 'strictly dichotomous' British racial categorisation system was raised by the little, often sociological, literature available in that period in the UK (Tizard & Phoenix,, 1993; Wilson, 1984). Like in the US, mixed race children were described as occupying a 'marginal' or 'in-between' position, from which they might try to 'escape' by adopting either a white or a black group membership in full. For instance, Barbara Tizard and Ann Phoenix, in their 1993 book about the research they conducted by interviewing 58 black-white teenagers and their white and black peers, document that under half of their mixed race sample considered themselves as black (similar to later in the US; e.g., Nishimura, 1995), but 'brown', 'half and half', 'mixed' or 'coloured'. A few included themselves as black in certain situations, indicating a process of transition in the face of white people seeing black people as 'other'. Although most (60%) were proud of their parentage, half had in the past wished to be another colour, and the remainder were interpreted as having a problematic or 'intermediate' identity (still wishing to be another colour), twice as many as the black sample, in part due to hostility from both black and white people and feeling 'different' from both.

Moving forward a decade, some reviews in 2000s US have still portrayed a picture of problems and special needs due to the mixed race 'ambiguous' ethnicity (Gibbs, 2003), from

not totally belonging to either parent's heritage, pressures to accept one but not the other, and rejection from society (Ward, Whitney, & Redd, 2007). Recent works, however, show limited evidence of pervasive disadvantage (Pearce-Morris & King, 2012), or that in fact mixed race children who identify with multiple groups, versus those who identify with one, report equal or higher well-being and social engagement (Binning, Unzueta, Huo, & Molina, 2009).

In the UK, since the official recognition of 'mixed race' as a distinct category from the 2001 Census, there has been an increasing effort to confront the assumptions held about those children by allowing them to recognise both the ascribed (such as mixed race/parentage) and their own selected identities (e.g., 'brown'; Goodyer, & Okitikpi, 2007). In her 2010 book, by capturing the views of older children from mixed white-South Asian (or 'interethnic', a label they preferred) unions and non-interethnic children, as well as their parents, using interviews and surveying, British family mental health researcher, Sultana Choudhry, demonstrated that ethnic identity is fluid and multifaceted rather than fixed. Far from early reports of identity conflict above, a key theme is the high level of choice that the children exercised to adopt a particular identity and persona to suit each situation (like a 'chameleon') in which they found themselves and to negotiate challenges (such as racism) to a greater degree than other ethnic minorities, making being interethnic an 'asset'.

From their initial position of 'problems', 'marginality' and 'disadvantage' to the most current of 'well-being', 'choice' and 'asset', the mixed race or interethnic identity has come a long way. This may have come about through the relative increase in its population, a greater representation in, and recognition by, society and its institutions, towards the elevation of the flexible identity. Choudhry (2010) further reviews the cases of successful interethnic persons such as Barack Obama in terms of how a chameleon identity may facilitate high achievement in diverse societies. Still, it is important to view that any pattern of identification is always a 'work in progress' (Goodyer, & Okitikpi, 2007) due to the changing nature of society itself.

Summary of Research Findings

This section has provided a review of the varying developmental patterns in racial and ethnic awareness, identification and attitudes among children from the majority and minority groups in diverse and non-diverse contexts, and that of mixed race/interethnic children, from past to present. The commonality between these groups is the early awareness of ethnic differences, which are particularly salient to some (notably non-white minorities or those in post-colonial societies). Likewise, the way in which children identify (or not) with their own ethnicity, and how they feel towards it and others, differs between groups and changes with age and context (the level of diversity and stratification), and has changed with the passage of time, where the status differentials between groups and societal acceptance of some have improved since the earliest research. There is general acknowledgement that the 'process' of identity is fluid and dynamic, and that it is possible to 'steer' identity according to individual circumstances. After a review of the 'what' (what patterns there are) of ethnic identity and attitudes, the next section offers an evaluation of the 'how' in terms of how those patterns we have read have been explained by the main theories, factors and processes, and the means by which these explanations have been reached . The latter concerns the methodologies used by different researchers to 'frame' identity as well as children in their work, which in turn can influence their findings.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Children's ethnic identity has been studied within various scholarly disciplines, each with its own focus, perspectives and agenda, albeit also with some significant overlap to other disciplines. The methodological approaches that they employ, therefore, also encompass a broad variety driven by these perspectives and focuses. Broadly speaking, there are some perspectives and methods that have been favoured by the 'positivist' tradition (most notably psychologists and other 'quantitative' social scientists) and those that have been more recently advocated by the 'constructionist' school of thoughts (such as sociologists and anthropologists, but they may also engage in the positivist approaches). The former generally prefer larger-scale empirical studies involving systematic datasets and statistical analytic techniques that indicate identity 'patterns' and trends to support or challenge theories. The latter involve epistemologies that deploy in-depth interpretive and discursive tools (often seen as the 'qualitative' approaches) for scrutinising texts or linguistic data and deconstructing everyday phenomena and nuances that reflect 'discourses' of identity and related thoughts and behaviour. The main theoretical approaches and major associated methodologies within each school are examined below.

Cognitive Development and Ethnic Identity

A good part of the last section reviews the development of children's ethnic or racial identity. As certain age-related trends (such as awareness of different racial features, in-group identification and attitudes) seem to apply to many (at least white-majority) children, theories have tended to pose various aspects of cognitive development as explanations of, or contributors to, ethnic identity development since the nature of cognition changes with age, according to the all-time revered Swiss child psychologist, Jean Piaget (1896-1980; see Piaget, 1929, 1936). As such, the systematic age changes in ethnic identity have been the domain charted and examined by theorists following the positivist tradition. The major ones are reviewed below.

So, 'what of' development makes children notice ethnic group differences, identify with, and prefer or like, members from their own (if they do), and reject or dislike those from other groups? A model widely cited by psychologists and beyond is Canadian behaviourist Frances E. Aboud's cognitive-developmental theory (CDT), formulated in her popular book *Children and prejudice* in 1988. Though aimed at examining ethnic and racial 'prejudice', she detailed those factors that contribute to identity, from awareness to identification, as well.

Drawing on Piaget's (1929, 1932) theorisation, Aboud (1987, 1988) described a three-part (affective, perceptual and cognitive) process in children's ethnic perception and placed a key role on the development of concrete 'operational' thoughts (from the reliance on external, physical characteristics to internal, psychological ones) and perspective-taking abilities (from considering one perspective or a single dimension to multiple ones). Young 'pre-operational' (pre-age 6-7 years) children's reception of ethnic information largely goes through perceptual and affective processes, focusing on observable racial cues, and negative attitudes (prejudice) towards out-groups are high due to the fear of the unfamiliar, preferring the familiar in-group features or members. Children become aware of further differences between groups with age,

but as long as these are restricted to the 'superficial' external kind, in-group favouritism and out-group denigration should increase—they are preoccupied with the perceptual differences between groups. Ethnic identification and attitudinal differentiation should first 'peak' at the point when the concrete operational stage (around 6-7 years), by Piaget's theory, is reached, before prejudice starts gradually decreasing as in-group/out-group biases become moderated. Children in this stage (characterised by cognitive processes), being more aware of the internal psychological traits of group members, acquire ethnic constancy as a deeper understanding of ethnicity, and are more able to simultaneously attend to multiple dimensions (recognising the similarities between ethnic groups and differences between members within a group *as well as* differences between groups and similarities between group members).

Empirically, CDT would appear to fit in with research findings reviewed earlier, if it is limited to white-majority children. On noticing morphological differences like skin colour, which most white children identify correctly, they readily show a white preference and some rejection of, or negativity towards, non-white stimuli by 4-5 years. In terms of evidence for the role of cognitive development in ethnic cognition, research until the mid-1990s revealed good associations between indicators of operational thinking and moderated ethnic attitudes. Measures such as conservation ability (understanding that the essentialist property of objects does not change with external changes, a form of 'physical' constancy), understanding of the origins of race (Clark et al., 1980), categorisation (Katz, 1976) and perspective-taking (e.g., Doyle & Aboud, 1995) skills were related to improved performance on ethnic identification or constancy, or a decline in out-group negativity, particularly across the age-6-7 'threshold'. Worthy of note is the diminishing salience of ethnicity for describing or categorising persons in later childhood (10-12 years), giving way to psychological characteristics (e.g., 'expressed' affect and inferred intellect; Bennett, Dewberry, & Yeeles, 1991; Verkuyten et al., 1995).

From the later 1990s, some studies failed to reproduce the above pattern. For instance, white Australian children's attitudes, in Black-Gutman and Hickson (1996), gave only partial support to CDT; 7-9-year-olds (in the operational stage) showed less out-group prejudice than the youngest, 5-6-year-olds, but the oldest 10-12-year-olds (who should be least prejudiced) did not differ from the youngest. This study, like others (e.g., Corenblum, Annis, & Tanaka, 1997) at the time, found that cognitive skills such as perception of between-race similarity or perspective-taking were only moderately correlated with greater out-group tolerance. In fact, a close examination of Aboud's work (Doyle & Aboud, 1995) shows that half of the children accomplished in conservation showed high levels of prejudice. Recent studies have found no relationships between categorisation ability and racial cognition in a multiracial context (Lam et al., 2011), if it predicts racial preference in a non-diverse context (Guerrero et al., 2011).

That cognitive development falls short of explaining recent non-uniform age changes in ethnic identity and attitudes leaves CDT wanting, of other, possibly non-cognitive, factors for a more complete account. Indeed, Aboud herself discussed the relevance of 'social forces', in particular family and peers (see later for a review), in her book. This is even more pertinent for ethnic minority children, as the lack of explanations for their identity pattern is one of the key weaknesses of CDT. As reviewed earlier, many of these children in white-dominant and post-colonial countries have shown misidentification and a pro-white bias. While the issue of ethnic status differences has been raised, and will be evaluated, some attention is first drawn to the ways in which ethnic identity has been studied in this positivist developmental model, as these might have in part influenced the findings in the course of research.

'Conventional' Tests of Ethnic Identity and Attitudes

Since Clark and Clark's work, the dolls and similar tests (most notably, the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure, PRAM, Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975, involving drawings as stimulus set and a broader range of questions) became a popular method of assessing ethnic cognition in children. This is largely due to the easily replicable procedure and simple questioning that should be understood by preschoolers (e.g., "give me the doll that…/which child looks like…you/a white/Negro/coloured child" or "…is a nice doll/the naughty one/you want to play with"). Yet what do children really understand within this format? Much of the criticism concerns the issue of interpretation. On the dolls test, some (Aboud, 1988; Katz et al., 1975) argue that, by asking what the dolls 'look' like, when they are identical in other aspects except skin and hair colour, the items refer exclusively to physical features rather than the dolls as representatives of the racial or ethnic groups. It then follows that the value-laden items are about which doll, as a physical object, children find more appealing, but not their evaluation of group members. While this format may solve the issue of limited vocabulary in preschoolers, it creates others for older children whose ethnic cognition is based on attributes beyond visual racial cues.

It should aslso be noted that black dolls were not widely available, nor deemed desirable, in the era when they were used in research. Even later in ethnic diverse areas where they were more available, most children still did not own one at home (Gopaul-McNicol, 1992). Putting aside possible societal stereotyping of the black doll (or its lack), a choice of white doll might simply be a reflection of greater familiarity as dolls had traditionally carried 'white' features.

Besides dolls' (or drawings) representations, the technique is a two-alternative forced-choice test, in that once a child picks the other-race object as the one that is 'like' her, or 'the nice one', her response is classified as other-group identification or preference, or own-group rejection. This format does not dispense the possibility that the child might like both, or only slightly prefer one without rejecting the other. Recent studies revising the test by giving more stimuli (choice of groups) and/or response sets (the option of picking more than one target), and treating positive and negative attitudes separately, has shown that white-majority children evaluate out-groups positively, if in-group somewhat more so, and minority children have no in-group or out-group bias (e.g., Lam et al., 2011; Stokes-Guinan, 2011).

Despite the revisions, the forced-choice format itself is restricting in that the response set is limited to the choice of items (dolls, drawings or photos) or labels (attributes of items), rather than the 'degree' to which children feel that the attributes apply to the items. The latter requires the use of rating scales, less amenable for use with younger children due to cognitive limitations (Chambers & Johnston, 2000), but has found much less extreme results from older children compared with force-choice studies (from around 6 years; Aboud & Mitchell, 1977; Katz et al., 1975). Later studies have demarcated in-group and out-group attitudes further and revealed the two to be unrelated to each other (Aboud, 2003; Kowalski, 2003). This suggests that different kinds of processes (such as categorisation ability as a cognitive contributor and status difference as a social-psychological contributor) are involved in the development of children's attitudes towards their in-group versus out-groups to differing degrees. The latter type, social-psychological processes, is examined in the next parts of this section.

Social-Psychological Processes and Ethnic Identity

For young children, the premise 'what is similar (from a perceptual viewpoint) to myself is liked/preferred/good, and what is different is disliked/rejected/bad' (out of fear of the unfamiliar, in Aboud's original formulation) is actually reminiscent of one established theory with a social-motivational focus. Henry Tajfel (1919-1982), the highly regarded British social psychologist, devised the Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), a theory seen as his greatest gift to the discipline and academia. SIT proposes that social groups (in particular salient ones, such as ethnicity) are an important source of pride and self-esteem so that people engage in attitudes and behaviour that enhance the status of the group to which they belong (and their self-image is increased in the process). In this vein, the division of the social world into 'them' and 'us', a process of categorisation and identification, is a 'normal' cognitive tendency and a precursor of in-group favouritism and out-group denigration.

As elevation of the in-group entails favourable comparisons with out-groups, in-group bias may be moderated by the relative status of comparison groups as reported in experiments with children (e.g., Bigler, Brown, & Markell, 2001; Brown & Abrams, 1984). If it is 'easier' for an ethnic group (i.e., the dominant one) to make positive intergroup comparisons, then in-group positivity and out-group negativity ensue with a strong in-group identity. Lower-status (e.g., minority) group members, in the absence of positive intergroup comparisons, may try to identify with the majority to elevate its status or esteem (Bruce, Curtis, & Johnson, 1998; Van Knippernberg, 1984). As reported in the last section, even black preschoolers in post-colonial contexts can be aware of and sensitive to status differentials tied to race. It is possible that the 'misidentification' pattern in early works was a reflection of minority children's disaffection with the in-group status rather than their 'true' identity, and the later decrease in this pattern reflects the relative ease of positive intergroup comparisons and identification (since the pro-black and similar movements towards improved representations, thus status, in society).

Although SDT makes sense for the identity pattern of ethnic minority children and its changes with time, the theory itself is 'adevelopmental'; derived to examine intergroup attitudes as a social phenomenon in adults, it does not make age-related predictions. A fairly recent adaptation, by Australian psychologist Drew Nesdale (1999, 2004, 2008), as Social identity *development* theory (SIDT), does offer a systematic model of age-based changes in children's ethnic awareness, identification and attitudes. It argues that children, in multiethnic societies, pass four phases in ethnic cognition: 1) undifferentiated, where ethnic cues are unimportant to the young child (2-3 years); 2) ethnic awareness, where the child becomes able to distinguish him/herself and others by ethnic cues (3-4 years); 3) ethnic preference, where most 4-5-year-olds can not only identify him/herself by ethnic group membership, but are also aware of which group(s) has a higher status than others and prefer to be a member of that group; and 4) ethnic prejudice, where the child *may* hold prejudice against out-group members (after 7 years).

What set SIDT apart from its predecessors oriented in social (SIT) or cognitive (CDT) factors is the idea that prejudice is not framed as an inherent or inevitable facet of society and development, but a possible outcome conditional on a range of factors, including the strength of identification with the in-group, prevalence of prejudice as part of the in-group norms, and

perceived threat on in-group status by out-groups, among others under on-going investigation. An important implication is that although most majority children like or prefer their in-group, they do not hold prejudice against out-groups if their set of social-motivational circumstances does not foster it, and if it does, it happens beyond 7 years of age (contrary to the predictions of a decline in prejudice by CDT) when children are more susceptible to those conditions.

Since its inception, many studies by Nesdale's team have provided support for SIDT. As the samples were primarily white-majority children, the team has used the minimal group paradigm (Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971), which randomly assigned a child to one of two arbitrary groups (e.g., drawing teams) that vary in the dimensions of threat (presence of competition), relative status (better/worse drawing) and group norms (inclusive/exclusive). Then the dimension of in-group (own team)/out-group (other team) ethnicity is manipulated (by the use of photos) to test whether those dimensions would facilitate the effects of group ethnicity. Prejudice has been greatest in older (age 9 or over; versus 5 or 7 years) children when the in-group endorses a norm of exclusion (Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005), and the ethnicity of the out-group has an effect on children's desire to change teams where in-group identification was set lower with the presence of out-group threat (Nesdale, 2003).

While the systematic manipulation of social-motivational conditions which mediate or moderate prejudice is a strength of the work that has tested SIDT, testing only white-majority children makes for limited validity, similar to CDT. A recent study (Lam & Moodley, 2011) has adapted Nesdale's experiment (Nesdale, Maass, Griffiths, & Durkin, 2003) to test British Asian children's in- and out-group attitudes. When children's own team is designated to have a higher status (superior drawing) than a rival team, the teams' ethnicity does not affect their attitudes to in-group or out-group from age 5 to 10 years (which differs from Nesdale et al. as white-majority children prefer same-ethnic over other-ethnic rival team members). However, the children saw other-ethnic (white) members as more different from themselves than same-ethnic members only for the rival team. Worth noting is that the children were drawn from an Asian-majority school despite being an ethnic 'minority' in society, suggesting contextual or social-structural factors at work (see later). Despite the need to raise validity by testing with more groups in more contexts, it is timely to point out that, as with an increasing amount of studies in the recent period, Nesdale and other researchers have used not only measures that ask explicit questions about identification with or attitudes towards groups, but also 'implicit' measures such as perceived similarity among multiple (not only ethnic) dimensions or desire to change teams within a scenario, particularly with older children. The value of this method versus the 'conventional' type reviewed above is given some evaluation below.

Explicit and Implicit Measures of Ethnic Attitudes

The methodological issues of the 'conventional' tests of ethnic cognition have been reviewed earlier. One further problem that these tests, in particular attitudinal ones, share in common is the fact that they involve so-called 'explicit' measures, by asking children to allocate value-laden attributes to or rate group members with these directly. It is not new knowledge that children from the age of 6 years show social desirability concerns (Allaman, Joyce, & Crandall, 1972), and if the topic is race or ethnicity, children likely do not wish to

appear prejudiced or 'racist'. Indeed, it has been argued that the decline in prejudice after 6-7 years in earlier studies using explicit measures was a facet of children's self-presentation strategy. This is likely through evidence that shows that white children express less prejudice if tested by a black interviewer (Katz & Zalk, 1978), but will still discriminate against a black child in the absence of a white interviewer presenting an anti-racism norm (Monteiro, de França, & Rodrigues, 2009).

Evolved from previous research that used vignettes between white or black characters (Lawrence, 1991; Sagar & Schofield, 1980), one brand of 'implicit' measures was developed that involve children interpreting ambiguous interracial situations (e.g., potential money theft, bullying, cheating) where the potential transgressor-and-victim dyad differs by race (Margie, Killen, Sinno, & McGlothlin, 2005; McGlothlin, Killen, & Edmond, 2005). Racial biases are assessable by whether children infer that the transgression will take place, how they judge the transgressor, and whether the dyad can stay friends and so on. Contrary to expectation, white children aged 6 to 10 years did not show racial bias in interpreting the intention to transgress, if in the potential of friendship (with a black transgressor). Ethnic minority children are more likely to read a white child with intention to transgress in the money situation. It may be that children tend not to make race-based judgments in ambiguous situations, but as questions are still asked about characters that clearly differ in race, it is possible that children are hesitant to 'express' value judgments about such characters even if they hold such judgments.

At the same time as the above, research emerged that adapted the implicit association test (IAT), which had had currency in adult testing since the late 1990s (Greenwald, McGhee, Schwartz, & Jordan, 1998). The IAT is a computerised test that measures 'uncontrolled' and 'automatic' concept-attribute associations, where concepts can include ethnic or racial objects (e.g., ethnic names, labels, photos of persons) and attributes are the objects that carry valence (e.g., pleasant/unpleasant words, or smiling/sad faces for children). Participants are presented with ethnic stereotype-consistent trials, where 'correct' associations (they are given feedback after each pairing) involve pairing white ethnic stimuli with positive attributes and black ones with negative attributes, and stereotype-inconsistent trials where correct associations involve the reverse pairing. Participants are asked to designate the attributes to a stimulus, by pressing relevant buttons as fast as possible, with the idea that stereotype-consistent trials should yield faster responses than stereotype-inconsistent trials. This is termed 'implicit' bias, as although participants do not *express* their opinions about the stimuli, their speed of processing suggests bias as white-positive/black-negative associations are judged more 'easily'.

IAT research with children has revealed that implicit attitudes are unrelated to explicit attitudes, and that while explicit attitudes are moderated after age 6-8 years, implicit attitudes are unchanged, by cross-age comparisons (Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005) or longitudinally (Coremblum & Armstrong, 2012). The main advantage of this method is that it is less likely to evoke self-presentation, but the key issue is what the results mean exactly. The fact that one 'responds faster' if white (versus black) people and 'good' items are classified by the same key (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002) might just mean that one is more familiar with common societal racial stereotyping, and one might not condone it, even if one reproduces it (automatically). Perhaps such 'bias' is more about internalised *stereotypes* than prejudiced attitudes, again an issue of interpretation. Still, there has been increasing use of implicit measures with explicit ones, with children and adults (including parents) and some of such work is reviewed below.

Home, School and Beyond

According to Aboud, "If a child of 10 years is surrounded by prejudiced family and friends, these social forces may encourage him/her to maintain a strong prejudice, in spite of newly developing cognitive capabilities that would allow him/her to hold less prejudiced attitudes. …If a child is surrounded by less prejudiced family and friends, the social forces would be working in the same direction as cognitive developments to reduce prejudice (Aboud, 1988; p. 125). The evaluation of the theories above against empirical research and its interpretation suggests that neither cognitive-developmental nor social-psychological frameworks focusing on the child alone is able to fully explain the patterns of development observed, and the most obvious 'other' explanations may come from the home and school, as recognised by Aboud.

As far as the home environment is concerned, any extensive research on how parents may foster children's *identification* with their ethnicity or race, commonly known as ethnic or racial socialisation, did not really build up until the late 1990s (unlike that of the transmission of ethnic *attitudes* from parents; see later). This work tends to focus on minority parents, and initially without involving the children (e.g., Thomas & Speight, 1999; Thornton, 1997). The general finding has been that parents do view ethnic socialisation as important, particularly if they themselves have a strong internalised identity, and that the messages they socialise their children vary by their own experiences with their ethnicity and the mainstream. This is in line with recent studies (e.g., Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2008; Thomas, Speight, & Witherspoon, 2010), which show that parents are more likely to socialise their children when they endorse high levels of racial or ethnic pride and when they themselves have experienced race-related stress or perceive their children as being likely targets of stereotyping and discrimination. It is indicative of parents' recognition of the importance of buffering children from racism, and in view of the literature concerning ethnic minority children's increasing in-group identification and positivity post-1980s, such proactive family socialisation might be another contributor.

However, does parental socialisation promote ethnic identification for their children? This picture is somewhat mixed. Studies involving both parents and children tend to include older children (as they involve more detailed responses), and some have found that the level of parents' socialisation predicts children's later racial ideologies (e.g., centrality of race and assimilation; Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2009). Others cannot claim causality from socialisation when children's ethnic identity or reporting of unfair race-based treatment is not related to parents' emphasis on ethnic pride, but children's ethnic identity, and theirs or parents' perceptions of unfair treatment, are related to socialisation in the form of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). As a recent research theme, it is argued (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006) that socialisation leads to benefits, but exactly in which aspects or how it is enacted, the small empirical base is unable to explain. Further studies examining parental and other (e.g., peer; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001) socialisation with individual-contextual factors (cultural participation, language proficiency, school diversity; Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2007) show that they all act to influence family discussion of heritage and children's ethnic identity.

In contrast to the socialisation of identity, studying how parents are a source of ethnic or racial *attitudes* has had a much longer history. The highly influential figure on personality, Gordon W. Allport (1897-1967), extended his work to examine prejudices in young adults by

tracing their early experiences (Allport & Kramer, 1946; Allport, 1954). One of the assertions from his multiple-causation approach is that prejudice tends to develop most frequently from 6-16 years, where children's identification with their parents moderates the intergenerational transmission of prejudice. Allport's writings were timely, as the initial study in socialisation of attitudes in this era indicates that few parents realised a responsibility in teaching children about cultural differences and values of good human relations, even when their children were part of a study in intercultural education (Radke-Yarrow, Trager, & Miller, 1952).

It was not until the 1980s that saw extensive research, including a study testing white children's (aged 3-7 years) attitudes and interviewing their mothers, in three London districts varying in racial diversity and harmony in the 1970s, before an 8-year follow-up (Pushkin & Norburn, 1983). Children's attitudes towards blacks were related to mothers' ethnic hostility, but district variations were found to reflect the quality of contact. In the follow-up, those in a harmonious district showed an increase in own-race positivity likely due to attitude hardening amid social changes at the time, but mothers' attitudes were moderated by growing autonomy in their children. Later, a study of black preschoolers' racial attitudes as a function of parental attitudes over time, by conventional tests and interviews (Branch & Newcombe, 1986), found that parents' and children's interview attitude changes were related, but parents' attitudes and attitudes towards teaching about race varied by children's age, gender and family type (older children's parents more pro-black and girls' single-mothers less so). These early studies show that parents' racial attitudes influence children's, but other social forces also play a part, and increasingly so as children get older when their attitudes may in turn influence their parents.

After a quieter period from the 1990s to early 2000s with studies finding moderate (in Mexican-Americans, Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993) or no (whites, Aboud & Doyle, 1996; African-Americans, Brinson, 2001) children-parent attitude associations, recent studies have taken different approaches by measuring *perceived* parental attitudes or parents' implicit attitudes. An obvious reason is that, if children have social desirability concerns, it is even more likely in adults. Perceived parental attitudes have been found to be related to out-group evaluation in older children (10-12 years; Verkuyten, 2002) and to racial preference in preschoolers (Castelli et al., 2007; Lam et al., 2011). Also, parents' implicit, but not explicit, attitudes predict preschoolers' racial attitudes (Castelli et al., 2009), and it has been shown that adults' negative nonverbal behaviours towards a racial out-group person affect children's later evaluation of, and behaviours towards, members of that out-group (Castelli et al., 2008).

Research in parental socialisation of ethnic identity and attitudes has come a long way in the past few decades in both conceptualisation and methodology, but it still leaves gaps for further work examining this factor as well as others, where the role of parents falls short in explaining satisfactorily their children's identity and attitudes. The coverage above has looked at studies that include other factors, and an obvious one is the peer group, but beyond that the institutions that contain it (i.e., classroom, school or neighbourhood) are also relevant as they can facilitate or hinder peer socialisation.

Although there is abundant literature on the influence of ethnicity or ethnic identity on children's peer preference, relations and friendship, that of the reverse of how peers may play a role in children's ethnic identity and attitudes is scarce. As with studying the role of parents, it is difficult to infer causation, even though one can take measures from a child's friends and classmates, and even more so to tease apart which aspects of, and how, the peer group affects ethnic cognition. Yet a small batch of work has studied the link between peers/friends/contact (some with concomitant in-group/class/school setting) and children's ethnic attitudes.

Aboud and Doyle (1996) took children's friends and non-friends' (apart from parents) racial attitudes, but they found no child-friend associations, but child-non-friend associations (if moderate) instead, thus not upholding the role of friends in influencing ethnic attitudes. More recently, Aboud's team has found that, while children's prejudice is strongly related to the number of peers they exclude, those with less bias have more cross-ethnic companions and positive perceptions of their friends (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003). Such attitudes and relations here are likely to be reciprocal; if a child is unbiased, she is more likely to make more cross-ethnic friends, but if a child has many friends that represent various ethnic groups, she is more likely to be or become unbiased against those groups. On the downside, however, if a child has bad experiences with other-ethnic peers she may be more likely to be negative towards out-groups, and research has found that to be true; higher degree of victimisation by peers relates to more negative ethnic out-group evaluation (Verkuyten, 2002).

Later research has focused on the influence of peers' attitudes towards, or friendships with in-group/out-group members, on children's attitudes to test the so-called extended contact hypothesis (Pettigrew, 1998). The theory posits that just the 'knowledge' that an in-group member has a close relationship with an out-group member may lead to more positive intergroup attitudes. It has been assessed on English children's explicit attitudes (Cameron et al., 2011), and English and (Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2008) and Italian (Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012) young children's implicit attitudes, towards out-groups. It has been found that extended contact moderates prejudice particularly for those with little or poorer-quality direct contact with out-groups, by reducing intergroup anxiety and facilitating self-disclosure, empathy, intergroup trust, and norms of cross-group friendships.

Recent research has continued with the theme of cross-ethnic peers using designs that involve contextual factors. A longitudinal study (Kawabata, 2011) has found that cross-ethnic friendships uniquely predict decreases in victimisation, and this effect is stronger in a diverse classroom, or where the friendships involve popular classmates. However, another study, with Dutch and Turkish-Dutch children (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2011), has found that children's same-ethnic peers' evaluation of out-groups has a negative effect on children's evaluation if they are already biased, and a diverse classroom has a negative effect on Dutch (but not Turkish-Dutch) children's in-group bias; they are more biased in this context. Furthermore, school norms (promotion of inclusion) can moderate attitudes against a peer norm of out-group exclusion, even if they cannot change the peer norm itself (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011).

From the above, it seems that, like adults acting as 'models' of norms or behaviours with out-groups rather than as direct socialising agents, children's peers (in particular same-ethnic friends) transmit their attitudes through their friendship choice; i.e., with whom they befriend (or not) from other groups. Further, the class or school context may also facilitate or buffer such effects. The exact means through which such peer influence may be enacted in 'real life' are likely to be complex and subtle. Some of such interactions are examined in the following.

'Naturalistic' and 'Unstructured' Research

This section has so far reviewed how children develop senses of ethnic identity and attitudes, along their age-related mental development and among myriad layers of social-psychological and contextual factors such as ethnic groups' relative statuses, threats and norms, parental and peer socialisation. It is clear that all these factors play a part, but still less

clear is 'how' they do so in children's daily lives. As a matter of epistemology, it concerns not only the fact that most works above involve 'extracting' data from children or significant others by tests or surveys, and by manipulating or monitoring their context systematically, but in so doing this positivist framework also frames identity or attitudes as a given (Billig, 1985) that is 'measurable' and children as 'objects' holding these concepts (Connolly, 1996). Some scholars have sought to place more emphasis on the role of children (and parents and friends) as 'active' participants who go about their lives, and the significance of ethnicity varies from one context to the next and in what forms they take (Morrow & Connolly, 2006). The studies from this school of thoughts regard children as 'constructing' their identities on their own terms (thus 'constructionist'), and tend to observe their behaviour or conversations in their normal ('naturalistic') contexts. Even if the researcher directs interactions (as in the interview studies of mixed race children mentioned earlier), it is 'unstructured' (no response set) so that participants can expand or justify their ideas.

As the constructionist model does not 'measure' (quantitatively) identity or attitudes, the writings often document the scrutinised nuances of children's interactions over time, or in-depth interpretations of texts derived from their dialogues, whether directed, undirected or both (known as ethnography; Geertz, 1974). Despite the unstructured nature, there is often a good amount of details in, and continuity between, actions or dialogues, and more time spent with participants gaining their familiarity with, if not trust in, the researcher. This means that some otherwise complicated or controversial phenomena (like ethnicity) can be understood through the eyes of the participants with their intentions (or lack of) examined in context.

One example of the in-depth work on children's ethnic identity and attitudes is American sociologists Van Ausdale and Feagin's intensive ethnography in various preschool settings. They provide detailed interactions illustrating how even 3-4-year-olds are able to make use of ethnic and racial terms and their meanings, skilfully, to define and include/exclude each other (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996). Importantly, adults misperceive such language and activity as simple immaturity or misunderstandings, when children's ethnic and racial understanding can be as 'intricate' or 'convoluted' as that of adults. Their 2001 book further shows how children can learn to use racial or ethnic markers to gain social control even in a multiethnic preschool with an anti-bias, pro-tolerance curriculum administered by a vastly white-majority staff.

While Van Ausdale and Feagin tried to be as invisible as possible during fieldwork so that children's behaviour could be more 'natural', similar studies from the UK at that time by Paul Connolly, an educationist in Northern Ireland, involved himself as part of the context so that alongside observations, children might clarify or justify their views in unstructured focus groups (e.g., Connolly, 1995, 1996, 2001). With the children slightly older (from 5-6 years), thus more articulate, his extracts show that while they are apt at invoking ethnic stereotypes for out-group exclusion and adding observed peer traits to stereotypes, they make exception for out-group friends based on individual traits (e.g., friends are not "proper" members of the group) when called to account. It is argued that apart from missing such scope of children in conducting cross-ethnic friendships while remaining highly prejudiced, quantitative methods also forego the situations under which children's attitudes turn into behaviour (or not).

Making greater use of case-study approaches with in-depth interviews or open-ended surveys, Connolly's (Connolly & Keenan, 2002; Connolly, Kelly, & Smith, 2009) and others' (e.g., Feng, 2011; Louie, 2006; Rogers, Zosuls, Halim, Ruble, Hughes, & Fuligni, 2012) later works have continued to document 'meaning making' by children, plus their parents in some cases, towards their ethnic identity or attitudes from various ethnic groups in the UK and US.

The writings demonstrate that ethnic identity and attitudes, as children's discourses and lived experiences (including racist harassment), take varied forms and are linked to specific social conditions characterised by those around them (parents, same-ethnic and cross-ethnic peers). Thus such discourses and experiences also vary considerably across ethnic groups (Rogers et al., 2012), and even across sub-groups (Feng, 2011), depending on those conditions.

Additionally, as covered in the last section, research on mixed race/interethnic children has benefitted particularly from this epistemology. Instead of taking on the adult-imposed and societal ways of thinking about themselves as (mixed) ethnic objects, it is shown that they are just as apt, if not more so, in fluidly transforming their identity from moment to moment, and from people to people (Choudhry, 2010). Studies involving parents (e.g., Edwards, Caballero, & Puthussery, 2010; Kukutai, 2007; Morrison, 1995) further report their readiness (including majority-group parents) to transmit the minority ethnicity, how interethnic couples negotiate their understandings with each other, and child-rearing practices that promote dual-heritages.

The constructionist approach and associated methodology may preclude the ability to generalise from research results in terms of frequency or age trends, but this is not the object of the approach. It is to give 'substance' to children's ethnic identity or attitudes by issuing a (usually familiar) context in which they may voice (or not) their thoughts and feelings, and/or behave (or not) accordingly, in the ways they see fit, as long as the researcher is careful not to 'create' the context. It also gives an insight into children as active agents that shape their own identity, although the degree of agency children (or people generally) can really exercise over their lives is debatable, given the constraints and boundaries that some may face (for instance, mixed race children are more likely than other groups to enter the care system due to abuse or neglect, family breakdown and maternal mental health, among other reasons; Barn, 1999). On balance, as Connolly (2001, 2011) argues, the future of research in this area is best addressed by in-depth qualitative in conjunction with larger-scale quantitative methods.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has reached the point where some conclusions are expected. However, due to the fact that the literature has stemmed from eight decades of research, on populations far and wide, not to mention the multidimensional complexity of the subject itself and the 'gaps' still apparent in the literature, a transient and banal list of concluding remarks simply would not do the subject justice. This short section will not engage in any regurgitation of literature. Nevertheless, the most significant findings will be amalgamated into a coherent whole, while highlighting those gaps and implications following from the above and intervention literature.

Simply put, children from a very young age notice differences between ethnic groups then acquire and include increasingly abstract features about the groups into their knowledge. They also learn what society sees as their own and other groups and develop sentiments about these groups. What is still unclear is the order of these developments, and *exactly* what makes some children endorse some concepts sooner, or more strongly, than others. Further research monitoring, as many as possible, from all of cognitive/child-individual (age, development), social-psychological (salience, status-based motivation, group norms and threats), and social-structural/contextual (family and school socialisation, opportunity for contact, diversity in the local and societal contexts) factors—with an understanding of historical factors (colonisation,

immigration or stratification, from which other factors at work may have originated)—would be the best way to offer the fullest possible explanation for the patterns we have read thus far. Such work should also take a multi-methodological approach, framing the child at the centre of influence from those factors, but also as an active participant that exercises (or at least tries to) agency and makes choices, in terms of the identities s/he takes across situations with the resources s/he is afforded. Children and their significant others should be encouraged to voice their viewpoints in such situations rather than just 'get tested' or surveyed.

Although children should be encouraged to voice their views, some views as products of less adaptable ethnic identity (such as actual rejection of own ethnicity), or less savoury attitudes (prejudice against other groups) must be heeded as, if unchecked and unsolved, they can lead to mental health issues, poor peer relations, actual discrimination, or aggressive behaviour (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011).

Individuals cannot change society overnight, if at all; status differences between ethnic groups in society cannot be tackled by practitioners for those with weak ethnic identification. However, as this results from poor in-group evaluation amid intergroup comparison, one may endeavour to modify the unfavourable comparison process to elevate in-group pride. This has been done before (McAdoo, 1985) through learning procedures (by learning more positive in-group traits or 'unlearning' some negative ones); both have worked, if negative reinforcement appears to be more effective in modifying black preschoolers' own-race evaluation.

We have read that school inclusion norms can instigate positive attitudes towards out-group members, but without moderating or extinguishing peer norms of exclusion and relational aggression (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011). Meanwhile, certain evidence supports the impact of educational television and parent-child discussions on racial attitudes (Vittrup & Holden, 2011). White children's (age 5-7 years) attitudes towards black people have been shown to improve after watching such educational videos, after discussions with their parents, or after both (when in-group attitudes are also moderated). However, the research has also found poor parental compliance (even when instructed to do so, only 10 per cent of the parents reported having in-depth race-related discussions with children). In view of the earlier finding that the children's racial attitudes were not related to their parents' reported attitudes, but to children's perceptions of such attitudes, efforts should be made to overcome parents' reticence about race discussions, perhaps with school support, to make attitudinal intervention more effective.

In a recent commentary, the renowned Dutch psychologist of intergroup attitudes and relations, Maykel Verkuyten, cites the clear positive effects of intergroup contact on reducing children's prejudice (Verkuyten, 2011). In particular, he refers to cross-group friendships for majority children in schools as a powerful way to reduce ethnic prejudice. He also advocates, going by the literature on extended contact, for more research on the parents' social network and its influence on children's ethnic attitudes, as the diversity (or lack) of this network may provide norms by which children's images of ethnic out-groups can be altered.

Both school and parents are influential authorities in children's lives and providers of opportunities beyond academic education and nurturing needs. Parents may try to influence the friendship selection of their children directly or indirectly (through the choice of school, neighbourhood or extra-curricular activities, which afford them opportunities for intergroup contact). This affects younger children more as they are likely to have lower agency on such matters and more stereotyped ideas about out-groups, as the research reviewed has shown. Verkuyten further explains that for schools to succeed in promoting cross-ethnic friendships,

parents also must support ethnic integration (children with parents that resist integration may feel threat and anxiety during cross-ethnic contact and end up rejecting out-group peers).

In conclusion, the key practical implications from the large and growing body of literature on ethnic identity and attitude development in children concern: the facilitation of functional ethnic self-identification with the in-group particularly for ethnic minority children that have low ethnic pride; and the promotion of fair intergroup attitudes and cross-ethnic friendships particularly for ethnic majority children that have little contact with out-groups. These processes require the involvement of multiple agents—children's parents and peers, their school and wider social networks—working together to produce the optimal outcomes from collaborative intervention.

REFERENCES

Aboud, F. E. (1977). Interest in ethnic information: a cross-cultural developmental study. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, *9*, 134-146.

Aboud, F. E. (1980). A test of ethnocentrism with young children. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, *12*, 195-209.

Aboud, F. E. (1987). The development of ethnic self-identification and attitudes. In J. Phinney & M. Rotheram (Eds), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (32-55). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Aboud, F. E. (1988). *Children and prejudice*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Aboud, F. E. & Doyle, A. B. (1996). Parental and peer influences on children's racial attitudes. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *20*, Special issue: Prejudice, discrimination and conflict, 371-383.

Aboud, F. E., Mendelson, M. J. & Purdy, K. T. (2003). Cross-race peer relations and friendship quality. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *27*, 165-173.

Aboud, F. E. & Mitchell, F. G. (1977). Ethnic role taking: the effects of preferences and self-identification. *International Journal of Psychology*, *12*, 1-17.

Allaman, J. D., Joyce, C. S. & Crandall, V. C. (1972). The antecedents of social desirability response tendencies of children and young adults, *Child Development*, *43*, 1135-1160.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Oxford: Addison-Wesley.

Allport, G. W. & Kramer, B. M. (1946). Some roots of prejudice. *Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied*, 22, 9-39.

Alejandro-Wright, M. N. (1985). The child's conception of racial classification: A socio-cognitive developmental model. In M. D. Spencer, G. K. Brookins, & W. R. Allen (Eds.), *Beginnings: The social and affective development of black children* (185-200). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Bar-Haim, Y., Ziv, T., Lamy, D. & Hodes, R. M. Nature and nurture in own-race face processing. *Psychological Science*, *17*, 159–163.

Barn, R. (1999). White mothers, mixed-parentage children and child welfare. *British Journal of Social Work*, *29*, 269-284.

Barnes, T. (1980). The Black community as the source of positive self-concept for Black children: a theoretical perspective. In R. L. Jones (Ed.), *Black psychology* (106- 130). New York: Harper & Row.

Bennett, M., Dewberry, C. & Yeeles, C. (1991). A reassessment of the role of ethnicity in children's social perception. *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry*, *32*, 969-982.

Billig, M. (1985). Prejudice, categorization and particularization: from a perceptual to a rhetorical approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *15*, 79-103.

Binning, K. R., Unzueta2, M. M., Huo, Y. J. & Molina, L. E. (2009). The interpretation of multiracial status and its relation to social Engagement and psychological well-being. *Journal of Social Issues*, *65*, 35–49.

Black-Gutman, D. & Hickson, F. (1996). The relationship between racial attitudes and social-cognitive development in children: an Australian study. *Developmental Psychology*, *32*, 448-456.

Bigler, R. S., Brown, C. S. & Markell, M. (2001). When groups are not created equal: effects of group status on the formation of intergroup attitudes in children. *Child Development*, *72*, 1151-1162.

Blitz, J. (2010). Britons lead on hostility to migrants. In *Financial Times* online, UK Politics & Policy, September 6, 10.41pm. Webpage: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/231ffb5e-b9fa-11df-8804-00144feabdc0.html#axzz26FTDgXnD. Last retrieved: September 11, 2012.

Boulton, M. J. & Smith, P. K. (1992). Ethnic preferences and perceptions among Asian and White British middle school children. *Social Development*, *1*, 55-66.

Boxell, J. (2011). Poll shows Britons' hostility to immigration. In *Financial Times* online, UK Politics Policy, February 3, 11:12 pm. Website: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/137c5370-2f78-11e0-834f-00144feabdc0.html#axzz26FTDgXnD. Last retrieved: September 11, 2012.

Branch, C. W. & Newcombe, N. (1986). Racial attitude development among young black children as a function of parental attitudes: a longitudinal and cross-sectional study. *Child Development*, *57*, 712-721.

Brinson, S. (2001). Racial attitudes and racial preferences of African American preschool children as related to the ethnic identity of primary caregivers. *Contemporary Education*, *72*, 15-20.

Brown, R. & Abrams, D. (1986). The effects of intergroup similarity and goal interdependence on intergroup attitudes and task performance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *22*, 78-92.

Brown, R. & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. In Zanna, M. P. (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Psychology* (255-343). San Diego: Elsevier Academic Press.

Brown, T. N., Tanner-Smith, E. E., Lesane-Brown, C. L. & Ezell, M. E. (2007). Child, parent, and situational correlates of familial ethnic/race socialization. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *69*, 14-25.

Bruce, J., Curtis, H. & Johnson, L. (1998). Social identity in young New Zealand children. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *27*, 21-27.

Buttery, T. J. (1987). Helping biracial children adjust. *Education Digest*, *52*, 38-41.

Cameron, J., Alvarez, J. M., Ruble, D. N. & Fuligni, A. J. (2001). Children's lay theories about ingroups and outgroups: reconceptualizing research on prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *5*, 118-128.

Cameron, L., Rutland, A., Hossain, R. & Petley, R. (2011). When and why does extended contact work? The role of high quality direct contact and group norms in the development

of positive ethnic intergroup attitudes among children. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *14(2)*, 193-206.

Castelli, L. Carraro, L., Tomelleri, T. & Amari, A. (2007). White children's alignment to the perceived racial attitudes of the parents: Closer to the mother than the father. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *25*, 353-357.

Castelli, L., De Dea, C. & Nesdale, D. (2008). Learning social attitudes: Children's sensitivity to the verbal and nonverbal behaviors of adult models during interracial interactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *34*, 223-237.

Castelli, L., Zogmaister, C. & Tomelleri, S. (2009). The transmission of racial attitudes within the family. *Developmental Psychology*, *45*, 586-591.

Chambers, C. T. & Johnstone, C. (2000). Developmental differences in children's use of rating scales. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology*, *27*, 27-36.

Choudhry, S. (2010). *Multifaceted identity of interethnic young people: Chameleon identities*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. P. (1939). The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identity in Negro children. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *10*, 591-599.

Clark, K. B. & Clark, M. P. (1947). Racial identification and preference in Negro children. In E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, & E. L. Hartley (Eds), *Readings in social psychology* (602-611). London: Methuen.

Clark, A., Hocevar, D. & Dembo, M. H. (1980). The role of cognitive development in children's explanation and preferences for skin colour. *Developmental Psychology*, *16*, 332-339.

Connolly, P. (1995). Racism, masculine peer-group relations and the schooling of African/Caribbean infant boys. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *16*, 75-92.

Connolly, P. (1996). Seen but never heard: rethinking approaches to researching racism and young children. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *17*, 171-85.

Connolly, P. (2001). Qualitative methods in the study of children's racial attitudes and identities. *Infant and Child Development*, *10*, 219-233.

Connolly, P. (2011) Using survey data to explore preschool children's ethnic awareness and attitudes. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, *9*, 175-187.

Connolly, P., Kelly, B. & Smith, A. (2009) Ethnic habitus and young children: A case study of Northern Ireland. *European Early Childhood Research Journal*, *17*, 217-232.

Connolly, P. & Keenan, M. (2002) Racist harassment in the white hinterlands: the experiences of minority ethnic children and parents in schools in Northern Ireland. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *23*, 341-356.

Corenblum, B. & Wilson, A. E. (1982). Ethnic preference and identification among Canadian Indian and White children: replication and extension. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, *14*, 50-59.

Corenblum, B., Annis, R. C. & Tanaka, J. S. (1997). Influence of cognitive development, self-competency, and teacher evaluations on the development of children's racial identity. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *20*, 269-286.

Corenblem, B. & Armstrong, H. D. (2012). Racial-ethnic identity development in children in a racial-ethnic minority group. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, *44*, 124-137.

Cramer, P. & Anderson, G. (2003). Ethnic/racial attitudes and self-identification of Black Jamaican and White New England children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *34*, 395-416.

Davey, A. G. (1983). *Learning to be prejudiced: Growing up in multi-ethnic Britain*. London: Edward Arnold.

Davis, S. C., Leman, P. & Barrett, M. (2007). Children's implicit and explicit ethnic group attitudes, ethnic group identification, and self-esteem. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *31*, 514-525.

Doyle, A. B., Beudat, J. & Aboud, F. E. (1987). Developmental patterns in the flexibility of children's ethnic attitudes. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *19*, 3-18.

Doyle, A. B. & Aboud, F. E. (1995). A longitudinal study of white children's racial prejudice as a social-cognitive development. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *41*, 209-228.

Edwards, R., Caballero, C. & Puthussery, S. (2010). Parenting children from 'mixed' racial, ethnic and faith backgrounds: typifications of difference and belonging. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, *33*, 949-967.

Enesco, I., Guerrero, S., Callejas, C. & Solbes, I. (2008). Intergroup attitudes and social reasoning among majority and minority group children living in Spain. In S. Levy & M. Killen (Eds), *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood* (105-125). New York: Oxford University Press.

Enesco, I., Navarro, A., Giménez, M. & del Olmo, C. (1999). Génesis de la conciencia racial: un estudio sobre identificación y actitudes hacia el color de piel en niños de tres a once años [The origin and development of ethnic-racial consciousness in children from three to eleven years of age: a study of identification and attitudes towards skin colour]. *Estudios de Psicología*, *20*, 3-20.

Enesco, I., Navarro, A., Paradela, I. & Guerrero, S. (2005). Stereotypes and beliefs about different ethnic groups in Spain: a study with Spanish and Latin American children living in Madrid. *Applied Developmental Psychology*, *26*, 638-659.

Feng, B. (2011). One ethnic minority, two cultural identities and more. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, *21*, 267-285.

Foster, S. L., Martinez, C. R. & Kulberg, A. M. (1996). Race, ethnicity, and children's peer relations. *Advances in Clinical Child Psychology*, *18*, 133-172.

Fox, D. J. & Jordan, V. B. (1973). Racial preference and identification of black, American Chinese, and white children. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, *88*, 229-286

Geertz, C. (1974). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

George, D. M. & Hoppe, R. A. (1979). Racial identification, preference and self-concept. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *10*, 85-100.

Gibbs, J. T. (2003). Biracial and bicultural children and adolescents. In J. T. Gibbs & L. N. Huang (Eds), *Children of color: Psychological interventions with culturally diverse youth* (145-182). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Goodman, M. E. (1964). Race awareness in children. New York: Crowell Collier.

Goodyer, A. & Okitikpi, T. (2007). "…But…but I am brown." The ascribed categories of identity: children and young people of mixed parentage. *Child Care in Practice*, *13*, 83-94.

Gopaul-McNicol, S.-A. (1992). Racial identification and racial preference of black preschool children in New York and Trinidad. In Burlow, K. A., Banks, W. C., McAdoo, H. P., &

Azibo, D. A. (Eds). *African American psychology: Theory, research and practice* (190-194). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gopaul-McNicol, S.-A. (1995). A cross-cultural examination of racial identity and racial preference of preschool in the West Indies. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *26*, 141-152.

Gregor, A. J. & McPherson, D. A. (1966). Racial preference and ego-identity among White and Black Bantu children in the Republic of South Africa. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, *73*, 217-254.

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E. & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*, 1464-1480.

Griffiths, J. & Nesdale, D. (2006). In-group and out-group attitudes of ethnic majority and minority children. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *30*, 735-749.

Guerrero, S., Enesco, I. & Lam, V. (2011). Racial awareness, affect and sorting abilities: a study with preschool children. *Anales de Psicología*, *27*, 639–646.

Herring, R. D. (1992). Biracial children: An increasing concern for elementary and middle school counselors. *Elementary School Guidance & Counseling*, *27*, 123-130.

Hraba, J. & Grant, G. (1970). Black is beautiful: a re-examination of racial preference and identification. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *16*, 398-402.

Hughes, D. & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *63*, 981-995.

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C. & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: a review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*, 747-770.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística (2011). Censo 2011 [Census 2011]. Madrid: INE. Available online: http://www.ine.es/censos2011/censos2011.htm.

Jahoda, G., Thomson, S. & Bhatt, S. (1972). Ethnic identity and preference among Asian immigrant children in Glagow: a replicated study. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *2*, 19-32.

Katz, P. A. (1976). The acquisition of racial attitudes in children. In P. A. Katz (Ed.), *Towards the elimination of racism*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Katz, P. A. & Koftin, J. A. (1997). Race, gender and young children. In S. S. Luthar, J. A. Burack, D. Cicchetti, & J. R. Weisz (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology: Perspectives on adjustment, risk, and disorder* (51-74). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Katz, P. A., Sohn, M. & Zalk, S. R. (1975). Perceptual concomitants of racial attitudes in urban grade-school children. *Developmental Psychology*, *11*, 135-144.

Katz, R. & Zalk, S. (1978). Modification of children's racial attitudes. *Developmental Psychology*, *14*, 447-461.

Kawabata, Y. (2011). The significance of cross-racial/ethnic friendships: associations with peer victimization, peer support, sociometric status, and classroom diversity. *Developmental Psychology*, *47*, 1763-1775.

Knight, G. P., Bernal, M. E., Garza, C. A., Cota, M. K. & Ocampo, K. A. (1993). Family socialization and the ethnic identity of Mexican-American children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *24*, 99-114.

Kowalski, K. (2003). The emergence of ethnic and racial attitudes in preschool-aged children. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *143*, 677-690.

Kowalski, K. & Lo, Y-F. (2001). The influence of perceptual features, ethnic labels, and sociocultural information on the development of ethnic/racial bias in young children. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, *32*, 444-455.

Kelly, M. & Duckitt, J. (1995). Racial preference and self-esteem in black South African children. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *25*, 217-223.

Lalonde, R. N., Jones, J. M. & Stroink, M. L. (2008). Racial identity, racial attitudes, and race socialization among black Canadian parents. *Camadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, *40*, 129-139.

Lam, V., Guerrero, S., Damree, N. & Enesco, I. (2011) Young Children's Racial Awareness and Affect and Their Perceptions of Mothers' Racial Affect in a Multiracial Context. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *29*, 842–864.

Lam, V. & Moodley, D. (2011). Ethnic minority children's attitudes towards competitive team members: a minimal group study with British Bengali children. *Anales de Psicologia*, *27*, 647–654.

Lawrence, V. W. (1991). Effect of socially ambiguous information on White and Black children's behavioral and trait perceptions. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *37*, 619–630.

Louie, V. (2006). Growing up ethnic in transnational worlds: identities among second-generation Chinese and Dominicans. *Identities*, *13*, 363-394.

Lyles, M. R., Yancey, A., Grace, C. & Carter, J. H. (1985). Racial identity and self-esteem: problems peculiar to biracial children. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, *24*, 150-153.

Margie, N. G., Killen, M., Sinno, S. & McGlothlin, H. (2005). Minority children's intergroup attitudes about peer relationships. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *23*, 251–269.

Marks, A., Kerivan Szalacha, L., Lamarre, M., Boyd, M. J. & Coll, C. G. (2007). Emerging ethnic identity and interethnic group social preferences in middle childhood: findings from the Children of Immigrants Development in Context (CIDC) study. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *31*, 501-513.

McGlothlin, H., Killen, M. & Edmonds, C. (2005). European-American children's intergroup attitudes about peer relationships. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *23*, 227–249.

McRoy, R. G. & Freeman, E. M. (1986). Racial-identity issues among mixed-race children. *Social Work in Education*, *8*, 164-174.

McAdoo, J. L. (1985). Modification of racial attitudes and preferences in young Black children. In McAdoo, H. P. & McAdoo, J. E. (Eds), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (243-256). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Marsh, A. (1970). Awareness of racial differences in West-African and British children. *Race*, *11*, 289-302.

McGuire, W. J., McGuire, C. V., Child, P. & Fujioka, T. (1978). Salience of ethnicity in the spontaneous self-concepts as a function of one's ethnic distinctiveness in the social environment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *15*, 511-520.

Milner, D. (1973). Racial identification and preference in 'black' British children. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *3*, 281-295.

Milner, D. (1983). *Children and race: Ten years on*. London: Allan Sutton.

Monteiro, M. B., de França, D. X. & Rodrigues, R. (2009). The development of intergroup bias in childhood: How social norms can shape children's racial behaviours. *International Journal of Psychology*, *44*, 29-39.

Morland, J. K. & Hwang, C. (1981). Racial/ethnic identity of preschool children: Comparing Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *12*, 409-424.

Morrison, J. W. (1995). Developing identity formation and self-concept in preschool-aged biracial children. Early Child Development & Care.

Morrison, J. W. (1995). Developing identity formation and self-concept in preschool-aged biracial children. *Early Child Development & Care*, *111*, Special issue: focus on caregivers, 141-152.

Morrow, V. & Connolly, P. (2006). Editorial, special issue: gender and ethnicity in children's everyday lives. *Children & Society*, *20*, 87-91.

Mullen, B., Brown, R. & Smith, C. (1992). Ingroup bias as a function of salience, relevance, and status: an integration. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *22*, 103-122.

Neblett, E., Smalls, C., Ford, K., Nguyên, H. & Sellers, R. (2009). Racial socialization and racial identity: African American parents' messages about race as precursors to identity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*, 189-203.

Nesdale, D. (1999) Social identity and ethnic prejudice in children. In P. Martin & W. Noble (Eds.), *Psychology and society* (92-110). Brisbane: Australian Academic Press.

Nesdale, D. (2003). Effects of ingroup identification and outgroup threat on children's ethnic prejudice. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, *55*, 55-59.

Nesdale, D. (2004). Social identity processes and children's ethnic prejudice. In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.), *The development of the social self* (219-245). London: Psychology Press.

Nesdale, D. (2008). Social identity development and children's ethnic attitudes in Australia. In S. M. Quintana & C. McKown (Eds.), *Handbook of race, racism, and the developing child* (313-318). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Nesdale, D. & Lawson, M. J. (2011). Social groups and children's intergroup attitudes: can school norms moderate the effects of social group norms? *Child Development*, *82*, 1594-1606.

Nesdale, D., Maass, A., Durkin, K. & Griffiths, J. (2005). Group norms, threat, and children's racial prejudice. In *Child Development*, *76*, 652-663.

Nesdale, D., Maass, A., Griffiths, J. & Durkin, K. (2003). Effects of in-group and out-group ethnicity on children's attitudes towards members of the in-group and out-group. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *21*, 177-192.

Nishimura, N. J. (1995). Addressing the needs of biracial children: An issue for counselors in a multicultural school. *School Counselor*, *43*, 52-57.

Nosek, B. A., Banaji, M. R. & Greenwald, A. G. (2002). Harvesting implicit group attitudes and beliefs from a demonstration website. *Group Dynamics*, *6*, 101-115.

Office of National Statistics (2011). *The 2011 Census*. London: ONS. Available online: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/index.html.

Pearce-Morris, J. & King, V. (2012). The Well-Being of Children Living With Interethnic Parents: Are They at a Disadvantage? *Journal of Family Issues*, *33*, 898-919.

Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U. & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *35*(3), 271-280.

Phinney, J. S. (1996). Understanding ethnic diversity: the role of ethnic identity. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *40*, 143-152.

Piaget, J. (1929). *The child's representation of the world*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Piaget, J. (1936). *Origins of intelligence in the child.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Porter, J. R. & Washington, R. E. (1993). Minority identity and self-esteem. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *19*, 139-161.

Powell, G. J. (1973). Self-concept in White and Black children. In C. V. Willie, B. M. Kramer, & B. S. Brown (Eds.), *Racism and mental health*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.Quintana, 1998.

Quintana, S. M. & McKown, C. (2008). *Handbook of race, racism and the developing child* (Eds.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Radke-Yarrow, M., Trager, H. & Miller, J. (1952). The role of parents in the development of children's ethnic attitudes. *Child Development*, *23*, 13-53.

Ramsay, P. G. (1987). Young children's thinking about ethnic differences. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotheram (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialisation: Pluralism and development* (56-72). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*, 65-85.

Phinney, J. S. & Rotheram M. (Eds.) (1987). *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (32-55). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Phinney, J. S., Romero, I., Nava, M. & Huang, D. (2001). The role of language, parents, and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence*, *30*, 135-153.

Pushkin, I. & Norburn, V. (1983). Ethnic preferences in young children and in their adolescence in three London districts. *Human Relations*, *36*, 309-334.

Rice, A. S., Ruiz, R. A. & Padilla, A. M. (1974). Person perception, self-identity, and ethnic group preference in Anglo, Black and Chicano preschool and third grade children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *5*, 100-108.

Rogers, L. O., Zosuls, K. M., Halim, M. L., Ruble, D., Hughes, D. & Fuligni, A. (2012). Meaning making in middle childhood: an exploration of the meaning of ethnic identity. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *18*, 99-108.

Rutland, A., Cameron, L. Milne, A. & McGeorge, P. (2005). Social norms and self-presentation: children's implicit and explicit intergroup attitudes. *Child Development*, *76*, 451-466.

Sagar, H. A. & Schofield, J. W. (1980). Racial and behavioral cues in Black and White children's perceptions of ambiguously aggressive acts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *39*, 590–598.

Song, S. (2010) Finding one's place: shifting ethnic identities of recent immigrant children from China, Haiti and Mexico in the United States. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, *33*, 1006-1031.

Spencer, M. B. & Markstrom-Adams, C. (1990). Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority children in America. *Child Development*, *61*, 290-310.

Stangor, C., Lynch, L, Duan, C. & Glass, B. (1992). Categorisation of individuals on the basis of multiple social features. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *62*, 207-218.

Stokes-Guinan, K. (2011). Age and skin tone as predictors of positive and negative racial attitudes in Hispanic children. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *33*, 3-21.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., Flament, C., Billig, M. & Bundy, R. P. (1971). Social categorisation and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *1*, 149-178.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Teicher, J. D. (1968). Some observations on identity problems in children of Negro-white marriages. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, *146*, 249-256.

Thijs, J. & Verkuyten, M. (2011). In-group bias in the classroom: The role of co-ethnic and other-ethnic peers and multiculturalism. *Anales de Psychologia*, *27*, 662-669.

Thomas, A. J. & Speight, S. L. (1999). Racial identity and racial socialization attitudes of African American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *25*, 152-170.

Thomas, A. J., Speight, S. L. & Witherspoon, K. M. (2010). Racial socialization, racial identity and race-related stress of African American parents. *Family Journal*, *18*, 407-412.

Thornton, M. C. (1997). Strategies of racial socialization among Black parents: mainstream, minority, and cultural messages. In R. J. Taylor, J. S. Jackson, & L. M. Chatters (Eds), Family life in Black America (201-215). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tizard, B. & Phoenix, A. (1993). *Black, white or mixed race? Race and racism in the lives of young people of mixed parentage*. London: Routledge.

Turner, R. N., Hewstone, M. & Voci, A. (2008). Reducing explicit and implicit outgroup prejudice via direct and extended contact: the mediating role of self-disclosure and intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *93*, 369-388.

Ufficio Stampa Censimento Popolazione (2011). Censimento 2011 [Census 2011]. Rome: Istituto nazionale di statistica. Available online: http://censimentopopolazione.istat.it/.

Van Ausdale, D & Feagin, J. R. (1996). Using racial and ethnic concepts: the critical case of very young children. *American Sociological Reviews*, *61*, 779-793.

Van Ausdale, D & Feagin, J. R. (2001). *The first R: how children learn race and racism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, Inc.

Van Knippernberg, A. F. M. (1984). Intergroup differences in group perceptions. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *The social dimension, vol. 2, European developments in social psychology* (560-58). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vaughan, G. M. (1963). Concept formation and the development of ethnic awareness. *Journal of Genetic Psychology Monographs*, *70*, 135-175.

Verkuyten, M. (2002). Ethnic attitudes among minority and majority children: the role of ethnic identification, peer group victimisation and parents. *Social Development*, *11*, 558-570.

Verkuyten, M. (2011). Commentary: Cross-ethnic friendships and parents. *Social Policy Report*, *25*, Promoting Equity, Tolerance, and Justice in Childhood, 28-29.

Verkuyten, M. & Kinket, B. (1999). The relative importance of ethnicity: ethnic categorisation among older children. *International Journal of Psychology*, *34*, 107-118.

Verkuyten, M. & Masson, K. (1994). Ethnic categorisation among children in multi-ethnic schools in the Netherlands. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *34*, 197-181.

Verkuyten, M., Masson, K. & Elffers, H. (1995). Racial categorization and preference among older children in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *25*, 637-656.

Vezzali, L., Giovannini, D. & Capozza, D. (2012). Social antecedents of children's implicit prejudice: direct contact, extended contact, explicit and implicit teachers' prejudice. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *9*, 569-581.

Vittrup B. & Holden, G. W. (2011). Exploring the impact of educational television and parent-child discussions on children's racial attitudes. *Analyses of Social Issues & Public Policy*, *11*, 82-104.

Ward, N. T., Whitney M. & Redd, A. (2007). An examination of the self-esteem and self-identity of biracial children in the United States. In A. L. Letha (Ed.), *Human behavior in the social environment from an African-American perspective* (2nd ed.; 183-206). New York: Haworth Press.

Williams, J. E., Best, D. L. & Boswell, D. A. (1975). The measurement of children's racial attitudes in the early school years. *Child Development*, *46*, 494-500.

Williams, J. E. & Morland, J. K. (1976). *Race, color and the young child*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Wilson, A. (1984). 'Mixed race' children in British society: some theoretical considerations. *British Journal of Sociology*, *35*, 42-53.

Wise, T. (2010). *Colorblind: the rise of post-racial politics and the retreat from racial equity*. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books.

Zuckerman, M. (1990). Some dubious premises in research and theory on racial differences: scientific, social and ethical issues. *American Psychologist*, *45*, 1297-1303.